

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

146 13 NOVEMBER 1969 EVERY THURSDAY 4d

THE BIG PENSIONS RACKET

The Queen: we launch fund drive

SOCIALIST WORKER is outraged by the scandalous treatment given to the Queen and the Royal Family. It is infamous that they should be forced to live on such a miserable pittance by the state.

We have decided to launch an immediate fighting fund to rush urgently needed cash to Buckingham Palace. We hope that our readers will treat this call with the seriousness that it demands.

The Queen has to manage on a mere £475,000 a year, voted to her by parliament on the Civil List. From this slender sum, she pays her 300 staff, maintains her several residences, donates to charity and, with the small change, buys the odd off-the-peg comfi twin-set from C & A.

She also has several genteel relatives to support who have fallen on hard times. While Prince Philip (£40,000), the Queen Mum (£70,000), the Duke of Gloucester (£35,000), Princess Margaret (£15,000) and Prince Charles (£100,000) receive annual salaries from the State, Princess Alexandra, the Duchess of Kent and the rest rely on the Queen for the odd tanner and crust.

Of course, there are a few perks on the side. The Queen's private income is not disclosed by her bankers (Coutts and Co, if you're thinking of opening an account there) but she receives an annual £150,000 a year alone from her lands in the Duchy of Lancaster, which is not taxable.

In 1962, it was estimated that the Queen's private fortune stood at between £50m and £60m, but the Tory Bow Group thinks that figure is 'astoundingly modest'.

Of course, the Royal Family have no one to blame but themselves. They should take a leaf out of the workers' book — and get organised.

Some difficulty may arise in choosing the right union for them. Perhaps the General and Municipal Workers for the Queen and the Supervisors and Technicians for Prince Philip (though Clive Jenkins may feel that one comedian in the organisation is sufficient).

Naturally, any pay rise given to the Royal Family must contain 'productivity concessions' in the national interest. We suggest (being helpful and loyal people) that perhaps in return for a small increase, Prince Philip should agree to go on a continuous world cruise that would keep him out of the country permanently.

The Queen has already taken a step in the right direction by abandoning her Christmas broadcast. In return for a 3½ per cent wage rise (keeping her within the Incomes Policy) we think she should agree to refrain from making any further public appearances at all.

But this is mere reformism. Harold Wilson had the right idea years ago. He said that when any major business, vital to the country's economy, was failing the nation then the state must step in and nationalise it.

Nationalise the Royal Family! The obvious solution — though we would be failing in our revolutionary duty if we omitted the demand: Under workers' control.



JOIN THE ANTI-APARTHEID SCRUM...

The scene outside Leicester rugby ground on Saturday

EVERY TRADE UNIONIST should follow the lead of the Scottish miners who on Monday called on their members to support a mammoth protest demonstration in Edinburgh on 6 December when the all-white South African rugby tourists are due to play Scotland.

Already, police, players and government have been badly rattled by the angry demonstrations outside the Springbok matches in London and Leicester. The government may be forced to step in and cancel the tour for the cost and pressure on the police force of deploying a thousand men at every game cannot be kept up indefinitely.

The issue is a political one. The Springboks must be sent home as a sign of the detestation felt by millions of people towards the brutal system of apartheid controlled in South Africa by men who, during the last war, made no bones about their support for the German Nazis.

It is not the anti-apartheid demonstrators who are introducing politics into sport. It is the Vorster police regime that does that, not merely by choosing all-white sports teams but by forcibly segregating black people who have the worst land, the worst jobs, the worst pay. Thousands of opponents of the regime, black and white, are in prison or concentration camps like

Roben Island.

It was no coincidence that 63 of the 65 miners killed in a blasting accident in a Johannesburg gold mine last week were black Africans. The profits of the apartheid regime have been built on the blood of the African workers, particularly those in the mining industry.

This vicious racist regime must be opposed by all the militancy that the trade union, socialist and student movements can muster. The rugby men should be sent packing — and that must be a mere prelude to what the cricketers can expect if they show their faces here next summer.

In spite of all the moralising guff in the millionaire press (which gets substantial money to advertise South African products) the rugby men and cricketers are not 'good chaps', who have nothing to do with their government. If they were sportsmen, they would refuse to play for a country that picks men not for their skill but their colour.

The squalid little racials of the National Front have said they will help steward Springbok matches. We call upon all our readers to support anti-apartheid demonstrations at every match.

THIS SATURDAY in Swansea: Anti-Apartheid demonstration will meet at 12 outside the Guildhall before march to the rugby ground.

Workers subsidise rich

by Jim Kincaid

LAST WEEK's White Paper on the new pension scheme marked further major concessions by the government to the demands of employers and the big insurance interests.

Mr Richard Crossman, the government's social security overlord, has decided that employers are not to be compelled to increase company pensions to compensate for rising prices after retirement.

Instead occupational pensions are to be protected against inflation at the expense of the State scheme. In effect, this means massive public subsidies to employers and to their higher-paid, mainly managerial groups selected for special pension privileges.

Employer-run pension schemes are now big business, though about half of all manual workers are still excluded and likely to stay that way. For the upper middle class, the private pension scheme is usually a generous addition to life-time earnings. But more than half of the current generation of occupational pensioners get less than £3 a week from their employers and 20 per cent get less than £1 a week.

Given such small pensions, even the new State scheme, for all its limitations, can offer a better deal to the vast majority of workers.

Hard to change job

The employers have set up occupational schemes for their own purposes, not for the welfare of their workers. After contributing to such a scheme for some years, it becomes difficult for a worker to change employer without losing his pension rights. Occupational pension schemes help employers to attract and retain scarce labour and are a useful aid to workplace discipline.

Heavy State subsidisation of the scheme, via tax relief, allows the employer to finance company pensions at a low cost to himself.

The biggest pensions are reserved for highly-paid managerial and professional personnel. But for large groups of manual workers in the public sector, pension schemes are used to buy off pressure for higher wages. Workers themselves, not even the unions, rarely have any say in the management of company schemes.

In recent months, the employers have run a massive publicity and pressure campaign to get State support for their schemes at the expense of the

mass of workers who will be contributing to the new State scheme. The government has now given employers most of what they demanded.

At present the big weakness of employer-run schemes is that their pensions are hardly ever increased after a person retires, no matter how long he lives or how great the fall in the purchasing power of his pension.

One good feature of the new State scheme is that the pension it will pay will be increased every two years to match the increase in the average level of wages. So old age pensioners are promised a share in any increase in the living standards of wage earners generally.

What the government has now decided is that employers, if they wish (and without needing to consult their workers) can contract selected groups of their employees onto part of the main State scheme. When



CROSSMAN: no compulsion for private schemes

this happens, the employee will get a lower State pension scheme which must be made up to a stated level out of the occupational scheme.

But in return, the contributions the employer and employee must make to the State scheme are greatly reduced. For the employer there is a big additional bonus. He is to be under no obligation to protect the pensions his scheme pays against post-retirement inflation. The full cost of inflation-proofing will fall on the State scheme.

To meet this extra cost, the rate of contribution to the State scheme will have to be raised seven years from now, instead of after a 17 year period as originally planned.

And to cap it all, since the bigger the pension, the greater the cost of protecting its value against inflation, the new State subsidies will, of course, be paid to men with pension rights well above average.

More and more Labour's welfare state looks like outdoor relief for distressed capitalists.

* There will be a fuller analysis of the pensions scheme in next week's Socialist Worker.

Communist congress page 2
Clyde shipyard fiasco page 3
Zambia copper fraud page 5

VIETNAM
MARCH 23
NOVEMBER

Hyde Park 1.30pm to Trafalgar Square via US Embassy and 10 Downing Street

The 'golden 1930s' of the Communist Party - myth peddled by Gollan's opponents

by Duncan Hallas

THE REAL ISSUES in the current conflict in the British Communist Party are much wider than the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. Support for Brezhnev, Husak and co. is a handy stick to beat the Gollan leadership with.

But even if John Gollan saw the light and reversed his position on the Russian intervention, much of the opposition would still be hostile to the political committee majority and would still fight against what they correctly see as the trend towards the liquidation of the party as an independent force.

The core of the opposition, the group around Sid French, secretary of the Surrey District Committee, is concerned with the steady decline of the party's industrial and educational work. They are sharply critical of what has been called 'the indiscriminate loving up to all sorts of fake parliamentary and trade union lefts'.

Healthy revulsion

They criticise the low level of the party press, the lack of a class struggle approach in the Morning Star, the new, trendy colour supplement, 'pin-up girl' style of the youth paper Challenge. They attribute the falling off of activity, sales and influence to the 'revisionist' line of the leadership.



GOLLAN: pays lip-service to emancipation of workers

In a confused and distorted way the opposition expresses a healthy revulsion against the more and openly reformist practice of the party. Unfortunately this healthy aspect is bound up with illusions and reactionary ideas.

Many of the critics are looking backwards. The 1930s is their their lost golden age.

At that time, French has pointed out, the party was much smaller than it is now but the discipline, cohesion and self-sacrifice of the membership gave it an incomparably greater influence in the labour movement. A return to a monolithic party, a cadre party making great demands on its members, a party that speaks with one voice and tolerates no dissent, this is what is needed.

There are several things wrong with this argument. First of all it is impossible, given the ideological basis of the party.

The monolith has cracked. Tito, Mao, Ceausescu, Castro

and Dubcek, all in their different ways, have shattered the ideological unity of Stalinism and shattered it beyond repair. The time when J. V. Stalin spoke and was immediately echoed by CP members all over the world has gone forever.

Second, the argument is reactionary. The days when the CP was a model activist party were also the days of the Popular Front. The party's strategy was an electoral alliance with the Labour Party and the Liberals on a 'minimum anti-fascist programme'.

So far to the right was the party's line that it was possible for the right wing of the Labour Party to oppose a CP-inspired motion at the 1936 Labour Conference with a resolution of their own declaring that they (Attlee, Morrison, Bevin and co.) were 'invariably opposed to any attempt to "water down" the Labour Party policy' in the interests of Popular Frontism!

Sycophantic worship

True, the party's trade union fraction were well disciplined and organised but their work was subordinated to the needs of 'unity', and not unity with the Labour lefts only, but also with all available non-socialist 'anti-fascists'. The Duchess of Atholl contributed to the Daily Worker and Mr Winston Churchill was referred to in respectful terms.

As to the party's educational work, it was instituted by the sickening, sycophantic worship of Stalin, the 'great leader and teacher', the infallible authority on everything from art to women's rights.

By choosing to make a



Churchill (respected) and Stalin (worshipped) in the 30s

major issue of the party leadership's criticism of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, the opposition has gained certain tactical advantages. It will be more difficult for the leadership to unceremoniously dump French and his friends than it was to dump Reg Birch.

After all, the Morning Star is heavily dependent financially on its East European sales! But this advantage is bought at a very high price. One of the complaints made against Gollan is that by his opportunistic policies he is 'giving the young ultra-lefts a field day'.

Telling indictment

Certainly any serious Left-wing tendency today has a major source of growth among newly radicalised young people and one of the most telling indictments of the party is that its youth organisation is declining at a time when more and more young people are rejecting capitalism. But they also reject, overwhelmingly, an

alleged 'socialism' that needs the support of foreign tanks against its own workers and students.

On this issue the party opposition is far to the right of Gollan. At least he pays lip service to the central idea of socialism, the self-emancipation of the working class. Those elements in the opposition who genuinely want a revolutionary party cannot avoid facing this problem. There can be no authentic socialist movement that does not base itself uncompromisingly on the defence of working-class interests against every kind of bourgeois or bureaucratic oppression.

The Communist Party leadership is undoubtedly every bit as opportunistic and reformist as the most extreme oppositionists say it is. When the political committee issued its statement condemning the Russian intervention in August 1968 Socialist Worker commented, 'In our opinion this relative independence is due largely to the Gollan group's adaption to reformist opinion in Britain, but it is nevertheless important'.

Gollan is in a cleft stick. On the one hand his strategy requires that he cling to Scanlon, Jones and Daly, to Foot, Orme and Newens, whatever political gyrations are necessary to do so. On the other hand the existence of the CP as a separate party - and the position of Gollan, Ramelson and the rest - depends upon the party having some sort of distinctive line.

Ideological millstone

There is no ultimate way out for the CP leadership because there is no room in British politics for a second reformist workers' party. The failure of the CP to grow or even to extend its influence when masses of Labour supporters are disgusted with their party proves this.

The party opposition has grasped this essential fact. But in the long run they will only be able to exploit it to the extent that they can free themselves from the ideological millstone of Stalinism.

UK workers' standards falling behind Europe

by Ian Birchall

RENEWED DISCUSSION of British entry to the European Common Market has raised the question of the effect on British living standards. An interesting contribution to the argument is provided by a pamphlet *The Common Market and the Common Man* (available free on request from European Community Information Office, 23 Chesham Street, London SW1).

The pamphlet takes a rosy view of the Common Market and its politics are naive and almost non-existent. But it contains a useful set of statistics comparing standards and conditions in Britain and the Common Market countries.

It must be remembered in all the examples following that exchange rates, different methods of measurement, etc., make exact comparisons impossible. Nonetheless, the clear impression gained is that British standards are slipping behind those on the Continent.

The United Kingdom has a clear lead in housing standards and consumer durables. It has a higher percentage of houses with bathrooms than any Common Market country, more telephones and televisions per head of population, and more cars than any country except France.

When it comes to incomes however, the UK is clearly behind. The following table shows percentage of average income for wage and salary earners from 1958 to 1967:

Country	Percentage of average income for wage and salary earners from 1958 to 1967
Netherlands	126
Italy	126
France	104
Germany	101
Belgium	84
UK	61
Luxembourg (1960-65 only)	38

When wages and living costs are compared a similar pattern emerges, though prices have risen more slowly in Britain than some European countries. Taking 1958 as 100:

Country	Hourly gross wages index - 1967	Consumer price index 1967
Belgium	170	123
France	183	140
Germany	199	123
Italy	206	137
Luxembourg	161	118

Country	203	137
UK	151	129

Even more striking is the fact that the gap between men's and women's pay is far wider in the UK than anywhere else. While equal pay is officially Common Market policy, it has been impossible to enforce it effectively.

Annual gross hourly wages in manufacturing industry, April 1968. (expressed in dollars)

Country	Men	Women
Belgium	1.15	0.78
France	0.93	0.70
Germany	1.22	0.89
Italy	0.79	0.58
Luxembourg	1.46	0.81
Netherlands	1.09	0.65
UK	1.20	0.68

Britain likewise lags behind when it comes to fringe benefits (social security, family allowances, etc.). On 1962 figures, fringe benefits in Britain came to only 21.6 per cent of wage costs, as against 71 per cent in France and 92 per cent in Italy. Some comparisons show how behind Britain is in social security.

Total expenditure on social welfare and security as percentage of Gross National Product - 1966

Country	Percentage of Gross National Product - 1966	Monthly family allowance for family with three children (in dollars) July 1968
Belgium	14.8	18.75
France	14.0	57.30
Germany	15.1	55.60
Italy	15.1	27.45
Luxembourg	15.6	44.30
Netherlands	16.3	32.10
UK	12.8	16.64

It is also interesting to note that British workers spend a higher percentage of their income on transport than in any Common Market country - a simple statistic that hides hours of boredom and frustration in overcrowded public transport and traffic jams.

This is not an argument for entering the Common Market - nor for staying out. This isn't the problem for British workers. What matters is how British workers can improve their conditions.

Common Market workers are not better off because they work harder (they don't), or because they strike less (in France and Italy they strike more). Improved wages and conditions are only won by struggle and in the context of the Common Market it will have to be a united struggle by European workers.

Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E2

Tel: 01-739 1878 (editorial) 1870 (business)

CAPITALISM has nothing to offer mankind but exploitation, crises and war. The ruling classes of the world - a tiny minority - subordinate the needs of the vast majority to the blind accumulation of capital in the interests of competitive survival.

Imperialism condemns two-thirds of mankind to famine and calls forth movements of national liberation which shake the system and expose its essential barbarism. The constant and mounting preparations for war and the development of weapons of mass destruction place the survival of humanity itself in the balance.

The increasing intensity of international competition between ever-larger units drives the ruling classes to new attacks on workers' living standards and conditions of work, to anti-trade union and anti-strike laws. All of these show capitalism in deepening crises from which it can only hope to escape at the cost of the working class and by the destruction of all its independent organisations.

The only alternative is workers' power - the democratic collective control of the working class over industry and society through a

WHERE WE STAND

state of workers' councils and workers' control of production.

Only thus can the transition be ensured to a communist society in which the unprecedented productive forces thrown up by capitalism can be used to assure an economy of abundance. Only the working class, itself the product of capitalism, has the ability to transform society in this way, and has shown its ability to do so in a series of revolutionary struggles unprecedented in the history of all previous exploited classes.

The working class gains the experience necessary to revolutionise society by constant struggle against the

ruling class through the mass organisations thrown up in the course of that struggle.

To overcome the unevenness with which this experience is gained, to draw and preserve the lessons of past struggles and transmit them for the future, to fight against the pressure of bourgeois ideas in the working class, and to bond the fragmentary struggles against capitalism into a conscious and coherent offensive, a revolutionary Marxist party of socialist militants is required, embracing the vanguard of the working class.

The struggle to build such a party is only part of the wider struggle to create a World Revolutionary Socialist International, independent of all oppressors and exploiters of the working class, whether bureaucratic or bourgeois.

International Socialists therefore fight for:

Opposition to all ruling-class policies and organisations.

Workers' control over production and a workers' state.

Opposition to imperialism and support for all movements of national liberation.

Uncompromising opposition to all forms of racialism and to all migration controls.

Upper Clyde: workers forced to carry the can for management greed and inefficiency

by members of Glasgow Workers Action Committee

IN OCTOBER 1965, the board of directors of Fairfields, the Clyde shipbuilders, announced that the company was going into liquidation.

The government and some private investors quickly stepped in and announced that the yard could be kept open, but only if, in the words of chairman Iain Stewart's press statement (9 December 1965) '... The unions would give their unreserved co-operation to the management in introducing flexibility and interchangeability between the trades in Fairfields.

'Broadly speaking this means that the management would have complete freedom to introduce a variety of new techniques.'

In the hope that their jobs would be secure, the 3000 Fairfield workers agreed to the demands made by Stewart and George Brown from the government.

In June 1969, the directors of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders announced that the four yards in the consortium could only remain open if the 13,000 workers accepted the following:-

1. 3000 redundancies by August 1970.
2. Immediate implementation of productivity agreements. A 45 per cent increase in productivity by August 1970.
3. Management/union 'monitoring' committees to review the achievement of monthly production targets.
4. Extension of shift work.
5. Absenteeism of no more than 5 per cent.
6. Rigid adherence to procedure.

DECLINE

These conditions were accepted by the UCS workers at mass meetings.

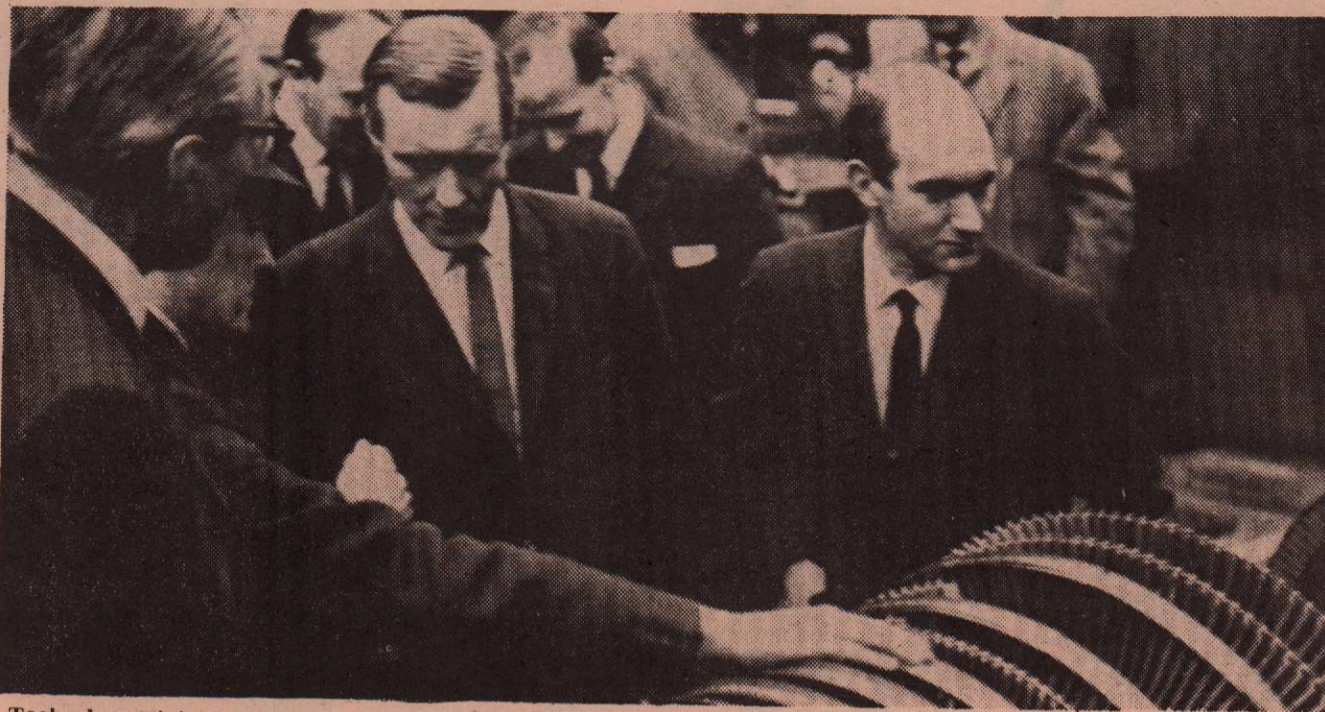
But what has happened in the yards in the 3½ years between the Fairfield crisis and the threatened closure of UCS? What is the background to the developments taking place throughout the shipbuilding industry, and what are the prospects for workers in the yards?

The most obvious feature in the development of British shipbuilding in recent years has been its declining share of world markets. Britain's share of tonnage launched declined from 50.2 per cent in 1947 to 5.3 per cent in 1968.

To some extent it was inevitable that Britain's dominant position would be eroded as other countries built or re-built their shipyards after the second world war, but the short-sighted, penny-pinching policies pursued by the shipbuilding bosses resulted in the yards in this country falling further and further behind.

The war ended leaving Britain and other countries with huge merchant shipping losses to replace, with German and other European yards in ruins and with Japan not yet a contender in world markets. The British shipbuilders found themselves in a fabulous sellers' market, with ship-owners queuing up and willing to pay any price for ships.

In their blind greed they ignored the growing threat of the re-built and modernised German and Japanese yards who combined the most up-to-date production methods with the newest



Technology Minister Wedgwood Benn during a recent visit to John Brown's Clydebank works

Nevertheless, with world trade expanding rapidly after the war, the bosses everywhere, even in British shipbuilding, were doing well. But although the rising threat from Germany, Japan and Scandinavia was becoming more obvious, the bosses carried on as before.

According to Andrew Shonfield (British Economic Policy Since The War page 42) investment in the shipyards between 1951 and 1954 did not even cover the wear and tear of the industry. Investment was about £4 million per year, while equipment written off as worn out, etc. amounted to £9 million per year.

CRISIS

In 1958, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research revealed that the entire British shipbuilding industry, with exports valued at £60 million, spent about £282,000 on research and development. Even as recently as 1964 a survey revealed that more than 50 per cent of the machinery in John Brown's yard was over 40 years old.

Yet the people responsible for this state of affairs, the owners, try to tell us that the crisis in the industry is due to demarcation disputes, restrictive practices and lazy workers!

The success of the employers' policies and the measure of their ability to organise production, cannot be illustrated more clearly than by stating that yard after yard closed on Clydeside (11 since 1957) and the labour force fell from 27,500 to 13,000 in the same period.

However, since Britain has one of the largest merchant shipping fleets in the world and many ship-owners were placing orders in foreign yards, thus draining Britain's balance of payments, the government set up a committee to examine the prospects for the British shipbuilding industry. This committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Geddes, chairman of the Dunlop Rubber Co., issued its report in March 1966.

Working on the assumption that shipbuilding was a 'growth' industry, Geddes called for the concentration of yards in

four or five groups each employing 8000-10,000 workers. After the bosses had agreed to merge to form the new groups, the government should provide funds for investment.

The unions should 'co-operate with management to create more wealth,' while, as further proof that we are all one big, happy family, shop stewards and foremen should take part in joint schemes for the promotion of mutual understanding.

Geddes' belief that shipbuilding was a 'growth' industry was not shared by other, more knowledgeable, economic experts.

In a lengthy survey of world shipbuilding, the businessman's magazine, The Economist (2 March 1968), estimated that by 1971 there will be anything between four and 10 million tons of surplus building capacity. Britain's average output over the last five years has been just over one million tons.

The closure of the Suez Canal has added to the demand for giant tankers, but given the rate of increase in oil shipments expected, and even supposing no further orders for tankers were placed, there would still be 25 million tons of surplus tankers floating around. At present there are 15 docks (eight in Europe, seven in Japan) large enough to build the half-million and one million-ton tankers of the near future, with another 10 planned (eight in Europe, two in Japan).

The development in size of oil tankers will make smaller tankers inefficient (the more you can carry, the cheaper it is), so ship-owners confronted with intense competition will convert the smaller tankers rather than order new cargo boats. UCS has staked its future on merchant orders.

Even the container ship boom will not last. Nine container ships on the Europe-Australia run will do the work of 80 ships at present.

McKinsey Consultants, hired by the government to assess docking facilities needed in Britain, estimated that 14 container ships will be sufficient for Europe-North America trade.

So it is clear that the 'terrifying competition ahead for British shipbuilding' which Jim Houston,

Fairfields' ex-productivity director, referred to in May is not very far ahead and the bosses know it.

It was against the background of backward, inefficient yards, confronted with 'terrifying competition' that Brown's, Connell's, Fairfields, Stephen's and Yarrow's finally got together to form Upper Clyde Shipbuilders on 30 November 1967.



George Brown: organised finance for Fairfield

One of their first acts was to divide up a government loan of £5.5 million as follows - £1.2 million to Yarrow for a new covered berth, £1 million for investment in the other yards, while the rest was siphoned off into what The Economist (27 January 1968) described as 'Paying for the past rather than investing in the future'.

The merger also had other advantages. It would be easier for the new company to shut down the most unprofitable section of the group and Stephen's was the obvious choice.

The furore the closure caused among the workers, not only in Stephen's but in other yards, who thought they might be the next, was undoubtedly one of the main factors in persuading the directors not to go ahead with the closure of Connell's.

Connell's closure had in fact been recommended by a working party from the shipbuilding industry Board under

the chairmanship of Anthony Hepper. Hepper had made his name as managing director of Pretty Polly stockings and subsequently became managing director and chairman of UCS.

Mr Hepper and the UCS board, however, decided that the time wasn't ripe for carrying out the recommendation of his committee and instead decided to try to win the confidence of the workers by going all out for orders.

This was opposed by the ruling class militants on the Fairfields' board who were for slashing the work force down to 7500 right away and blackmailing the remaining workers into accepting the changes the bosses were demanding, as they had done at Fairfields.

But with the government lending £400 million in cheap credit to British ship-owners for orders placed in Britain and the Japanese Transport Ministry announcement that their yards would not be tendering for international orders until 1970 at the earliest, UCS soon had orders worth £90 million. Within a few months the unions had agreed to a new procedure agreement, a union/management 'Joint Council' had been set up, and by December 1968, a new productivity deal was signed.

CONTROL

During the summer and autumn of 1968, almost every section of the 14,000 strong workforce was involved in a stoppage of work, while the 4500 members of the Boilermakers Society negotiated a separate agreement after threatening strike action.

The productivity deal merits close attention. Not only was it designed to assert tight managerial control over the workers, but it is also a 'good' example of the type of agreement being signed in industry after industry.

As Minister of Technology Anthony Wedgwood Benn said on one of his visits to Clydeside, 'The problems of UCS are the problems of British industry as a whole'. Accordingly, the government sees its role as lining up behind the bosses and encouraging attacks on working conditions by productivity deals, redundancies through mergers

and by operating a wage freeze.

The most common characteristics of productivity deals are a tightening over shop-floor activity by both management and union officials and greater pressure on the workers (or on those who remain, since redundancy is another common ingredient). The power of the workers on the shop floor has to be broken to enable the management to control, and so predict, their labour costs.

The UCS productivity deal satisfied most of these conditions and the procedure agreement was the other side of the coin. Under the terms of the procedure agreement, the full-time union officials are to be brought in as soon as possible. As many workers have experienced, many officials will settle for less than the men who have to work under the conditions of the dispute.

The final and binding decision in any UCS dispute is made at a 'Headquarters Conference'. At this conference a tribunal consisting of full-time officials and management representatives hears the case in question from union officials and management. Shop stewards may attend, but can only speak when replying to questions of fact.

CONSULTS

Workers might well ask themselves why the management particularly emphasised the role of full-time officials in the productivity deal and in the procedure agreement.

In the productivity deal itself, in return for wage increases (substantial in some cases) the management has been given the right to introduce work study and job evaluation after 'joint consultation'. But it is specifically stated that after consultation the result of the investigation will only be applied when the company consults, not the shop stewards, but the local full-time officials. The recent Boilermakers' strike at Connell's over precisely this point will certainly not be the last.

The workers have also agreed to flexibility and interchangeability. In other words, a plater will do his own welding, caulking, burning, etc. while also being available for transfer to another job in another yard.

The recent experience of some Fairfields electricians who were horrified to see joiners 'pulling cables', is only a small instance of what's in store.

Workers are also to accept alternative employment for any of the following reasons:-

1. The phasing out of a department, section, process, or technique.
2. Production needs.
3. Changes in process or technique.
4. Unsuitability for the job.
5. Inability to achieve high earnings.
6. Health or age.

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

But on top of all that, workers will also have to contend with 3000 redundancies, 45 per cent productivity increase, wage freeze, extension of shift work, and 'monitoring' committees. The committees obviously represent an attempt to get workers who sit on them to act as unpaid foremen, urging on their fellow workers.

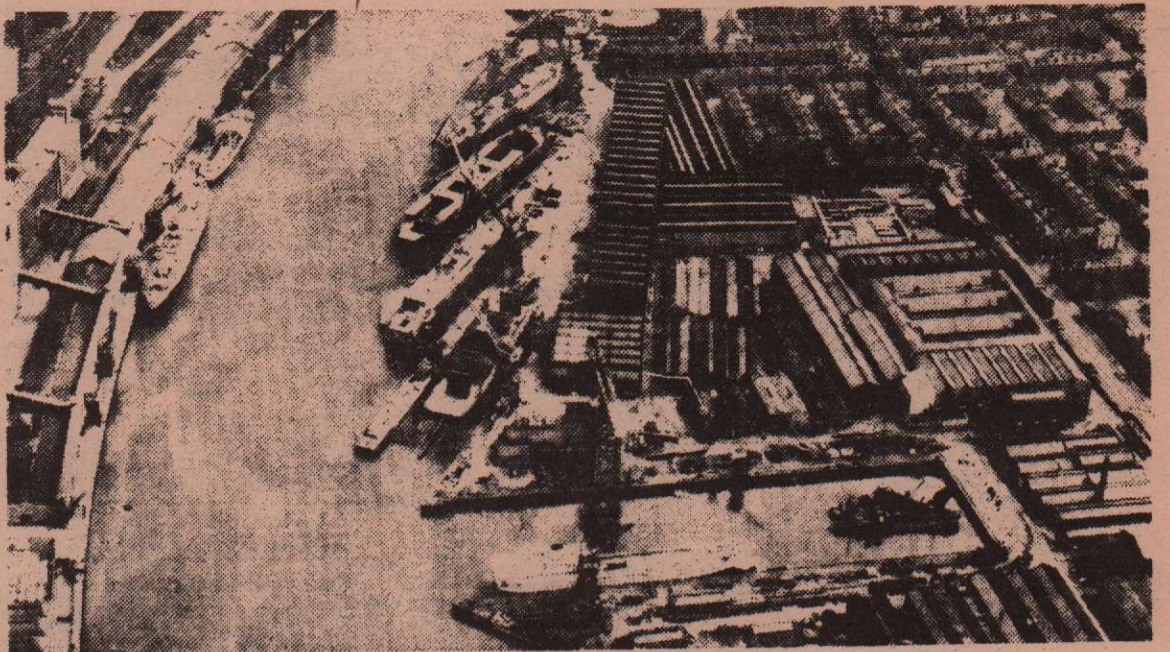
These further restrictions were accepted when the most recent UCS crisis arose.

continued on

'The problems of UCS are the problems of British industry as a whole' —Wedgwood Benn

'We had the men over a barrel' -Iain Stewart

UPPER CLYDE: from page 3



Fairfields yard at Govan: where the government-backed racket began.

Having taken on orders at cut-throat prices through being saddled with the QE2 losses, UCS found that many suppliers were demanding cash on the spot.

Rather than dip into the pockets they had lined during the boom period, the bosses demanded another £12 millions in public subsidies and more concessions from the workers.

The concessions which the workers eventually made, to say nothing of the political consequences for Labour if UCS had gone into liquidation, were sufficient to ensure that the combine got £9.3 millions from the government.

For socialists, the most important aspect of this situation is not the machinations of the financial fiddlers, the sharp practices, the rivalries, which the bosses and government indulge in. For us, the most important question is how the workers and their organisation reacted to the attacks on them.

STRENGTH

The British working class has been able to gain tremendous improvements in wages and conditions over the last 20-25 years. To a considerable extent, this has been possible due to the strength of shop floor organisation and the shop stewards.

Since the second world war, with capitalism expanding and relatively full employment, it has been possible for workers to force many improvements from the bosses. Often this entailed struggle, but in many cases the threat of a strike has been sufficient to make the bosses cough up. The effects of 'unofficial' activity have been far reaching.

The shipyard workers have not been an exception to this general trend.

Reared on a diet of overtime when you could get it and ruthless pay-offs when the immediate job was done, the yard workers have had to fight for improvements. Unfortunately, with no political organisation to co-ordinate and guide their struggles, and conscious that they were virtually itinerant workers (especially the finishing trades), the only other stratagem they developed was knowing when to 'jump the gun' and avoid a pay-off.

The reaction of the workers to the many shipyard closures that took place was simply to pack up and move on. The threatened closure of Fairfields and Fairfield-Rowan, employ-

ing 5000 men in October 1965, took place at a time when unemployment on Clydeside was rising and the workers were worried about the job situation.

When Iain Stewart and the government made their offer to keep the yard open provided the rule-book was torn up, the workers' initial response was to refuse. However, it wasn't long before they agreed to the bosses' demands.

Anyone who pointed out the dangers in accepting the demands was told to be 'realistic'. They ignored the fact that Stewart's declared aim was to spread the Fairfield methods throughout industry so that in the long term, the bosses could have a smaller, more tightly-controlled, adaptable, work-force, in the interests of their profits. Instead, lacking any alternative from their leaders, the workers accepted Stewart's demands. As Stewart himself put it 'The men were over a barrel'.

Even appeals from the full-time officials, however, could not get the boiler-makers to start double-day shifts (a stepping-stone on the way to three shifts). This would have meant workers on day-shift rising at 4.30 or 5 am for a 6 am start, while the back-shift from 2-10 pm would be social hermits. But the majority of Fairfields management's proposals did get through.

The closure of Barclay Curle's in 1967 saw another campaign launched on the same non-political basis.

But the formation of UCS was going to stop the closures and provide the answer to the workers' problems. Soon, however, the same pattern emerged, and workers were misled into accepting conditions which were designed to make sure that those who remained after the inevitable redundancies worked as hard as the bosses could ensure.

We say 'inevitable' redundancies, because it has always been the employers' intention to run down the workforce as soon as possible.

But the nasty things like Mr Hepper's SIB Report, recommending a run-down to 7500 were quietly ignored.

The union officials who signed the productivity deal regarded it as a triumph. Most of the officials, in fact, did not bother to inform their members that they intended to sign it.

The wage rates, in some cases, may have been above what the yard workers were used to, but the bosses

and government (through the Department of Employment and Productivity) thought that the strings attached to the deal justified the money offered. Even men normally regarded as militants on Clydeside praised the agreement. At the January 1969 meeting of Glasgow Trades Council, for instance Joe Black of the ETU (at that time chairman of the UCS Joint Council) was congratulated for his part in negotiating the deal by Hugh Wyper, the Trades Council Secretary.

However, the yard workers' millenium hadn't arrived just yet and it wasn't



Danny McGarvey: will accept 3-shift working

long before the bosses were back demanding more concessions from the workers. Four months to be exact - the occasion of UCS's threatened closure.

Again, it was a case of 'Accept these conditions or we close.'

Again, the union leaders made fighting speeches in public pledging themselves to fight redundancies. After meetings with the bosses and government, the leadership gradually backtracked, until finally they toured the yards calling on workers to accept 3000 redundancies and the colossal worsening of conditions involved in the ultimate settlement.

Danny McGarvey of the Boiler-makers, a militant conference hall socialist, thought that this particular capitalist crisis could be solved by saying he was ready to discuss three-shift working, attacking absenteeism, and getting a section of his members to accept a wage cut.

Only the Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians Association provided any real alternative to the bosses' plans. The 750 DATA

members called for no redundancies with work-sharing if necessary, the company accounts to be made public, and nationalisation of UCS.

These demands are limited, but at least they laid the basis for a united fight, while defending the workers' conditions. For distributing a leaflet at the yards arguing support for these policies, the DATA representatives were attacked by other union officials.

When DATA's past president accused the UCS management of blackmailing the workers into accepting their demands, he was told by Jim Conway, secretary of the AEF, that 'The yards have to be profitable' while Bishop of the NUGMW said, 'Absenteeism at UCS is a national disgrace'.

DRIFTED

Responsibility for the failure to develop a campaign which could have united the workers in defence of their wages and conditions lies to a considerable extent with some of those militants in the yards who have a political background. The legacy of political quietism has weighed heavily over the last period.

Rather than try to alert the workers to the dangers in selling conditions and practices or exposing the bosses' plans for a run-down in the workforce, some militants, like the official union leadership, have drifted along with the tide.

There are 13,000 workers employed in UCS. By next August there will be 10,000. Ten years ago there were 27,500 employed in the upper reaches. Conditions have been sold or given up under pressure, opening the door to the most vicious attack yet which the bosses are about to launch.

That's the official leadership's proud record. That's where they've led the yard workers.

But worse yet, have they any idea of where they want to lead the workers to?

The bosses are about to start on the biggest hatchet job we've seen yet in the Clyde shipyards.

The shilly-shallying and uncertainty over what to do is finished. Having got agreement on redundancies, the workers remaining will be subjected to fantastic speed-up and tight discipline.

Immediate implementation of the productivity deal, a 45 per cent productivity increase, shift-working, 'monitoring' committees, are

some of the measures which have been accepted as necessary to keep the yards open.

The prospects remain the same. Once the present short-lived boom is over, more closures will be on the agenda, with the hope of a merger with Scott-Lithgow not too distant. The bosses know this and indeed are planning for it. The question is, how can the yard workers fight their plans?

The workers cannot invent jobs for themselves to do. The provision of work is the responsibility of those who run the present economic system, the bosses and the government.

The yard workers have made it clear that they want to work. If short-time working or re-training is necessary then it should be on full pay. If, in the event of redundancy, alternative work is not provided, then the demand should still be for full maintenance.

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

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

To expose the bosses' responsibility for the present crisis, the workers should take up DATA's demands, and call for the accounts of UCS and the old companies to be opened to inspection. Then we would see how much was taken from the yards in the boom period and hived off to more lucrative investment when it suited the bosses.

BOYCOTT

Since the workers are the people who are affected by changes in wages or conditions, all negotiations should be attended by shop stewards and acted on after full discussion.

The Joint Council should be boycotted. It's useless and meant to get workers talking about methods of improving the company's prospects, with sacrifices from the workers, of course. In reality, ownership and control remain with the employers and they remain as devoted as ever to their desire to squeeze as much profit as possible from their employees.

Rank and file control and decision-making should be asserted at all times. Nobody, whether full-time official or shop steward, can be allowed to do as they please.

While realising that issues have to be fought as they arise, in our opinion, the yard workers will have to think increasingly in political terms.

Nationalisation was, in fact, put forward as one

solution to the UCS crisis. If this means nationalisation as we see it in the railways or the mines, run to meet the needs of private enterprise, with the same bosses and same relations at work, then it provides no solution.

If, however, nationalisation is envisaged under workers' control in a planned, socialist economy, then it has our wholehearted support. We see the control of the factories by the workers, with all managers elected and subject to instant recall, as the only ultimate answer. The discipline of the workers acting together would deter 'flymen' and the ability to recall managers would keep any potential bureaucrats in line.

But the problems confronting the shipyard workers cannot be solved in isolation from the problems confronting the working class as a whole. The era of separate, localised struggles, with isolated groups of workers fighting their own particular battles is ending.

ATTACKS

The UCS redundancies come at a time when the Tories are running down Glasgow Corporation Direct Labour Department, thus adding to the numbers of 'finishing trades' workers looking for a job. In heavy engineering, Babcock and Wilcox, Foster Wheeler and John Brown Boilers are closing their Clydebank factories, while the situation in other factories is disquieting.

Both the Labour government and the Tories are committed to anti-union legislation. As the bosses' attacks increase and more and more workers face measured day work, job evaluation, interchangeability and flexibility, redundancies through closures and mergers, so the opportunities for united working-class action will grow.

The creation of an organisation like the Clyde Workers Committee of the first world war, embracing workers from every local factory, should be one of our aims.

Socialist politics, posing working-class control of society to the arbitrary rule of the tiny group of people who own and control industry, the banks, and the mass media, are very clearly on the agenda.

STRATEGY

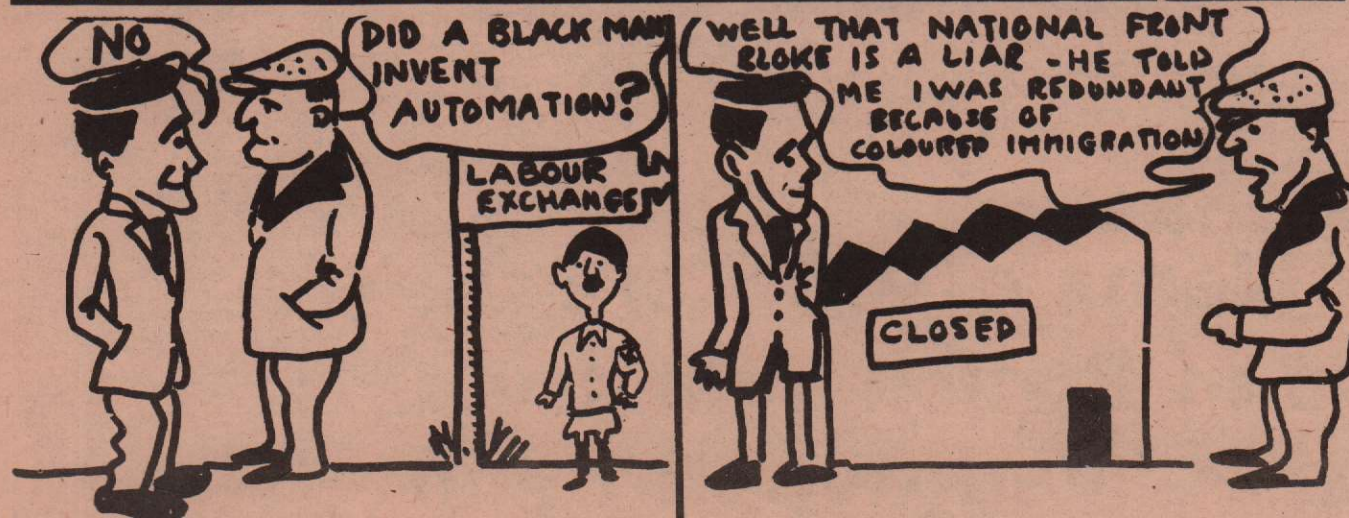
Unless the day-to-day 'economic' struggles over wages, conditions, redundancies, etc., important as they are, are related to a political strategy which recognises the limitations of these struggles, then the shipyard workers will be confined to reacting to the employers' initiatives over these questions.

In the coming period, the avoidance of politics will increasingly seem a 'head-in-the-sand' attitude.

Socialists must do everything possible to ensure that as the struggles in UCS develop, the yard workers don't have their heads in the sand.

BERT the socialist worker

by TJH



This article is a slightly shortened version of a pamphlet produced by the Workers Action Committee, an organisation of Glasgow industrial rank and file militants. Copies of the pamphlet (6d each, single copies 10d post paid) are available from Peter Bain, 19 Leslie Street, Glasgow S1. Readers interested in the activities of the committee should contact George Kelly, 28 Maryland Gardens, Glasgow SW2.

Financiers untroubled by mines 'takeover'

by Peter Sedgwick

ON 19 OCTOBER, President Kaunda of Zambia announced that 'full agreement' had been reached on the nationalisation of the copperbelt producers between his government and the two gigantic holding firms, Anglo American and Roan Selection Trust.

The original announcement of the nationalisation move in August had been greeted with jubilation on certain sections of the British Left.

'Every ... copper-mine nationalised in Zambia,' wrote Fergus Nicholson, the Communist Party's student theorist, '... is a nail in the coffin of capitalism' (Marxism Today, October 1969).

The Stock Exchange and the financial press, however, remained strangely untroubled. The shares of Anglo American continued to rise in the market. The introduction of African majority control over the fabulous wealth of the copperbelt appears to worry not even the most hidebound reactionary.

On the surface, this attitude appears extraordinary. Zambia's copper resources are no mean asset.

It was understandable when the capitalists of Britain peacefully relinquished their ailing mines and railways after the war, but Zambia is the world's third largest copper producer, with Britain dependent on her for 40 per cent of all copper used.

The demand for copper is (so far) steady, indeed urgent, world prices are now at an all-time high, while some slackening-off is possible in the 1970s no adequate substitute for the metal is available. There has been talk of developing plastics and aluminium as a substitute, but it is hard to see what could replace copper's properties of bendability, weldability and electrical conduction.

Titan

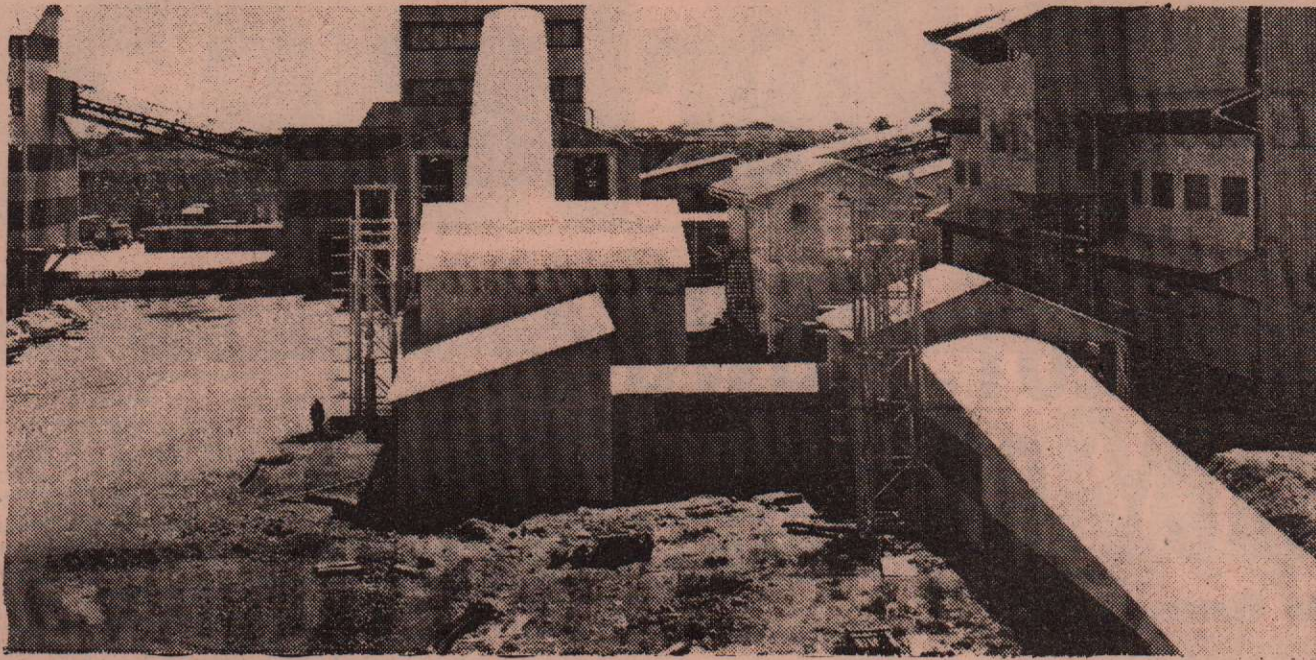
For the investors of Anglo and RST, copper has been synonymous with gold. In the last 10 years they have taken £250 million out of Zambia in dividends, even after the hefty company taxation taken by the state.

Mufilira, for instance, the RST subsidiary, paid a 55 per cent gross return on shares in 1964. This went up to 110 per cent in 1968.

The foreign financial interests involved in the copperbelt are considerable. Anglo American is a titan whose interests, in manufacturing and finance as well as minerals, extend not only across Africa but into Canada and Britain (with a 12½ per cent stake in Ferranti and an equal share with ICI in the Cleveland Potash project in North-East England). Its total world-wide value has been estimated at something like £2,000 million.

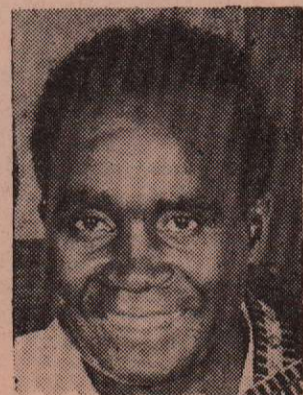
The largest investor in RST (with 43 per cent of the shares) is the American Metal Climax Company (AMAX). Interlocking share ownership in the copper-producing subsidiaries binds Anglo and RST together in a complex pyramid of control. Their assets in Zambia are valued between £300 to £500 million.

What a prize this would be for a Black African



Part of the Nchanga copper mine

The people's copper: Zambia's phoney 'nationalisation'



KAUNDA: manoeuvre against challenge from Left

Commonwealth! State ownership of such a base would halt the drain on Zambia's wealth and provide the means for balanced industrial development, for the building of a strong Black power to challenge and ultimately evict the racist dictatorships of Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies.

Yet despite the talk of 'nationalisation', Kaunda has not taken over the copperbelt. Far from it.

The Zambian move came, not as the expression of a determined strategy of socialism (Kaunda does not propagate even the vaguest form of 'African Socialism' but merely a diluted and vacuous rhetoric of 'Humanism'), but as part of an improvised manoeuvre to restore the president's position, threatened in part by government by a challenge from his militant deputy, Simon Kapapewa.

Revamping

Accompanied by an 'action stations' alert for Zambia's armed forces to stand guard over the copper installations (against heaven knows what enemy), Kaunda's announcement this summer represented only a revamping of existing or publicly announced commitments for the sharing of control with the foreign mining interests.

The only real 'nationalisation' is of the mining rights (not the mines), whose title reverts to the Zambian state — a commercially useful measure, in that it enables the government to negotiate with foreign firms outside the Anglo-RST nexus and possibly drive up its price for leases.

As to the mining companies themselves, these will continue to function, perhaps with some rationalisation of the complicated holding structure. The Zambian state industrial corporation, Indeco, will take up shares in the companies to the value of 51 per cent of the total. The other 49 per cent will remain with Anglo and RST and be quoted on the stock market as at present.

Indeco's purchase of its shares will take place over six years and be paid for over this period by foregoing the dividends due to it, with the relaxation of exchange and other state restrictions announced simultaneously by Kaunda, the British financial press has been forecasting that, in

the years of the purchasing period, shareholders in Zambian copper might be doing even better than they are now.

Certainly the brevity of the bargaining between Zambia and the companies does not suggest that the latter felt they were losing a great deal.

In the longer term, the business monthly African Development commented (September 1969): 'It may be less thrilling in the future, but the state participation gives a new sense of security as long as efficiency is ensured.' Zambia is now officially committed to the prosperity of the foreign firms: what is good for Anglo and RST is good for Zambia.

Parade

Kaunda's existing record of securing industrial peace (commented on in the last Anglo report before 'nationalisation') is capped by his announcement, concurrently with the 'new deal', of a wage freeze for the workers and his taking into the central committee of the governing UNIP of Wilson Chakulya, secretary-general of Zambia's Congress of Trade Unions.

What the whole parade amounts to is a new way of taxing the copper combines (and they are used to being taxed, to the tune of 80 per cent of basic profits), with the state as taskmaster over the miners — the biggest and best 'Zambian personnel manager' that Anglo and RST could ever find to ensure their accumulation and dividends.

The pattern of industrial control that is emerging in the exploited 'Third World' is not in general dissimilar to the Zambian case. In the Congo (Kinshasa), America's protege General Mbobutu has 'nationalised' the foreign mining interests of Katanga, through the state mining corporation Gecomin.

African Development (September) commented that 'the Belgians have done remarkably well out of being nationalised. The old regime handles the whole operation as always, from mining in Katanga to refining in Antwerp. It nets around £12 million a year.'

Exorbitant

The Economist reported on 18 October that the profits of Tanganyika Concessions ('Tanks'), which has an 18 per cent stake in the old Katanga combine Union Miniere, were up 26 per cent last year to £2.6 million. Equally in Chile, President Frei, another American favourite, has 'nationalised' copper at exorbitant compensation and leaving a large measure of the old company structure.

The Financial Times reported a meeting between Frei and Kaunda at a copper-producers' conference in Lusaka just before the Zambian 'takeover' was announced.

Percentage-wise there must be a considerably larger proportion of state

ownership in many 'third world' countries than existed in Bolshevik Russia in November 1917. Those for whom 'socialism' or a 'workers' state' is defined by nationalisation should really start celebrating the international revolution.

Cover

The 51 per cent - 49 per cent carve-up between national state and foreign firm is ideally suited to the interests of both international capitalism and the local bureaucracy. (Kaunda has now announced that the Shell-BP marketing organisation in Zambia had offered (my emphasis PS) 51 per cent of its shares to the government and that these had been accepted: Guardian, 20 October)

It provides a watertight cover for the firm's operations — for 'the nation' now has majority control over its own resources. It yields substantial revenues to the local government and these (as in Zambia's case) can

be used to finance a programme of industrial diversification which, however, can never get out of hand.

It forestalls any radical demand for outright expropriation, because the local state retains not only profits but the good-will and 'know-how' — vital commodities in a backward country — provided by the expatriate firm.

In an age of declining overseas aid from government quarters, it represents — short of revolution and expropriation of foreign assets — the only means of development for many a backward nation. Companies and governments become fused in the great international rings and associations that determine policy for the world commodity market.

The spuriousness of the whole technique may yet inspire more radical oppositions, in Zambia, in Chile and elsewhere, to demand the real thing: the loaf, not the slice. Meanwhile it is essential that we refuse to be deceived.

Far right: too much emphasis?

LETTER

AFTER READING the lead article in last week's Socialist Worker I think we should see the National Front in a correct perspective.

Your article gives the NF much more importance than they merit. Your correspondent emotionally states how the NF are likely to disrupt an Anti-Apartheid Rally.

Is this anything new? Of course it isn't! The ultra right such as the NF will grow in the period of crisis of capitalism.

But as long as there is a revolutionary party which fights within the working class for the socialist revolution then these groups will be smashed. (Witness the opposite in Germany — capitalist crisis — no revolutionary party — fascism).

Instead of building up the NF, ('The recent growth of the NF has filled its members with confidence'), your correspondent should have told SW readers that 20 of the NF were beaten up by 'anti-fascists' on 30 October when they were due to debate with the Independent Labour Party. — BARRY MILLS, London N16.

LIVELY LETTERS make a lively paper. Now that Socialist Worker has six pages every week it will be possible to print many more readers' letters. Short of libel and obscenity, we will print anything you have to say — but keep it brief! Letters should not be more than 300 words. They must reach the editor by Monday morning and should, where possible, be typed with double spacing on one side of the paper only. If you do not have a typewriter, please write legibly — again on one side of the paper.

Socialist Worker has been asked to point out that the Irish Exiles Association has no connection whatsoever with a grouping known as the 'Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front'. Members of the IEA stress that they cannot be held responsible for the politics of the INLSF.

Join the International Socialists

ABERDEEN Pete Drummond
19 High Street Aberdeen
ACTON Bob Cartwright
27 Bath Road W4
ANGEL Barry Hugill
154 Downham Road N1
ASHFORD Phil Evans 'Eastside'
Ham St Nr Ashford Kent
BARNESLEY Joe Kenyon
120 Standhill Crescent
BATH John Whitfield
17 Burlington Road
BECKENHAM Mervyn Smith
9 Alton Gardens Copers Cope Rd
01 658 6552
BIRMINGHAM Godfrey Webster
125 Yardley Wood Rd B'ham 13
BRADFORD Neil Patterson
25 Fernhill Grove off Park Rd
BRIGHTON Ingrid Rose
53 Old Steine
BRISTOL B R Horlock
26 Elm Dale Road Bristol 8
CAMBRIDGE Tony Needham
12a Metcalfe Road
CAMDEN EAST Richard Kuper
45 Falkland Rd NW5
CAMDEN WEST Robert MacGibbon
22 Estell Rd NW8
CARDIFF Nigel Walby
35 de Burgh Street
CHERTSEY Kevin O'Connell
The Flat St Thomas' School
Eastworth Rd Chertsey Surrey
CLYDEBANK Eric Duncan
1221 Dumbarton Rd Glasgow W4
COLCHESTER Ian Noble
12 Coach Rd Arlesford
Wivenhoe 272
COVENTRY Dave Edwards
53 Palmerston Rd Earlsdon
CRAWLEY Joanna Bolton
17 Park View Rd Salfords
Horley Surrey
CROYDON Jenny Woodhams
26 Braemar Avenue South Croydon
DEPTFORD John Ure
172a Deptford High Rd SE8
DONCASTER George Yarrow
39 Jossey Lane Scawthorpe
DURHAM Jane Mackay
15 Wanless Toe Durham City
EAST LONDON Bob Light
2 Oster Tee Southcote Rd E17

EDINBURGH Brian Lavery
41 East London Street
ENFIELD Ian Birchall
109 Crolyard Rd N9
ERITH Paul Wildish
30 Poplar Mount Belvedere Kent
EXETER Granville Williams
Town Tenement Farm
Clyst Hydon Cullompton Devon
FULHAM Brian Rose
49 Schubert Road SW15
GLASGOW North-Ian Mooney
4 Dalross Passage W1
South-S Morris 4 Elphinstone
Street Glasgow SW1
GRAYS & TILBURY Alf Waters
c/o 1 Russell Rd Tilbury Essex
HAMPSTEAD Chris Barker
36 Gliden Road NW5
HARLOW Hugh Kerr
70 Joiners Field Harlow Essex
HARROW Kevin Simms
56 Salisbury Road
HAVERING Terry Ward
91 Heath Park Rd Gidea Pk
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD John
Barrett 20 Belswaines Lane
HORNSEY Chris Russell
131 Alexandra Park Rd N22
HULL Dave Gate 90 Bristol Rd
ILFORD Lionel Sims
16 Madras Rd Ilford 01 478 7311
IPSWICH Brian Mulvey
104 Westbourne Road
KILBURN Geoff Woolf
27 Sheriff Rd NW6
KINGSTON John Owen
4 Sandown Court Esher
LANCASTER Don Milligan
56 Norfolk Street
LAMBETH Andy Smith
Flat 6 126 Streatham Hill SW2
LEICESTER Barry Thomas
39 Lower Hastings Street
LEEDS Vince Hall
Flat 3 25 Bagby Rd Leeds 2:
LOWESTOFT Trevor Moss
82 Blackheath Rd
MANCHESTER-J Sutton
11a Rowan Ave Wallely Range M16:
Joni Jones 15 Parsonage Road
Manchester 20

MERSEYSIDE Janice Humphrey
96 Princes Rd Liverpool 8
MERTON Pam Kelsey
47 Richmond Avenue SW20
NEWCASTLE Barney Hardy
13 Eastlodge Terrace Newcastle-
on-Tyne 2
NORTHAMPTON Mick Bunting
25 Witton Rd Duston
NORWICH Gerald Crompton
220 College Rd NOR 54F
OXFORD Steve Bolchover
181 Iffley Road
PORTSMOUTH Alan Sandham
45 Marmion Rd Southsea Hants
POTTERIES Dick Pratt
5 Grosvenor Rd Newcastle Staffs
RICHMOND Nicky Landau
Flat 3 44 Church Rd
SELBY John Charlton
12 Thatch Close Selby Yorks
SHEFFIELD Rick Osborn
159a Rustlings Rd Sheffield
S11 7 AD
SOUTHAMPTON W Maxim
Ashley Court Hulse Road
STOCKPORT Geoff Hodgson
73a Forest Range M/C 19
STOKE NEWINGTON Mike
McGrath 28 Manor Road N16
SWANSEA Dick Jones
37 Bryn Road
TESSIDE Phil Semp
72 Mersey Rd Redcar:
Rob Clay 33 Pasture Lane
Lazenby Teesside
TOTTENHAM Laurie Flynn
4 Sandown Court N17
WANDSWORTH Mark Hutton
87 Broderick Road
Wandsworth Common SW17
WATFORD Paul Russell
61 Carpenders Avenue
Carpenders Park
WIGAN Ray Challiner
34 Whiteside Ave Hindley
YORK Bob Looker 22 Hobbgate
VICTORIA Tony Dunne
14 Carlisle Mansions
Carlisle Place SW1

Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the International Socialists to:

Name _____

Address _____

Send to 6 Cottons Gardens London E2

IS BOOK SERVICE

for all marxist classics. Send sae for full list

6 Cottons Gardens London E2

Socialist Worker



WHAT WE THINK

SECRET BALLOT: TGWU's 'DEMOCRACY' ON THE DOCKS

Terry Barrett (TGWU) Alf Waters (NASD)

THE PORT, the London docks newspaper financed by the port employers, is full of praise for the Transport Workers Union decision to hold a secret ballot of members for the acceptance or rejection of Phase 2 of the Devlin Scheme.

The copy of the proposed agreement given to each docker with his ballot paper contains some 88 clauses in 13 foolscap pages. The workers will have a fortnight in which to study this document which took the TGWU and the employers more than two years of constant discussion to draw up.

Our leaders and our employers must assume the docker is better able to absorb their proposals than they were to formulate them. The provisions in the document have been common knowledge to the TGWU leaders and the employers for more than two months, yet there is this sudden urgency to rush them through by secret ballot.

Hurried meetings

The men will be asked to vote a straight 'yes' or 'no' to the complete agreement without a chance to amend any clause they may object to.

Of course, there will be hurried mass meetings in each sector at which trade union officials will be available to answer questions on the 88 clauses, some of which could be interpreted several ways. The meetings will give the whole thing a facade of democracy.

Clause 3, subsection B, page 1, of the proposals reads as follows:

'The changeover of shifts will normally take place at weekly intervals after the second shift on Fridays. The management reserve the right to alter the numerical distribution between the shifts, with the understanding that the maximum continuous period spent on the pm shift will be one week. Should special circumstances arise which require employees to remain longer on the pm shift,

the trade union will be consulted.'

This is a contradiction in itself. The maximum working is stated then qualified, giving the bosses a loophole to extend the shift.

The trade union safeguard means very little. On many occasions since Phase 1 of Devlin came into operation, union officials have ruled in the employers' favour where the rule has been vague.

One thing the majority of dockers wanted to see when piece-work was abolished was equality of earnings on a time-work basis. But the new agreement provides for a vast differential between what are termed A men (fit for all dock work) and B men (fit for light labour only).

A men will receive £33 10s with certain allowances for working aboard ship, handling frozen cargo etc.

The B men, who have become unfit by being injured or disabled in the employers' service, will be paid £25 a week, a basic difference of £8 10s with the A men, or £425 a year. No doubt this is the employers' idea of rewarding a man who has served well for 20 years or more and then becomes unfit due to deplorable working conditions.

The most dangerous provision in the 'new deal' is that of work study being introduced into the docks industry. The TGWU should be well aware of the increased exploitation in other industries through work study, such as measured day work in the car and engineering industries.

Blue says No

Perhaps the union leaders are not concerned about the problem, since Jack Jones, the 'avant garde' productivity democrat or his fellow paid officials won't have to suffer the indignity of applied work study.

The Blue Union, NASD, have rejected shift work outright. It is to be hoped that the TGWU dockers apply their renowned common sense, known as dockology, and return their ballot papers marked **NO** in large capital letters.

IT'S A BIG VICTORY SAYS RANKS STEWARD

THE 150 AEF members who have been on strike for three weeks at Rank's Highbury factory went back to work on Tuesday when the management agreed to give them an 11d an hour rise for all grades.

The workers had demanded a shilling and the management originally offered 2d. The productivity 'strings' have been whittled down and balanced by a 'mutual agreement' clause.

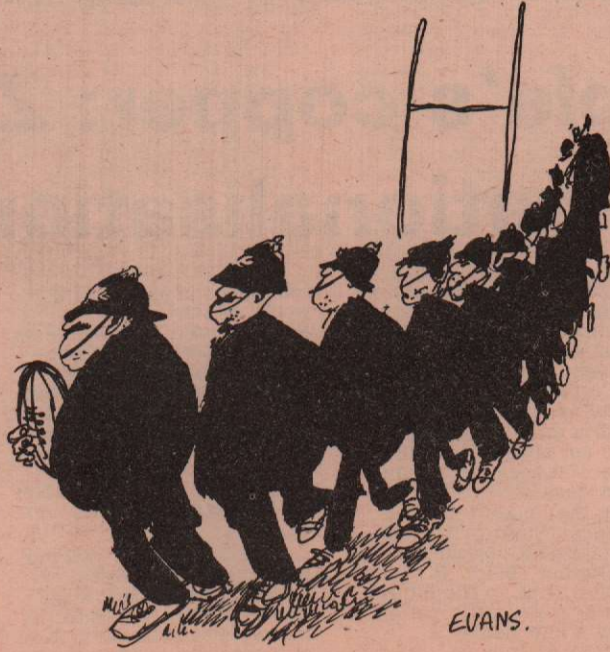
This clause is crucial as it became clear that the management wanted to break job organisation in the factory, the best-organised works in the Rank combine.

'This is victory with a big V,' said John Hannington, combine secretary and Highbury steward. The men

have emerged from the dispute with their militancy and determination strengthened, but they remain aware that, in the long-run, a multi-million giant like Ranks can only be beaten by united working-class action on a political as well as an industrial basis.

Harlow strike call

OFFICIALS of the Engineering Union in Essex have called a two-hour general strike in Harlow on Friday from 10 am until 12 in support of their members at the Arlington Plastics factory who have been on strike for six weeks for trade union recognition.



EVANS.

STRIKE CALL BY N.U.T.

THE EXECUTIVE of the National Union of Teachers decided on Monday to call out on strike the entire membership of 2000 selected schools for two weeks at the beginning of December. And the union will also recommend that other schools call half or full day strikes at their convenience.

The decision was made after the management of the Burnham Committee, which negotiates teachers' pay, turned down a union request for an interim pay award of £135 a year and offered instead £50. A packed NUT meeting in London on Tuesday voted unanimously to strike next Thursday, 20 November.

Teachers seek parent support

by Leni Solinger

MEMBERS of Hackney Teachers' Association (NUT) were out leafletting and speaking to people in many of the North London borough's markets on Saturday.

Their aim was to inform parents of the disastrous conditions in education. At the £13 a week a new teacher earns.

The one in 10 classes that still have more than 40 children.

The huge cut-backs in educational expenditure.

The low salaries of teachers are a barrier that forces many qualified teachers to leave the profession. A cut in educational expenditure is a

cut in every child's potential.

The response to the teachers was favourable — but how could it be otherwise when people know there is such an enormous shortage of teachers and yet 15 per cent of newly-trained teachers did not have jobs in August.

New schools are desperately needed, but the 1969-70 school building programme was cut from £110 million to £56m. And this is happening while the Concorde project gets £730m from the government. Something is certainly wrong with the way things are run in this country!

NOTICES

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL: 15, 16 Nov, Grange Farm, Chigwell, Essex. Nearest tube Chigwell (Central line). Cars will meet passengers at station. Arrive not later than 10.30 am.

SCOTTISH IS weekend school, 22, 23 Nov, Iona Community Hse, Clyde St, C1. The international struggle for socialism: Sat 2-4.30 pm — Is socialism possible in the third world? Sat 5.7.30pm — China Today. Sunday, 2-5pm — Revolutionary traditions in modern Britain. Spkrs Duncan Hallas, Nigel Harris. Admission 2s per day. Details Steve Jefferys, 10 Chancellor St, Glasgow W1.

IRISH CIVIL RIGHTS Solidarity Campaign new address: G. Galvin, 37 Gordon Mansions, Torrington Place WC1. 01-636 9520.

FOLKESTONE IS to picket Anglo-Rhodesian Society meeting at 6 Westcliff Gdns, 7pm Tues 18 Nov.

Published by the International Socialists, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2. Printed by SW (Litho) Printers Ltd. Registered with the GPO.

LAST WEEK the government announced that the restraint on dividends, at present limited to increases of 3½ per cent a year, would come to an end on 31 December. At the same time, wage increases will be subject to the 1966 Prices and Incomes Act which gives the government power to delay any increases for a four-month period, until new legislation is introduced next year. So the pretence of treating wages and profits equally — the 'social' justification for incomes policy — has finally been formally abandoned.

It could not be otherwise. For profits are the motive force of a private enterprise capitalist system and any serious attack on them would merely reduce the willingness of capitalists to invest, leading to further economic stagnation.

Even with the best will in the world, the policy is a fraud. Undistributed dividends are merely saved up and paid out later when restraint is relaxed (ie next year): wage increases foregone are lost forever (anyone had a wage increase backdated to 1966 recently?).

If we examine the record of the Labour government over the last few years it emerges as one of the most successful reformist capitalist governments the British ruling class has had. Behind the cover of the 'social justice' of the incomes policy, capitalist rationalisation has been going on apace, paid for by the workers.

Squeals of protest

Firstly look at the extent to which business is actually taxed, as opposed to what you would think from their squeals of protest. The total revenue raised from all taxes of wealth and profits (ie, surtax, death duties, capital gains tax, profits and excess profits tax) amounted to £661.7 million in the fiscal year 1968-69. This was much less than the revenue raised mainly from working people, by the tax on tobacco alone — a dizzy total of £1,105.2 million — or even just on alcohol (£777.6 million).

Secondly look at how the burden of taxation falls on rich and poor. The £16 a week household paid in total taxes 30 per cent of its income in 1964 rising to 35 per cent in 1967. The £60 a week household paid 38 per cent of its income in taxes of all kinds in 1964, rising only to 39 per cent in 1967. The difference between the proportion of total incomes which goes in tax barely varies between rich and poor, and the only trend is one which benefits the well-to-do.

Under the Labour government vast subsidies to private industry have been doled out and a special government body was set up (the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation) to encourage mergers and takeovers. For instance, 'public' assistance to private industry has soared from £325 million in 1964-65, to £1,192 million in 1968-69. In 1958 the value of companies taken over was £121 million. By 1966 the expenditure on mergers was £447 millions, in 1967 it was £781 million, in 1968 £2,313 millions.

We're not surprised

So while Vic Feather's immediate reaction to the lifting of dividend restraint was to say that 'The decision will astonish trade unionists', we can't say that we're surprised. The whole logic of the Labour government's policy has been to make British capitalism more competitive.

It should also be quite clear that the opposition of the 'left wing' Labour MPs has done nothing to change the course of the Wilson government. Any principled stand against the whole drift of Labour's anti-working-class policies is always abandoned because, when it comes to it, 'We don't want to rock the boat'.

We don't want to rock the boat either. We want to sink it and with it the whole sham of parliamentary politics, the whole capitalist system with its subordination of all social values to the pursuit of profit. In its place the working class can introduce a genuine socialist society, based on the abolition of all classes and the most widespread democracy conceivable, with social production for use not capitalist production for profit.

Sit-in strike beats CAV sackings plan

by Ted Jones

INSPECTORS and viewers at the CAV-Lucas car components works in Acton, N. London, defeated a management productivity scheme on Monday after a two-day sit-in strike.

The management had hoped to bring in a work measurement survey that would have sacked 13 of the 150 inspectors and viewers in the quality control section. The scheme would also have given the employers freedom to bust wage rates and sack workers who were consistently absent through illness.

But the sit-in strike, which gradually slowed down

production and threatened to bring the works to a halt, forced the management to drop their plans. Instead, they have agreed to pay a straight increase, without productivity 'strings', of 15s a week, on top of an increase of 28s already conceded in order to introduce the work measurement scheme.

The only terms of reference for the increase were that 'talks would continue'. The management also agreed to make up for pay lost on one of the days of the strike, together with an hour lost in a strike the week before.

The inspectors and viewers had seen work measurement

schemes in other departments and had been told through leaflets of the effects of productivity deals in other parts of the engineering industry.

They were also incensed by the fact that Lucas foremen and chargehands in Birmingham had won an all-round increase of 35s after strike action and without a management survey.

The Acton proposals were rejected when one of their stewards advised the men to throw them out lock, stock and barrel. He also warned them against a modified deal that would incorporate the original scheme phased over a longer period.

SPECIAL OFFER!

Take Socialist Worker for three months for just 10 shillings

NAME

ADDRESS

Send to 6 Cottons Gardens London E2.