

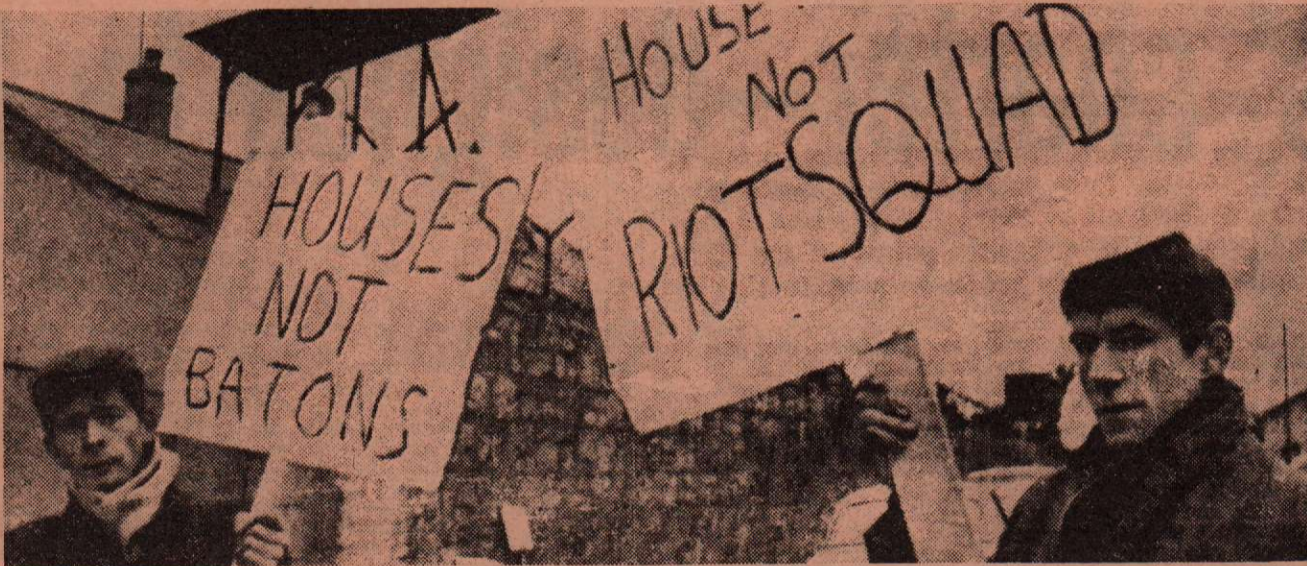
FORD: RANK & FILE CONTROL OF STRIKE IS KEY TO VICTORY

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Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

THE DETERMINATION of Ford workers to defend the right to strike against one of the most ruthless employers in Britain is a magnificent example of growing rank and file militancy. By comparison, the cowardice and somersaulting of the union officials shows only more clearly that workers must have no faith in these industrial policemen. The belated decision of the AEF to back the Ford strike is welcome but the workers should not allow any officials—Left or Right—to take any further decisions. Rank and file control of the strike is essential for victory. Let mass meetings decide! No secret union-management deals!



Two supporters of the People's Democracy picketing a barracks in Armagh during the election

ICI pay deal frozen as profits break record

From BRIAN EBBATSON

BILLINGHAM:— The Prices and Incomes Board told 61,000 workers on Tuesday that they could not have a negotiated 6.8 per cent wage increase. They must stay within the 3½ per cent limit of the incomes policy.

The decision came just four days after the giant monopoly announced pre-tax profits for last year of £153m. This is a 51 per cent improvement on the 1967 figure itself a record.

Shareholders will get a record rake-off—5.8 per cent over last year's pay-out.

The pay increase would have given craftsmen 30s a week and labourers 22s. The PIB report, in rejecting this, says any payment over 3½ per cent must wait until ICI's local productivity swindle, Manpower Utilisation and Payment Structure, is accepted by the workers.

INCREASED

But the report admits that productivity at ICI has increased by 10 per cent a year. At the Gloucester fibre plant, where MUPS has been accepted, there has been a 24 per cent cut in the labour force.

A leading convenor at the Billingham works told me: 'The news only came at 3 o'clock on Tuesday but we have been inundated by demands for action.'

'The report is seen as blackmail by the government. There is turmoil on the shop floor, which is not usually militant.'

'The men at Billingham will not accept MUPS under any conditions. The Wilton plant has already thrown it out.'

Workers met on Tuesday night to plan action. It is clear to them all that they are fighting the government now as well as the employers.

An ICI steward analyses MUPS on page four.

Vietnam march

A MASSIVE demonstration in London against the Vietnam war has been called for March 16. Watch for further details.

PD election fight shakes Ulster Tories

BY SEAN REED

TENS OF THOUSANDS of Ulstermen and women voted to return the civil rights campaign to the streets. This is one clear message from Northern Ireland's snap coupon election.

A massive attempt to swing the 'white negroes' of John Bull's other island behind the half-a-loaf policy of Tory Premier O'Neill failed. Catholic working people refused to follow the lead of the Catholic upper class.

SWING

Not only has O'Neill-style Tory Unionism failed to win the Catholic vote, but the beginning of the end for the Green Tory Nationalists is in sight—with the start of a swing to the Left—the real Left.

Eight People's Democracy candidates polled over 20,000 votes between them while four other candidates known to support the PD Manifesto totalled a further 13,000 votes.

The swing to the Left is confirmed by results from the last two constituencies. In South Down PD's Fergus Wood polled 4,610, less than 250 short of victory.

In neighbouring South Armagh, Newry PD member Paddy O'Hanlon, standing as an Independent, won the seat

from Green Tory, Eddie Richardson.

It was a major breakthrough for the Irish Left, the more so when one understands the handicaps.

A snap election left only 10 days to raise cash behind the close of nominations.

PD is not a political party and most of its members had never taken part in an election before. The bulk of PD's support comes from the youth who have no vote.

The election was based on the old register. More than 20,000 young people over 21 had no vote.

Many electors had never voted in Stormont elections before. PD candidates were unable to enter some areas to put their case to the people.

A vicious slander campaign—especially in Derry—reached an all-time low even for an Irish election.

There was tacit unity between the Orange and Green Tories to 'smash the Reds'. The agreement was highlighted in South Fermanagh where the Orange Order was used to rally support for Nationalist John Carran, who has a deal with the Unionists to keep the civil rights campaign out of his

area.

Tribune published a PD appeal for funds on page two last week. On the back page their Irish correspondent, Andrew Boyd, claimed falsely that PD had ample funds.

Boyd in the same article, written after nomination closed with no Unionist candidate in Foyle, accused Eamonn McCann of splitting the anti-Unionist vote and leaving 'enough room for a Unionist to canter through'.

Not to be outdone, the ex-stalinist political correspondent of the pinky Irish Times, alleged that the Left wanted O'Neill out to put the ultra-right in power.

MILITANT

The Unionist Party Manifesto culled a paragraph from the Republican Proclamation of 1916 and a leading Unionist claimed that James Connolly would have supported O'Neill.

Against these odds, despite some serious political and organisational mistakes, People's Democracy won tens of thousands to a programme of militant struggle on the streets, for full civil and social rights now. It is a record to be proud of.

Essex near standstill

From JIM LAMBORN

DAGENHAM:— The mighty Ford machine is slowing up before it reaches a standstill.

With the Halewood plant out solid, the Thames foundry idle and other plants only partly operational, a great blow has been struck for workers' control of the unions in a strike over the penalty clauses in the proposed new agreement.

The lack of response at Dagenham has been grossly exaggerated by the press. Men in the Paint, Trim and Assembly plant did not join the strike at first as they still feel disgruntled at lack of support for their own strike last September.

When union executives met and agreed to accept the Ford proposals without previous consultation with their members, the rank and file made it clear that they would not allow agreements to be made at hurried meetings which were against union policy.

PROTEST

Other smaller unions have been extensively lobbied by members in protest against the penalty clauses. All workers realise that every employer in the country is watching the Ford attempt to forestall Mrs. Castle's White Paper on union reform.

What a victory for the workers when union executives can make an agreement and when the surge of the working-class consciousness overwhelms them, say that they didn't really mean it and could they make another one?

Union executives are realising that their autocratic rule will soon be over. In a number of unions there is a movement to bring in a union rule that executives over 50 who have won two elections will have safe seats for the rest of their working lives.

The bureaucrats are determined to hold on to power by the most flagrantly undemocratic means but events this week show that workers are becoming increasingly aware of the need for rank and file control of the trade unions.

L'pool defies press lies

From ROSS HILL

LIVERPOOL:— Despite the predictable efforts of the muck-raking, strike-breaking press, the Ford Halewood strike has 100 per cent support.

One woman was reported by the Daily Mirror to have a husband earning 11s 6d an hour unskilled. In fact, to get that he'd have to be exceptionally skilled, and with four years service—and there's not many that can stand the killing pace at Ford for that long.

The great bulk of Ford employees get only £22 a week, including extra for night work. Howls of laughter rocked the Boxing Stadium when the Halewood convenor quoted (tongue in cheek) the company's claim that average earnings were £28-£30 a week.

The stewards are demanding 10 per cent more but somehow the press manages to say that they want £3-£5. The truth is nearer £2.

The Halewood plant has had good shop floor organisation ever since the firm arrived in the early 1960s. The company was under the illusion that they could pay less in a depressed area than at Dagenham.

CORRECTED

But an immediate overtime ban soon corrected those ideas. As the Ford and Vauxhall labour force on Merseyside built up, the car workers were the pace setters for wage levels in the area.

This encouraged seamen, dockers, busmen, lorry drivers, construction workers and others to fight for decent basic rates. An attack on Ford workers will therefore be an attack on all other sections of the Merseyside working class.

Good response at Southampton

Socialist Worker Reporter

SOUTHAMPTON:— An 80 per cent stoppage at the Ford works at Swaythling has brought van and cab production to a standstill. The men expect that if they stay out long enough, the Ford plant at Slough will also come to a halt.

A meeting of 500 voted to strike with only a handful against, and a second meeting was attended by 1000 men. Spirit is good and the picket line, supported by Southampton University students and local IS members, is militant.

One worker said: 'I'm sure that if people knew what we were being asked to support in this package deal, we'd have overwhelming support.' And a shop steward commented: 'I worked for many years in the Labour Party, but I'm wondering if it isn't time to form a party of our own.'

Strike spreads

DAGENHAM stewards estimated on Wednesday afternoon that 70 per cent of the main body plant were now supporting the strike.

Defend shop floor militants

EDITORIAL

TWO EVENTS of great significance stand out this week. One was Thursday's national stoppage against anti-union laws. The other is the Ford strike.

Connecting them are the attempts to get to grips with the new strategy of the state and the employers. This takes the form of legislation to restrict trade union rights, and the imposition of a wage-freeze.

Wage increases are only granted when workers agree to sell conditions of work and shop floor organisation.

The strategy has been clearly seen at Ford. In return for wage increases—needed to meet rising prices and rents—workers are being asked to give up the right to strike unless their union officials permit it.

This is the sort of 'pack-

age deal' the government and big business would like to extend throughout industry. Full employment since the war has meant that workers on the shop floor have not been 'disciplined'—that is, they have achieved a degree of control over how and at what speed they work.

Resistance

This is shown, for example, in control over piece-rates, individual overtime working and resistance to time and motion studies. It has been backed up by the ability of the workers in any shop to strike immediately, without asking anyone's permission when they are aggrieved.

In this situation industrial power was effectively wielded by shop stewards' committees rather than by national union officials.

More than 95 per cent of strikes were unofficial. That is why it is the shop stewards and unofficial strikes that are always under attack.

Because the stewards are elected from the shop floor and subject to continual recall, they have to be responsive to the needs of those around them.

Through the Ford deal and similar proposals the employers try to overcome these problems by negotiating directly with the national trade union officials who are not responsible to the men in the particular factory affected by the deal.

One aim of government

legislation is to strengthen union officials at the expense of the rank and file.

Ford shows that it is more important than ever to link up shop stewards' organisations to fight to keep shop floor control over conditions of work. Ford shows too the need to fight for democratic control over the trade unions to prevent the organisations they themselves have built from becoming tools to be used against them.

Situation

They will not be easy battles. Many workers will have to change their ideas to meet the new situation.

But if we are successful we can move easily from defending past gains to challenging for complete control over industry and society.



Castle's aim: break the militants

Barbara Castle's White Paper on the unions seeks to blame militant workers for the problems facing British capitalism and to solve the problems by taking power away from the shop floor. Industry, says PETER OSBORNE*, will be more rigidly controlled by the employers and policed for them by union officials. But Castle's proposals are not yet law ...



Unity of interests: TUC and CBI officials signing an 'initiative on productivity' in 1967. The White Paper seeks to tighten up powers of both bodies.

Bosses' charter—designed by Labour

IN PLACE OF STRIFE—a Policy for Industrial Relations. So says the title of the government's White Paper.

And with a mixture of misinformation, threats and deceptive promises they open up a war on all workers aimed at ending in victory for their paymasters. If they are allowed to succeed, workers will lose even those hard-won rights they now have and be more exposed than ever to management attacks and exploitation. Consider a worker in dispute in the future. His union would have to be registered, and have certain approved rules on procedure and discipline. His wage packet would be decided by productivity agreements negotiated by full-time officials, in strict accordance with incomes policy. Any complaints he dared to raise would have to be taken through a government-approved procedure.

time, there has to be a new system of industrial relations which will better serve the bosses' purposes. As the Donovan Report said, and the White Paper repeats, anti-strike laws on their own would not work and would only serve to close the ranks of those under attack. So in the name of the 'National Interest', the plans are drawn up and a system of industrial relations plotted out intended to penetrate the guard of large sections of workers. First, lip-service is paid to the collective bargaining process and we are told that since this works well at its best it should be extended and improved.

off workers with managements who weakly give in to their inflationary demands. It does not explain how British workers' wage rises are no greater than in any other comparable country; how the average British worker puts in longer hours, has fewer holidays, and fewer fringe benefits than his European counterpart; how his productivity is on a par with comparable industrialised countries. It does not tell how in those countries where productivity is appreciably higher, as in the United States, this owes nothing to working harder and everything to capitalism's investment in more advanced and more costly methods of production.

action for 28 days, with fines for disobeying. The employer could also be ordered to keep to the 'status quo' before the dispute, but it would be up to the Secretary of State to decide. In short, the Secretary of State would decide whether he thought the workers had a case (according to incomes policy and approved procedure) before making any order on the employer. In the meantime, the workers involved would be subjected to 28 days of propaganda and pressures designed to undermine their morale and intimidate them into good behaviour. The financial penalties for breaking an order would be a permanent threat, while the odds would be carefully stacked against them at the end of the 28 days. For strikes where the procedure had been gone through and all was official, the Secretary of State could order a ballot of the members where he decided that a serious threat to the economy or public interest was involved. This conjures up the pantomime prospect of a union executive forcing militancy on the members against their will.

sour centre. There is to be an appeals procedure against unfair dismissal. But there is no mention of who decides, in the event of a decision in favour of the worker, whether the outcome is re-instatement or compensation. The Donovan Report recommended a maximum compensation of two years' pay (with a ceiling of £40 a week). In a situation where any industrial action for re-instatement is made increasingly difficult, this would be a bosses' charter for getting rid of the more militant workers. A quick counting of the heads and it could be cheap at the price!

the parties expressly agree. Employers will be urged to negotiate comprehensive agreements which remove hard-won protective work practices and give them the right to take on 'dilutees' at will. The government will make funds available to unions to encourage the training of full-time officials! Although it is not spelt out, it is made crystal clear that every time 'collective bargaining' is mentioned, 'collective productivity bargaining' is meant. Unions will be expected to negotiate agreements strictly according to the rules—and the rules only allow wage increases and improvements of conditions in accordance with incomes policy. Since wage rates will only be improved and working hours reduced in return for increased productivity, officials will be bargaining away jobs to improve the rates for those that remain, and swapping new methods of working for old. Wage increases will necessarily be restricted while profits and dividends rise.

machinery of control all too easy for reactionary set-policemen to these controls them—controls doubtful a Tory would have dare For socialist is clear. Outright iate opposition Paper and all i and support for a fight it.

PRESSURE

If he acted outside the procedure laid down, he could be forbidden to make any move for 28 days, while pressure was brought to bear on him. If he disobeyed, there would be fines—to be taken out of his wage packet or collected by the bailiffs.

The White Paper is a statement of the government's proposals affecting the future of all sections of the labour movement. It is a recognition of the ever increasing demands of management and industry for a controlled and disciplined work-force, and puts the stamp of approval on many of the suggestions of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations—the Donovan Report. It puts much of the blame for economic difficulties on to militant workers, and says—in effect—that since workers cannot be effectively disciplined at the present

The proposals are to be carried through in the forthcoming Industrial Relations Bill, intended to achieve what the government calls 'the reform and extension of collective bargaining'.

Not that all the proposals are equally dangerous at first sight—there are Smarties among the cyanide tablets. Trade union recognition is offered as a right. There is a promise of 'opening the books' (or perhaps a few pages of them) to trade union negotiators.

Yet it is clear that the 'rights' are only there against a background of industrial discipline where the procedures are controlled and the results vetted. The worker is given the freedom of a laboratory rat—free to follow the experimenter's maze.

The White Paper draws a picture of society that would be laughable if it was not so dishonest. Consumers in general and the National Interest in particular, it suggests, are suffering at the hands of well-

VICTIMS

It does not tell how workers are being forced to pay for the revision and rationalisation of industry, or that they are the victims of capitalism's economic difficulties—not the cause.

Industry wants a disciplined labour force. The government is doing its best to oblige.

There will be those, says the White Paper, who will have strikes which will cause serious damage 'not only to employees elsewhere, and above all to the country's economic development'.

Therefore two measures are proposed, one to deal with what the White Paper calls unofficial strikes and one to deal with official strikes.

In strikes where there is no agreed procedure, or where the procedure has not been followed, those involved could be ordered to take no

FIGHT

Employers will, in any case, fight tooth and nail to keep the right of re-instatement out of the hands of the sacked worker.

The new Commission for Industrial Relations is to have the job of advising on the campaign. Its chairman is to be George Woodcock, a man who believes in the corporate state.

For him, consensus politics works—the consensus of government, business, industry, and trade union bureaucrats like Woodcock.

Another appointment to the Commission is L.T. Blakeman, fresh from his job of Labour Relations at Ford.

Blakeman has no illusions about any community of interest between workers and management. He is on record as saying that conflict in industry is inevitable because there are two sides with irreconcilable objectives. Blakeman's job is to see that management wins.

Nor is the threat simply in the measures themselves. It is quite feasible that this government will not need to attempt to enforce them all.

The TUC and the union bureaucrats will have every incentive to sell the scheme to their members, while the propaganda arms of the state—press, TV and radio—will serve their masters well with ever more vicious attacks on militants and with increasing support for those union leaders who learn their roles well.

A well-trained trade union official will be a welcome addition to the management's payroll. Social democracy has arrived at its shoddy compromise with industry and set up the

DELAY

Rather, such a strike ballot could be expected when the members, having gone through the full procedure, were close to getting their executive to act.

Any strike ballot would be unlikely in a situation where it would increase militancy. Instead, it would be used as a delaying tactic while workers were brought under attack from other quarters—families worried by the prospect of a temporary drop in money to meet their commitments, the concerted attentions of newspapers, TV and radio, and the isolation of militants.

It is not enough for a worker to know he is right—he also needs some prospect of winning now and again.

And if this was not enough, a careful reading of the White Paper makes it clear that the Secretary of State can determine the form of question put in the ballot.

With a touching concern for workers' rights, which they must have been saving up for this special occasion, the government also proposes new legal requirements for trade union rules, covering such matters as admission, discipline and strike ballots.

Unions would have to register, and a condition for staying registered would be that they operated the government-imposed rules. The current proposals also include the function and appointment of shop stewards and there is no guarantee as to what will be added at a later date.

A new Industrial Board would deal with complaints against unions by individual members and matters concerning trade union registration. It would have powers to impose fines—to be collected from the wage packets of militants or by the county court bailiffs.

Even the sweeties have a

IGNORED

The long-term effects of such bargaining—the reduction in the number of jobs available, the growth of unemployment among school-leavers especially as jobs are negotiated away instead of filled, increasing large-scale redundancies as whole industries rationalise and re-organise—these are not mentioned.

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Up to now workers have Incomes Policy of the attacks in isolation from

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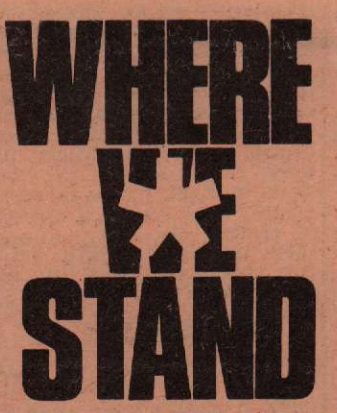
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SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant inequalities, its periodic crises, wars and racialist hysteria must be replaced by one based 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.

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The never-ending sagas of the men of property

IN ADDITION to the cops, the most potent stratum of society to build television series round seems to be big business, with BBC's The Troubleshooters and ITV's The Power Game top of the monopoly league.

There is unending passion for ogling at Men With Power, or at least so the companies that pump them out at peak viewing hours would have us believe.

The Troubleshooters, an every week story of oil-producing folk, is based usually on incomprehensible (and largely unreal) complications surrounding the purchasing of smaller companies, shareholders and people in order to either merge with a large American company (called Zenith) or not, depending which side the lad-next-door directors happen to be or at the time.

Ranging from the amenable (everybody's favourite Uncle) Willy Izard, to the scheming Brian Stead, boss and Little Englander, the oddly assorted band of oil magnates machinate their way through ever more complex plots to ever more inconclusive pay-offs. (A recent denouement was a frustrated Japanese oil man destroying his house with a ceremonial sword having flunked impaling himself on it).

High finance

But this is not the main point. The main point in both the Mogul Saga and The Power Game is that the maze-like intricacies of the language of high finance (mixed in The Troubleshooters with the rugged, virile vocabulary of rigs and shaft-dropping) are merely the excuse for a News Of The World peek through the board-

TV

room windows at the High Life.

It is a life in which beautiful women are having troubled marriages with the beautiful magnate husband who knows his vintages and flies off to Tokyo at the drop of an expense account, and a life in which the word mistress is not used coyly as a reversion to an Edwardian pastime of the rich, but is in common usage.

In The Troubleshooters, indeed, every opportunity is

taken to exploit the nine o'clock rule. In every episode I have watched since Christmas there has been some woman who has pointlessly (and unerotically) spent one scene padding about in slip, nightdress or towel.

And the amount of deals that are contracted in the boudoir of some impossibly young executive's wife/mistress/daughter/secretary open up new vistas of possibility and promise for the financially ambitious.

Pink liberalism

But The Troubleshooters does occasionally get its bit of pink liberalism in between the french kisses and Morocco hotels.

Willy Izard got rather het up about Mogul's production of napalm. He didn't resign, 'tis true, but he got a bit het up and Brian Stead had to

give him some strong words about competition and the dog-eats-dog nature of big business.

Not so The Power Game. It's author, Wilfred Greatorex, admires the bulbous and unscrupulous John Wilder.

'I was determined I was never going to be poor', he told a TV Times interviewer. And he seems pretty determined that Wilder, who black-mails, fornicates and exploits his way through everybody who crosses his path, is the answer to our namby-pamby society more concerned with apartheid than the profitability of deals with South African monopolies.

In neither of these series, least of all the latter, do we ever actually see anybody who earns a wage from any of these companies. Why should we? Their world is as false and unreal as that of Softly, Softly.

There is a third series running on big business at

the moment. It's about the big business of an earlier era, called the Forsyte Saga.

A more ridiculous, obscene and absurd spectacle than a never-ending TV debate on whether the arch-capitalist man of property, Soames Forsyte was or was not justified in pressing his favours on his wife, the vamp Irene, one would find it difficult to find.

Real crimes

Which does not detract from the fact that the glorification of big business into some sort of French boudoir farce cum personality cult obscures and fogs the real crimes that are committed in boardrooms, not bedrooms, every day of the invisible workers life.

DAVID EDGAR

School children are organising against the growing harshness of education

Spreading like wildfire, the classroom revolt

by MARTIN BARKER



Pupils at a London comprehensive demonstrated in support of their striking teachers last month.

A MOVEMENT has been developing like wildfire inside British schools in the last six months.

Pupils have been questioning, organising, arguing, on occasion striking. The laurels of student revolt have appeared in the classrooms.

Many people say we should ignore this movement, that schoolkids are too young to understand, that they are being led astray by the notorious 'militant minority'.

But is this a fair account? What should we, as revolutionary socialists, say about the activities of school pupils?

First it is necessary to put the present unrest into context.

The character of education is changing rapidly. As capitalism world-wide streamlines faster and faster, British industry is faced with ever more cut-throat competition. And to be competitive, it must have men and women trained as cheaply and quickly as possible, exactly fitted for jobs in society.

Jigsaw puzzle

The whole pattern of British education has to be changed to fit this situation. It is exactly these changes that brought the revolt in the universities. It is exactly these changes that is bringing the revolt in the schools. For if education is to fit neatly into the jigsaw puzzle of British capitalism, it must cut out waste. And waste includes everything from free school milk, to classes of less than 30 pupils.

Conditions must be made worse in the interests of turning out more qualified workers. Expenditure must be cut where possible (cuts in the schools building programme for example), but output must rise.

Happy to accept

This is the reason why, under capitalism, a comprehensive system of schooling is just as bad as nationalisation under capitalism.

The ruling class is fairly happy to accept a comprehensive system—so long as their own children can still go to public or grammar school. (Notice the rank hypocrisy of a recent Minister of Education who campaigned for comprehensive education and sent his children to public schools!)

Comprehensives in this way simply become jungles for working-class children, removing the inefficiency of the old small schools, but doing little or nothing to help the children. Thus we have comprehensive schools carefully sabotaged by local councils, either by keeping out the grammar school streams or, if they are good schools, as in the case of Risinghill, by closing them down.

Either way, the drive has been towards efficiency—and never mind who suffers on the way.

The revolt of the pupils, only just beginning here, is well under way on the continent. In France, the Comites d'Action Lycees have carried on since the May uprising with even more vigour than the university students.

In Paris nearly all the schools are organised into the CALS, which have good relations with the teachers. In West Germany, secondary school pupils have been in the forefront of student militancy.

Now that the revolt is coming to the surface here, what should our reaction be? It will do no good to say that the pupils are too young to understand what they are doing. In Swansea, for example, the demands put forward by the Schools Union show a level of political sophistication that would put many trade unions to shame.

Not is it good enough to say that a militant minority are causing all the trouble. The myth of the handful of troublemakers was exploded once again at LSE, and only those who are concerned to pour scorn or hatred on to radical movements will repeat it now.

Question fabric

When pupils organise, they question the fabric of education and society—and quickly find holes. It is only while they are apathetic and conditioned to accept what is given them in the name of education that they are too young to count.

But once they revolt, they question; and once they question, they are no longer young.

During the May revolt in France, even the headmistress of a fashionable girls' school was forced to admit that 'we have been agreeably surprised to discover real qualities of organisation and seriousness in our girls'. But it took a complete rejection of bourgeois education to bring out this seriousness.

One of the clearest signs of this political maturity has been in the support given by pupils to their teachers. In Dublin earlier this month, I watched a demonstration by 2000 school pupils in support of their teachers' pay claim. On this and several other demonstrations, the slogans were 'Lenihan must go' (he is the Minister of Education) and 'Free Education'.

In France, one pupil was quoted as saying: 'We don't want to fight the teachers but to bring them over to our point of view'.

If you think this isn't surprising, bear in mind that in many schools the cane is the prime source of authority and suspension or expulsion can come as easily as a telling-off.

The reactions of the teachers vary. Some of the

younger teachers in particular gladly take the chance of helping the pupils to reform the schools.

They see themselves as the poor relations of education and know they have more in common with the mass of underprivileged pupils than with the heads and the Boards of Governors, usually made up of local big-wigs and bosses.

But some teachers are thoroughly scared of their pupils. They cling to their privileges and fight any movement among their pupils.

Recently, for example, the Leeds National Association of Schoolmasters secretary was reported as saying of pupils trying to start a Schools Union in the area: '...now that I know about them I shall certainly make enquiries among colleagues, I feel we must be concerned at any infiltration into schools'. It is absolutely disgusting that a trade unionist should say this.

As revolutionaries, our attitude is clear. We must oppose all subjection of education to the demands of capitalism. A socialist education would be one that encouraged the full development of a person's talents, not just those that are useful to the capitalists.

In addition, and because of this, we must support any movement by pupils that calls into question the authoritarian structure of schools, that challenges the dogmatic truths that are taught and that does just a little to change some of the most oppressive institutions in Britain at the moment.

Teachers can help. They can soften the blows of a bureaucratic system and they can help the pupils question what is handed down to them.

Pupils' ideas

But the really revolutionary ideas on education will come, not from the mass of the teachers, but from the pupils. As Marx said (in another context) 'the educators must themselves be educated'.

Schools unions are springing up in many parts of the country. London, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Swansea and many other places now have their own organisation their own meetings and publications.

Already the councils and the heads are moving against them. The Leeds SAU for example reported that one head had gone so far as to call the police to stop pupils leafletting. The weight of the state is quick to try to suppress anyone who threatens it, whether they be

students, trade unionists or school children.

We must support any movement that brings more people over to the side of

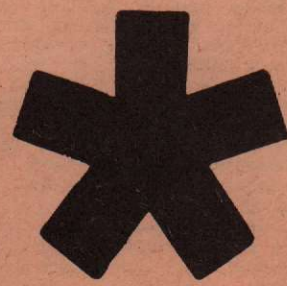
revolution and challenges the authority of capitalism in yet another part of society.

It is worth remembering,

also, that many of the pupils now organising in the schools will be apprentices and young workers in two or three years—the life blood of the militant working class.

Join the International Socialists

- | | | |
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|---|---|--|



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

Name _____

Address _____

Olympia fights 'prod' deal

The opening of the Ideal Home exhibition at Olympia was postponed this week when electricians went on strike and building workers erecting stands began a work-to-rule over a productivity deal analysed below.

By an Exhibition Worker (ASPD)

WORKERS EXPECT unions to struggle for better living standards and working conditions, but the productivity agreement just signed by the building unions in the exhibition industry does just the opposite.

The exhibition workers are to be granted 10s a day productivity payment. Here is how we pay for it:-

ICI plan to smash militants

From VICTOR BARNES
ICI shop steward

IN OCTOBER 1965 Imperial Chemical Industries produced a document entitled Manpower Utilisation and Payment Structure (MUPS). It was approved by the signatory unions to ICI agreements.

The aim was that in return for a slight increase in pay, (based upon an annual 'salary' paid weekly) workers would achieve and maintain maximum efficiency and flexibility in the utilisation of their labour.

The company would have the freedom to use employees in any way they wished. The outcome would be that every tradesman would become an odd-job man.

Opposition at rank and file level was so determined that until January 1968 not one factory had agreed to trials of the plan. Since that time four small sites with weak organisation have been dragged into accepting trials.

Technique

The management's technique in trying to gain acceptance is interesting.

Workers are involved in discussion groups of five. They are invited to make suggestions to improve the importance of their job.

Any 'improvements' which coincide with the management's predetermined notions are accepted.

Needless to say the views of the shop stewards are ignored. The company magazine has referred to the technique as 'an exercise in industrial democracy'.

Of course the 'industrial democrats' have not been above issuing an old fashioned threat. 'Non acceptance of trials will result in the transfer of work to sites where they are in operation—outside of Great Britain if necessary'.

Undoubtedly the degree of resistance has rattled both management and union bosses. A secret document (CLD 6/68 Senior Management Div. MUPS CO/RD) intended for senior management only has fallen into the hands of shop stewards, and is very revealing.

Ignorance

Apart from usual ignorance of what motivates widespread militancy, it shows clearly how the bosses have come to rely on union officials and the government to solve the problem of militancy:-

'Q When can the elimination of this resistance be expected?

A It is thought that as government pressure is brought upon the union's national bodies to conclude the MUPS some of this pressure will be exerted by the national officers on their more recalcitrant members, so that in time the trade union side will itself remove this resistance.'

So far ICI management have failed to interest more than a handful of their employees in this patent swindle. Resistance will go on in the face of government and union pressure, but its continued success ultimately depends upon strong rank and file organisation in every factory and the strengthening of the already existing links between factories.

The subversive propaganda of the ICI bosses must be countered by the open exposition of their anti-working class aims.

1 Withdrawal of standing orders. (Standing orders include the limit on overtime imposed by the men themselves and has no official recognition in the trade.

The 'freedom' to work all non-sleeping hours is thus guaranteed. Taken further it also means more hours per man, less men per job and shorter periods of employment between exhibitions.

2 Withdrawal of the two paid 30 minute tea-breaks in the halls to be replaced by two 10 minute breaks with tea delivered at the point of production.

3 Stewards' meetings during working hours be permitted for the election of a convenor steward. This restricts the stewards to one meeting per show.

4 Week-end working is necessary and we are asked to co-operate in turning up diligently to work when needed.

WEAKENS

These points are not so much strings as chains. The union executives have forwarded, for Barbara's stamp, a document which weakens our organisation at every level.

By restricting stewards' meetings to one per show, contact between the workers employed by the numerous contractors in the halls is drastically reduced. This is an industry where although 100 per cent trade union, liaison between different sectors is at a primitive level.

The task of uniting the fragments in the industry is made much more difficult, to the satisfaction of employers and union bureaucrats.

The 10s a day is conditional on the exhibition workers completing 40 hours a week. The slack periods when there is no overtime or being a couple of minutes late for work means the inevitable failure to do the conditional 40 hours. Those couple of minutes late will cost us £2 10s.

PROBLEMS

If a man had a day off mid-week he might have to make up his 40 hours by working the week-end at single time before he could claim his 10s a day.

Nowhere does the document touch on the problems that face us in the industry:-

The constant cutting of days allowed for build-ups.

The ever-increasing menace of 'pirates' operating on the lump.

Excessive overtime demands at the employers' convenience.

The inadequate canteen that can only seat 50 per cent of those who wish to use it.

These are not the problems that trouble the employers and union bureaucrats happily operating a wage freeze policy laid down by the Labour government and the bankers.

By shackling the organisation, they weaken our resistance to this type of deal.

POLICY

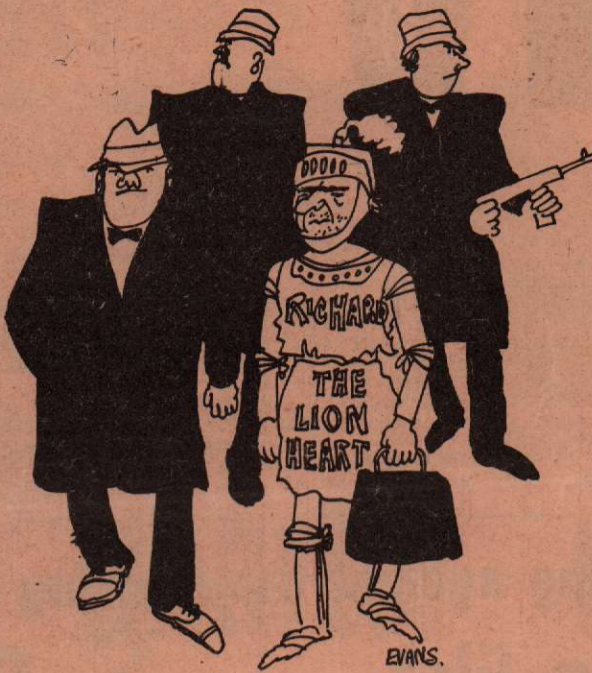
No union leader had the right to sign this agreement, which is contrary to the expressed policy of the exhibition workers.

On every job we do there is a target—the opening day of the exhibition concerned. If we do not get the 10s a day without any strings, then every opening date is in jeopardy.

All negotiations must be carried out by the stewards and all decisions ratified at mass meetings.

Exhibition companies must reveal their secret profits. Their books must be open for the stewards' inspection.

We can only get good conditions for ourselves in the employers' highly lucrative 'hardboard jungle' by strong shop floor organisation. This is what the latest productivity deal seeks to destroy.



Young Catholics join militant rights march

From GEORGE WILLIAMSON

GLASGOW:- More than 1000 people marched through the city last Saturday in support of civil rights in Northern Ireland and defied an attempt by local magistrates to ban the demonstration.

The march was made up of 500 from Left-wing organisations, 500 Catholic workers—most of them young—and a few Protestant workers. There were a few individual members of the Young Communist League and the Connolly Association present, but the Communist Party stayed away.

Chanted nonsense

A 100-strong Paisleyite circus accompanied the march. They chanted nonsense about the Pope, the Pill and the Battle of the Boyne, sang Protestant songs, the National Anthem and hymns and waved orange sashes and the Union Jack.

The revolutionary Left replied with socialist slogans and songs. The disciplined response of the young Catholic workers was magnificent. They refused to be provoked into singing pro-Catholic songs and joined in civil rights slogans.

The day before the march, City magistrates invoked the 1936 Public Order Act (introduced to deal with Mosley's fascists) to give the police power to arrest anyone who strayed from the planned route of the demonstration, backed with the threat of a three-month prison sentence. The magistrates feared the

marchers might go down Argyll Street, the busiest shopping area in the city. A massive contingent of uniformed and plain-clothes police accompanied the marchers.

At a meeting in Exchange Square, International Socialists, Clan na h'Eiran (the Irish republican movement) and student speakers put the socialist case on Ireland—unity of Catholic and Protestant workers to fight the bosses, North and South.

50,000 leaflets for the demonstration were given out. They were clearly socialist in appeal. Some 20,000 went to Glasgow factories.

The Connolly Association tried to sabotage the march. At an ad-hoc organising committee meeting the vote was overwhelmingly in favour of ignoring the police ban on Argyll Street.

In spite of this, two members of the Connolly Association went to the police and told them they were willing to accept an alternative police route.

Two days later, an attempt was made to turn a Connolly Association meeting—attended by a senior magistrate—into an ad hoc committee meeting, presumably to again try to reverse the decision. But the presence of a Clan na h'Eiran member stopped this.

Finally, at the end of last week, the secretary of the Connolly Association issued a press statement (the Morning Star included) and sent a letter to the magistrates saying that they were withdrawing from the march.

DASH NOT IMPRESSED BY DOCKS CONTROL

A GROTESQUE ALLIANCE of that fine, real life militant Peter Kerrigan (outstanding) made the situation not only believable but possible.

For a memorable hour and a half the lies and distortions of the ruling class dried up. We saw real workers taking control of their jobs, heard the force and logic of revolutionary marxism, saw the brutal reality of the bosses' state machine.

Jack Dash, commenting on the play on Late Night Line-Up, said it 'wasn't his idea of workers' control'.

No, said Jack. He believes in workers' participation, with the men represented on boards of management with union and state officials.

A memorable evening, indeed. A Trotskyist play followed by a brief outline of the theory of state capitalism! R.P.

TV column page 3

BICC men oppose wage cut

From ROSS HILL

PRESCOT(Lancs):- After decades without a strike, the peaceful atmosphere at the British Insulated Callender's Cables works has erupted.

A productivity deal was negotiated recently for the workers by Transport Workers Union officials. Bonuses were levelled downwards and 9/2d an hour was added to the basic rate, but only on the first 40 hours worked. The result was a substantial wage cut for many workers.

One shop steward commented: 'The TGWU officials are not communicating with the men in the factory. We've been let down all ends up by Les Kealey, the national officer.'

Issued call

The workers struck two weeks ago and posted 24-hour pickets. Fuel tankers are being turned round at the gates.

The 6/124 TGWU Prescot branch has issued a call to all other TGWU members in BICC to give support. They demand:

9/2d award to qualify for premium time.

Negotiations for £15 per week minimum wage.

Shop floor representation in any future negotiations.

The stewards decided to support the demonstration in Liverpool on February 27 against the government's anti-union laws.

Donations and resolutions of support to: Jim McEgan, 16 Bryer Road, Prescot, Lancs.

Irish brickies

strike against

anti-worker law

Socialist Worker Reporter

GALWAY CITY:- 240 Irish bricklayers downed tools for one hour throughout the city and county last week in the first political strike in Ireland for years.

The men, who belong to one of the oldest craft unions in the world, the Ancient Guild of Incorporated Brick and Stone Layers, were protesting against the proposed Criminal Justice Bill.

The Bill, which will make it illegal to hold a parade without police permission is part of the Fianna Fail (Tory) government's strategy to hamstring the Irish working class.

Most organisations in the state, including the ruling party, have protested against the Bill. This was the first real action against it.

No-laws march

MORE THAN 800 supporters of the All Trades Unions Alliance and the Young Workers and Apprentices Committee marched through London on Sunday against the government's anti-union proposals.

Announcements

IS Industrial Conference, London, Saturday March 1st. For details contact your branch secretary or write to John Phillips, 60 Longland Court, Avondale Sq. London SE1.

FIND OUT about Ulster. London meeting to plan solidarity with Peoples Democratic Spkrs. McC. Michael Farrell and Eamonn McCann, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. London WC1, Saturday March 1st. 10.30-4.30.

TRIBUNE—the leading socialist weekly. Absolutely essential reading for every socialist, radical and revolutionary. You won't agree with everything we say—nobody does, nobody ever has. But workers by hand and by brain need Tribune and use it to express their views. You can't afford to be out of touch. Every Friday from newsagents or 24 St John St London EC1.

IS Workers Control badges 1/- each, 10/- dozen. Crossed cheques, POs to Judith Barker, 148 Princes Road, Liverpool 8.

IN DEFENCE OF STRIKES—the Anti-Castle Report, 6-page pamphlet, 3d each, 2/6 dozen, plus postage. From Merseyside IS, 5 Lothar Rd, Liverpool L4 0RL. 051-ANF-7885.

LESSONS OF THE LAST FORD BATTLE

By DAVE GRAHAM

ONCE AGAIN Ford workers are spearheading the battle against speed-up, productivity deals and the discipline that both the Labour government and the employers would like to impose on the trade union movement.

In 1962 Ford workers lost their last major battle. But the lessons of that struggle are important to the present dispute.

In 1962 the cry of the employers was the same as it is now: more production, streamlining and the disciplining of militants who challenged the management's methods.

Trade union officials in 1962 negotiated a deal behind the backs of stewards and workers—they are still using the same tactics. The threat contained in the deal was not to reduce wages but to pay over the rate and then, by introducing speed-up, to make everyone produce more than they were being paid for.

SCENE

The centre of the 1962 dispute was the newly opened paint, trim and assembly shop. It was the scene of a number of stoppages over manning, time and motion study and the management's attempts to push up output with no extra labour.

The garage at Ford was also under pressure. One morning the men turned up to find that 45 of them had been moved to different departments without any prior consultation with the shop stewards.

The men struck and were out for a week. Union officials did not take up the men's case and they were forced back on the management's terms rather than face the sack.

The increasing ineffectiveness of national officials made the company realise it could get away with near murder. Part of the deal the officials had negotiated had not been put in writing and gave the management a free hand to introduce indiscriminate speed-up and to discipline any workers who tried to resist.

SACKED

A week after the deal was signed, Bill Francis who had been a steward for 10 years was sacked from the PTA shop for holding a lunch-time meeting. His dismissal started a walk-out from all sections of the plant.

Two days later the whole plant met and voted by 5,317 to six to stay out until Francis was reinstated.

The sacking of Francis had been deliberately engineered by the management to force a showdown with the workers in order to weed out militants and allow speed-up and streamlining.

Towards the end of October, union officials recommended a return to work while the AEU considered Francis's case.

The management sent out letters to all workers, asking them to sign a 'good conduct' pledge and to agree to co-operate in preventing 'restrictive practice'. Only those who signed were taken back.

PRESSURE

Seventeen of the most militant stewards were not taken back. After considerable pressure from the rank and file, the unions started an official strike, but called it off when the government set up a court of inquiry.

The court's findings were predictable—red agitators and too powerful shop stewards were to blame for the trouble at Ford.

Conditions at Ford declined. Production went up, speed-up increased at a fantastic rate.

Seven years later Ford workers are again fighting new, ruthless methods by the management. The rank and file must learn the lessons of 1962, have no faith in the union officials and take control of the strike with the demand 'No secret deals'.

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