

# Socialist Worker

For workers control and international socialism

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The plight of the Welsh valleys

SEE PAGE 2

## 'LEFT' UNION LEADERS TOE THE TUC LINE

RICHARD KUPER

THE INK WAS HARDLY DRY on the TUC-government agreement when both the Transport Workers and Engineers unions sprung into action as unofficial disputes threatened. On Merseyside, Jack Jones, general-secretary elect of the TGWU, suggested a 'peace formula' and appealed to dockers to agree to a compromise while fresh negotiations were held.

Strenuous efforts have been made by the TGWU to call off the shop stewards' ban on the handling of container traffic. Instead of support from their union, the men have had both district secretary Lew Lloyd and national docks' group secretary Tim O'Leary fighting to get them to lift the ban.

At Leyland, the return to work agreement broke down last week because the men say they were 'conned'.

The AEF executive has had a number of meetings with the stewards and the employers and went as far as trying to get the stewards to put off mass meetings in case the workers were too militant.

But a meeting was held on Friday and the workers decided not to call for an immediate strike. This incident shows the way union officials try to take crucial decisions away from those most involved.

The Financial Times (27 June) purred happily: 'This positive and rapid action by the AEF executive may well be taken by the government as a good example of how the unions intend to deal with disputes themselves... especially if the executive "instructs" the stewards to postpone their meeting.'

### IMPRESS

This is the root of all the 'official' activity by the unions intervening in disputes at the moment - a desperate desire to impress upon the government their sincerity and willingness to make their agreement work.

This was shown even more clearly by AEF president Hugh Scanlon's actions last week at the annual conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. Scanlon made his major speech near the end of the conference when he was 'provoked' by militants who had attacked the TUC's new role of industrial policeman.

Playing sentiment to the utmost, Scanlon pointed out that the unions and the government 'had narrowly missed one of the most dangerous confrontations that could ever have taken place'. Having torn their hearts out over that, he said, it would be fantastic if they were now to tear their hearts out over what the TUC were doing. As if to sugar the pill,



JACK JONES 'Peace formula'

Scanlon then launched into the threat of what the Tories might try to do if they won the next election.

Many people, he concluded, would be looking for the first signs of the TUC not being able to carry out its promises.

So the message is clear. Don't, under any circumstances, rock the boat or you might let the dreaded Tories back in.

This is not to suggest that Scanlon is hell-bent on selling out the workers at Leyland or anywhere else. It is even conceivable that the AEF will call more official strikes than ever before.

It is the ambiguous role of officials like Scanlon that is at issue.

With officials like Jim Conway, the AEF secretary, there is no room for confusion. 'I have never known of a strike which has justified itself', he said at the CSEU conference and he argues that

there is no longer a position of 'them and us' in industry. He is playing the employers game and no militants could possibly have any illusions about him.

With the 'left' trade union officials it is not so clear. Scanlon recognises the class nature of capitalist society - so too does Danny McGarvey of the Boilermakers.

But that didn't stop McGarvey sitting on the notorious Cameron Commission in 1967 that damned the building workers' site organisation at the Barbican and whitewashed the employers and the building unions.

Neither does such recognition force Scanlon to act consistently. He operates within the framework set by the reformist left of the Labour Party. This means frequently that the struggles of rank and file workers are subordinated to the need for the unions to maintain a broad measure of agreement with the Labour Party.

### CONTROL

The logic of this was for the TUC to agree to control the militants on the shop floor, for the Labour Party, in its drive to reform and rationalise capitalism, sees shop floor power as a threat.

Scanlon's position means that he and other 'left-wing' officials will try their best to control unofficial action or, in other words, police the militants.

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The Fleming family in a house they occupied in Ilford which was gutted by the council.

## Squatters face hired thugs and council wreckers

Paul Gould and Stuart Beresford

LONDON SQUATTERS in the Redbridge area are guarding and repairing houses this week after their clash last week with a violent gang of bailiffs. The Squatters have taken over empty houses in the area to provide living quarters for homeless families. Redbridge Council has retaliated by destroying the interiors of houses to make them impossible to live in.

Last week, private detective Barry Quartermain attempted to evict the Fleming family from a house they were occupying in Audrey Road, Ilford, but was beaten off by squatters. On Tuesday morning, Quartermain and his gang of 12, complete with tin hats, dustbin lids and clubs, attacked the Squatters in Woodlands Road, Ilford. They threw bricks through the windows and tried to climb into the house.

### set fire to room

When they failed to get into the occupied half of the house, they set fire to a downstairs room. A fire engine was called and at that stage, after one hour of pitched battle, the police decided to move in. The Quartermain gang, desperate for a success, went on to Audrey Road again, but were once again beaten off by more Squatters. Redbridge Council denies that it hired Quartermain to attempt the evictions. But they cannot deny the cynical destruction of sound property to refuse homeless families a roof over their heads.

Barry Quartermain does not restrict his activities to evictions. He is busy in the 'industrial espionage' racket and supplies spies to factories where they compile reports on 'troublemakers' - militant trade unionists.

## Irish fight back on streets

Sean Reed

AFTER TWO MONTHS of huffing and puffing the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland returned to the streets last weekend.

About 5000 people marched through the border town of Strabane, Co Tyrone, to protest against the Special Powers Act and the town's high unemployment rate.

Strabane has an overall unemployment rate of 16.7 per cent, and male unemployment of 24 per cent. For this reason the organisers of the demonstration made a special point of linking the protest against the repressive Special Powers Act with demands for jobs and housing.

This shift of emphasis has caused some controversy within the movement, with three main trends emerging.

### No marches

The first headed by John Hume, the independent MP for Derry, believes that the movement should emphasise only those demands which show the difference between Northern Ireland and the rest of the UK. This group also believes tactically that there should be no more marches until the government has had time to produce its plans for local government reform.

Central to the thinking of this group is the idea that the Unionist Party can not grant reform without splitting. Therefore, they argue, the movement must not waste itself on the streets now, but remain in waiting until the split in the Unionist Party, which they expect in October.

The next trend which includes a minority of the People's Democracy leaders, see the need to start a 'civil war in the civil rights movement'. They argue that the CRA must rid itself of the Green Tories if it is to have any hope of winning over Protestants. This group would commit the movement to a programme of bread and butter issues, coupled with a halt to mass demonstrations to avoid a showdown with the Paisleyites.

### Real concern

The third tendency which includes the bulk of the young radicals in PD, and the Young Socialist Alliance in Belfast and Derry, would appear to agree with the second trend on many points but shows real concern with ways and means of implementing a socialist programme in the complex conditions of Ulster today.

While putting forward class demands, they also see the need for mass demonstrations even if the bulk of supporters come from the Catholics.

Now that this disagreement has come into the open, it is in the overall interests of the movement that it is debated openly so that a clear political line may be agreed for the Irish Left.

## No wage freeze for the top bosses

GIVING UP WAGE increases may be in the 'national interest' but it only extends to the working class.

While close on £1m was spent on the undeniably difficult task of turning an Englishman into the Prince of Wales, the top chaimen of industry were quietly paying themselves substantial increases.

When a group of workers has the temerity to ask for more money in order to keep pace with the cost of living they are roundly abused by the press. When the bosses jack up their own enormous salaries, few of us hear about it. But then, the bosses do own the press.

Twenty-two company chairmen have just upped their

salaries by more than 10 per cent. The shipping industry is supposed to be in a bad way, yet while shipyard workers are sacked or forced to accept wage cuts, the chairman of Cammel-Laird, P.B. Hunter, has increased his screw by 20.7 per cent, from £9,125 to £11,000, while Sir Basil Smallpeice of Cunard, who got rid of

hundreds of workers when the QE2 was finished, goes from £15,000 to £16,729.

Whatever Green's Economist Group economise on, it's not their chairman's salary. S.L. Green gets the biggest percentage increase of them all - a cool 62.6 from £6,286 to £10,209. J. Spreiregen of Kangol gets 52.7 per cent

more, from £11,188 to £17,012. And don't be taken in by all that tearful bilge about the rich being taxed out of existence. The workers pay proportionately more tax on their income than the rich.

As former boxer Terry Downes said this week: 'To pay a lot of tax, you have to have a lot coming in.'

# TROPICAL TROTSKYISM

## The cruel dilemma of socialists in a poor country, getting poorer

From MICHAEL KIDRON in Colombo

WHAT CAN a revolutionary socialist do in a place like Ceylon? His theory points towards the workers as the revolutionary class; in practice he lives among ultra-conservative peasants.

His ideology is wholly secular; his supporters are religious. Presumably he reacts as many of the Ceylonese Trotskyists do, by kneeling down in Buddhist temples while thinking about workers' councils.

Occasionally he goes further than mere thinking. The Lanka Samaja Samaj Party (LSSP), Ceylon's Trotskyist party, are actually planning to carry out many of the things they have been speaking about since their earliest days.

once the date of the general election is announced. The unions they control will call for strikes, sit-ins and workers' councils. They will organise monster demonstrations.

They need to do so not only in order to demonstrate their control of an independent power base and so get the best out of the post-election bargaining for ministerial portfolios, but in order to rouse their worker and urban lower middle-class supporters to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.

They need the enthusiasm to sustain a major assault on the privileges and power of private capital and its supporters on the island. They intend to control tightly, if not take over, the largely foreign-run tea industry.

They intend the same for foreign trade. In order to do these things, they will have to purge the administration, the police, judiciary and the army and to clamp severe restrictions on travel by the local rich.

Unless they can rely on Colombo's workers and clerks to provide the will and the organisation, none of it could take place.

So far so good. But they need the enthusiasm for other reasons also - and this is where the tropical poison begins to sap the party's declared socialism.

Ceylon is poor. She is terribly dependent on the export of plantation products, primarily tea, whose prices are steadily falling. Unless she can break into new export markets for manufactured goods she will simply become poorer.

Exporting new goods is not easy, particularly in competition with spectaculars like Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore and it is made less easy by Ceylon's relatively high level of social welfare expenditure - relative, that is, to what goes in this region - which sustains such 'luxuries' as free, universal education right up to and including university education.

If the transition is to be made at all - and it is undeniably necessary - productivity will have to be jacked up and wages held down. There is no alternative. All the LSSP can hope for is that the workers will make the sacrifice willingly.

### FOREIGN SQUEEZE

This then is their dilemma: they are a working-class party in theory, yet much of their policy is directed at making palatable the sacrifices they intend demanding from the workers; they are ostensibly a socialist party, yet much of their programme is concerned with making Ceylon competitive in a capitalist world.

It is a cruel dilemma, and one that can become only crueler as, and if, the left-coalition implements its economic programme. For as they do so they must become increasingly isolated - foreign capital will put on the squeeze, the coalition's small business allies will take fright and the anti-coalition left will nibble successfully at their working-class support.

It is intimations of this isolation that brings marxists to bow before the Buddha.



## The Punch and Judy show of the will do nothing to alleviate the pl...

THE INVESTITURE of Charles Windsor as 'Prince of Wales' at Caernarvon this week was of little relevance to socialists and trade unionists.

The Punch and Judy show of the Establishment may bring a little colour into the lives of the middle-class ladies of Caernarvon but will do nothing to alleviate the plight of Welsh workers.

The main function of the investiture is an attempt to divert the Welsh people from the problems they face and from seeking solutions to them.

South Wales, for decades a major area of industrial Britain, is now in decline. An air of death hangs over the mining valleys; pits have been closing down at regular intervals over the last few years.

Usually the remote bureaucrats of the National Coal Board point to the god of profitability as the reason for throwing thousands of men out of work.

In spite of all the talk about helping depressed areas, the government has done virtually nothing to ensure that there will be jobs for those made redundant.

As the industrial correspondent of the local Western Mail put it, 'There is a very long way to go before there is a job for every miner put out of work by the closure of his pit.'

### Clever dodge

When a pit is closed it frequently means death for a whole community. The Coal Board offers work in pits anything up to 30 miles away - but this is just a clever dodge, an attempt to do men out of their redundancy pay by making them refuse alternative work, which would mean three or four hours travelling a day.

The full horrors of the ravages of capitalism are seen in the mining valleys. Communities have been created during the years of vital coal production and, now that gas and oil become more profitable, are left to die.

The valleys become desolate with only the long unemployment queues and the ugly tips as a reminder of the mines. Capitalism will not even pay to cover up its crimes. The valleys are left like ugly scars, both unpleasant and dangerous to live in.

But although the invest-

# In Wales, an air of death hangs over the mining villages as royals enjoy their junk...

From JOHN LARKE in Swans...

itute is acting mostly as a diversionary force, it is having a reverse effect. Some Welsh people, especially young workers and students, are questioning the values of a society which can spend hundreds of thousands of pounds on the investiture but remains unconcerned with the plight of the ordinary people.

Prince Charles had inherited on his third birthday more than most of us earn in a lifetime. Recently the local press and television carried the story of a homeless family of six who had to live in a car because they couldn't find decent housing. This was in the Royal Borough of Caernarvon.

Much of the opposition to the investiture has not been the 'No English Prince' variety, which has caught the headlines of the gutterpress. The real opposition has been

on the slogan of 'no damn prince at all' and opposition to the vast wastage of the investiture.

This sort of opposition shows the deep feelings of antagonism to the system among young Welsh workers, but it has not as yet been turned into socialist consciousness.

### 'Lefts' irrelevant

The Welsh working class has been traditionally anti-Tory since the 19th century. In 1906 not a single Tory MP was returned in the whole of Wales.

The strength of Labour support has led to deep disillusionment with the present government. The party machine is dying and the Labour 'lefts' are irrelevant. At a recent meeting in Cardiff

'left' MP Roy offer no mean iver to the pl and co.

In spite of council electionist Party a losing some of fight against has never bet who lead the Miners (both Labour) as a c

When Will F prominent men and president union, echoed and the Coal B ing miners for the CP did from this cla ionist attack.

In a rece South Wales against unil action against union leaders the men as the fight has been

### UNITED FRONT

They have joined with Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) - itself a coalition of peasants, small businessmen and the higher urban salariat - and with the Moscow-line Communist Party to form a united left front to fight next year's elections.

The 'coalition' is likely to win. The price of tea on which the economy depends is falling steadily and irreversibly, and the government is forced to pare its expenditure. Aid is short and prices are rising.

The local elections, now under way, have shown a 10 per cent or more swing towards the opposition (mainly benefitting the SLFP).

The LSSP in particular are prepared to go the whole hog

## Strike hysteria: the fact press doesn't te

by MIKE McGRATH

'IF THE WORKERS stopped messing the country about with strikes, we'd soon be all right.'

What truth is there in this opinion held by a majority of people, according to newspaper opinion polls?

Professor H.A. Turner, in a book published recently,\* shows decisively that the effect of strikes on production is grossly exaggerated.

Table 1 shows Britain's position in the 'world league'. But Turner says this is a distorted picture, basically because every country has a different definition of strikes.

Country	Working days lost per 1000 employees
Republic of Ireland	1620
Italy	1170
Canada	970
USA	870
Australia	400
Japan	240
Belgium	200
France	200
Britain	190
Denmark	160
New Zealand	150
Finland	80
Sweden	40
Netherlands	20
Germany	Fewer than 10

\*Is Britain really strike prone? Cambridge University Press, 86d

The USA defines strikes as any stoppage lasting more than one day or shift. The UK considers any stoppage that results in more than 100 working days lost as a strike. (Working days are based on numbers of men: if 500 workers strike for one day, that is 500 lost working days.)

Forty per cent of all UK strikes would not be included in our figures if the US definition of strikes was used here. This holds for many other industrial countries who also include in their statistics industries such as electricity and gas which are not strike prone. This makes their figures look 'better' than Britain's.

### Lower rate

Turner concludes: 'Nevertheless of the available indices of national strike liabilities, the proportion of working time actually committed to industrial disputes remains by far the most reliable comparative statistic.' This shows, to quote the

former Ministry of Labour, that the UK has a lower strike incidence than any major non-communist industrial country except the German Federal Republic.

Do we have more strikes now than ever before? Again, let's look at the facts instead of listening to the bosses' press, which always uses either coloured immigrants or the whole working class as scapegoats for the failings of the system.

From Table 2 we can see that although double the number of workers have been unionised since 1930, the days lost through strikes have not significantly increased.

How expensive are strikes? Turner makes the spokesman for British capitalism look rather silly.

For example, the press claimed that the Ford dispute cost the country £2 million a day - £1½m of which would have been exports. What this really means is that the Ford Motor Co were not selling £2m worth of cars per day during the strike. On the other hand, the

company did wages, fuel bill or raw material out either. The mean cutting to a small fraction and who is to would have so even if they uced?

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1962-1968

An even comes from the Motor M Traders: 'We Mrs Castle th catastrophic s and unofficial the industry w worth of export to August.

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# 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-

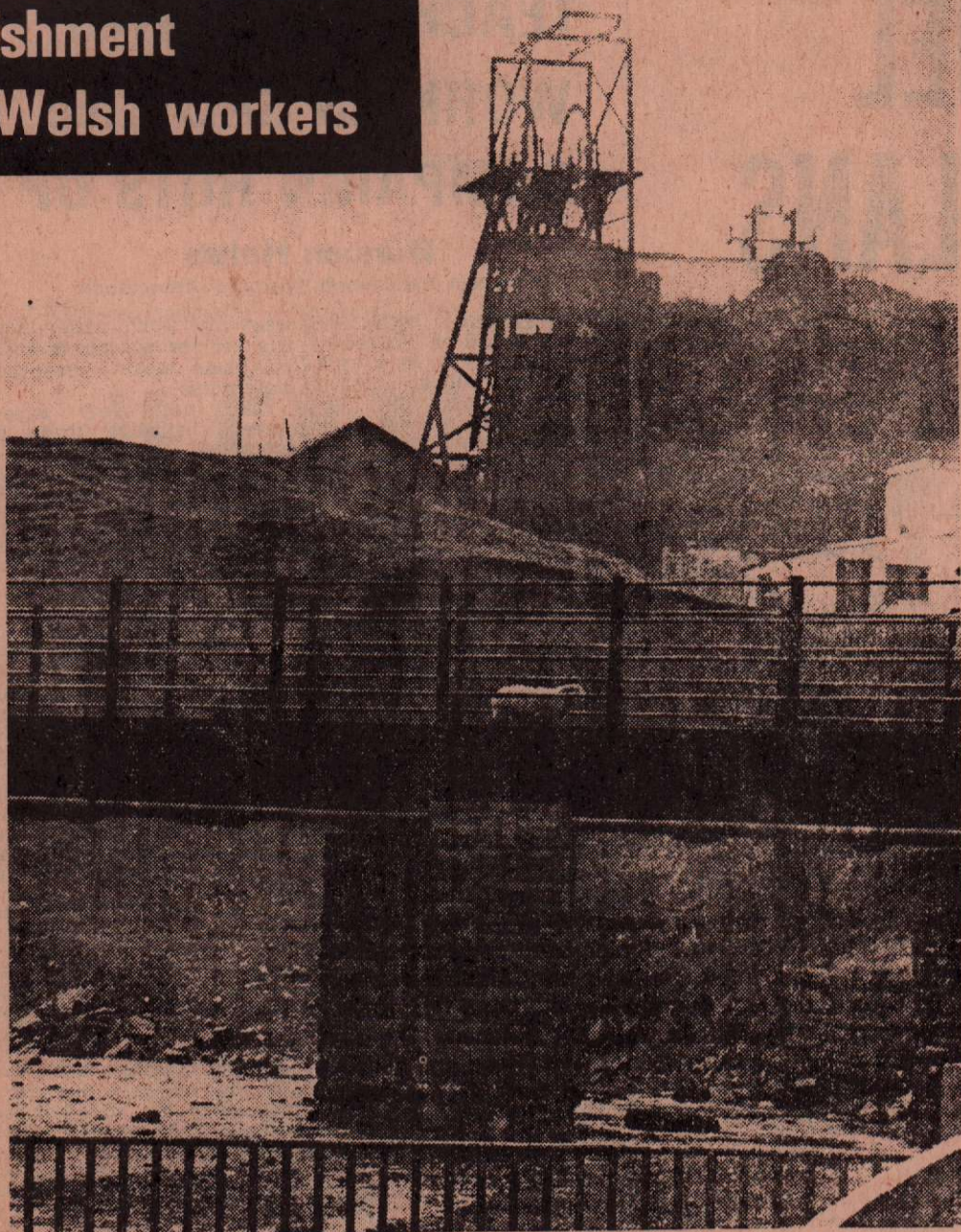


mand of no victimisation of trade unionists. Redundancy should be opposed with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop stewards organisations should strengthen and extend their in-

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.

# Establishment Fight of Welsh workers



'The valleys are left like ugly scars . . .'

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losures. In fact it was the failure of the union officials to offer a clear cut lead against closures which has led to the disillusionment and apathy. A fight could have been waged all along the line if there had been a demand for real alternative employment from the government before talks even began about closing a pit.

All that is heard from most NUM officials is talk of increased productivity and experience suggests that even this is not enough to keep pits open. The tradition of revolutionary socialism, once so strong in the valleys, is now only kept alive by a few isolated militants. And the lack of a real socialist movement has opened the way for Welsh nationalism.

Plaid Cymru, the national-ist party, manages to be all

things to all men: in 'liberal' middle class areas it puts on its 'liberal' face and stresses its belief in the system.

More dangerous is the face presented in working-class areas and to young people. Here Plaid presents itself as a genuine radical alternative to the betrayals of the Labour government.

### Caught imagination

It is difficult to assess the real success of Plaid Cymru in areas like the Rhondda. Its policies have undoubtedly caught the imagination of some of the young enthusiasts who canvass for the party in elections but otherwise it does not seem to have a major political presence.

Does Plaid offer any hope to the Welsh workers? All socialists should answer no.

Plaid may talk of breaking the hold of the capitalist monopolies over the Welsh people. But it won't be done by exchanging Cardiff for Westminster or Gwynfor Evans for Harold Wilson.

Welsh nationalism, like its Scottish variety, is a blind alley. It is not the Welsh people but the Welsh workers who have suffered the ravages of capitalist exploitation.

But not just Welsh workers. If 'home rule' was the answer to high unemployment and underdevelopment then the North-East and the West Country have a stronger case than Wales or Scotland.

A 'homegrown' ruling class in Wales cannot safeguard the future of the region. Only a united working class harnessing and planning the resources of the whole country, can begin to carry out a future that will ensure jobs and prosperity for us all.

# How the trade war is ruining the countryside...

BRITISH AND AMERICAN farming are often held up as models of technical efficiency and used to illustrate the benefits which adequate machinery and fertilisers could bring to the impoverished agriculture of the underdeveloped countries.

In Britain only 3 per cent of the labour force is engaged in food production, thus enabling the rest to be employed in the production of a diverse range of goods and services. It would seem that here at least British capitalism was performing adequately.

On closer examination we find that British agriculture is an extremely shaky structure, propped up by a lavish system of subsidies. Investment per man is indeed higher in farming than in shipbuilding, but it can be argued that this is a result of the diversion of resources from manufacturing industry.

Why, then, has British capitalism, which depends for its survival on selling to the rest of the world manufactured goods not farm produce, seen the encouragement of agriculture as being of such prime importance?

### EXPAND

The answer is to be found in the continuous balance of payments difficulties which have dogged Britain since the war. Farming subsidies have enabled home food production to expand, thereby saving on the import bill for food. The employers' organisation, the National Farmers' Union, claims that this expansion has saved £300 million in imports since the mid-1950s.

Thus even super-efficient British agriculture is not free from the stupidities of the world market system, where each competitor nation struggles desperately to gain a balance of payments surplus.

In a sane world one would expect to find the production of a particular food concen-

## SCIENCE by Harry Goode

trated in those countries which had either the most suitable soil or climate or else possessed the greatest technical know-how involved

During the second world war, when food supplies from overseas were threatened by the U-boat blockade, self-sufficiency became important and the slogan was raised, Dig for Victory. The same siege mentality shapes British agriculture today, this time in the interests of the trade war.

The policy of agricultural subsidies is having a disastrous effect on the countryside. The indiscriminate system of grants is leading to the wholesale destruction of hedgerows, the ploughing up of grazing scrubland and the over-use of chemical pestkillers which wreak havoc among wild life.

It may seem inappropriate, in a world ridden with hunger, to be concerned about the sheer pleasure value of the countryside, but socialists are, or should be concerned with the quality of life.

The present British coun-

tryside, which many people refer to as 'nature', is in fact a highly unnatural thing. It is the by-product of one particular economic activity - the production of food.

Left to itself it would mostly revert to forest. The pattern of land must inevitably change as food technology changes, but the legitimate claims of that 97 per cent of the population who have no direct links with the land must be recognised.

Looking further into the future, the development of super-intensive farming methods, of which modern factory farms are but a small beginning, may be able to check and even reverse the present world land hunger. This would obviously depend on whether or not the population explosion can be halted, but it would open up the possibility of creating vast, truly 'natural' parks for the citizens of the future.

### THIRST

At present, the privately-owned farming industry, with its unquenchable thirst for subsidies, is slowly desolating rural amenities. British capitalism is prepared to pay the price in its life and death struggle for economic survival.

Meanwhile, the worker in the city, whose taxes bolster up the farmer, is forced to watch the despoliation of even that minimal escape - a trip to the country.

## International Socialism 37

George Orwell: international socialist?/Italian fascism/Revolutionary manifesto from Mao's China

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# Losses and figures the bosses'

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### Simple reason

Let's just look at one more statistic from the TUC's Programme for Action which says that some 0.1 per cent of production was lost through strikes last year. Compare this with 2.5 per cent lost through unemployment and 10 per cent through illness.

Unemployment costs 25 times more lost production than strikes? Illness costs 100 times more than strikes? But why don't we hear more of this in the papers and on television?

The reason is simple. As a leading motor industry boss said recently, time off for sickness and injury is not inflationary.

The employers, with their sure class instinct, are not

too worried about loss of production, although they will use such losses as propaganda weapons. After all, production is usually made up for after a stoppage through overtime.

No, what they are worried about is wage drift, caused by militant rank and file action to push up wage rates in one area that triggers off a demand for similar increases in other areas. A recent example of this can be seen in the strike at Leyland, where high Midland wages sparked off action in Lancashire.

Every strike is a blow against the power of the boss to determine wages and conditions. The unemployed

cannot challenge the system, neither can the sick.

But every strike, consciously or not, is a challenge to the bosses' right to run the factories and our lives. They know it - that is why they hate strikes so much.

Socialists are not reformists. We must not just produce figures to show that Britain's strike record is not as 'bad' as other countries, important though such figures are to combat anti-union hysteria.

### End strife

As even Mr Jim Conway, right-wing secretary of the Engineers and Foundryworkers' Union, admitted recently, the trouble with British industry is that there are not enough strikes, not enough workers in out-dated, inefficient and dangerous factories demanding a better deal.

In the final analysis, the only way to win really decent conditions and wages and to end Mrs Castle's 'strife' is to end the power of the bosses. The spread of militancy must go hand in hand with the spread of the revolutionary demand for workers' control.

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# CLYDE DEAL IS MODEL FOR GOVERNMENT PLANS

Peter Bain, DATA

GLASGOW:- While the directors of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders squabble over who is to remain on the board of their ramshackle combine, the 14,000 yard workers are still faced with the threat of 3000 redundancies and attacks on working conditions.

The government now has 48 per cent of the company shares and is insisting on a reduction in the number of directors from 12 to six, plus their own nominee.

The Clyde shipyard owners are prepared to accept millions of pounds in public subsidies but are not willing to accept any limitation on their right to spend it as they see fit.

Of the £5.5 million they received in cheap credit when UCS was formed, £3.3m was divided up in a manner described by The Economist (27 January 1968) as 'paying for the past rather than investing in the future'. Now another £9.3m of the taxpayers' money has been lobbied in by the government.

During the war and in the post-war period, the Clyde yards churned out ships as fast as they could, mainly ordered by the government.

## KEEN

The yard bosses made millions in that period and even today Yarrow specialises in admiralty contracts and naval orders from the old empire.

Despite the obvious keenness of the employers to withdraw from UCS now they can get more public money for modernisation or investment elsewhere, the government will not allow the combine to go into liquidation.

The political consequences of closures would be disastrous for Labour in Scotland. But the concessions agreed to by the workers are so far-reaching that the government will make sure that the yards stay open in the hope of spreading the UCS conditions throughout industry.

## SOLUTION

The government hopes that its solution to UCS's problems - mass redundancies, huge productivity increases, extension of shift work, union-management production 'monitoring' committees - will be taken up by other employers in the interests of 'rationalising' British capitalism.

The manner in which these concessions were solicited from the yard workers is worth recounting.

Mass meetings were organised in all the yards, addressed by union officials. Questions only were allowed - there was no discussion.

At Fairfield's, the meeting took place at 3.30 pm, not long before stopping time. Some workers drifted off.

After four questions had been taken the meeting was

## 3000 may lose their jobs

closed with the resolution accepting the concessions put to the men. Workers wishing to make points in discussion were ignored.

The only fight has been put up by DATA, the draughtsmen's union. Their call for no redundancies, union access to the accounts and nationalisation limited though it is, provides the only real alternative.

When Fairfield was threatened with closure in 1965, the call was 'save our yard'. The workers were blackmailed into accepting management proposals for far-reaching changes in conditions and practices.

Each campaign has been characterised by its non-political content and acceptance of the norms of capitalism - the yards have to be profitable, for the bosses, workers and employers have common interests, etc.

## BLACKMAIL

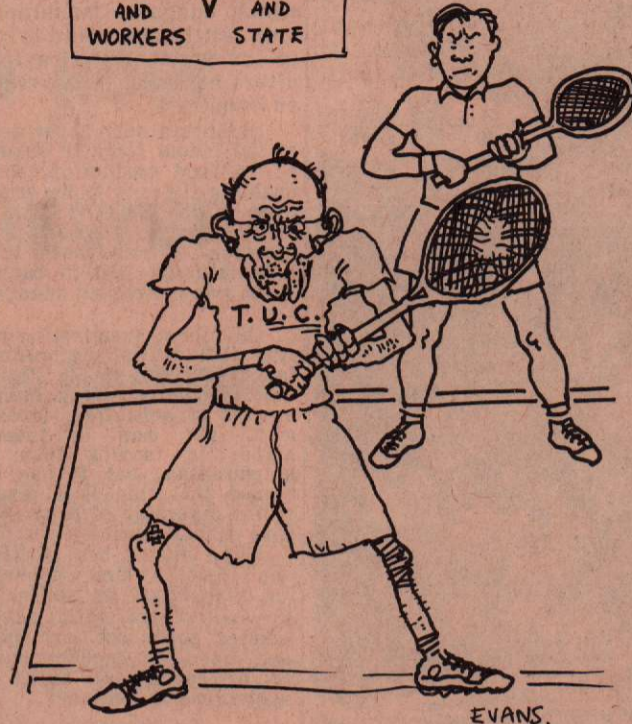
Even now we hear this argument being used. At the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions conference last week, when DATA's past president Willie Shields accused the UCS management of blackmailing the workers into making concessions, he was attacked by Jim Conway the AEF - 'The yards have to be profitable' - and Bishop of the General and Municipal - 'Absenteeism at UCS is a national disgrace.'

The result of pursuing these policies has been a huge decline in the workforce (almost halved in 10 years) and a steady erosion of working conditions.

At some point it becomes necessary for those who call themselves socialists to make a stand. Unless a fight is put up now and the political lessons drawn from the present crisis, then shipyard workers are going to retreat and concede conditions until there's nothing left to concede.

A NEW branch of IS has been formed in Clydebank. The address is Ken Shanks, 6 Glen Road, Old Kilpatrick, Glasgow.

MENS DOUBLES  
T.U.C. AND WORKERS  
BOSSSES AND STATE



## Police evict strikers in battle over pay

Stan Bishop

FORTY-TWO AEF machine operators and labourers on strike at Pimfield and Barstow in Queensbury, North London, were evicted from the firm by police for staging a sit-down protest.

The strike started when prolonged negotiations with the management for improved conditions broke down.

The workers, who have only recently formed a union organisation, have three main grievances.

At present, rates of pay vary from 6s 7d to 8s an hour, depending on the colour of workers' skins. The strikers want equal basic rates to replace this discrimination.

The management recently stopped paying overtime rates for tea-breaks, which were worked by mutual agreement.

The workers are now expected to work their break but receive no pay.

The bonus arrangement has also been changed. From paying 1s an hour minimum bonus, the management now only pays 8d an hour and then only if ridiculous production targets are reached. If the operators fail to reach the target they receive no bonus at all.

## Move to black

Pimfield and Barstow supply castings for General Motors, Hoovers and other big companies. Attempts are being made by the district committee of the AEF, which is calling for official backing for the strike, to black work now being produced by a handful of scabs.

Some success has been achieved in stopping lorry drivers from delivering materials, but help with picketing is urgently required.

Donations to: M. Bashir, 5 Clayton Ave, Wembley, Middx.

## NOTICES

SOUTH LONDON IS: Workers' control. Spkr Jim Higgins. Sunday July 6, 7.30pm Wilton Arms, Thornton Heath High St.

GLASGOW IS. Crisis in the unions. Spkr Colin Barker. Sunday July 6, 2.30pm Partick Burgh Hall.

GLASGOW IS: Roots of fascism. Spkr John Palmer, Ruskin House, Coombe Road, Weds July 9, 8pm.

SOCIALIST teachers in further education: meeting at Priory Tavern, Belsize Rd NW6, Tues July 8, 8pm. Topics include curriculum for liberal studies, student activities and A.T.T.I.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST: revolutionary American paper, available from Socialist Worker, 1s per copy.

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GESTETNER DUPLICATORS - only 115/- Reconditioned, ex-Army. Ideal for IS or TU branches. Carriage extra. R.Hill, 5 Lochair Road, Liverpool L4 ORL. Tel 061-ANF 7686.

ISLINGTON IRISH Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign. Meeting at The George pub, Liverpool Rd, N1. Monday July 7, 8pm.

## TEACHERS TO STOP WORK AS SALARIES CAMPAIGN HOTS UP

Duncan Hallas

President, Wandsworth Teachers' Association

MOST LONDON SCHOOLS will be closed on Wednesday afternoon (July 9) by a walk-out of the National Union of Teachers members.

The London district of the union has called for a march and mass meeting in working hours to support the demand for an interim increase on the basic salary scale. A substantial majority of the union's 12,000 London members are expected to back the demonstration.

The other important teachers' union, the National Association of Schoolmasters, which has about 4000 members in London, will not be coming out, but it is instructing its members not to undertake work normally done by NUT members.

## Long battle

This token stoppage is the first shot in what will probably be a long dispute. In February a special NUT conference accepted by a narrow majority a wages settlement that was, in real terms, a cut in the basic salary scale.

This happened because the conference delegates, although duly elected, were unrepresentative of the membership. For many years the union has been dominated at all levels by a small and comparatively well-paid minority of heads and deputy heads.

This was made possible by the apathy and lack of organisation of the rank and file. This time the leadership went too far.

The annual conference of the union at Easter reversed the February decision and carried, in the face of determined opposition by the executive, a demand to re-open negotiations and for a new substantial increase in the basic salary scale.

About half the work force is on the basic scale which starts at £15 19s 6d a week (at the age of 21 or 22) and rises slowly over 15 years to £30 15s 6d a week. London teachers get £112s 9d extra.

## Divide and rule

About another quarter of the teachers get the basic plus £2-£4 extra. The remainder are better paid, some of them much better paid, because the employers have been very successful in a divide and rule policy of increasing differentials.

Why should workers care about teachers' struggles? There are two good reasons. First, because working-class children are the ones who suffer most from the general shortage of qualified teachers. On the government's own admission, they are 40,000 teachers short of the numbers needed to maintain the present class size ratio.

And the present ratio is 40 children per teacher, including non-teaching heads, in the junior schools. The schools in middle-class

areas do much better than this and the schools in working-class areas correspondingly worse.

And yet every expert survey, including those of education minister Short's own department, show that a reduction of class size is the most important step forward that could be taken in the interests of the majority of children suffering from the present system.

## Wastage rate

The root cause of the shortage is the very low salary that an ordinary teacher gets in the first five to 10 years of service. There has been a five-fold increase in the number of students in the colleges of education in the past five years - yet the wastage keeps pace with the supply.

The second reason is even more important. Teachers have been a traditionally conservative group of workers. In return for a certain status in society they have played an important role in that process of 'headfixing' which teaches working-class boys and girls to accept that place in society to which it has pleased God and their rulers to call them.

The movement among teachers towards elementary trade union attitudes, towards a certain amount of self-respect, involves a rethinking of attitudes towards their job.

## Tory reaction

This, together with the developing movement among school pupils, can make a tremendous impact on the fossilised, authoritarian set-up in the schools. The Tories know this very well - hence the general reaction against the progressive methods favoured by precisely the same young teachers who are militant on the salary question.

These teachers are beginning, in a tentative way, to identify themselves with the working-class movement.

There is still a long way to go. The main force of the opposition in the union is still, unfortunately, in London. An ad hoc and rather fragile alliance of left-wing Communist Party members, left-wing Labourites, IS members and unaffiliated militants have pushed the union's executive into the position of preparing for prolonged strikes in the autumn in event of a breakdown in negotiations.

The London action, which the executive refused to support, will be an important test of the real influence of the opposition at the grass roots. A really effective stoppage and march will help substantially to shift the balance of forces towards the Left. All workers and their children stand to gain from this.

## UNION LEADERS TOE THE TUC LINE

from page one

When both the Labour and the Tory parties compete with one another to run capitalism better, any subordination to either of them is disastrous from a socialist viewpoint.

The problems which face the rank and file on the shop floor arise out of political decisions taken elsewhere. Labour's commitment to run capitalism efficiently requires that shop floor organisation must be weakened.

Either you accept this or you take a clear stand for working class self-activity out of which a genuine socialist alternative can grow.

Scanlon's acceptance of the parliamentary structure and of the Labour Party within it must force him into situations where his priorities are different. His willingness to sell productivity

deals is the clearest indication of where genuine socialists must break with him.

The attitude that militants should take to their union officials was well put long ago by the Clyde Workers' Committee:

'We will support the officials just so long as they rightly represent the workers, but we will act independently immediately they misrepresent them.'

## FOREFRONT

Nothing has happened over the years to alter this assessment. In the next few months, as the TUC try to make their internal control system work and as the Labour Party try to pull together the shattered pieces of their electoral machine, it will have to be placed in the forefront of any attempt to understand the weird manoeuvres of many so-called 'left-wingers'.

## 5000 march to save Direct Works

George Kelly

GLASGOW had its biggest industrial demonstration in years last Thursday when 5000 building department workers marched to the City chambers in George Square, to protest at the run down of the direct works department.

The Tory council wants to hand house building over to private contractors. Building unions were joined by all sections of cor-

poration workers, timekeepers, storemen, lorry drivers, clerks, office and work study staff. When the demonstrators reached George Square they were met and applauded by tenants' association members protesting at threatened increases in municipal rents. At one

stage the council meeting was held up by shouts and cheers from demonstrators.

At a meeting held immediately after the demonstration in nearby Hanover Street, local union officials were heckled by workers who wanted to march on the chambers. The demonstration should strengthen the stewards' hands in discussion with union officials when further action is planned.

The Glasgow area, with 17,000 unemployed, only 2500 vacancies on offer and the possibility of another 3000 redundancies from UCS, can ill afford to lose more jobs. Tenant associations, building and other workers must be involved in the fight to keep the building department open.

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## METALS MEN BACK RECOGNITION

A SERIES of one-hour strikes were staged on Tuesday in the Johnson-Matthey metals combine in support of AEF workers at the firm's Enfield works.

The Enfield engineers have been denied union recognition by the management and stopped work four weeks ago in support of their claim. Since then, AEF members at Hatton Gardens, Wembley and Harlow have been blacking all Enfield

work and during Tuesday's stoppage a meeting and moving picket took place at Hatton Garden.

Said Enfield steward Gerry O'Farrell: 'The only way we can win recognition is by other J & M factories showing their solidarity with us in our fight. We are now attempting to form an AEF combine committee to safeguard our interests in the future.'

POWELL speaks in Islington  
Enoch Powell in Islington Tuesday at London IS m supporters a picket the m banners and