

* Socialist Worker

For workers control and international socialism

128 26 June 1969 every Thursday 3d

**DOCKERS
versus
DEVLIN**
special feature
on page 3

Loss of jobs: new threat to rank and file in union-government deal

TUC: RIGHT AND 'LEFT' UNITE TO HAMMER THE MILITANTS



Michael Farrell speaking in Trafalgar Square on Sunday

New strike call at Leyland bus plants

SW Reporter

LEYLAND:- Industrial action hit British Leyland's Lancashire bus and truck plants again on Wednesday when a mass meeting of workers voted to go slow and ban overtime.

The 8500 workers returned to work last week after a five week strike for better pay for piece workers. After refusing to negotiate for weeks, the BL management caved in and accepted nearly all the strikers' demands, including £24 a week for skilled men, parity of bonus for women and £18 for new starters.

Measured work

But when work resumed shop stewards discovered that the management were interpreting the new minimum wage as the maximum skilled piece workers could earn. Management also intend to introduce a degree of measured day working into the plants in an effort to keep earnings down.

At Wednesday's meeting the workers decided to go slow and ban overtime until 4.10 pm tomorrow (Friday). Unless the management give a signed declaration that they

will adhere to the agreement reached last week, the workers will strike again.

A large minority of workers voted to walk out on the spot and feelings are running high. At last week's settlement the management won the right to tighten up on time-keeping and tea-breaks. The unions conceded that any future pay increases must be tied to 'copper-bottomed' agreements to increase productivity.

The rank and file won a substantial victory last week but they will have to be on their toes to ensure that their wages and conditions are not chipped away by management attacks.

Expulsion condemned

The Liverpool branch of the National Union of Seamen this week condemned the expulsion of Phil Ballard, the executive member arrested recently for distributing leaflets in Greece. The branch disassociated themselves from the executive's action and demanded that Mr Ballard's union card should be returned to him. See story on back page.

1500 back Irish rights rally

THE CIVIL RIGHTS movement in Northern Ireland is going back onto the streets—that was the message from Sunday's rally in Trafalgar Square.

More than 1500 people were in the square to hear speakers who included Bernadette Devlin, MP for Mid-Ulster and Michael Farrell of the militant People's Democracy movement. The rally was organised by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and supported by the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign, the Connolly Association, PD and the International Socialists.

Miss Devlin said the problems of Northern Ireland were economic, not religious. 'We have forsaken the politicians of Westminster who don't care a damn and we have come to you who make up the working people of this country. If you don't stand by us, we stand alone.'

500 hear Bernadette

500 people attended an ICRC meeting in Islington Town Hall on Monday night to hear Bernadette Devlin. A collection raised £50 for the campaign and 150 agreed to help ICRC.

OMISSION

The picture on page 2 in the review of The ABC of Communism is of Nicolai Bukharin.

THE SHADOW of the TUC-government agreement last week will fall upon militants for a long time to come. Another step has been taken in the attempt to undermine shop floor organisation and it is important to understand its implications.

The Labour government has always claimed that it can run the economy better than the Tories.

This means being pledged to make capitalism work more ruthlessly and more 'efficiently' than before. It demands a shift in the balance of class forces in favour of the ruling class.

It cannot be achieved by national policies alone, in the form of demands for increased 'productivity'. It means a change in the balance of power in every factory and on every shop floor.

Weaken

In other words, it requires that the present level of organisation of the workers should be weakened and control over their work situation should be firmly in the hands of the managers.

Only in that way can British capitalism become more competitive in an increasingly aggressive search for outlets in a world market that is not expanding as rapidly as in the past.

The Zurich bankers and the International Monetary Fund will only bale British capitalism out of its difficulties if the Labour government shows clearly that it will make the workers pay.

No one was in the least surprised by Jenkins' assurance to the IMF a few days ago that the squeeze would continue until the end of the year.

It is only in this general framework that we can make sense of the events of the past few weeks and months. One assumption has been the basis of all the government's manoeuvres over trade union 'reform' and that is the need to curb the power of the militants and the rank and file.

The TUC-government agreement shows not only that the trade union leaders are opposed to any independent rank and file organisation, but that, when pushed, they are willing to be used against their own members.

This willingness to accept responsibility for controlling their own members extends to the so-called 'Left' trade

What we think...

union leaders as well as to the well-known hard-liners on the right. Vic Feather, interviewed on television after the agreement was finalised, said he had no worries about Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon — the problem was the wildcat strikers!

Those sections of the labour movement who have put their faith in the Left-wing bureaucrats and justified their antics as a question of 'tactics' have had the barrenness of their hopes revealed.

Look at the change in the Morning Star headlines, from a triumphant 'No, No, eight Million Times No' on June 6, following the recall TUC conference, to their sadder 'Wilson Gets TUC to Carry the Can' following last week's agreement.

In real terms the agreement won't change the balance of forces all that much taken on its own. The women lavatory attendants at the Lucas factory in Birmingham, whose strike attracted national concern and TUC intervention, will suffer, as will others in a weak bargaining position.

Danger

The Sunday Times (June 22) was quite right when it commented that the strength of the settlement depends on 'what kind of machinery they (the TUC) construct to fulfill the responsibilities they have assumed in the national interest'.

But the real danger is revealed clearly in that phrase assumed responsibilities in the national interest. The TUC has not just accepted the framework of the capitalist system. They have done so for a long time.

They have also accepted it is their duty to do something about it — that they have a responsibility to help make capitalism work.

The Labour Party has made anti-trade unionism respectable — just as it did with racialism by its capitulation to Powell. For the first time in more than 40 years the Tories are adopting an open class-warfare policy with clear threats to smash the trade union movement. Every move right-wards by

the Labour Party brings an even more hysterical right-wing cry from the Tories.

In the last six months Labour has created a situation where even workers on strike often feel that unofficial strikes are a bad thing, where the self-confidence of small groups of workers is undermined and they are easily demoralised in their struggles for a decent wage and work conditions.

This is preparation for the type of agreement now being negotiated, for example, at Vauxhall. In exchange for a closed shop, the management want the unions to agree to expel any members who break the agreement.

Attack

Expulsion from the union in such a situation is a far greater threat to any militant than a fine or even jail sentence would be. It is the threat of exclusion for life from the industry in which he has been working. You could scarcely imagine a greater attack on rank and file militants.

Here is where the real threat of the TUC-government agreement lies. The softening-up process has reached a new peak, with the official organised labour movement taking a stand which places it ideologically on the other side.

Increasing pressure will be placed on the trade unions to discipline their own members, and, in advance, they have abandoned any reasons which might justify them resisting.

Only when the rank and file are sufficiently organised will they be able to fight victimisation of militants. The union machines are going to be used increasingly against their own members and it is therefore vital to fight for workers' control of the unions.

The defence of shop floor organisation and rank and file strength and support for all strikes, official and unofficial, go hand in hand with any consistent policy which aims to build an alternative to capitalist exploitation and the incorporation of the trade union bureaucracies into the police machinery of the capitalist state.

Pressure

For the first time in a number of years, the trade unions and the Labour Party are not at loggerheads. There is likely to be great pressure to unite behind them and not to 'rock the boat' as the next election approaches.

The 'Left' MPs, probably assisted by the 'Left' trade union leaders, will cry that the next five years will be different...

So they might be, but whatever party is in power, one thing will remain clear. That is the need to strengthen rank and file organisation, to create new organisations capable of giving a coherent political direction to all those forces opposed to the waste and squalor of life in capitalist society, organisations determined to struggle for a socialist alternative based on the mass involvement and self-liberation of the working class.

Post Office engineers call for action

ONE-DAY STRIKES are to be staged by 105,000 Post Office Engineers in an attempt to win a 10 per cent wage increase.

Delegates to the union conference in Blackpool voted on Tuesday for strike action when they heard that

the Post Office had offered a miserly 4 per cent with strings or 3½ per cent without.

The Post Office becomes a public corporation in the near future with new management and delegates said it was clear from the wage offer

that the union's strength was on trial.

General Secretary Lord Delacourt-Smith said the Post Office had benefitted substantially from previous productivity bargains and the union believed that a 10 per

cent increase was fully justified.

The executive pledged to take all forms of action — one-day strikes, work-to-rule and overtime bans — to help win the fight. A resolution seeking the first stoppage on

August 1st was defeated in favour of an executive call to stage a one-day strike 'as soon as necessary'.

NEXT WEEK: Michael Kidron reports from Ceylon

Printed again, the call to arms that Stalin banned

The ABC of Communism: Bukharin and Preobrazhensky. Edited by E.H. Carr. Penguin 8s

FIRST WRITTEN IN 1919 while Soviet Russia was still fighting for its life, the ABC was intended to be an elementary textbook for cadres serving in the Red Army or trying to re-organise the war-devastated economy.

'When the Mensheviks find fault with us on the ground that we have "repudiated" our old programme, and in so doing we have repudiated the teachings of Marx, we reply the essence of Marx's teaching is to construct programmes, not out of the inner consciousness, but out of life itself.

'If life had undergone great changes, the programme cannot be left as it was. In winter we have to wear thick overcoats. In the heat of

summer only a madman wears a thick overcoat. It is just the same in politics.'

This simple approach shows the attitude of the Bolsheviks in 1919 when the revolution was accomplished but all the options remained open. The ABC is not only of academic interest but shows a flexibility and openness of approach which the Marxist Left has lost in the main today and which was the strength of the Bolsheviks.

Chief target

Bukharin, the senior contributor, undertook all the theoretical chapters as well as the chapter on the organisation of industry. At this time both were left wingers: indeed Bukharin was the chief target of Lenin's pamphlet 'On "Left" Infantaism and the



petty bourgeois spirit' after he had attacked Lenin's programme of using former entrepreneurs in state trusts, denouncing this as 'state capitalism' not socialism.

E.H. Carr's foreword is masterly in its biographies of two men who later seemed to epitomise the different wings

of the Bolshevik Party.

Bukharin, the chief defender of the rich peasants, the Kulaks, coined the slogan even Stalin disowned of "enrich yourselves" in the late 1920s when he led the rightist block against Trotsky and the Left Opposition and his former collaborator Preobrazhensky.

The latter was the spokesman in his New Economics of collectivisation and in 1929 he rejoined Stalin in his lurch to the left. Both Bukharin and Preobrazhensky died in the great purges, although the latter was never publicly tried or the manner of his death reported. Bukharin fell in the third purge trial in 1938 and was shot.

The ABC of Communism gives a clear indication of the policies pursued by the Bolshevik government in terms of both the real sit-

uation and the expected 'withering away of the state'. It was officially a workers' and peasants' government.

Its aim was the destruction of the former state apparatus and the destruction of classes and class antagonism. The dictatorship of the proletariat would itself 'ripen into communism, dying away together with the state organisation of society'.

Definite part

The ABC insisted that "every member of a soviet should play some definite part in the work of state administration."

The Russian party programme of March 1919 was categorical on the need for economic progress.

"It is an essential part of

the economic policy of the soviet power to secure a universal increase in the productive forces of the country ... All other considerations must be subordinated to one practical aim - a rapid increase, by all available means, in the quantity of goods urgently needed by the population."

The party programme was not always so prosaic and the ABC makes this clear: "Within a few decades, there will be quite a new world with new people and new customs."

Many problems which were to arise in the course of the creation of the soviet state are skated over, as in a passage by Bukharin: "The proletarian state cannot exploit the proletariat, for the simple reason that it is itself an organisation of the proletariat. A man cannot

climb on his own self."

But what proletarian war and a neocrats under opportunistic control of the stands above

Banned

The ABC did not forlens. Never historic sign banned it in has never Russia. Pecongratulate it once more

TER

Communist summit: slogans and petty nationalism in place of a world class alliance

Keep off my patch -the Moscow brand of 'internationalism'

by NIGEL HARRIS

DELEGATES OF 75 Communist Parties have been meeting in Moscow. The last such conference - of 81 parties - was held in 1960.

That was the last time when the divisions within the Communist movement still permitted all the parties to meet together.

Since 1960, the public split between Russia and China has made it possible for many other parties to develop political positions in opposition to Moscow's. As a result, the Russians have had the greatest difficulty in calling another conference, and it has taken five years of sporadic negotiations (including two postponements) to achieve it.

Russia would clearly not permit China to attend, and China would not agree to do so. Therefore automatically a number of other parties would not attend, not because they agree with China but because they do not want to agree with Russia.

Thus, the '75 Communist Parties' is a little misleading. Many of the 75 are of no importance, except in Moscow's propaganda, or if the Russians want an 'independent' spokesman for their views, or to get a majority vote through.

In practice, Moscow chooses to rely on orthodox diplomacy to achieve its foreign policy ends rather than local Communists.

At the conference, one must rather look to see which are the important parties. In Europe, Moscow can rely on its loyalists -

pre-eminently East Germany and Bulgaria, with Poland; Hungary, with more reservations; Czechoslovakia, by courtesy of the Russian army.

It could not rely on Rumania, but the Rumanians did come to the conference. Albania, China's closest ally, was of course absent.

The Italian and French parties were there, but critically. In Asia, the only loyalist is satellite Mongolia.

All the other governing parties - China, North Korea, and the centrepiece of Moscow's revolutionary rhetoric, North Vietnam - stayed away. So also did the import-

ant Japanese party, and most of the south-east Asian parties.

And from India came only the right-wing Dange group. From Latin America, the Chileans came, but the much more important Cubans sent only an observer.

In terms of numbers, the conference may even have represented a minority of Communists. But the breakup of the unity of the Communists, originally embodied in the Communist International (Comintern), is not simply a conflict between different national parties.

The Cold War supplied the

cement which most recently held the alliance together, and it also held in place loyal Stalinist leaderships in each individual party. But now, just as the relationship between Moscow and each party has changed, so also have the relationships within each party.

Some parties have split - into three fragments in India and Japan, or into two, in Finland or Norway. In others, despite losses, a centrist leadership has been able to hold different factions together by political balancing acts.

MAROONED

Take for example, the French Communist Party, uneasily marooned between 'liberal' (or social democratic) groups and a strongly entrenched Stalinist faction. The first prompted the party to condemn the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia; the second neutralised much of the condemnation by following the Russian criticisms of Dubcek's policies.

Even the governing party in Rumania seems divided between a more and a less 'national communist' faction.

Thus, at the conference, there could be no simple alignments. Only by default could the issue become nationalism versus Moscow's 'internationalism', independence versus unity on Moscow's terms.

By default, the cause of national independence from Russian foreign policy brings into temporary collaboration parties pursuing quite contradictory strategies - the Chinese Maoists, the Dubcekite Czechs, the Rumanian Stalinists, the Italian social democrats.

Even that stronghold of Chinese 'dogmatism', Albania, is now prepared to defend the arch-revisionist, Yugoslavia, against Russia.

But the alliance is necessarily temporary. Neither internationally nor at the Moscow conference could there be a real political

alliance in opposition to Moscow, not even one of the 'non-aligned' as between Russia and China. This disunity within the opposition obviously gives Russia its trump card.

With such diversity, the minimum level of agreement inevitably became either platitude (we must all unite against imperialism) or reactionary (the defence of the existing frontiers of the Soviet Union is the mark of a true proletarian socialist).

If the press reports are to be believed, not one delegate presented to the conference the case for proletarian internationalism and offered the concrete tasks which flow from it for 1969. For the Russians, 'internationalism' means 'support of the existing socialist society by all fraternal parties' (Brezhnev, June 7), which, unwrapped, means defence of the Soviet Union against, for example, China.

TRUMPED

For Rumania's Ceausescu, 'internationalism' means the essentially bourgeois principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of another state. Ironically, Husak, the new trendy Stalinist of Czechoslovakia, trumped Ceausescu by declaring that to discuss the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia (as all the rebels wanted to do) constituted interference in the internal affairs of another party.

So for the rebels, the minimum platform possible came in affirming their absolute independence in formulating policy. Britain's John Gollan dotted the 'i's with his unequivocal declaration: 'Each party is sovereign. It alone, through its highest authority, can decide its policy, its activities and its role.'

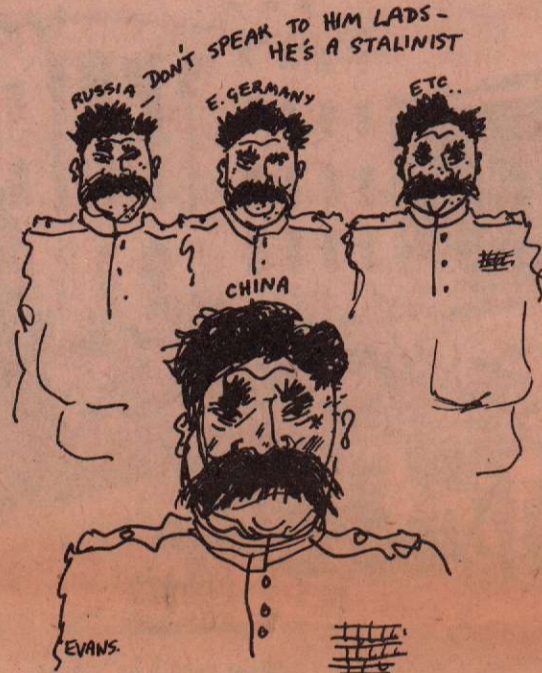
Few of the delegates can have remembered Lenin's criticisms of the Second international and its failure

to prevent war in 1914 precisely because each party was responsible only to itself.

As a result of this lack of any coherent socialist position, the conference seems to have neglected all the important issues. Certainly, John Gollan raised the issue of the need for a unified struggle against the new 'super corporation' of capitalism, but it was only 'an issue', not the centrepiece

Underlying Gollan's position is a commitment to the ultimate necessity of winning a parliamentary majority, and this is the centrepiece domestically. Zhivkov of Bulgaria went so far as to criticise some of the rebel parties for giving up the class struggle in favour of purely electoral strategies.

Gollan replied that 'struggle' was indeed the heart of the party's strategy, but it must lead to an ultimate



parliamentary ortunately, tends to present 'st and fought

But parliament means also conference al foreign rather than class alliance as Moscow chauvinism island of Ch larger than of the prolet

And when munist lo bearings so ist Russia managerial become pos the model fo

Of course not say 'a p houses'. We right of na mination oppression, some of the Parties - w as the sam for sociali

VERB

Concrete will assist Despite the qualification will be able policies a sanctioned

The Rus verbal cond and did pre of Czechosl

More spe ference is of protest nam war on is unfortunate anniversary the Geneva North Vietr by Russia so, as a re osition to feeble, ama and too late

The conf ed little of ists. It has operation i dispute, and underlined reliable Ru throughout A

Nothing terms of Communist it seems, n be 'intern except slog

Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E2 01-739 1878

Editor Roger Protz
Editorial Committee Paul Foot Richard Kuper Laurie Flynn Sabby Sagall
Business Manager Barry Huggill

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.

Zionists' f

SOCIALIST WORKER reported last week that 'an IS member was assaulted by Zionists' outside the Theatre Royal the previous Sunday, when Israeli premier Mrs Golda Meir addressed a Zionist rally. But you did not say how or why.

In fact, one comrade had blood streaming from the mouth after a vicious blow on the jaw. A woman was kicked. I myself was surrounded and physically threatened by Zionists.

Why? Simply for daring to distribute a leaflet putting 'Ten Questions to Mrs Golda Meir'. The leaflet was produced by anti-Zionist, Jewish Israeli socialists.

But the only answer the Zionists had to questions about the rotten racialist basis of their society was the answer of the thug. Only the fascists could match their response.

The intimidation was systematic - no leafleter proc-

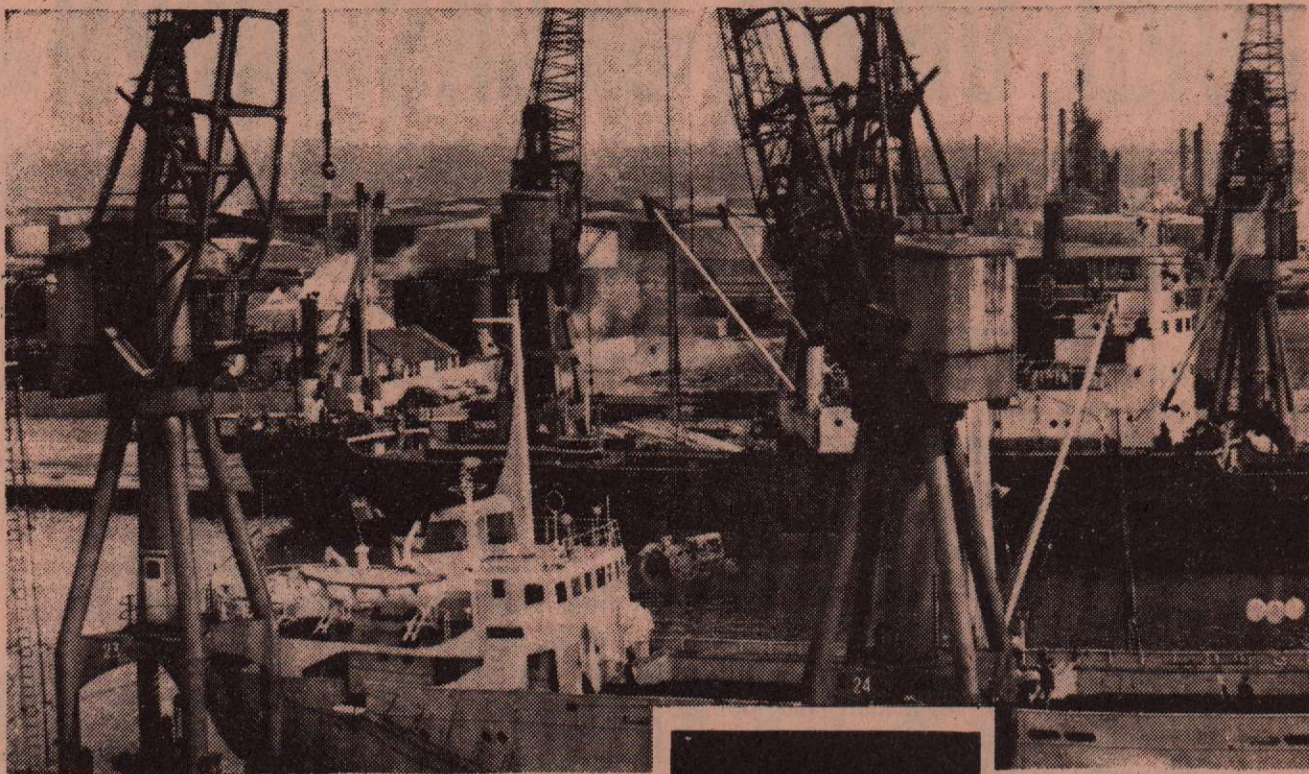


GOLD Suppo

eeded unhan most fight ion I was a time.

As at Ro ing day, v gratuitously fascists wh fascist mee Drury Lane Zionist extr I was f policeman

SACK THE BOSSSES! THAT'S THE ONLY ANSWER TO ANARCHY AND PROFITEERING IN THE PORTS



DOCKERS VERSUS DEVLIN

by **Terry Barrett**
 Tilbury Docks, TGWU
 talking to Nigel Coward

The docks are worked by dockers, clerks, stevedores, crane drivers and transport men. The bosses are superfluous.

movements of lighters and barges and to liaise with transport to shift goods from the sheds, than all the strikes put together.

Every pound of their profit is wrung from our labour. There is no economic, social or ethical reason why this tiny minority of self-interested, exploiting parasites should continue to have privilege and respect.

On the agenda

They and their academic 'experts' say that we couldn't run a society. Our comrades in Paris (1871), Russia (1917), Barcelona (1936) and Hungary (1956) have shown it can be done - until the ruling class killed them.

France, 1968, put the issue of who controls society squarely on the agenda again. Workers everywhere will have to get rid of those who prevent a rational, planned and democratic society in which production takes place for need and not for profit.

And as the bosses and their state sharpen up their knives, the need becomes ever more urgent for the mass of workers to see this.

necessary, to operate this democratically and efficiently, that workers' committees at all levels, all elected and all subject to instant recall, must retain and exercise control.

Participation will be offered us. But we participate fully in the present system by moving cargo.

Participation implies workers' fullest co-operation with the employer - in the latter's interest and with his continued existence. Port employers won't oppose worker participation while they retain control over facilities and the right to make profits.

Slave labour

What have the bosses ever contributed to the docks? Most of the London docks were built free of charge by slave prisoners of war labour.

Every crane, fork-lift, derrick, and straddle-truck has been built by exploited engineers. Every ton of goods is handled by dockers and transported by lorry drivers and seamen. The paper work is done by office workers.

So where do the bosses come in? They contribute nothing to this vast social enterprise. We only catch

glimpses of them (rather like senior union officials) when they come to launch and christen a new ship, or open a berth, and have themselves a celebration.

We're told they have calculations to make and risks to take. But their calculations are usually about how to squeeze more from the workers for less. And their risks occur because other bosses might be better at it than them.

We're told that they organise production. But even in this they're inefficient.

More man-days are lost through misallocation of labour, lack of ability to plan

In a previous article (12 June) Terry Barrett said the main reason for the Devlin Report on the docks was to bring about rapid 'rationalisation' - massive redundancies, speed-up and the surrender of hard-won protective practices. In spite of Devlin's 'modernisation' proposals, the vast majority of dockers still work in appalling conditions. While profits have risen, the labour force nationally has been slashed from 63,000 to 55,000 in the last 18 months while the average wage is only £20 a week. One proposal in phase two of Devlin that would radically alter the balance of forces still further in the bosses' favour is to return to them the right to hire and fire labour, at present the prerogative of the Dock Labour Board.

ised berths which, with a small, mobile labour force, will meet the needs of all overseas trade.

On containerisation, a single example can show the impact already made.

At present at 40 Shed, Tilbury, the container berth operates with 20 to 30 men, and has achieved a turn around of 6000 tons in five hours, compared with the earlier force of 176 men, who derived 2½ weeks' work from it.

Blanket terms

The men in these automated berths may get a considerable increase in wages, but get it in the knowledge that they've done hundreds of their mates out of work.

Militants are often accused of being against something called 'progress'. The trouble is that vague blanket terms like this look different depending on your view point.

To the boss, it means increased profits and control over the workers. To the worker, it means the sack and speed-up.

All technological changes that are introduced at our expense will meet resistance.

Technical change will always be a threat until we live in a socialist system where the workers plan which new methods shall be introduced, when and how.

N.C.: How can these threats be fought? Decasual-

isation makes a dock rather more like a factory. What about the role of the shop steward?

T.B.: Many militants have fought for years for a system of rank and file shop stewards representation. This right is now won.

But in some docks, the shop steward is being used as public relations officer. New gov'nors messenger-boys are no good to us. Where militants are elected, they can become an effective force.

Already we've seen in the Royal Group, that the employers' attempts to gain control with arbitrary discipline can be prevented by the solidarity of the men. These new attacks on organisation can be met by strengthened organisation.

And in a dangerous industry, there's always the need for unofficial action to avoid deaths (as well as improving and defending wages and conditions), since years of experience have shown that the union or Board of Trade machinery grinds too slow for safety.

Legal chains

N.C.: You talk of defending conditions against the bosses, of fighting to keep abreast of inflation, of resisting redundancy and legal chains and speed-up. You fight for rights and then struggle to defend them. What is the alternative to all this wasteful competition?

T.B.: The alternative can only be the ownership and control of the docks, in the hands of rank and file dockworkers, operating on behalf of the community.

There are plenty of phoney solutions besides this. While Devlin was hatching the scheme, the Labour Party's Port Study Group was preparing a draft for the nationalisation of the docks.

Some docks branches rejected Devlin as the basis for decasualisation and voted for the Port Study Group's proposals instead.

The TGWU chose to ignore these demands. Had these proposals been implemented, it would have been a measure of improvement. But reforms solve nothing.

You have to support elementary forms of nationalisation, but at the same time to demand that ALL ports and not just some of them be included otherwise strike-breaking is easy.

None of this can be achieved in one group of industries. Workers with brawn and brain must collectively run production and transport. It will be

NIGEL COWARD: Besides the continuous threat of redundancy, containerisation and the shift system are looming.

The employers' paper, the Financial Times, said (12.5.69): 'The employers' overriding aim in the enclosed docks is to speed up the turn round of ships by 25 per cent through shift work which would give about 70 hours of possible work in a five-day week (by a smaller but better organised labour force), compared with the maximum possible 50 hours under the one-shift system and overtime.'

As you have said, the ruling class gets it all ways. Despite the admission in the same article, that 'for all the failings of its piecework system, London can turn ships round faster with its single-shift working than Continental ports on a two-shift system', London is still somehow 'uncompetitive'.

Isn't this the widely used device of getting workers to cut each others throats? No doubt the Continental docker is told that he must work harder to keep his job and beat English competition.

Terry Barrett: Of course the divide and rule trick is the oldest in the book. Take shift work first.

Dockers are being kidded that shift work will give them more social life. It's true that the early shift (6.45 am to 2.00 with a half-hour meal break and NOT as the union officials say 7.00 am to 2.00 with an hour break) will not be too bad socially.

But the second shift, from 1.45 pm to 9.00 will abolish social and family life.

Many dockers think that the shift system will reduce the impact of redundancy. But nothing except our opposition will stop the shipowners in their plans for London - for only 100 highly mechan-

Alarming thuggery

crowd. He did not protect my right to leaflet. It was I, not the Zionists who seized my pile of leaflets and slung them to the ground, who was the 'troublemaker'.

The press reported none of this. They will not risk the advertising of the big pro-Israeli capitalists to expose this violence, any more than they generally report the much greater brutality of the Israeli regime to the Palestinians.

As Harold Wilson and Golda Meir congratulate each other at the so-called 'Socialist International' at Eastbourne, it is clear that official social-democracy has also chosen sides. But the respectable covers for Zionist atrocities and thuggery extend much further left than this to the sentimental left around Tribune.

They cannot distinguish between the Jews who were victims of the most extreme racial violence in Europe and the Zionists who are perpet-

rating racial violence in the Middle East today.

As the Israeli repression of the Arab population becomes more severe we may well find the Zionist extremists in Britain resolving more to the Mosleyite tactics they enjoyed on Sunday, June 15. To stop this we must break the hold of the Zionists on public opinion - especially the Jewish working class and intelligentsia who have up to now provided an important part of the socialist movement in Britain.

Zionism can lead them not only into the ideological embrace of Israel's western allies, but also into a contempt for the slender 'democratic rights' that exist in this country.

That is the lesson of Sunday. It heavily underlines the need to expand the work of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign. MARTIN SHAW, London N1.

own back. The not exploit its

happens if the destroyed by elite of bureau- ruthless and leader gains means of prod- a new class the people.

in Russia

of Communism ee such prob- less, it has an fificance. Stalin the 1920s and it en reprinted in ruin are to be for producing

RY BULL

nce

majority. Unf- the 'ultimate' ctate how the ggle' is seen

mentary politics hat the Moscow as a, convention- ily assembly, e meeting of a e. Issues such 's hysterical ver the Chinese mpao loom much the interests at.

they do, Com- e their class hat both Stalin- and Dubcek's market economy ble runners as socialism.

socialists can- gue on all your ust support the onal self-deter- ainst Russian but - unlike ebel Communist cannot see this as the struggle

the conference Moscow's image. eservations and the Russians to present their having been the movement. ans did get in a ntion of China, nt a discussion akia.

ically, the con- edged to a day ainst the Viet- uly 20. The day, since it is the of the signing of greements when was sold out id China. Even gesture of opp- the war it is ngly too little

ence has achiev- erest to social- been a holding the Sino-Soviet has incidentally the absence of sian supporters a.

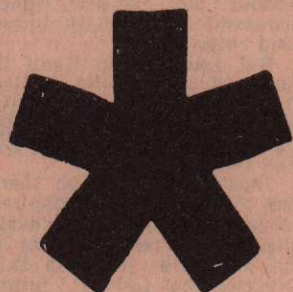
will change in the individual rties. There is, hing for them to tional' about, s.

MEIR ed by Wilson

ered. It was the ing demonstrat- ended in a long

ford the follow- ere the police attacked the anti- e, protecting a g, the police in sided with the ists.

gmarched by a way from the



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

Name _____

Address _____

FORD UNION BACKS DOWN IN BATTLE OVER PAY

Jim Lamborn

ONE OF THE MAJOR UNIONS at Ford announced its policy last week when a delegate conference of Transport Workers' Union stewards at Ford called for pay rises of between 4s9d and 6s an hour. They also demanded better holiday pay, sick pay and equal pay for women - but tagged on to the demands were the fateful words 'next May'.

This is a clear indication of yet another shift of TGWU policy since the prolonged strike of February and March. It cuts across the then 'militant' attitude of Moss Evans, TGWU Ford negotiator, who told the strikers on March 19 that he would fight for parity in 1969 with Midland rates and conditions.

The TGWU is also setting up a new group for 100,000 of its members in the car industry to be led by 'ball of fire' Evans.

If the 'parity in 1969' policy, which was switched to '£10 a week by May 1970' in eight weeks flat is any guide there are likely to be 100,000 rather confused members of Moss Evans' Light Brigade.

The TGWU have also done an about-face on a closure date for the present Ford pay agreement. The strikers returned to work on the understanding that any new agreement would be 'open-ended' so that the unions could start fresh pay talks at any time.

CLASH

The management refused to accept this and the TGWU have now agreed that the present agreement should operate until May 1970.

But the Engineering Union's delegate conference on May 19 unanimously decided that the agreement should not contain a terminal date.

With the TGWU also demanding the right to veto decisions on the union side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee, a clash seems likely at the next NJNC meeting on July 24 unless one of the two major unions climbs down.

Seamen's union chops militant

Joe Rourke

LAST FRIDAY the National Union of Seamen demonstrated to the prime minister and to the people who run the country just how the trade union leaders will discipline militants when they expelled Phil Ballard from membership.

Ballard, a sea-going member of the NUS executive, was thrown out for the 'crime' of distributing leaflets in Greece against the dictatorship that has imprisoned and tortured many trade unionists, including leading Greek seamen.

The executive expelled Ballard under rule 34, clause F of the constitution for conduct 'detrimental to the union or its members'. This is the type of rule that Harold Wilson and the TUC said last week should be in all union rule books so that militants can lose their jobs in closed-shop industries.

Deprived

Phil Ballard, at the age of 28, is deprived of earning his living, deprived by the very people he was paying 4s a week to look after his interests.

It is ironic that the first object in the NUS rule book, as in all union rules, is 'to improve the conditions and protect the interests of all members of this union'.

Wilson said last week that the government and the nation will support the TUC in the ultimate threat to a worker's loss of livelihood when he does not 'toe the line'.

It is time that the workers showed they are the nation. We should set the clock back 100 years and, like our forefathers, start a workers' movement based on militant action.

I've no doubt that when Harold sees this article he will give the nod to Maritime House to expel me and reduce myself, wife and family to paupers as a lesson to keep my mouth shut.

Joe Rourke is a sea-going member of the National Union of Seamen.

Lift men's strike ends in defeat

THE STRIKE by lift engineers from four Merseyside firms over the suspension of one man for refusing to do rough painting has ended in failure after almost five weeks.

The suspended man, a member of the Electricians' Union, said the work should be done by the Painters' Union.

A dispirited meeting agreed to a return to work with nothing gained, after two firms had already decided to go back. There are now obvious dangers of victimisation.

Published by the International Socialist, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2. Printed by Socialist Review Publishing Co (TUL) Ltd, Registered with the GPO. Annual subscription £2.

Students occupy college

STUDENTS at University College Swansea staged a 24-hour sit-in this week in protest against the suspension of a member of the Socialist Society, Dick Jones.

Jones, an IS member, wrote an article in the society's paper Red Letter in which he criticised the college principal. He was hauled before an unofficial senate meeting and suspended.

A general meeting of students voted for the sit-in, which ended on Tuesday morning. During the occupation a few unknown hooligans smashed furniture, action which will undoubtedly be used against the protesters.

There was disagreement among the strikers over the aims of the strike. Some thought the dispute was simply about the suspension while others wanted to fight on the issue of lift engineers doing painting.

The Electricians' Union rule-book has said since 1952 that their members should do the painting and the fight was really over changing the rule. But the strikers were isolated when they approached other crafts for support simply on the issue of the suspension. The result was demoralisation, weak organisation and defeat.

The local ETU official refused to negotiate for his members.



'THE TRIUMPH OF REASON' - 1969
EVANS

Irish Tories win 'red scare' election

John Palmer

AFTER A CAMPAIGN of vicious 'red-baiting' and rumour-mongering, the Fianna Fail Green Tory Party has been returned to power in the Irish general election.

The opposition Tory Fine Gael Party failed yet again to establish itself as the major party of Irish capitalism. For the Labour Party the results are more complex.

Labour lost ground in the rural areas and a number of prominent right-wing MPs lost their seats. This was due in part to the hysterical campaign mounted by Fianna Fail leaders like Blaney, McEntee and millionaire Charles Haughey that was designed to show that Labour was being led by 'anti-Labour, Maoist, Cuba-inspired Leftists' and 'red queers from Trinity College'.

INFLUENCE

By this, Blaney and co were referring to the increased influence in the Labour Party of centrists and left social democrats like Conor Cruise O'Brien (of Katanga fame) and Dr Noel Browne.

But these smears did not prevent Labour making big gains in the urban areas, particularly Dublin.

The position of the Dail Labour Party has clearly moved to the Left. The partial and inconsistent identification of the Labour Party with the upsurge of urban discontent among trade unionists, tenants and the civil rights movement paid off in increased votes.

But Labour has itself to blame in part for its falling in the rural areas. The party had no aggressive policy to win the support of the small, poor farmers.

During the election there was a republican-inspired campaign of violence against large foreign ranches in the midlands. It is in this direction that Labour's future rural policy should be aimed.

Ireland is heading for econ-

omic troubles, partially as a backwash of the British crises. This will probably result in a new upsurge of militant strikes and extra-parliamentary opposition to Fianna Fail's proposed legislation to curb political and trade union liberties.

EXTEND

The Marxist Left can seize opportunities in the present situation of broadening its support among young workers, dissident republicans and trade unionists. It would be equally foolhardy for them to either place trust in the centrist leaders or to retreat into a sectarian shell. The Marxists should also extend their links with the revolutionary Left organised in the northern PD and civil rights movement.

Glasgow fight to save Direct Works

GLASGOW:- Workers in the corporation building department are fighting to save the direct works section which the Tory majority want to scrap in order to give council house building to private firms for profit.

The direct works section employs 5000 workers and has built 50,000 houses for Glasgow since its formation in 1937. But since the Tories took control of the city, building sites have been held back and there is the possibility of redundancy after the summer holidays.

Token strike

After pressure from shop stewards, a token strike and demonstration took place on May 1st. Since then, full-time union officials have had talks with the corporation, but the run down of the section has continued.

Now the stewards have succeeded in getting the National Federation of Build-

And now folks, at astronomical cost, it's the Royal Family show...

Roger Protz

WITH THE INVESTITURE of the Prince of Wales on Tuesday we reach the climax of a veritable orgy of royalty. In recent months, press, radio and television have waxed lyrical, if not hysterical, in an effort to convince us that we are a lucky nation indeed to have such a charming, witty and ordinary family looking after our interests in that small semi at the end of the Mall.

Last Saturday some 27 million watched a near two-hour BBC documentary on a year in the life of the Windsors, a sort of everyday story of aristocratic folk. (The amazingly high viewing figure was helped by ITV's alternative choice of an old film starring Anna Neagle, who is really Queen Victoria.)

Reactions varied to the royal epic. Mr Peregrine Worsthorne, High Priest of the Far Right, thought that to show Them eating, talking and laughing detracted from the essential mysticism of royalty. The London correspondent of Izvestia felt that Britain might break new ground by having the first socialist monarchy, while my old mum gave the whole thing the switch at the point where the Queen produced a piece of jewellery from a copious casket and asked, 'Have I worn this before?'

The film was at pains to tell us just how modern the royal family is. Certainly where money is concerned this is true. The Queen has cast off all those old feudal inhibitions about businessmen and has a cast-iron contract to gross 50 per cent of the takings from the longest commercial yet seen on British television. Her rake-off should amount to £200,000, a nice round figure, the same as the annual allowance for ordinary, likeable, so-witty Prince Charles.

Down from the shelf

Are you baffled by the sudden frenzy over this pampered, trivial and boring clique? The reason for it all is quite simple: things aren't going too well for the small class who run and control Britain. The workers aren't happy as they are forced and cajoled into bearing the brunt of the problems facing British capitalism.

While the government and TUC gab about the essential business of castrating the union rank and file and the gnomes demand an even more stringent freeze and squeeze, our attention has to be diverted. And so the Royal Family are taken down from the shelf, a few of the more pathetic loonies hidden away, and presented once again as the epitome of a happy, united nation.

The whole pathetic exercise would be laughable were it not for the astronomical cost. The values of capitalist society are seen sharply in the high jinks at Caernavon next week. The latest estimate for the investiture is £½m, but this does not include the cost of police, soldiers, civil servants and flunkies. It is thought that the final total for one day's royal fun and games will be close on £1 million. That sort of money could be put to better use in Wales, with 40,000 unemployed, 20,000 of them in the areas of the coalfields, and 31 per cent of the houses more than 80 years old.

Guardian of the people

The organisers of the investiture learnt with alarm that no facilities existed for attending royalty to empty their bladders while watching the ceremony. What might be called the problem of the royal wee was simply solved: an extra £30,000 was allocated for temporary toilets. In Wales, 37,000 houses have no water closets, 184,000 have no bathrooms ...

And yet we should be grateful for all this appalling waste. While the Queen remains, no dictator can grab the reins of power, so the great epic informed us last Saturday. Hardly convincing. The Italian and Greek royal families, for example, worked happily with fascist regimes, although the latest Greek incumbent has had a temporary disagreement over the sharing of the spoils.

And our own Duke of Windsor was hastily bundled off the throne, under the pretext of an unfortunate marriage, when he showed too much sympathy for Herr Hitler and was described by Sir Oswald Mosley (who should know) as the 'perfect fascist monarch'.

The royal family is not a bulwark against dictatorship. It is part of the sometimes subtle, sometimes brutal dictatorship of capital. Of course, as a correspondent to the Morning Star complained recently, we mustn't be unfair to them - after all, they didn't ask to rule over us. We intend to put them out of their misery ...

George Kelly

ing Trade Operatives to stage a further demonstration and lobby of the council today (Thursday).

This time the building workers have widened their call for support and foremen

and white-collar workers are joining them.

Years of inaction by the Labour Party has allowed Glasgow Tories to follow the example of the English boroughs. They are combining their attacks on direct works with increases in rents, cut backs in education, health and welfare and the selling of council houses.

NOTICES

BERNADETTE DEVLIN speaks in Acton Town Hall, High Street W8 on Monday June 30 at 7.30pm.

IRISH Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign, Islington area. Report back meeting, Monday June 30, The George, Liverpool Rd N18pm.

IS London Region: the Irish campaign. This Saturday 2pm 6 Cottons Gdns E2.

SOUTH LONDON IS: Workers' control. Spkr Jim Higgins. Sunday

July 9, 7.30pm Wilton Arms, Thornton Heath High St.

IS Students' national meeting at LSE this Saturday, 10.30-4 pm. Details from branch secretaries.

SPANISH Workers' Defence Cttee. Film: To Die in Madrid, Sat 28 June 5pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq

VSC: Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd, July 11.7pm. Film on Tet offensive followed by public meeting with Vietnamese reps.