

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM



Special analysis of the strike Plus the meaning of workers' control INSIDE THIS WEEK

BENN ATTACK MAY HERALD NEW THREAT TO MILITANTS

State bosses get giant pay boost

'LET'S GO with Labour' is a slogan that now finds a warm response in the top ranks of British industry.

After the generous doling out of public funds to private industry to merge and streamline, comes the announcement from the Prices and Incomes Board of huge salary increases for the bosses of the state-run monopolies.

The PIB is recommending a phased 60 per cent increase to bring the knights and barons of the 'public' sector up to £20,000 a year. The full rise will work out at £144 a week.



ROBENS Nice work if you can get it

There could be no more glaring example of priorities under capitalism. Workers are blamed for all the in-built, competitive nonsense of the system. They suffer wage freeze, rising prices, rocketing rents and the new modern methods of exploitation—productivity deals and time and motion study.

Now they face the threat of fines and even jail if they dare to withdraw their labour in defence of their rights.

But for the pin-striped parasites of the boardroom all is milk and honey. £20,000 for Lord Robens to shut down mines and throw workers on to the scrapheap. £20,000 for Sir Henry Johnson to axe the rail services in favour of businessmen commuting in luxury from London to Manchester. £20,000 for Lord Melchett to reorganise steel at the expense of thousands of jobs.

Meanwhile on Tuesday, 3000 dockers stopped work to press demands for a £6 a day minimum wage...

EDITORIAL

HAROLD WILSON'S MALICIOUS ATTACK on the labour movement during the Ford strike has now been followed by Anthony Wedgwood Benn's onslaught on militant workers for their 'self-inflicted wounds' in the motor industry.

What lies behind the Labour government hysteria, which sees every defensive action by any section of workers as a direct threat?

The government, ever since its election, has been pursuing the policy of modernising British capitalism. The main emphasis of this policy — providing business with financial hand-outs to increase investment — means that the working class has to pay for the whole operation, while profits and dividends are untouched. Exploitation must increase both directly and indirectly.

On the job, workers are faced with a steady whittling away of work conditions, with attacks on all the defensive arrangements they have built up over the years. This is what productivity deals are all about.

Outside the factory workers pay in the form of increased rents and prices and in the withering away of the social benefits of the so-called welfare state.

ANARCHY

Yet in spite of government policies, the anarchy of the international market continually threatens every effort Wilson and company make. Last month's trade figures were very bad for the government — a government that has clearly lost confidence in itself and which is easily rattled.

All they can do is to find scapegoats. It is the working class which is threatening the 'national interest', according to the Benns and Wilsons of this world.

For the moment, reformism (handing out sweets to the workers is) dead. There is no sugar to coat the pill.

We can expect no measures from this government that will improve the lot of the working class in any way.

FIGHT

It is only groups of workers or tenants who are prepared to fight wage cuts or rent increases who can hope to gain any concessions.

Trade union struggles are made political by the government's wage freeze. The only way to dodge the freeze and get the extra earnings needed to combat the rapid rise in the standard of living is to sell the power workers have built up over the years for immediate lump payments. It is a

Liverpool backs May Day strike

FROM ROSS HILL

LIVERPOOL Trades Council has called for a one-day strike on May 1st and for a conference of Merseyside trade unionists before the strike.

Union officialdom is terrified that the call will attract the same sort of support as the February 27 strike. It is particularly worried that the dockers are beginning to turn from a traditional trade union approach to one in which they engage in political struggle against the government's White Paper on industrial relations.

Lew Lloyd, district official of the TGWU docks section (appointed — not elected, of course), attacked the Trades Council decision and appealed to the dockers not to strike, as he did in the big dock strike last year. Fortunately the dockers have about as much respect for Bro. Lloyd as they have for Barbara Castle.

dangerous method that weakens shop floor organisation.

Resistance to the capitalist policies of the Labour government must be broadened and to back page



Strikers demonstrating in Dacca this week

Brutal purge may follow fall of Ayub

By NIGEL HARRIS

THE RE-ENTRY of the army into control of Pakistan could not be long delayed. Having withdrawn support from Ayub Khan, logically the army has become the sole defender of the status quo and it needs to act swiftly.

In the West, waves of strikes have temporarily made Pakistan's capitalists no more than ailing ghosts. In the East, the peasantry has settled a thousand scores in every village, against the local bully, policeman or landlord.

Martial law is the only alternative for Pakistan's demoralised rulers.

Revenge

Army divisions have already been transferred to the East and a brutal purge is likely to follow unless the opposition forces can recreate their own order.

The army is West Pakistani-dominated and it will have few immediate qualms about revenging the regime's dishonour.

Meanwhile, it is likely that the middle classes who originally sparked off the revolt against Ayub Khan will now have been terrified by the prospect of popular revolt and will also swing into support of the army.

Finally, the rattle of shots across the India-East Pakistani border last week suggests the final lynch-pin in the status quo's counter-attack.

The only opposition alternative is to pull together the forces of revolt and

present a coherent alternative. At the moment, those forces are divided by rampant provincialism and will gladly sell each other out for more autonomy.

This makes the task of the army much simpler and the prospects relatively grim.

Big turnout for control conference

MORE THAN 800 delegates are expected to attend the seventh national conference on workers' control in Sheffield this weekend.

Representatives from the cars, aircraft, docks, steel and coal industries will be present to hammer out policies for shop floor control. Students, teachers and health workers will also be attending, along with workers from France, Czechoslovakia and West Germany.

A discussion on productivity deals and how to fight them will be a major feature at this important gathering.

The conference takes place this Saturday and Sunday (March 29 and 30) at Runnour House, Shore Lane, Sheffield 10 (near A57). Conference starts 10.30 am Saturday.

Cost is 10s including papers. Phone 074 1372641 for details.

Stop the fascists!

THE GROWING ACTIVITY by the fascist National Front organisation must be seriously countered by militants and socialists.

The disruption of warmongering 'Defence' Minister Healey's by-election meeting on Monday should not delude anyone into thinking that the National Front are 'fighting the same enemy'.

As we have stressed over and over again in Socialist Worker, the Labour government is a 'reforming' administration only in the sense that it wishes to modernise capitalism at the expense of the working class.

Racialist demands

Its attempts to damage the organisations of the labour movement and its capitulation to the racialist demands of Powell and the Tories have encouraged the growth of the extreme right.

But whatever the crimes of the Labour government, a distinction must be drawn between them and the fascists.

Wilson and co may want to fine and even jail militant trade unionists. That is different from wanting to put them into concentration camps.

The scapegoats

Labour have attempted to make coloured immigrants the scapegoats for all the problems of capitalist society.

That is bad — but not as bad as wanting to forcibly expel them from the country or herd them into gas chambers.

The fascists must be fought. We do not believe in 'free speech' for little Hitlers who would deny it to everyone if they seized power.

At the moment they are small. But the signs are that they are growing, feeding on the frustration and discontent of middle class and even some working class people.

Stop them

As we go to press, International Socialists in East London are planning on Wednesday to attend another by-election meeting in Walthamstow East, addressed this time by James Callaghan. They are going not to support in any way Callaghan or his anti-working class policies but to prevent the fascists from using the meeting to mouth their filthy policies.

We hope that every section of the labour movement will follow that example. Drive the nazis off the streets!

Press story not true

A REPORT in The Guardian on Wednesday gave the impression that the International Socialists had offered to help the police protect Mr Callaghan. This story is totally false.

Mr Lee puts his foot in it

MR TONY LEE, Britain's Quisling on the island of Anguilla, has a happy knack of putting his well-shod foot into his elegant public school mouth every time he opens it.

On Saturday, when he was prevented by marching islanders from entering his office, he said he didn't really mind,

as he had no work to do anyway.

And on Monday he bemoaned the fact that he could not call a meeting on the island to explain Britain's attitude because there was no place for them to meet.

What an indictment of British imperialism! After decades of domination in the

Caribbean they leave the inhabitants milked of their resources and without proper drainage, telephones, doctors or even public buildings.

This is the heart of the matter. We should not be side-tracked by rumours of Mafia gangsters (including a heavily disguised Baptist minister) running Anguilla.

Britain has done nothing for the islanders. The government merely want to keep a foothold in the area to defend their other ill-gotten possessions.

The British labour movement must demand the immediate withdrawal of British troops.

* Cartoon back page.



First

round to the militants, on points

The men in strike (left right): pick at Dagenha Leslie Bla Hugh Scanl and Jack Jones.

THE INITIATIVE of Ford workers under the leadership of their stewards has resulted in an important victory, even if it is incomplete and, in a sense, short-term.

The company was forced to remove the worst penalty clauses which would have meant a six months' loss of sick pay, lay-off benefits and holiday bonuses for all workers in a plant where 'unconstitutional action' took place.

As things now stand, the company will pay weekly contributions of 10s and 4s into two funds for a holiday bonus and for lay-off benefits.

The benefits will be forfeited by all workers in a plant during the week that any section goes on strike, has an overtime ban or refuses to co-operate with the company's methods of implementing 'operating flexibility' and 'efficient utilisation', as defined in their secret Enabling Agreement which outlined their plans for turning the screws on the labour force.

Free hand

These principles are designed to give management a much freer hand on the shop floor and to force workers to accept 'the most efficient methods of working and making such adjustments to working conditions as may be reasonable and appropriate to prevailing circumstances of company operations.'

And workers laid off by a dispute within any Ford plant will not receive their lay-off benefits.

The penalties are small in themselves, but they represent the concession of the principle of penalties to the Ford management, the employers as a whole and perhaps most important, the government.

Once the principle is established of penalising whole

sections of workers for resistance to managerial attacks on one section, it is the thin end of the wedge. Though Ford have suffered the worst losses in their history in Britain, they may well attempt to introduce harsher clauses in the future if they suspect at any time that shop floor resistance has weakened.

In other firms where shop floor organisation is weak, employers will try to use the case of Ford to shackle their own workers with penal clauses.

Climbdown

In such cases, the workers will have to remind themselves of the 3½ weeks' struggle at Ford and how it forced the company to make a substantial climbdown.

Like the Ford company, the government did not get all it had hoped for from the struggle. If the Ford workers had been bludgeoned into accepting the original penal clauses, what a marvellous weapon it would have given the government in its coming assault on all industrial militants, as outlined in the White Paper In Place of Strife.

It is significant that at one stage in the negotiations Leslie Blakeman, Ford's director of personnel, was prepared to drop all penal clauses in return for a lower wage rise. It was Barbara Castle who insisted on retaining some penal elements in the final agreement.

The government is determined to remove all power from the shop floor and drag the trade unions into the state machine—all in the interests of rationalising and modernising British capitalism.

In carrying out such a commitment for the employing class, a Labour government is much tougher towards workers than an individual capitalist firm.

The government's task is to overhaul British capital-

They can win round two as well, but with the government intervening on the bosses' side in industrial disputes the knock-out can only be delivered by a united working class fighting for political power by JIM LAMBORN & SABBY SAGALL

ism. Weakening the workers' defensive organisations is essential in order to achieve this long-term aim.

Increased intervention by the state on the side of the employers is essential in a slowly decaying capitalist economy. A social democratic government, because it is tied to a reformist outlook (that is, tinkering with society as it is) and rejects the idea of the self-emancipation of the working class, will be pushed by the worsening economic situation into adopting increasingly harsh measures to prop up capitalism.

The traditional loyalties of the mass of workers to the Labour Party enables it to carry out measures that the Tories would never have dared introduce.

Paves way

But because of its links with the organisation of the labour movement it will probably be difficult for the government to go as far in attacking the workers as the employers would like.

Labour therefore paves the way for a future Tory government to attack the workers even more strongly.

The role of the government in the Ford dispute has been to try to retain in some form the weapon it is preparing to use against the working class as a whole. As it is, the struggle at Ford will encourage other workers to put up a stronger fight against the government's proposed fines on unofficial strikers.

The Ford workers have won the first round on points. Although their determination could have won more, they are well equipped by their victory to fight a strong second round against the remaining penal clauses and for equal wage rates with Midlands car workers.

A clear lesson of the struggle has been that so-called 'left' trade union leaders, who nominally oppose the incomes policy, can only be made to act by strong rank and file pressure.

Unlike the Carrons, Cannons, Kealeys and Mark Youngs, who are the avowed enemies of militant shop-floor action, men like Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones can be made to respond to some extent from pressure from below.

They will not start the fight, but once it is under way they will support it with varying degrees of strength.

It is important for the rank and file to realise the danger of relying on such officials,

for in the final analysis they will take over the leadership of struggles only to channel them in safe directions and prevent them from getting out of hand.

Scanlon and Jones both failed to eliminate completely the penal clauses. Scanlon is reported to have voted with the right-wing on the AEF executive against a Left-wing resolution to press for equal wage rates with Midlands car workers.

No meeting

Moreover, when a compromise had been reached under pressure from Barbara Castle, he recommended an immediate return to work without consulting the stewards on the final terms of the settlement and without insisting on a mass meeting to put the terms to the men.

This was in contrast to Jack Jones who did consult the TGWU rank and file and did insist on a mass meeting.

Rank and file leaders must therefore build a campaign to achieve direct negotiations between themselves and the company.

It is not enough that the National Joint Negotiating Committee should be reorganised to make it numerically more representative. It must be destroyed, for even in a reorganised form it will continue to be a buffer between the workers and the company, acting as a brake on the initiative and drive of the rank and file.

It is vitally important that the political relevance of the strike should be emphasised to the mass of Ford workers.

The old days of purely trade union struggles are over. The workers now have to take on not only their employers but the capitalist state as well.

The strike was not 100 per cent solid from the start. The assembly men at Dagenham refused to come out until the strike was given official blessing and expressed their resentment at having been laid off three times last year. They lacked the confidence to win the struggle against the penalties.

If the strike had had total support from the start, the pressure on Scanlon and Jones to resist the penalties would have been even greater. This shows the tremendous need for stewards and other militants to conduct their future struggles in increasingly political terms.

The shop steward did describe Ford as being in the vanguard of the combined attacks of employers and the state but they are the conscious workers.

A lack of political understanding on the part of the rank and file will lead to control on trade union lines. There may be strikes in the future but they will be under 'left-wing' leadership. At certain points they will contain the militant workers.

Gain control

There was a lack of involvement on the part of the workers. Only political understanding can lead to participation in the struggle and control them.

In the future, more mass meetings, political discussion and file level work will be necessary to run their own struggles eventually control them.

Jim Lamborn Steward at Ford Sabby Sagall is the industrial of the international

Unions: strawmen under attack

LETTERS

IT IS DIFFICULT to see who was aimed at in Tom Hillier's article in last week's Socialist Worker. If we ignore the 'straw man' of militants leaving the unions, presumably he attacks those who advocate new rank and file organisations and link-ups.

He follows the rightward drift in IS by locating the problems of the unions and the working class as one of leadership, not consciousness—'abandoning the leadership of the workers and leaving them to the influence of the class enemy.'

His elitism and reformism fail to recognise that while the working class will always struggle against the boss class, workers organisations, through bureaucracy, have, are, and will always tend to become instruments of oppression by the capitalists.

Without socialist consciousness even shop stewards can become the bosses' foremen on the factory floor. To say that the unions are long past saving is not to abandon activity within them but it does mean (1) that they cannot be captured and (2) that our propaganda and activity must be based on reality.

Socialist Worker says that Ford workers won a partial victory, that the left leaders are different, that workers can push their unions to do the job they were built for (Editorial March 22).

The Financial Times of March 20 said Ford won, penalties stay and were extended for no extra cash. Reg Birch vacillated, and most important, said that shop stewards must be incorporated in the procedural machinery.

Which side has the clearest appreciation of the situation? To stress moving the 'left leaders' or work inside

the unions is to support right-wing, opportunist illusions and to abandon the struggle to create a mass revolutionary socialist consciousness within the working class. - IAN MOONEY, Glasgow IS.

DURING this cold and trying weather, students have called upon me with a copy of Socialist Worker. I have read it with some interest and then passed it on to a workmate.

What I fail to understand in your International Socialism, which to my mind is the only kind which will ultimately work, is why you do not encourage the learning of Esperanto. How can workers really have common understanding if they speak in many different languages?

I am a labourer so I myself am proof of the validity of Esperanto. At a recent congress of workers from Europe, we lived together and all our affairs were conducted in the auxiliary language.

Thus we did not need an expensive army of interpreters.

Thanks for the article by Ethel Mannin. - WALTER PEAKE, Kingsway N., York.

R-R leaflets

THE ROLLS ROYCE company manufacture aircraft engines for an American aircraft, the Ling-Temco-Vought Corsair II A-7, a close support and tactical fighter ordered by the US Air Force and Navy.

The A-7 is already used in combat in Vietnam using American engines but because of deficiencies in these engines, future makes of the

aircraft will use the Rolls Royce Spey.

A leafletting of the workers in Derby, where the engine is being produced, has been arranged for Monday, March 31.

Why are we leafletting? First in order to let the workers know what happens to the engine after it leaves the factory; second to urge them to join the growing movement for workers' control so that they can decide what is produced and where it is sold; and third to ask them to join the solidarity movement with the Vietnamese.

We urgently need volunteers for this leafletting. People who are willing to do the leafletting should contact me at the address below or ring me at 01-435 7930 in the evenings. - STEVE MERRETT, c/o 120 Commercial Rd, London E1.

Going abroad?

A HOLIDAY abroad need not necessarily be an escape from the class struggle; it may be a very useful way of meeting and discussing with socialists from different countries.

One particularly useful way of making contacts with socialists from a number of countries is at international student work camps.

If possible, take a small supply of International Socialist literature with you—some sample copies of Socialist Worker and International Socialism and some IS pamphlets.

Most large towns on the continent contain some small bookshops specialising in Left-wing literature. Try to persuade them to take one or two copies of International

Socialism and sale.

Please let us know if you are going to Derby and let us have your information please. We will get back to you. W. Crawford, 25 Crescent, London 01-CUN 36 20. - IAN MOONEY, London N9.

AS A SOCIALIST student librarian with Ethel Mannin's greater rewards, I am grateful to the authors (March 1970).

Unfortunately schemes proposed make the situation any money collection methods so far would only win between the hands of the selling authors.

Surely the fact would be for a e.g. the Society to collect all whether from the Treasury, or it to those authors the greatest need School of Brighton College.

ROUND HO

April 13th, 9

POVERTY THE THIR

Bobby Seale, Helder Camara

Cuban emissary Oginga Odinga FILMS, WCAST, AG

P.P. Arnold a

Discussion G Michael Kidr

Andre Shervin FEE: 15/ or The Hasleme

Socialist Worker

EDITORIAL 657a High Road Tottenham London N17 telephone 01-808 2879
BUSINESS Paxton Works Paxton Road London N17 telephone 01-808 4847

Editor Roger Protz
Editorial Committee Paul Foot Richard Kuper Constance Lever Laurie Flynn
Business Manager Jim Nichol

SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant inequalities, its periodic crises, wars and racialist hysteria must be replaced by one based on a planned economy under full workers' control; those who produce the wealth should own and control the means of production. International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers in order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members in their struggles for better wages and conditions and oppose all reactionary laws that threaten the liberties of the labour movement. We support all strikes in defence of workers' interests with the de-



fluence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism. The labour movement must demand the immediate recall of British troops from abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles with socialist ideas that will link up the various sections of the labour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers' power and international socialism.

mand of no victimisation of trade unionists. Redundancy should be opposed with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop stewards organisations should strengthen and extend their in-

April 27 - why we're marching in 'apartheid town'...

from DAVE SPILSBURY

WOLVERHAMPTON:- The Socialist Unity Movement (SUM) established here two months ago by Left-wing and immigrant groups has called for a mobilisation of the Left from all parts of the country on Sunday, April 27.

Enoch Powell has made the situation of immigrants in the town a national issue and April 27 will be the first stage of a national counter-offensive.

The target for the mobilisation is not Powell, nor is

it just the people of Wolverhampton. The Radical Left, which has reached a stage of near exhaustion over Vietnam, needs to re-emphasise its spirit of unity and widen the base of its call for revolutionary change.

'Two nations'

April 27 will point one way ahead. SUM in Wolverhampton and Militant Action in Birmingham are bringing together black and white organisations in common action.

The 'two nations' being created by local and national



POWELL National issue

government have to be brought together by the Left to fight the common class enemy. In

Wolverhampton, apartheid is already taking place—particularly in the schools—and the purpose of the mobilisation is to make this a national issue.

The route

The route of the march takes in the town's main hospital, overwhelmingly staffed by immigrant doctors and nurses, the main transport garage, where a ban on beards and turbans is imposed on Sikh crews and the ghetto quarter of Whitmore Reans, which is consciously contained by the housing and health departments.

The march will also pass the office of the south-east Wolverhampton Conservative Association, home base for

the Belgravia-living Powell and the town hall, where apartheid is being developed as an instrument of policy by both political parties.

Slogans for the mobilisation have not yet been settled but the main areas of attack will be:

- Discrimination in housing
- Discrimination in education
- Discrimination in job opportunity
- Conscious policies developed by local and national government throughout Britain.

Wolverhampton is an example of what is happening in many other parts of Britain. The committee set up by SUM is calling for Britain to come on to the streets of Wolverhampton to see for itself.

Indian organisations have already committed members from various parts of the country and groups of Pakistanis, West Indians and socialist organisations are promising support.

Unity in struggle

The Black-White Unity Mobilisation is also being pressed as a 'festival of friendship and comradeship'. The streets of Wolverhampton can show that unity in struggle on April 27 in a festive mobilisation of those whose comradeship is unqualified by race or colour.

Further details from Sarwan Singh, 545 Wolverhampton Rd, Willenhall, Staffs.

Control or participation? As the Workers Control conference meets this weekend, JIM HIGGINS suggests there is some confusion on the Left

IN RECENT YEARS workers' control has acquired a more general currency in trade union and political discussion than it has enjoyed since the period leading up to the First World War.

The notion of workers' control that has been kept alive through the dead years in the small circles of the Left now emerges to be taken up and transformed to its opposite by every trade union and Labour opportunist with a sharp eye for the main chance.

'Industrial democracy' is the cry from Jack Jones of the TGWU. Participation is the cry of almost any vice-chancellor suffering the onslaught of the student militants.

The Liberals weigh carefully the relative merits of shareholders and workers and decide, with some justice, that the man who gives his labour to an industry should have more rights than the man who just gives his money

In all of this there is something missing—real control. The elaborate blueprints for workers' representatives on management boards, shares for the workers and variations on the theme of advisory councils all leave aside the question of power and who exercises power.

In all societies with pretensions to development, power is not exercised by the man with the biggest muscles. (If that were the case, Mohammed Ali would be President of the USA—not a bad idea at that.)

CONTROL

In the capitalist system power is exercised by the capitalists not because they are tougher or because they know more about the industries they own (frequently they know nothing) but because they control the state.

In Britain today the police, the judges and the army are there to ensure that the capitalist system remains. The comparative liberality of the state machine and its alleged neutrality will last as long, and not one minute longer, as the system is not seriously challenged.

From the Weimar Republic to Hitler Germany was but a short step. The police, the judiciary and the army were, with minor alterations, composed of the same people; the only difference was that, under the Nazis, they were operating a militant defence of

Workers' power or jobs for the boys?

German capitalism. To imagine that it is possible to legislate changes in effective control is to cast doubts on one's good sense and it is not the good sense of the supporters of participation that we need to doubt.

Their notion is to change nothing. Workers' representatives on management boards may give the impression of control while effectively disarming or degutting the representative.

OPERATE

If the bosses have the majority their only need for us is to provide a smokescreen behind which they can operate. If the workers have a majority they do not need the bosses, but to hold their control of the enterprise they must control the state.

The role of the worker director, in the capitalist enterprise, is merely a reversal of the historical role of the harlot: responsibility without power.

A very real problem for trade unionists at any level of contact with management is to avoid accepting the bosses' aims for those of the workers.

The pattern is set right at the top with trade union leaders taking their fat salaries for jobs on NEDDY, the IRC, the CIR and any other government sponsored body that can be utilised to bring the unions into closer contact with the government and its policies.

The fundamental policies of British capitalism are invariably taken with some tame trade unionist to second the decision.

DENIES

The idea of a national interest that stands above class lies at the bottom of the philosophy of participation. The individual may achieve harmony and agreement with the bosses only to the extent that he denies the class interests of his fellow workers.

Capitalist interests are fundamentally different and opposed to working-class interests and the final resolution of those differences will not come in cosy chats in the board room but in the streets and on the factory floor.

Anyone who adopts a class position on workers' control is eventually faced with the question of what to do about it now. It is clear that although militancy is rising in the face of capitalist rationalisation, most workers

are not yet convinced of the need to struggle for state power.

But, between the existing situation and the fight for control of the state there are a number of useful and instructive struggles that can be fought against management prerogatives.

Control over hiring and firing, grading, overtime and speed-up are all matters that are most hard fought in any industry. The struggle to wrest control over these factors of the workers' everyday life completely from the employer's grasp, to remove, if only partially, the employer's stranglehold on the workers' life in the factory, is a policy that nearly all workers will recognise as worthwhile and worth fighting for. And in the process they might well develop the muscles and the will to do away with the employers altogether.

DISCIPLINE

In many of the struggles, big and small, that take place today, control of the day to day life on the job is the major component of the strike. At Ford the battle was not so much about the size of the increase and the differential with the Midland car factories but about how far management would be allowed to go in disciplining the work force.

Whatever the formal result of the official discussions (and there is room for criticism of Scanlon and Jones for their acceptance of back-door penal conditions) it is clear that from a situation where the workers were defending their position against a management attack they are now in a position to mount an offensive against Ford rationalisation and denial of shop-floor organisation.

The nonsense of the remote official machinery has been exposed and broken irreparably.

The struggle for real control is continuous and will continue while society is divided into classes.

The Labour and trade union fakery who see 'participation' as the soft option that will give content to their demagoguery are either daft or deluded.

To elect a worker director is to change nothing and will give nobody any sense of participation. It will merely serve to emphasise the desperate stupidity of our captains of industry and their labour lieutenants.

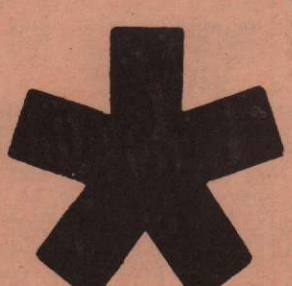
Jim Higgins is a member of the Post Office Engineering Union.



In many struggles today control of the job is the central issue

Join the International Socialists

- ABERDEEN Pete Drummond 19 High Street Aberdeen
- ACTON Hugh Finn 6 Vaughan Ave Stamford Brook W6
- BARNSELY Joe Kenyon 120 Standhill Crescent
- BECKENHAM Mervyn Smith 9 Alton Gardens Copers Cope Rd 01 658 6552
- BIRMINGHAM Godfrey Webster 128 Yardley Wood Rd B'ham 13
- BRADFORD Bob Komreich Flat 1 7 Oak Avenue Bradford 8
- BRIGHTON Micky Adams Flat 4 85 St Aubyns Hove
- BRISTOL Alan Coe 2 St Michael's Hill Bristol 6
- BOLTON F Canavan 11 Sutton Rd Sutton Estate Deane Bolton
- CAMBRIDGE Peter Smith 65 Glisson Road
- CAMDEN Chris Barker 36 Gliden Road NW5
- CHERTSEY Chris Wickenden Langmead Pirbright Woking Sy Brookwood 3003
- COLCHESTER Ian Noble 12 Coach Rd Arlesford Wivenhoe 272
- COVENTRY Dave Edwards 53 Palmerston Rd Earlsdon
- CRAWLEY Deborah Ward 2 Weddell Rd Tilgate
- CROYDON Jenny Woodhams 26 Braemar Avenue South Croydon
- DURHAM Pam Law 16 Hartfield View
- EAST LONDON Bob Light 2 Oster Tce Southcote Rd E17
- EDINBURGH Jim Smith 25 Pitt St (Leith) Edinburgh 6
- ENFIELD Gill Pressman 34 The Chine London N21
- FULHAM Jackie Taylor 41 Perham Road W14
- FOLKESTONE Dave Cowell c/o 18 Station Rd
- GLASGOW Ian Mooney 4 Dalcross Passage W1
- GRAYS & TILBURY Alf Waters c/o 1 Russell Rd Tilbury Essex
- HARROW Kevin Simms 56 Salisbury Rd
- HAVERING Terry Ward 91 Heath Park Rd Gidea Pk
- HIGHBURY Keith Ellis 8 Archibald Road N7
- HORNSEY Valerie Clark 18 Dickinson Rd N8
- HULL Paul Gerhardt 52 Freehold Street
- ILFORD Lionel Sims 99 Belgrave Rd 01 SEV 6991
- IPSWICH Malcolm Bezant 45 Melbourne Road
- ISLINGTON/ANGEL D Phillips 2 Chapel Mkt Grant St N1 01 BRU 1026
- KILBURN Sean Dunne 18 Lithos Road NW3
- KINGSTON John Owen 4 Sandown Court Esher
- LAMBETH Andy Smith Flat 6 126 Streatham Hill SW2
- LEICESTER Shirley Abrams Flat 3 26 St Albans Road
- LEEDS Vince Hall Flat 3 25 Bagby Road Leeds 2
- LOWESTOFT Paul Welby 173 The Avenue
- MANCHESTER Jack Sutton 11a Rowan Avenue Walley Range M16
- MERSEYSIDE Ross Hill 5 Lothair Rd Anfield L'pool 4
- MERTON Fred Milson 119 Wolsey Crescent Morden
- MIDDLESBROUGH Chris Chard 32 Bedford Terr Billingham
- NEWCASTLE Tony Corcoran 26 Lesbury Road
- NORTHAMPTON Alan Druker 21 Ardington Road
- NORWICH Gerald Crompton 220 College Road NOR54F
- OXFORD Dave Peers 21 First Turn
- POTTERIES John Whitfield 5 Grosvenor Road Newcastle U Lyme
- READING Miriam Belsey 22 Redlands Rd Reading
- RICHMOND Peter Glatter 3 Burlington Ave Kew
- RIPLEY & ILKESTON C Burnett 75 Heage Road Ripley Derbys
- SELBY John Charlton 12 Thatch Close Selby Yorks
- SHEFFIELD J Wilkin 15 Raven Rd Sheffield S71SB
- SOUTHAMPTON John Fisher 144 Thornhill Park Road
- STEVENAGE Michael Downing 57 Trumper Road Trots Hill
- STOCKPORT Geoff Hodgson 73a Forest Range M/C 19
- STOKE NEWINGTON Mike McGrath 28 Manor Road N16
- SWANSEA Roy Greener 16 Oaklands Tce
- TOTTENHAM Laurie Flynn 374 High Road N17
- WATFORD Paul Russell 61 Carpenders Avenue Carpenders Park
- WIGAN Ray Challinor 34 Whiteside Ave Hindley
- WOLVERHAMPTON Dave Spilbury 274 Penn Road
- YORK Bob Looker 22 Hobgate
- VICTORIA Tony Dunne 14 Carlisle Mansions Carlisle Place SW1



Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the international socialists to

Name

Address

wards comm... a leaflet... workers as... nguard of the... of the empl... government... most class... ers... tical underst... art of the men... inued reliance... bureaucrats... more official... ture, but they... taken by the... ers only to a... in order to... itancy of the... fidence... distinct lack... in the struggle... e mass of the... a growing... tanding of the... ad them to... vely in their... nd to want to... re must be... etings, more... sion at rank... Only in this... workers gain... their capacity... struggles and... society... n is a shop... d, Dagenham... a member of... sub-committee... al Socialists... ck?... display it for... s know where... before you go... e any useful... cked up, or... contacts when... ite to Edward... Randolph... n, W9. (phone... N BIRCHALL... LIST and a... I sympathise... min's plea for... for underpaid... 5)... all the... ed would only... ion worse as... ected by any... r discussed... en the gap... dful of best-... and the rest... irect method... central body... of Authors... the revenue... e public or... nd distribute... rs who have... -M. WALKER... ibrarianship... of Technol... OUSE, CHALK FARM RD., NW1... 00 am to 1.00 am... IS VIOLENCE: EXPLOITATION OF... D WORLD... Chairman Black Panthers, USA... a, Archbishop of Recife, Brazil... ry, Havana... a, Kenya... RKSHOPS, POETRY READINGS,... T/PROP:... nd Alexis Korner... groups: Tony Cliff, Roy Sawh, Robin Murray... on, Ruth First, Bill Luckin... gton, Obi Eg Buna, et al... dvance booking 10/. Send cheque to:... re Group, 515 Liverpool Rd, London N7.

Battle against stooge union

From PAUL WALTON

DURHAM CITY:- Young workers from a local carpet factory marched through the city centre on Saturday to protest against being sacked for a 2½ hour unofficial strike. The strike and the sackings have revealed the role of stooge company unions, which aid the employers by smashing shop floor opposition.

The struggle began when the carpet factory, Mackay's Ltd, which employs 800 young workers, blocked an attempt to start a branch of the Transport Workers' Union by introducing a bosses' outfit, the Northern Carpet Trade Union (total national membership 1600).

The NCTU proposed a pool system for 100 workers that was a crude attempt to get them to work harder.

Before the stooge union was brought in, each worker was in charge of two looms. Under the pool system, all the workers were responsible for seeing that as many looms as possible were in operation.

For this added exploitation, workers over 21 years were granted the grand increase of £1, bringing their take-home pay to £1210s for a 40-hour week.

The workers responded by demanding that 50 of them who were under 21 but were doing the same job should get a percentage of the increase.

ULTIMATUM

They refused to work the pool system for 10 days, when they were given an ultimatum from the 'union branch chairman' instructing them to work the system from the next shift.

Thirty members on the 'back-end' shift held a meeting, then struck work for 2½ hours. They were sacked the following day.

They picketed the night shift and as men left the factory to join the strike they were given their cards as well. The 37 sacked men formed a strike committee and issued a statement saying they refused to negotiate through puppet unions with the management pulling the strings.

The general secretary of the NCTU, R. Townsend, told the strikers' shop steward that he would personally make sure the committee members were blacked throughout Durham County.

They were refused the right to attend a union meeting in the staff canteen and the management called the police, who arrived in force with four cars and a 'black maria'.

REFUSED

The strikers have learnt that men inside the factory are threatening militant action unless their sacked mates are reinstated.

The workers refuse to be beaten in spite of the high unemployment rate in the area and the combined attack by management, stooge union and the press.

The strikers have stressed that this is not an economic issue. Five of the six members of the strike committee are over 21 and stand to gain nothing from the dispute.

They are not prepared to stand by and see a firm that made £300,000 clear profit last year divide workers along age lines and refuse an increase that would cost only £20 a week.

At a meeting at the end of Saturday's march, the local International Socialists were thanked for their help and several victimised workers joined IS.

Donations and support to: John Jude, Strike Liaison Committee, 40 Bede Ave, Sherburn Rd Estate, Durham City.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

IS spring conference, Easter, April 5 & 6. London. Details from branch secretaries. Discussion on perspectives for revolutionary socialists. Extra copies of perspectives document ready this week. Phone orders to 01-808 2879.

ACTON IS: meetings every Sunday at 7.30 pm for local trade unionists. White Hart, Willesden High Rd NW10.

TRIBUNE—the leading socialist weekly. Absolutely essential reading for every socialist, radical and revolutionary. Every Friday from newsagents or 24 St John St London EC1

Defiant marchers shake Ulster Tories

From SEAN REED

THE NORTH of Ireland's biggest and most dramatic day of protest went off last Sunday without any major violence.

It was a day of triumph for People's Democracy and other militants in the civil rights campaign who carried through the demonstrations in six major centres despite threats from the Paisleyites and obstruction from the right wing of the civil rights movement.

The protests had been called by PD and the Derry Labour Party against the new Public Order Bill.

Blocked traffic

In Derry, more than 5000 answered the Labour Party's call and blocked traffic for two hours in a massive demonstration in the heart of the city.

Eamonn McCann, who presided, said: 'We have been told that there are now two types of unionists. One section want to walk over us with hobnail boots and the other section, led by O'Neill, want to walk over us in carpet slippers.'

'The people of Derry,' he added, 'are not going to allow anyone to walk over them ever again.'

Following the sit-down, there was a march by young men to the Royal Ulster Constabulary Barracks where windows were smashed. The RUC remained discreetly out of sight and there were no arrests.

Burnt Bill

In Armagh, 1500 people attended a meeting in the market square where a copy of the Public Order Bill was burnt.

About 1000 marchers in Enniskillen had their march prematurely ended by the RUC at Erne Bridge. The demonstration which was organised by PD, was addressed by Paddy Devlin, MP, Paddy Kennedy, MP, Michael Farrell and Peter Cosgrove of PD.

The last of the demonstrations at Toomebridge, Co. Antrim, passed off without incident.

Blundered

In spite of a major speech by O'Neill on Tuesday night, defending the Public Order Bill, it is clear that the Ulster Unionists have blundered badly. The Bill outlaws sit-downs or sit-ins.

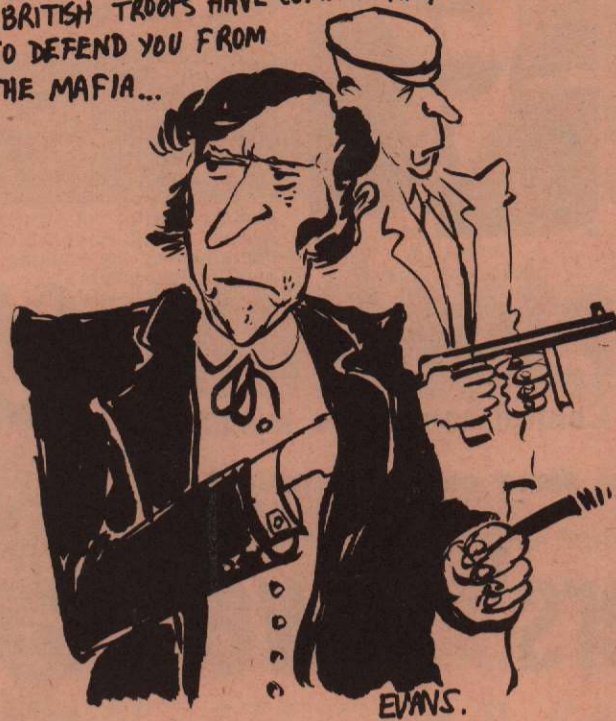
Last weekend's events have made it clear that the RUC do not have enough men to enforce the law once a campaign against it is organised.

The only way open to O'Neill if he is not to see the law fouted every weekend, is to call up the B-specials which means putting uniforms on Paisleyites. Such a move will be understood by the people for what it is — a declaration of civil war.

Support for strike

THE South Essex quarterly meeting of AEF shop stewards voted this week to support the one day strike on May 1st.

GOOD AFTERNOON ISLANDERS. WE BRITISH TROOPS HAVE COME TO ANGIILLA TO DEFEND YOU FROM THE MAFIA...



Little Benn goes North again to put the boot in on the Clyde

From PETER BAIN

GLASGOW:- Following his recent triumphant visit to Clydeside when he was booed and jeered by 15,000 workers, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, the Mintech's chief whizz kid, last week descended once more upon the troubled Scottish industrial scene.

Hot foot from Whitehall after a meeting with the directors of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, Benn again revealed the Labour government's philosophy for dealing with workers—'put the boot in.'

He chased away press and TV cameras from a mass meeting since 'it's important I speak to my chaps in private' but his message was not well received by many of 'the chaps'.

'No more if...'

Benn said that although the government had just given UCS a grant of £3m, no further government backing would be forthcoming unless the shipyard workers co-operated fully with the management.

And he added: 'Any closures will be the responsibility of the work people because we don't measure up to the job'. (The use of the term 'we' indicates that Benn considers himself a 'work person'.)

Four hundred UCS shipyard workers were sacked last Friday. Presumably this was in lieu of some future closure for which they would have been responsible.

If the underlying reasons for Benn's visit were not so serious, the whole ridiculous posture of dynamism could be treated with the disrespect it deserves. But stripped of technological jargon, his message is: 'UCS workers must work harder.'

Under a recently signed productivity deal, the workers have to accept work study and job evaluation after 'joint consultation'. But it is specifically stated that after consultation the result of the investigation will only be applied when the company consults not the shop stewards but the local full-time union officials.

The workers are also to accept alternative employment for any of the following reasons:

1. The phasing out of a

WAGES CUT—SO WORK STOPPED

Socialist Worker Reporter

HULL:- Another flagrant example of a management attempting to cut wages occurred at J.H.Fenners, when engineering workers discovered a £1 shortage in their pay packets.

The workers voted unanimously to strike until the agreed pittance of £14 basic minimum was paid.

The management then tried a new manoeuvre. They argued that a long overdue negotiated increase was not on the hourly rate at all and shift workers and others did not qualify.

The insult is made even more pathetic when it is known that the basic wage is as little as £13 a week, well below the national average.

department, section process or technique.

2. Production needs

3. Changes in process or technique

4. Unsuitability for the job

5. Inability to achieve high earnings

6. Health or age.

Under these terms, the employers can enforce speed-up and tight control of earnings through work study and job evaluation, while they shift workers about virtually as and when they require.

Gang of rogues

But even this is not enough for Anthony Wedgwood Benn and the Labour government.

Benn's greatest insolence was to suggest that the workers were in some way responsible for shipyard closures. When you consider the captains of the industry, the gang of rogues and chancers who owned the Clyde yards and who still wield considerable influence in UCS, you realise how far Benn is from the workers.

The workers are not responsible for the bosses' economic system or the madness of capitalist competition. The workers did not determine the investment policy that left British yards years behind in production techniques while the owners lined their pockets.

The workers weren't consulted about the shipyard closures. The intensification of competition has nothing to do with how hard they work but everything to do with the productive capacity of capitalism outstripping the demand.

Other voices

Fortunately, Benn's is not the only voice heard in the yards. There is discontent among sections of the workers and some of the young militants are dissatisfied with the response of the shop stewards.

As the struggle over the implementation of the productivity deal grows, demands must be put forward for rank and file control over the unions, with all negotiations conducted by elected stewards.

These must be linked to political demands for the nationalisation of the shipyards under workers' control so that the next time Benn comes it will be because he has been summoned by the workers to be told he's redundant.

Published by the International Socialists, 67a High Road, N17. Printed by Socialist Review Publishing Co. (TU) Ltd, Paxton Works, Paxton Rd, N17. Registered with the GPO.

CHALLINOR'S CHOICE

But whose hand on the steering wheel?

PONDER OVER these figures: the Ford strike cost the company £34m in lost production and the men £3½m in wages.

In other words, the workers—the producers of all the wealth—are only paid £3½m while, by their labours, they create £34m of cars.

What a phenomenal rate of exploitation!

High cost

of green cheese

MOON-MANIA—or perhaps it should be called 'astro-enteritis'—has so far cost the United States \$25,000m. Assuming Russia's expenditure has been of the same magnitude, then this reach for the stars has taken the equivalent of four per cent of the total world output of goods and services for a year.

As two-thirds of mankind suffer from poverty, the rulers of Washington and Moscow indulge in expensive fireworks displays.

Encapsulated within the nose-cone of their space programmes are all the contradictions of capitalism. It has been said that socialism is the language of priorities; neither the White House nor the Kremlin know how to talk it.

Instead they squander scarce human material and intellectual resources. When Thorstein Veblen wrote about conspicuous consumption, the desire of the rich to flaunt their wealth before the less fortunate, he had no example of ostentatious waste so vivid as this.

Military minds—all of whom, far more than Morgan, are suitable cases for treatment—visualise the day when they will have rockets with atomic warheads orbiting the earth, able to descend at the touch of a button. It will be like having a nuclear sword of Damocles continually whirring above our heads.

Added to its military and economic roles, its contribution to the arms race and the permanent war economy, the space programme also has its imperialist aspects.

Remember Cecil Rhodes, the great British coloniser. When, because other European powers were grabbing large tracts of Africa for themselves, he saw fewer and fewer parts of the continent where he could plant the Union Jack, Rhodes looked up at the night-sky and said, 'I would annex the planets if I could.'

Now Cecil Rhodes' dream may become a reality. But with a subtle difference: the 19th century colonisers made lush profits from exploiting natural resources and cheap labour; no such attractive prizes await the first space pioneers.

All they are likely to gain is lifeless and worthless moon-dust—an appropriate symbol for the age of imperialism.

A deathly hush

OF COURSE, all socialists deplore the Russian government's occupation of Czechoslovakia. The death of Jan Palach and the others who have subsequently incinerated themselves are a symptom of the desperate hopelessness, the intense feeling of frustration created by the Kremlin's imperialist policy.

But the British press, while giving big coverage to Palach and the other Czechs, has failed to report other cases of self-immolation. Who, for example, knows about Mrs Alice Herz, aged 82, who set fire to herself as a protest against US aggression in Vietnam and died in Detroit Receiving Hospital?

Other Americans have behaved in the same way, including a father who set himself alight in the presence of his small son at the front of a United States Recruiting Centre.

Yet, these cases go unreported in the British press. To give information about them might arouse further opposition to American policy on Vietnam.

Ray Challinor