

# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

The amazing conversion of Smiling Jim

### EDITORIAL

HARD ON THE HEELS of Wilson's and Wedgwood Benn's attacks on the trade unions, gallops gallant Jim Callaghan to the rescue.

Whatever else his vote against the White Paper in Place of Strife signifies, it has nothing to do with any genuine support he will give the labour movement.

He was elected to the National Executive of the Labour Party in October 1967 by the bloc vote of the trade unions (including the AEU), defeating Michael Foot for that high honour. Now, in danger of being ousted from the NEC, he seems concerned once again to build up some electoral support among the trade union officials.

The manoeuvre is part of a power struggle within the Labour Party. It is irrelevant to any working-class opposition to the capitalist policies of the government.

This was shown last week when after the pseudo-vote against the White Paper, Callaghan appeared at a by-election meeting in Walthamstow. The theme of his speech was that all the economic ills of Britain can be laid at the door of the trade unions, dating from the dock strike of September 1967 onwards, and the subsequent devaluation of the pound in November that year.

The poor Labour government, betrayed by the working class! It is quite beyond the Labour leaders to see just

## Management plot to crack down on AEF stewards

# 'START STRIKE TO SMASH MILITANTS' FIRM URGED

Socialist Worker Reporter

THE MANAGEMENT of a top Merseyside factory have been urged to deliberately cause a strike in their works.

The aim: to smash militant engineering stewards, force a work-study scheme on the shop floor and ruthlessly sack nearly 200 key workers.

The factory is the Nether-ton section of the English Electric Company, now part of the giant GEC-AEI monopoly.

AEF shop stewards at Nether-ton have disclosed a secret memorandum drawn up by a firm of management consultants to steer through work-study and heavy redundancies.

The stewards say that 1800 men have been laid off in the last two years and the amount of work carried out in the factory declines week by week. Now management plan to sack a further 170 workers in the next four months - most of them AEF members.

### Shipped out

The stewards refute the management claim that low orders are responsible for the run-down. They say 100 machines have been shipped out of the factory and believe that GEC intends to close the works when the unions have been broken.

The memo drawn up by PA Management Consultants suggests that a substantial pay increase should be offered to members of the Boilermakers' Union in return for acceptance of work study.

'The negotiations with the Boilermakers should be ahead of those with the AEF and should be progressed at local or national level if need be,' the memo says.

'In our view there is no chance that the AEF will come to an agreement concerning work study.'

### Cause stoppages

The memo then suggests the following course of action: 1. Make a similar offer to the AEF as made to the Boilermakers in the knowledge that it will fail.

2. Freeze the AEF rates of pay - 'a vital step in stopping wage drift and introducing work-study'.

'This will probably cause stoppages,' the memo goes on. 'We see your current order books as giving you a unique opportunity to break the AEF control over wages and productivity. It seems that you could withstand considerable stoppages without a real loss of contribution to overheads.'

The memo goes on to suggest that GEC should run-down the factory in order to 'reduce the AEF labour force to the minimum possible limit.' If necessary, it adds, the factory should be closed completely and re-opened with carefully chosen, non-militant labour.

The AEF stewards are planning to counter this campaign. They are unlikely to succeed within their own plant and should call on stewards throughout the GEC combine to support them in any action they take



GLC tenants marching to Shoreditch court on Tuesday to support Mr Hyman Jackson

## Politicians gang up against Pakistan masses

By NIGEL HARRIS

THE SPEED of events in Pakistan has transformed the balance of forces. Originally, a middle class revolt in West Pakistan united with a popular movement for greater provincial independence in East Pakistan.

Both movements were, in the midst of the battle, overtaken by a much more dramatic popular revolt.

In the West, the industrial belt ground to a halt. Much of the civil service went on strike, and even the police threatened to do so.

In the East, the industrial workers were even more solid in their action against the regime. In the countryside the peasants began settling a thousand scores with local officialdom, with the array of predatory sharks that feed off the poorest villagers.

### Violent hostility

In response, Ayub Khan - already clearly deprived of army backing - conceded all the main demands of the united opposition, including finally his own immediate resignation. The more he conceded, the more violent popular hostility became - and the more terrified the opposition leaders became at

the Pandora's Box they had opened.

The counter attack began from the pulpit (the mullahs however have no love for the present secular regime), with denunciations of socialism and the demand that the mouths calling for socialism be silenced.

But to the Islamic Right, seems to have come the original rebels, the West's middle class. Instead of championing the popular revolt, it is the middle class opposition leaders who have pleaded with the masses to be peaceful and docile, not to dismiss Ayub completely (the Coalition Democratic Action Committee wanted to retain Ayub as President in any new regime, with powers to dissolve the Assembly).

It was the opposition leaders who actually accused the government of fostering popular violence for its own purposes.

Thus, the intervention of the army is a relief to everyone except the mass of peasants and workers. Bhutto, erstwhile tribune of the people, described the introduction of martial law, 'on the whole, it's a good thing'.

Without a passive population to back page

## Tenants invade court

Socialist Worker Reporter

ONE HUNDRED London tenants marched on Shoreditch court on Tuesday in solidarity with Mr Hyman Jackson, a Greater London Council tenant accused of withholding his rent.

The tenants packed the court and held up their banners. They refused to go when the usher ordered the court to be cleared. The police were called but tenants declaring they were witnesses to Mr Jackson's good character, were finally allowed to stay.

Mr Jackson agreed to pay the back rent of £99 17s which he owes the GLC. His case was adjourned until April 29.

He is now in the same position as many thousands of other GLC tenants - paying the old rent without the increase imposed last autumn.

The GLC are suing for possession of his house. If Mr Jackson is evicted some tenants said this week they would press for a total rent strike in London.

### IS conference

TWO HUNDRED delegates plus several hundred visitors will attend the spring conference of the International Socialists in London this weekend. The main discussion will be on perspectives for the revolutionary movement,

## ULSTER TORIES CALL UP B-SPECIALS

From SEAN REFD

AS FORECAST in Socialist Worker last week, Ulster Unionists have put uniforms on Paisleyites and called up the hated B-specials.

Using as an excuse last Sunday's explosion at Castle-reagh's electricity station - believed to be the work of provocateurs - the government has authorised the mobilisation of over 1000 B-specials.

The marches and sit-downs of the last two weeks have made it clear that the Ulster Constabulary alone would be unable to enforce the proposed Public Order Bill.

Premier O'Neill had a clear choice: to grant civil rights or start to plan mass repression. He has opted for repression. By doing so he forces the civil rights movement to make a choice - accept repression or organise to resist.

### Paisleyites start Derry violence

VIOLENCE FLARED briefly in Derry last Sunday at the end of the latest march in the city of protest.

It happened when Paisleyites waved Union Jacks in the faces of the 7000 strong civil rights marchers. About 200 civil rights supporters broke past stewards and set about the loyalists in the Diamond, the city's main square.

The Paisleyites, with the conditioned arrogance of 50 years' rule behind them, used the British war memorial as their strong point as they set about the civil rights supporters with flagpoles and clubs, but they were swept back by waves of marchers.

After the short 12-minute battle, the marchers entered Guildhall Square to hear speeches from John Hume, Ivan Cooper, Eamonn McCann, Michael Farrell, Bernadette Devlin and others.

The march was called by the moderate Derry Civil Rights Committee in an attempt to regain the initiative from the Derry Labour Party, which last week held a mass sit-down. The numbers on both demonstrations were roughly similar.



CALLAGHAN: No friend of Unions

who is betraying whom.

The topsy-turvy struggle in the Labour Party shows the crisis of social democracy.

What we as revolutionary socialists are concerned about is real working-class activity and politics, not this phoney poncing around which Labour leaders indulge in when they try to avoid the full implications of their capitalist policies.

In this light the significant landmarks for us this year include the February 27 token stoppage and the struggle at Ford.

### Fight back

The Ford fight in particular has shown the strength of the rank and file when they choose to fight back. It has underlined the necessity for grass roots organisation and has re-emphasised the meaning of the struggle for socialism - for working-class self-activity against capitalist and bureaucratic manipulation.

It is in this light that the call for a general downing of tools on May 1st gains its significance. It is an affirmation of the right of workers to control their own lives, a symbol of the growing resolve of tens and hundreds of trade unionists to fight back against the steady erosion of trade-union rights which the White Paper has proposed.

It is the militants' answer not only to the attacks of Harold Wilson and Wedgwood Benn, but also to friendly Jim Callaghan.

The hundred thousand workers and more who came out on February 27, especially on Merseyside and the Clyde, have started the ball rolling.

May 1st must build on this. We call on all our supporters to come out on May Day and to work to increase the support for a day of socialists against the Labour government.

## SW fund: keep cash rolling in

By JIM NICHOL

THE SOCIALIST WORKER Fighting Fund stands at £48410s. The response to our appeal for £4000 by the end of August has been encouraging.

But we dare not let up on our efforts to keep the cash rolling in every week. We are not hoarding the money to dole

out to shareholders - we are spending it to meet our heavy commitments.

Our plans include a new joint HQ for the International Socialists, Socialist Worker and our printshop. We have already bought a new printing press which will produce a flow of leaflets and posters and eventually print the extra pages when Socialist Worker

becomes a six-pager.

But for the six-pager to become possible, we must buy another typesetting machine plus equipment for cutting and folding the paper.

We hope to move into the new building in a few weeks, but to do so, we must raise the first £1000 of the target by the end of April - that means another £500 from you,

our readers.

Please don't let us down. Rush donations to me at Paxton Works, Paxton Road, London N17.

Our thanks to the following supporters who have donated in the last week:-

P.F. £15; J.H. £5; M.I. £5; D.F.O. £5; K.E.S. £5; L.H. £5; W.J.C. £5; P.H.S. £210s; C.W. £10; J.W. £10; J.M. £10; D.E. £5.

Industrial Workers Federation 34 Camberland Rd E17

# May Day - give your gov'nor that choking feeling

by PETE GOLD

Society of Graphical and Allied Trades.

IN 1889 the Second (socialist) International decided to start a campaign for the eight-hour day and they called on workers in all countries to stop work on May 1st.

Not only did the International call the strike as the first step in the campaign for the eight-hour day, they intended it to be a day of working class solidarity, a day for the working class of the world to demonstrate its might.

## STOPPED WORK

The first May Day demonstrations took place in 1890. In Germany hundreds of thousands of workers stopped work and took to the streets and in Italy there were mass strikes and demonstrations.

By 1891 all the European countries had adopted May Day as workers day with the exception of Britain. As far away as Argentina and Bolivia and of course the USA, workers were striking and demonstrating on May Day.

At the present time most countries make May Day a public holiday. In America Labour Day is the first Monday in September.

On that basis, Britain ranks with fascist South Africa as one of the few countries in the world not to make May Day a holiday.

But what of today, 79 years after the first May Day demonstrations?

The Russians use May Day as an excuse to show off their latest weapons in mass murder. The Social Democrats use it as the day on which to report how many votes they got last year and tell us how they are going to lead the working people out of their misery in 200 years time.

And yet the call of the Second International remains as clear and relevant as ever. All over the world, working people are struggling, fighting and dying trying to form a society that is not based on a lunatic search for profit.

In Vietnam, in Africa, in America, these people are in the same struggle. We must demonstrate our solidarity with them.

In Britain, working people are being attacked on all sides and are being made to pay for the faults and difficulties of this lunatic system of production for profit. But

they are fighting back.

What the governors would like is a working class which though well paid, will become another part of the machines. At the moment we are wage slaves, but we are not complete slaves, as the bosses would like.

That is why Barbara Castle's legislation on trade unions is being put through parliament. Make no mistake, this is not an attack on the trade union leaders but on the ordinary Herbert on the shop floor who fights for better wages and conditions.

Lined up against the working people are the governors, the government and most of the trade unions. That's a pretty powerful alliance and that's what we're up against.

Against this background, the London May Day Committee was formed with the aim of re-establishing May Day as a day of protest and defiance. In 1967, 200 workers took part. In 1968, 2000 people marched through London.

This year we hope for an even bigger turnout, but it will be a demonstration with a difference. We are not marching through London to shout at the so-called citadels of power. Unfortunately there are no Joshuas in the working class movement and the walls of the stock exchange will not fall down as we shout slogans

## HAVE FUN

We are marching from Tower Hill through the East End to Victoria Park where we will enjoy ourselves. There will be jazzbands, pop groups and dancing.

As one building worker said at the first meeting, 'My governor is going to be choked when I take the day off. He's going to be double choked if I enjoy myself.'

There is nothing more that the pompous, pious people in power hate more than contempt. If we go to parliament we attach some importance to these people. It's like lobbying your boss. All they can do is say they will abstain or vote against or jump out of the window. In the words of a wise man appealing to beggars.

We call on all London workers to stop work on May Day (Thursday May 1st) and try and get their workmates to do the same.

Let us make this May Day a day to remember. Let it be a day of resistance, a workers' day.

# How Barbara forgot the 'starving masses' and learned to love the bosses

a political profile by PAUL FOOT

IT WOULD TAKE a long and fruitless search to discover a Labour Party member more uncompromisingly reactionary than Joe Gormley, of the Yorkshire Mineworkers Union.

Yet it was Gormley who, at the Labour Party National Executive on March 26, moved a resolution condemning the government's White Paper In Place of Strife.

As soon as Gormley had spoken, an amendment to the motion, approving her own white paper was moved by Mrs Barbara Castle, Minister of Employment and Productivity.

Mrs Castle spoke modestly for more than half an hour of her painstaking work and wonderful achievements. The amendment was then defeated, with only five votes (all from Ministers) in its favour.

The long courtship between the Labour Party's 'Left wing' and Mrs Castle was at an end.

Nothing serves a Labour career politician better than the 'firebrand image', and no one has developed it more meticulously than Barbara Castle.

In her days in the Socialist League before the war, the Metropolitan Water Board

during the war and the Bevanite group of Labour MPs after the war (she has been in parliament for Blackburn since 1945) she developed a militant 'conference' rhetoric which proved irresistible to the rank and file.

## DEVELOPED RADICAL IMAGE

From the outset, Mrs Castle protected her career as scrupulously as she developed her radical image. She it was who introduced Harold Wilson to the Bevanites, after working after the war as his Parliamentary Private Secretary.

Of Wilson's work at the Board of Trade to revitalise British capitalism after the war, she told a Huyton audience in 1950:

'He was a man who was a hero to his PPS'

In the mid-fifties, the Bevanite group began to split

the firebrands who believed in outright opposition to the party leadership and the firebrands who argued that the best way to beat the leadership was to join it.

At the end of 1955, the Labour leader-elect, Hugh Gaitskell, told a newspaper that 'the only Bevanites I would have in a government would be Dick Crossman, Harold Wilson and Barbara Castle'.

Mrs Castle straddled both horses—Gaitskellite and Bevanite—by concentrating almost exclusively, from 1956 to 1964, on foreign affairs.

She it was who moved the 1957 resolution at the Labour Party Conference urging that at least one per cent of the national income should be spent on aid to the underdeveloped countries.

'This is,' she said, 'a very specific commitment and a very important one'.

She it was who raised a lot of fuss about the savagery of British troops in Cyprus and who became first chairman of the anti-apartheid movement and promised that

a Labour government would cancel the South African order for Buccaneer aircraft.

Thus she remained a militant without ever fully supporting the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament or even the campaign for more nationalisation.

## AVOIDED CRUCIAL ISSUES

Militant expressions of solidarity with the independence movements in Africa and elsewhere enabled Mrs Castle to avoid more crucial questions at home, chief among which was the problem of the incomes policy.

Before 1964, there is very little on Mrs Castle's record about economic and incomes problems, and she fell neatly into line with the confusing jibberish about a 'planned growth of incomes'.

Mrs Castle's radicalism was confined almost entirely

to her use of obsession with of everyone living in Britain.

In 1964 she had no chance to put she had been effect. As Minister of Overseas Development she had no say in her the starving millions demonstrated, expert in public

She even expressed public anger in 1965, Immi Paper and, to resign if sell-out to Ian

But the reformist soon put an childish proposal Wilson re-shuffled early last year around for a Minister to incomes policy.

Barbara was choice. Her not stretch problems at 'the case' for increases with Workers and

## Revolutionary politics

### LETTERS

IAN MOONEY (29 March 69) suggests that the main emphasis on our work in industry should be on the question of consciousness. He goes on to claim that the (undefined) rightward trend in IS places its main emphasis on 'leadership'.

This in my view is typical of the false arguments that bedevil the Left. How can anyone with any knowledge of industry separate these two closely-linked aspects?

Mooney implies that the true situation is that there exists within the working class a mass consciousness which it has developed through its own struggles. This in turn is blocked from expression and development into a 'socialist' consciousness, by the confines of the traditional trade union structures which are completely absorbed into capitalist society and accordingly are beyond capture.

In other words, the rank and file movements he dotes on, represent a political development within the class which socialists should concentrate on in preference to the trade unions.

Alas for someone claiming to be facing realities, he is sadly mistaken. In a situation such as exists today, the class is badly fragmented and confused, both in terms of consciousness and its forms of organisation.

It is all too easy to concentrate one's interests on the more militant sectors of

the class as a whole. Large numbers of workers are totally unorganised or in a weak position to do battle with the employers (agricultural workers for instance).

The workers' Cde Mooney says 'will always struggle against the boss class, workers' organisations through bureaucracy have, are, and will always tend to become instruments of oppression by capitalists'. Now this is a revealing remark and of utmost importance to socialists — it suggests, does it not, that all workers' organisations are incapable of developing other than a reformist trade union consciousness?

### No difference

Taken at its face value it must be self-evident that this includes the rank and file movements. On this Cde Mooney and I are in complete agreement, for without a 'socialist consciousness' this trend will continue.

To me there's no real difference between either form of organisation for they are really one and the same. The rank and file movements are all too often judged on their patterns of activity rather than their objectives. Thus their real nature is blurred or glossed over. Two main types of rank and file movements usually exist:

1 Front organisations which begin as a genuine expression and are taken over by the Communist Party.

These are organised in order to deal with a specific struggle and rarely cut across union lines.

2 Combine committees within a major industry (such as motors) which seek to link up with workers in the industry. They see similar problems facing them and combine to strengthen their existing committees.

The one thing that they share in common is their temporary nature, itself the direct result of a lack of political content — thus the oft praised spontaneity is of the short lived variety. Without a political bias they become leaves in the wind.

The day to day struggles do not by themselves produce a 'socialist consciousness' therefore rank and file movements are not revolutionary. They are nevertheless important as a class development.

Like the squatters, they represent in essence a conscious attempt to achieve reformist objectives via direct action. In this sense they differ little from their colleagues in the trades unions who despite the hampering of the officials regularly produce a crop of unofficial strikes.

During the struggle the question of workers' control enters the field. Left to themselves little or nothing will emerge from the masses.

Smears about alter the facts of the reformist replaced by socialist one for socialists this to be achieved

### Coherent

It is in the real leadership must ability to political will generalise the industry workers are with the employment

We must the reformist class as well union leaders in the realm of fought for in a level of consciousness can only develop uncompromising revolutionary building of a primary task To deny the reformist theory working class weapons need capitalism. revolutionary the fight for will spearhead reformism as poison of racism

# Socialist Worker

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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-

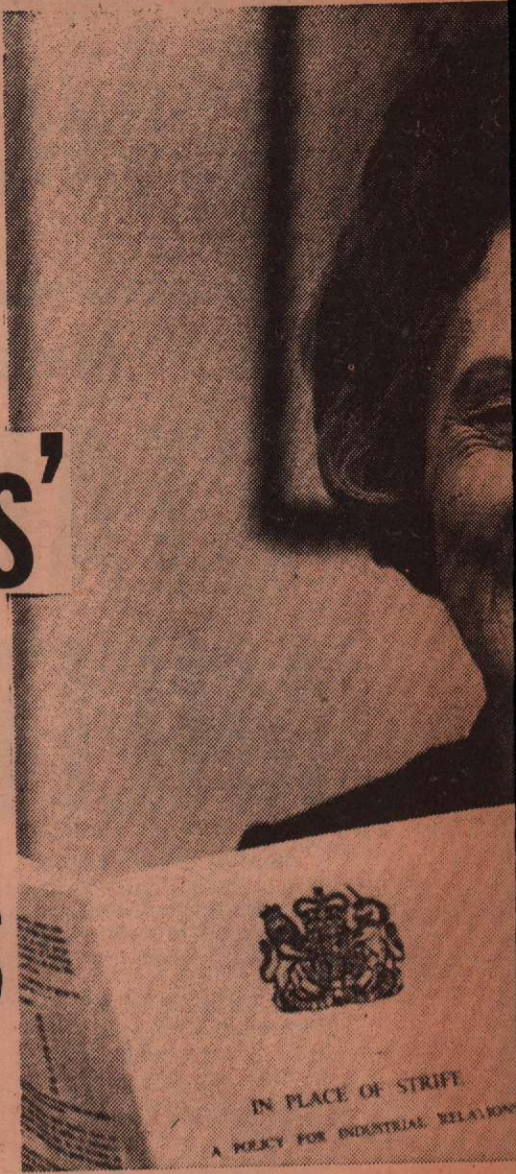
# WHERE WE STAND

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-

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.





## Down the slippery slope

Our slogan is: 'You cannot trust the Tories'. You cannot trust them because they don't understand the economics of expansion, the theory that you will only increase wealth by spreading it. When the general election comes we shall make it a national remembrance day for the Rent Act and for what the government has done to our coal and cotton industries.' September 1959

Following Tory victory at the polls: 'The working class movement has been divided and weakened. The call must be for political and not merely industrial militancy on the part of trade unions. We have affirmed our belief that it is impossible for us to achieve the moral and social aims for which we stand - a just society, the dignity of the individual, full democracy, the end of the exploitation of man by man throughout the world - unless we transform the economic base of our society and make it one in which common ownership is predominant. Only in this way can we subordinate the growing power of private economic giants in the common interest.' March 1959.

On equal pay for women: 'Women have waited long enough for this elementary piece of justice. The only answer now is legislation and I'm delighted that a Labour government is pledged to introduce this.' May 1968.

'I am not going to preside over a prices and incomes policy under which we tell our people that they have just got to grin and bear things for the next two years. They are a spirited lot and they won't do it anyway. Harold Wilson has put me in this job to find ways by which we can all help ourselves to an improvement in the quality of our lives within the context of the essential economic policy.' April 1968

'Any individual increases in top salaries are as much subject to the influence of the prices and incomes policy as any wage in this land... I will never ask wage earners in this country to hold back and make sacrifices if people with top salaries are not going to show any sense.' July 1968.

'I am profoundly convinced that the operation of the prices and incomes policy enables us to concentrate on the continuation of the reforms which benefit the workers, the industry and the nation.' December 1968

## ANTI-WORKER LEGISLATION

The Tory clichés of a century - 'lost production', 'pointless strikes', 'the world not owing us a living' - have been used to push through the most anti-worker legislation since the Combination Acts.

This is not just a personal sell-out. It is the natural development from the phoney and sentimental radicalism which hypnotised the labour movement in the 1950s.

words and her she believed, could easily be on the problems won round to 'common sense' except those with a dash of public relations. The cup of tea with the Ford women strikers was a suitable start to a dismal year in which all Mrs Castle's vitriol, once directed against South African racials, has been turned against the people who voted her and her colleagues into power.

she was given a some of what on saying into nister for Over- ment, she impr- etoric about the ions and as Transport she that she is an c-relations. pressed a little at the August, gration White nce, threatened there was any Smith. quality of office end to these otests. When led his cabinet ear he sought ryal, successful operate the s the obvious radicalism did to workers' ome. She saw matching wage productivity. trade unionists

## No

THIS ARTICLE is a contribution to the debate - that should be collective and continuous - about our industrial line.

Tactics and strategy in a marxist organisation should not simply be received uncritically from leading comrades and treated as Holy Writ.

Originally, Socialist Worker took a line of outright opposition to productivity deals. For example, issue no 97 (23 Nov 68) ran an editorial headed 'Engineers: say no to prod deals' and went on to argue for a straight increase, without strings.

Since then, wiser counsels have come to prevail. Many experienced comrades have been arguing that outright opposition would 'cut us off from the class' and that the stewards who turn down a 30s increase because of the attached speed-up would be dismissed or rejected by the workers.

## Tactically wrong

These ideas were uppermost at the recent IS industrial conference and are liable to be adopted at the Easter conference this week-end.

So far, the best statement of the position I am criticising is Chris Davison's article in issue no 110 (22 Feb 69). In the midst of an excellent and sensitive analysis, comrade Davison says it is tactically and politically wrong to 'maintain a complete and absolute opposition to productivity and all its works.'

Tactically, because the costs of productivity increases are not felt by the majority of workers until later.

Politically, because workers are naturally attracted to the bosses' propaganda about 'efficiency', 'modernisation', 'science' and 'planning' - to which we (correctly) must counterpose socialist productivity, for need and not for profit.

## Bosses' victory

Thus, the outright 'no' isolates the militant and gives the bosses a propaganda victory.

What we need is a list of demands that will give the stewards the initiative and the workers the offensive. The article lists nine suggestions, including no redundancy stewards at all negotiations, rank and file veto, etc.

'None of this alters one bit our basic attitude to productivity', Chris Davison concludes.

Now, there need be no split here if the steward has in fact lost the principle. But the changing emphasis of

## se in battle on the shop floor

# Prod deals: will total opposition cut socialists off from militant workers?

by NIGEL COWARD



List of demands should be put forward only if workers vote to accept a prod deal.

Socialist Worker casts doubt on the last sentence of comrade Davison's article.

It is true to say that we need a list of practical and relevant demands such as those above (and thank heaven we're formulating them). But we do not only need those demands.

They should be regarded as a second-ditch line of defence, to which we are forced when the militancy, consciousness and solidarity of the workers is insufficient to carry the first Socialist Worker line.

However, IS should argue, and be seen to argue, that prod deals aim at speed-up, redundancy, mobility - measures tailored to increasing the profitability of capital and to control of the bosses.

This must be done by the militant in public and if his warnings of the long-term

costs are not heeded then no one is saying that he should opt out and wait until he can say 'told you so!'

On losing a shop floor vote on the principle, then the above demands fit into their place.

## Argued out

But the issue should be posed, argued out and submitted to a collective vote.

Otherwise, besides the possibility of compromise, when our private beliefs are not fought for publicly, there are two deficiencies of making a virtue of the practical and possible:

1. We will be saying something very like the Communist Party line of 'we're suspicious of prod deals and we'll scrutinise each one carefully'. We do not say this, do we?

2. As revolutionaries, we have a concrete leadership role of not simply reflecting consciousness but of questioning fundamental assumptions in capitalism.

This certainly applies to those comrades who adhere to the crude 1902 position of Lenin. Let them act in relation to their assertion that the class can only achieve 'economistic' (i.e. trade union) consciousness by itself!

For the rest of us, it is surely necessary that, in treating consciousness as a real point of departure, we lose no opportunity of making our position clear.

Outright opposition by itself will not do, but that does not mean we do not voice our political reasoning - even if we lose.

Nigel Coward is a member of the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions.

## Join the International Socialists

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- BECKENHAM Meryn 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 David Rose, 25 Sydenham Rd Bristol 6
- BOLTON F Canavan 11 Sutton Rd Sutton Estate Deane Bolton
- CAMBRIDGE Peter Smith 65 Glisson Road
- CAMDEN Chris Barker 36 Gilden Road NW5
- CARDIFF Derek Shields 6 Ruthin Gdns Cathays
- CHERTSEY Chris Wickenden Langlead Pirbright Woking Sy Brookwood 3003
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- 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 Ian Birchall 109 Croyland Rd N9
- FULHAM Jackie Taylor 41 Perham Road W14
- FOLKESTONE Dave Cowell c/o 18 Station Road
- GLASGOW Ian Mooney 4 Dalcross Passage W1
- GRAYS & TILBURY Alf Waters c/o 1 Rus sell Rd Tilbury Essex
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- ISLINGTON/ANGEL D Phillips 2 Chapel Mkt Grant St N1 01 BRU 1026
- KILBURN Valerie Lloyd 37 King Henry's Rd 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 Rd 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
- MERTON Fred Milson 119 Wolsey Crescent Morden
- NEWCASTLE Tony Corcoran 26 Lesbury Road
- NORTHAMPTON Alan Druker 21 Ardington Road
- NORWICH Gerald Crompton 220 College Road NOR54F
- OXFORD Dave Peers 21 First Tum
- 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 Derby
- 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 Troits Hill
- STOCKPORT Geoff Hodgson 73a Forest Range M/C 19
- STOKE NEWINGTON Mike McGraw 28 Manor Road N16
- SWANSEA Dick Jones 19 Woodlands Tce
- TEESSIDE: Barry Slater Flat 3 73 Redcar Rd Giusborough
- Yorks: John Foster 10 Pallister Ave Brambles Farm Middlesbro
- TOTTENHAM Laurie Flynn 374 High Road N17
- WATFORD Paul Russell 61 Carpenders Avenue Carpenders Park
- WIGAN Ray Challinor 34 Whiteside Ave Hindley
- WOLVERHAMPTON Dave Spilsbury 274 Penn Road
- YORK Bob Looker 22 Hobgate
- VICTORIA Tony Dunne 14 Carlisle Mansions Carlisle Place SW1

## and the union struggle

Who but the conscious elements gathered together in the revolutionary organisation will educate the class in its own class history and explain its historical task - the overthrow of capitalism?

The necessity to have an industrial strategy based on all embracing political and economic perspective is paramount, for we aspire to envelop society as a whole in socialism. We therefore do not seek to pander to the existing levels of consciousness and merely serve the class in the manner of the syndicalists.

Neither should we mistake militancy unrelated to socialist objectives for the genuine article. - TOM HILLIER (AEF) London NW.

It is essential that some lessons are learnt from Ford. Scanlon, if he is a genuine militant socialist leader, should have stated publicly from the outset that penalty clauses were non-negotiable.

This would have been a rallying call for the already militant rank and file. Instead he kept quiet, preferring confidential negotiations which inevitably excluded the mass of strikers and reduced rank and file influence to almost nothing.

Had he made such a statement it would also have put pressure on the AEF right-wing. Any reversal of policy by the right-dominated National Executive would

then have exposed that body to the mass of the membership.

Instead 'quietism' and traditional methods gagged the militants.

I am not sure which is the most worrying - Scanlon's failure to give the lead, or Socialist Worker's dilutionism. J. C. URE, Leeds IS.

**NEXT WEEK**  
**Easter:**  
**the Irish revolution of 1916**  
**a special article**

**ROUND HOUSE, CHALK FARM RD., NW1**  
April 13th, 9.00 am to 1.00 am

**POVERTY IS VIOLENCE: EXPLOITATION OF THE THIRD WORLD**

Bobby Seale, Chairman Black Panthers, USA

Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife, Brazil

Cuban emissary, Havana

Oginga Oginga, Kenya

**FILMS, WORKSHOPS, POETRY READINGS, CAST, AGIT/PROP:**

P.P. Arnold and Alexis Korner

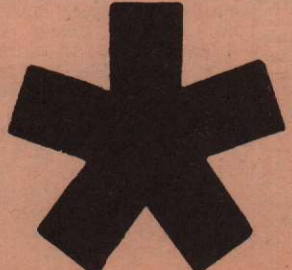
Discussion Groups: Tony Cliff, Roy Sawh, Robin Murray, Michael Kidron, Ruth First, Bill Luckin, Andre Shervington, Obi Eg Buna, et al.

FEE: 15/ or advance booking 10/. Send cheque to: The Haslemere Group, 515 Liverpool Rd, London N7.

## Ford: was it a sell-out?

I MUST PROTEST at the Ford headline in Socialist Worker (22 March 69). Your capacity for understatement is grotesque.

'Union leaders make dangerous concessions.' Surely such a statement must compare with the Communist Party's 'tragic error' of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. The issue at Ford was basically one of penalty clauses and the settlement has recognised them in principle. When, may I ask, does a concession become a sell-out?



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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

# Tories disrupt all-in schools

From CHRISTINE PROTZ

THE TORY-CONTROLLED Haringey education committee, whose vice-chairman is headmaster of Highgate public school, have pushed through a plan to gerrymander comprehensive schools. The scheme will involve the specific selection of immigrant children on the basis of academic ability.

The plan is to alter the comprehensive schools in the north London borough by a process of 'banding' in the primary schools, which is in effect streaming by assessment from the age of seven for selection at 11.

## Scanlon sets the pace at Sheffield

From JOHN STRAUTHER

THE WORKERS' CONTROL conference, which met in Sheffield last weekend, was the most important of these annual events to have so far taken place.

They included leading militant shop stewards such as Sid Haraway of Dagenham and Paddy Toombe, the recently sacked ICI convenor, as well as trade union officials like John Cousins of the TGWU, a number of Labour MPs and, for the first time, many Communist Party members, led by industrial organiser Bert Ramelns.

Politically, it must be said that the conference was carefully managed by the organisers to contain it within strictly reformist limits.

The keynote was set by Hugh Scanlon, the AEF president, who delivered a speech affirming the principles of workers' industrial and political control which might have sounded more credible had it not contrasted with his recent role in ending the Ford dispute.

## Support for strike

The main conference resolution called for the establishment of a 'workers consultancy' service to advise on productivity deals.

A second resolution supported the May 1st strike and called for local action committees to organise it, and an uncompromising total rejection of In Place of Strife.

The implementation of the second resolution was not discussed and when the content of the first was severely criticised from the floor, it was defended by organiser Ken Coates with the watchword 'moderate in form, revolutionary in content'.

The main lesson which emerged from the conference, and which the organisers should know from the history of previous workers' control movements (such as the shop stewards in the First World War) is that unless it is linked with a revolutionary political programme and organisation, workers' control can become no more than a reformist slogan meaning all things to all men.

## Giant firms cash in

WHILE WORKERS suffer wage freeze, rising prices and rocketing rents, the bosses suffer no such restraint. Profits continue to soar.

Figures for March announced this week show that the profits for all industries rose by 29.7 per cent, compared with increases of 14.6 per cent in January and 17.2 per cent in February.

The profits rise for the first quarter of 1969 is 24.8 per cent compared with 22 per cent for the last quarter of 1968.

Top firms for March in the 'screw the workers league' were Shell Transport (up 34.2 per cent) and ICI (34.9 per cent). ICI's pay offer to its workers - linked to increased productivity, of course - was turned down by the Prices and Incomes Board last week.

Profits have risen steadily for the last 18 months since devaluation. Dividends in March also showed a rise of 6 per cent compared with 3.9 per cent in January and 3.1 per cent in February.



## Chemical workers stage lightning strikes over pay

From TREV CAVE

BILLINGHAM:- A wave of militancy has spread through one of Teesside's largest chemical plants in the last week, with members of the Transport Workers' Union staging the first of a series of 32-hour strikes.

The men are in dispute with the bosses over a proposed work-measured incentive scheme. The plant is British Titan Products, which produces pigment.

The dispute involves 450 TGWU members. Support has been 100 per cent strong, even though this is only the second strike since the plant opened before the last war.

In March 1968 management and officials of the unions signed the 'York agreement' to accept in principle the introduction of work-study. By March this year only two schemes had been presented and both were unacceptable to the workers as they contain no incentive bonus.

The workers have lost £1 a week for the last 12 months while they have waited for the new scheme.

## No enthusiasm

The management think their new schemes are excellent. One offered to the packers means they will have to do 50 per cent more work to earn an extra 10s a week. The second scheme only demands a mere 25 per cent more work for the coveted 10s.

The BTP workers did not share the bosses' enthusiasm for the schemes. The TGWU

withdrew from the national agreement and demanded that shop stewards should be fully consulted by the management in the drawing up of any scheme or payment for loss of earnings in the last year.

The bosses would not give an inch on these demands. The workers held a mass meeting and decided unanimously to strike.

There will be weekly lightning strikes as well as a work-to-rule, a ban on overtime and a policy of non-cooperation with the management.

## Volunteer force

The first stoppage was a complete success. Craftsmen have refused to work without their mates during strike periods.

The bosses recruited a 'volunteer' force from the staff to man the plants but the operation was a farce. Work-study men were put on a job they had previously assessed for the scheme in dispute and only managed a small proportion of the quota they had set.

BTP workers want no repetition of what happened recently at Wilton ICI, where a senior shop steward was sacked to pave the way for the latest manpower and productivity scheme.

The bosses have called in national officers of the TGWU. Titan workers must demand full consultation and participation in all negotiations and no sell-out to the management.

## Ford men leave 'no strike' union

From ROSS HILL

LIVERPOOL:- The effect of the Halewood strike at Ford is still being felt on Merseyside. After such a magnificent effort by the Halewood stewards and their members, 'workers are straining their eyes trying to find the scabs', a TGWU steward told me.

But although the shop floor scabs are almost invisible, the scabs on certain union executives are plain to see. It is understood that Lord Cooper of the General and Municipal Workers Union was willing to pay hardship pay to his members at Halewood if they tried to break the picket line.

Rather than do that, the men have decided to break Lord Cooper instead. The two GMWU branches have been dissolved by their 2000 members, who are hoping to transfer to the TGWU.

It is likely that the GMWU top brass will try to invoke the notorious 'Bridlington Agreement' to prevent them joining the union of their choice. A campaign must be launched to smash the agreement.

Last Thursday the Liverpool District Committee of the Plumbing Trades Union, now merged with the Cannon/Mark Young ETU outfit, called for the expulsion of Mark Young for his role in the Ford strike.

## Halewood stewards

Recent articles in Socialist Worker suggested there had been some lack of contact between shop stewards and the rank and file during the Ford strike. It should have been made clear that this criticism in no way applied to the Halewood plant where the stewards were in constant communication with the men. We are sorry for any misunderstandings the articles may have caused.

## Building lock-out may go to CIR

WILL THE Ivy Bridge lock-out at Isleworth, Middlesex, be the first case to be referred to the new Commission for Industrial Relations?

There is growing suspicion that the CIR, headed by £12,500 a year George Woodcock, is anxious to get its new-found claws into the dispute.

It is now 26 weeks since the gates at the site closed on 500 workers.

Turriffs has made its conditions for re-opening the site abundantly clear - a return to lower bonus rates and no reinstatement for the pickets. While the workers are willing to get on with the job and leave the question of bonus rates for further negotiation, they are not willing to yield to management victimisation.

## Politicians gang up

from page one

ion, the opposition leaders also stand no chance of getting a foothold in power. The tiger may growl to get them into power but when it rises to its feet, both regime and critics flee together.

In response to the threat of popular power, there is an amazing realignment of all the old enemies - from the obscurantist religious Right (Jamaat-i-Islami), the provincialist Right (Mujib-ur-Rahman), the government (Muslim League) and army, the middle class liberals (Asghar Khan), to the supposedly Left (Bhutto), and the Moscow wing of the National Awami Party.

The only leader who seems to have escaped this shameless capitulation is Maulana Bashani of the Peking-wing of the National Awami Party, and he seems to have done so by remaining silent.

With the introduction of

martial law, the NAP has not issued any call for the struggle to be continued and, particularly, for West Pakistani strikers to foster mutiny in the army.

To do that is for the NAP to align itself unequivocally with a national class struggle, rather than flirting with East Pakistani separatism.

As it is, for the moment, the villages of the East have returned to quiet. Under cover of this military 'peace', the leeches will return to their victims, their savagery now inflamed with a lust for vengeance.

## Purge opposition

The factories have started again, and there seems virtually no political opposition to sustain the movement further.

Ayub's earlier attempts to stimulate a clash with India on the East Pakistan border have not so far succeeded and will not be attempted again until the troops

newly despatched to the East have purged the country of the 'unrespectable' opposition.

Workers will discover this week that the pay increases for which they have fought over the past month are not going to be paid. It will then become clear whether an authentic working-class opposition is prepared to resume the struggle.

It will have to be on a massive scale to prevent the barbarous provisions of the martial law regulations being used against isolated militants (as they are being used against 21 Karachi mill workers arrested last week for 'inciting strikes').

Only an independent workers' movement could have gone beyond the dithering of the opposition politicians. As in France, so in Pakistan.

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## CHALLINOR'S CHOICE

Down, boy, down...

WHY IS BRITAIN the most loyal and devoted ally of American capitalism? Behind political subservience lies economic dependence.

Recently Fred Catherwood, director of the National Economic Development Council, talked about US capital's penetration of the British economy: 'United States controlled companies account for 13 per cent of industry capital expenditure, with the highest proportion in cars, petroleum, computers and office machines. By contrast, US investment in other Western European countries accounts for only 4 to 5 per cent of capital investment in those countries.'

In a recent PEP pamphlet, Professor Dunning suggests that this process is likely to continue at an increasing tempo. He estimates that by 1981 a quarter of the British economy will be controlled by American capital.

Obviously, this type of thing must influence the Foreign Office response to de Gaulle's plea for Britain to adopt a more independent stance on world affairs.

With so much belonging to American capitalists around, it does not pay to do anything that might antagonise them. Better behave as Uncle Sam's obedient poodle.

## Which college did you escape from?

WHAT WITH BARS TO the windows at Hornsey College of Art and iron gates at LSE, it seems as if the penitentiary look is the contemporary style for places of higher learning. Doubtless Dartmoor will provide the architectural inspiration for university buildings of the future.

But it would be interesting to know if the authorities in their enthusiasm for bars - and not the kind in which I take an intense personal interest - had bothered to consult the fire prevention officers first.

For example, are the governors of Hornsey aware that 22 people recently perished in Glasgow because they were unable to make a quick exit through the windows?

## The dialectics of having your nookie

PETER SEDGWICK of IS has recently attacked the theories of Herbert Marcuse, the philosopher of student revolt. One of the most fascinating questions to arise is: Where is the best place to have sexual intercourse?

In his book One-Dimensional Man, Marcuse suggests that the environment of capitalism and its technology militate against sexual fulfilment. He compares the prospect of making love in a car or on a Manhattan street with doing it in a meadow or near a lovers' walk.

In the former, capitalist technology intrudes whereas with the latter, place and purpose harmonise.

But Peter argues that Marcuse has made a false comparison. Had Marcuse compared a damp, cold, bug-ridden meadow with the erotic environment usually provided by capitalist technology - namely, a bed - then 'nature's advantages might have been less apparent.'

From my own practical experiments on this interesting theoretical problem I am inclined to come down on the side of spring mattresses.

SEDGWICK'S critique of Marcuse on the whole range of current political and philosophical issues is, I think, correct.

It would be a pity, however, if Marcuse's mistakes on contemporary problems should lead us to forget his exposition of marxism which is the finest, clearest yet written. His book Reason and Revolution has been my constant companion since 1955.

Now it has been re-issued by Routledge & Kegan Paul as a paperback. Let me recommend it to all readers.

Ray Challinor