

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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On the march in St Helens against anti-union laws. Picture: Jeff Pick

1500 on march to back Pilkington men

THE FIGHT STARTS HERE — that was the message to the Tory government and anti-union bosses on Monday from 1500 workers who demonstrated in St Helens, Lancashire. The demonstration was called by the Pilkington Rank and File Committee that led the seven-week glass strike earlier this year. 250 glass workers were sacked more than two months ago when they struck for negotiating rights. On the march with the Pilkington men were building workers from Ellesmere Port and St Helens, as well as a delegation of Vauxhall car workers from Liverpool. Chanting slogans against anti-union legislation, for the right to strike and against the shabby role of the General and Municipal Workers' Union the demonstrators made their way

passed the six Pilkington glass factories and through the mean streets of the town owned lock, stock and barrel by the glass millionaires.

Local employers hit back immediately. 59 building workers employed by Rollinson Construction on a St Helens council site were sacked on Tuesday for supporting the march. Rank and file leaders John Potter and Gerry Caughey travelled back to St Helens overnight on Tuesday to help the sacked builders.

Mr Potter and Mr Caughey had earlier led a Pilkington deputation to the Russian Embassy in London. They appealed to the Russian government to black work on a float-glass plant being installed by Pilkingtons near Kiev.

NEXT WEEK: WE LAUNCH 8-PAGE SOCIALIST WORKER

NEXT WEEK Socialist Worker begins publication of a regular eight-page paper. This has been made possible by the successful fighting fund launched last month to buy a new, modern web-offset printing plant.

Because of major structural changes to our premises the machinery cannot be installed for a few weeks. But the urgency of the struggle against the government's anti-union laws calls for an all-out effort by the socialist movement. A bigger, brighter, more informative Socialist Worker has an important role to play in this campaign and we have decided to produce the eight-pager on our existing equipment for a few weeks.

We also hope to instal new typesetting machines in the next few weeks that will bring a considerable improvement to the paper's readability. There are bound to be teething troubles as the bigger paper gets under way. Bear with us for a few weeks.

This is an exciting step forward for the International Socialists. We urge all our readers and supporters to use the paper to the full to spread the case for socialism to a wider audience of workers. Increase your orders now. Win new subscribers to the paper.

PS - the new paper will cost 6d. We're sorry about the increase. We think you'll find it good value for money.

Next Week: interview with DATA vice-president Mike Cooley

TORIES' UNION ATTACK HOTS UP

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE GOVERNMENT'S plans to legally hamstring the trade unions are being accompanied by a gigantic press campaign to soften-up public opinion and turn militant workers into sinister bogeymen undermining the country's economy.

While the TUC pleads caution and Vic Feather says strike action against the Tories would be 'irresponsible', government Ministers like John Davies and leading industrialists like Gilbert Hunt of Chrysler rage against strikes that are making Britain unfit for respectable profiteers to live in.

The press, television and radio faithfully report their every howl of rage. Just as faithfully, they ignore or play down the statements of the few union spokesmen prepared to come out against the Tory plans.

The hysterical crusade reached fever point on Wednesday when the press carried huge scare stories about the activities of shop steward Alan Hinks who represents the Sheet Metal Workers' Union in British Leylands' Longbridge body plant in Birmingham. The press attacks on Mr Hinks underline all that Socialist Worker has been saying for two years on this subject: the aim of governments — Labour and Tory — in alliance with the bosses and right-wing union leaders is to break shop-floor militancy.

It is shop-floor workers, well organised and democratically controlled, who have led the tremendous fight back against wage freeze, rising prices and productivity deals. Shop-floor militancy must be stamped on if the bosses are to succeed in their attempt to make workers pay for the problems racking the capitalist economy. This explains the Tory plans for the unions. This explains the crude witchhunt against Alan Hinks.

SPECIAL FUND

What is Mr Hinks' crime? He operates an official union policy that asks the 650 SMWU body plant workers to donate money into a special fund when they earn more than £40 a week before tax.

Mr Hinks explains why the scheme is operated: 'If a man wanted to earn £50 we would stop him. If there is that much work we would ask for another man to do the extra work and so feed another mouth.'

'Some pools of men are picking up as much as £10 more than others. It's not fair. We had to try to level things out.'

He added: 'The system is run to show the workers good trade unionism and what it is all about. The long-term aspect is that everyone will benefit. We want the work more evenly distributed and, if possible, to get a realistic minimum level raised for all members.'

So this is Mr Hinks' 'crime': he wants to provide the maximum number of jobs for the maximum number of workers. He wants to distribute wages as equally as possible. He wants to maintain the unity of the workforce.

This is shop-floor democracy in action. The Longbridge stewards are elected by their workmates. If the system was unpopular it would be thrown out, along with the stewards.

This is what the Tories and the bosses want to stop. Their legal proposals are designed to turn shop stewards' committees and similar bodies into 'unconstitutional' groups that can be threatened with high court action if they take strike action.

The plans will break well-organised plants by outlawing the closed shop and allowing non-unionists to benefit from

Conference to discuss Tory laws

NEXT WEEKEND in Birmingham the Institute for Workers' Control is calling an emergency conference to discuss the government's proposals to legally attack the trade unions. Several hundred accredited trade union delegates are expected to attend the conference.

The Industrial Committee of the International Socialists will present an emergency resolution to the conference that will contain the following proposals for a campaign of action:

1. The TUC abandon its futile attempts to get concessions from the government and announce its intention to resist the laws.
2. Woodcock and Paynter to resign from the Commission on Industrial Relations. Trade unionists should boycott the CIR and other such bodies.
3. The executives of all unions should announce that they will refuse to register with the Commission or assist in the work of the proposed industrial court and will refuse to pay any fines imposed under this legislation or conduct or accept any government-imposed strike ballots.
4. Unions should further make it known that they will not enter into contracts that are legally binding.
5. If the legislation is passed, unions should instruct their members that they will have full backing in refusing to handle goods that are black or deliver across a picket line and in taking other sympathetic action.
6. Complete opposition to state-imposed and employer-policed 'agency shops'. Fight for 100 per cent trade union membership. Opposition to any 'scabs' charter. Defend our right to discipline fellow workers who flout democratic decisions.

The resolution also calls for a national one-day protest strike on the day that the Bill is introduced into parliament and the setting up of local Councils of Action to oppose the laws and defend those who suffer under them if they become law.

advances won by union members. The legal shackles would make it difficult for stewards like Alan Hinks to operate their 'equal wages' systems.

The socialist and trade union movement must defend to the hilt shop stewards like Alan Hinks. But more than that: we must build a powerful grass-roots campaign to fight and defeat the Tory proposals that are designed to turn back the clock more than 70 years and present organised workers as sacrificial lambs on the high altar of the profiteers and drones who control our society.

ONLY MILITANT ACTION CAN STOP RISING JOBS TOLL

Bleak winter in Scotland as dole queues grow

THE LONG SHADOW of the dole queue hangs over the workers of Glasgow, centre of the once famous Red Clyde. Along with the rest of the Scottish labour movement, they have had to shoulder the burden of high unemployment for the last 20 years.

The number of jobless in Scotland has fluctuated over the years but it has usually stood at twice the national average. Last month's figure for Scotland showed a drop of 2512 over August but it was still the highest September total since the war. The figures show a continuing upward trend, giving the year's highest total of 4.4 per cent.

The industrial areas are the worst hit. Greenock has 7.8 per cent out of work, North Lanarkshire 5.8 per cent and Dundee and Glasgow both have 5.3 per cent. Glasgow's male unemployment rate is running at 7.5 per cent.

The recent figures underline the opinion of many Scottish trade unionists that they are set for a bleak winter. Unemployment figures could reach 100,000.

Glasgow trade unionists have been forced to concentrate on redundancy and unemployment. Even in the 'good years' of 1967, 68 and 69 this still meant 20,000 were out of work in Glasgow and 84,000 in Scotland.

Between 1960 and 1968 more than 139,000 jobs disappeared — a large number of these in Glasgow — and in the five main sections of industry. Although there have been some job gains, Glasgow has not yet recovered her losses of skilled jobs from that period.

One effect of high unemployment has been the continuous exodus of skilled Scottish workers to the south and overseas. Emigration has dropped from its 47,000 high in 1966 to 25,000 in 1969 but there is no room for complacency here.

Electrician John Ruddy, 24, married with one child, shows the personal problems behind the bare statistics. Rarely unemployed up to now, he told me that in the last two months he has been unable to find a job in the Glasgow area. He is

Jobless youngsters tramp the streets of Glasgow's Easterhouse. Despair can turn to violence.



by **GEORGE KELLY**

being forced to go south to look for work.

Meanwhile Glasgow newspapers regularly carry advertisements for skilled jobs in South Africa, Sweden and West Germany. A diesel engine manufacturer, Maschinenfabrik of Munich, has recruited 60 Scots who are due to leave for Germany in November. It would seem that skilled labour is still reckoned as Scotland's greatest export.

VANDALISM

According to Glasgow's Principal Youth Employment Officer, Mr Paton, unemployment is not a problem among the city's 40,000 young people. But there is a serious lack of jobs that offer some sort of training. Many youngsters are tied to boring, dead-end jobs.

But who dares say that there is no problem with 2000 young people unemployed and violence and vandalism involving youngsters taking place throughout the city?

Glasgow was born with the industrial revolution. In the heart of the steel-producing area of Lanarkshire and on a large river, its 'fortunes' have been tied to industries. The resulting concentration

on heavy engineering and shipbuilding has sown the seeds of the present crisis.

In the past 10 years more than 14,000 jobs have been lost in shipbuilding alone. Twelve shipyards have been closed and still there is a demand from employers for more cut-backs.

The engineering industry has also taken heavy knocks. Many of Glasgow's industrial landmarks have gone: the North British Loco Co, Blochairn Steelworks, Saracen Foundry, Fairfield Rowan, AEI, Braby's, Kelvin Electronics, Mavor and Coulson's foundry and Remington Rand.

In other factories, drastic cut-backs have taken place including Singer's Clydebank (8000 jobs down in seven years), Babcock and Wilcox and Beardmore's.

The Glasgow District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering and Foundryworkers' Union issued a hand out on closures and redundancies in the district during the last 18 months. It makes depressing reading and lists some 13 factories including Foster Wheeler, John Brown (land boilers), Harland and Wolff (Scotstoun), James Howden, Voith Engineering, Vickers (loco) and L Sterne. All have or are in the process of closing down with a loss of 3500 jobs.

The leaflet lists nine factories where large scale redundancies have taken place including Upper

Clyde Shipbuilders 3500 and Singers Clydebank 1000. The hand-out also reports that only two factories of any importance have opened in the area during this time. Rawlplug (a subsidiary of the Burmah group) and the Metal Box Co only have an employment potential of 700 to 800 workers, male and female.

The building industry is also suffering. The Woodworkers' Society with 500 joiners idle, put on an overtime ban but lifted it when the number of unemployed dropped to 300, the present figure. 300 electricians are also on the stones.

It seems inconceivable that in one of the worst-housed cities in Western Europe any building trade worker should be unwanted, but this is the case in Glasgow. The city's Direct Works Department is still fighting to stave off a cut-back in its work force. This is in a city that had only completed 220 new houses up to August of this year.



Technology Minister John Davies: a hint last week that investment grants may stop

The trade unions try to contain redundancies without really fighting unemployment. At UCS the unions promised a stable work force and agreed to inter-changeability and flexibility agreements that led to a considerable speed-up in the work rate.

They also negotiated a 'voluntary' redundancy plan that gave workers a small golden handshake if they left quietly. But the boiler-makers and finishing trades at UCS have seen the danger of this plan and a strike of all finishing trade workers forced the management to reconsider dismissal notices.

Employers paying cash for voluntary redundancy and the government's redundancy payments scheme have tended to blunt the workers' fight against unemployment. But many Glasgow workers realise that the cash handed out for a peaceful surrendering of their job does not go far.

CONFERENCE

William King, a toolroom grinder paid off after 22 years in a Glasgow carpet factory, is more fortunate than most. He has a grown-up family and no debts, but with no prospect of work in the near future he knows that the cash won't last forever, especially when he will receive only half what he was earning from the Social Security.

I asked him if he had any views on the lack of jobs in Scotland. Mr King said: 'I'm not an expert but I think maybe in the past firms have taken too much out and not put enough back in and not planned for the future'. Pretty clear thinking for

a 'non expert'.

The Glasgow Trades Council is helping to organise a conference on the crisis and is pressing Labour MPs to attend. The council expect aid from some of the people who helped to create the present situation.

Conferences like this will no doubt call for more government aid and an expansion of the economy but will make no real effort to mobilise workers. But rank and file trade unionists will have learned something from the past experiences and there is hope for a more radical approach to the present problems. With the present rate of unemployment and the possibility of a Tory government withdrawing development grants to Scotland, the bosses will dig in and take the opportunity to push for higher productivity and increased discipline from their workers.

It is almost useless to fight one factory at a time. Already rank and file pressure has borne some fruit. The AEF Glasgow District Committee has agreed to call a one day stoppage of its 20,000 Glasgow members.

CLOSURE

AEF stewards in Paisley, Dunbartonshire and mid-Lanark are almost certain to take the same decision, which would bring another 40,000 engineers into the demonstration. If the Clyde District Committee of the Shipbuilding and Engineering Confederation decides to join the stoppage, it would bring the total number of men involved up to 100,000.

The AEF has made official a strike of 300 workers at the Glasgow works of L Sterne, the first time in Scotland that there has been an official strike over a factory closure.

But all this is not enough. Rank and file organisations should also join together to fight.

The Clyde Action Committee of shop stewards from the Glasgow area showed its capabilities in the struggle against the Labour government's anti-union proposals when it organised a stoppage of 15,000 workers. It should now rally workers in all sections of industry to fight for the right to work.

Unemployment should not be the workers' responsibility. The government and bosses who run the system must shoulder the burden and give work or full maintenance.

A trade union struggle is not sufficient. Victories can be won but to achieve a society where unemployment and all the evils that surround it are eliminated, we must have a political change. We need a society where workers control the factories and are involved at all levels in the decisions that affect their lives.

This is not a dream. It is the only alternative to this crazy system where workers are thrown on the scrapheap in the interests of profits and dividends.

CONFERENCE

SCOTLAND's labour movement at the crossroads: industrial conference 17-18 October, Iona House, Clyde St, Glasgow Cl. Sat. 2.30pm Unemployment and redundancy. Sun: 11am Productivity deals and how to fight them, 2.30pm the socialist struggle in the labour movement.

Socialist Worker

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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 state of workers' councils and workers' control of

WHERE WE STAND

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.

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the paper.

Mr Carr's ball and chain



Peter Osborne on the implications of union 'reform'

THE INDUSTRIAL Relations Bill promised by the Tory government's consultative document will attempt to introduce a legally-regulated system of control. The clear intention is to prevent rank-and-file demands from interfering with the professional negotiators.

Robert Carr, the Tory Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity, has said: 'This is a fair deal for all who work in industry and for the country'.

Yet the notion of fairness takes little account of the social realities at shopfloor level and consists only of totting up the legal rights against obligations. The myth is further fostered that all would be well but for a few wild men, who need to be held in check by enforcing some 'fair' rules.

Wider scope

The new proposals depend upon a legal superstructure. There are to be industrial tribunals with a wider ranging scope than the present ones under a National Industrial Relations Court with the status of a High Court.

A new Registrar of Trade Unions and Employers' Associations will have greater authority over the administration of registered unions. The Commission for Industrial Relations is to be given fresh duties.

Within this legal framework the document offers a shopping list of rights and obligations which are supposed to balance out so as to be 'fair'. There will, for example, be a right for an individual to belong to a trade union and an equal right not to belong to a union.

Since it would be illegal for workers to refuse to work with non-trade unionists, this superficially fair proposal is in fact grossly unfair. It is expressly tailored to prevent the shop floor solidarity essential to offset the employers' inbuilt advantage in settling working conditions.

When the offer to give the right to belong to a trade union is seen against the further proposals specifying the rules for negotiation and making it an 'unfair industrial action' in many cases to make use of any solidarity achieved, even this crumb becomes less tasty.

Consider also the proposed safeguards against unfair dismissal. A worker will be able to appeal to an Industrial Tribunal if he thinks he is sacked for reasons other than for redundancy, conduct or capability. The tribunal could recommend reinstatement or compensation up to a maximum two years' pay with a ceiling of £40 per week wage.

Obvious danger

But it will be for the worker to prove that he was unfairly dismissed. This makes the right almost valueless in the opinion of Professor KW Wedderburn, author of 'The Worker and the Law'.

As there would be no obligation on the employer to reinstate the



sacked person even if the Industrial Tribunal recommended this, the proposal has wider implications.

Where effective workers' organisations exist, especially in the larger plants, victimisation is usually discouraged by the shop-floor solidarity. But in a system where any action such as a work-to-rule or a stoppage would be on the list of 'unfair industrial actions' if the procedure had not been exhausted, the danger is obvious.

The militants can be weeded out and— even if they can prove unfair dismissal—the top limit of £4000 compensation could be cheap at the price.

The document specifically limits the right to strike. For whilst it says that anyone is free to withdraw his labour subject only to the requirements of his contract of employment, by definition almost all strikes breach the contract of employment.

At the same time only registered trade unions will be protected from legal action for inducing workers to break their contracts.

Since the Registrar would superintend the rules under which a union would be allowed to call a strike or make a dispute official, any other action by groups of workers or by a union in breach of procedure would be 'an unfair industrial action'. Such workers could then be sued in the courts for breach of contract and damages awarded against them.

It would also be an unfair industrial action for anybody, whether reg-

istered trade union or not, to call or threaten to call a strike against an employer not directly involved in a dispute.

The 'blacking' of supplies to a firm in dispute would be illegal. This would mean that it would also be illegal, for example, for a delivery driver to refuse to cross the picket line.

Nibbles away

Among the model rules that registered trade unions would be required to have, would be one that any member could have the unrestricted right to resign. This seemingly harmless and democratic right becomes something else when, say, there is a dispute, official or not. It is a further nibbling away at the worker's ability to maintain solidarity under pressure.

Coupled with this, it would be illegal for a union to arbitrarily refuse admission, as judged by the National Industrial Relations Court.

As far as collective agreements are concerned, which would be negotiated under this legal framework, these would be presumed legally binding unless the agreement specifically stated otherwise. Even then, if the agreement gave rise to disputes, the NIRC could call in the Commission for Industrial Relations to investigate. The Commission could draw up a model agreement which would be legally binding and enforced by the NIRC.

The CIR could also be called in

to decide which union, or group of unions forming a 'joint negotiating panel', should negotiate with the employer. Since the resulting agreements could be legally binding on both sides, whether the workers concerned knew anything about the negotiations before they were signed or not, union negotiators need never report back to their members.

It would be illegal for individual unions to do as they did at Ford in Dagenham last year when under pressure from their members they withdrew support from an agreement worked out by a joint negotiating panel.

And it would be illegal for union members to take the sort of action which galvanised their unions to look again at the agreement.

Where the Secretary of State felt a strike, even properly called and official, was against the interests of the national economy, he would be able to get a 60 day injunction from the NIRC. Since breaking the injunction would be contempt of court, presumably anyone taking action during the 60 days could go to jail.

Lip service

These and other proposals are presented as a policy of fair deals for all. But the real function of the Bill will be to remove such footholds and security that workers have been able to achieve in their fight for safeguards and social priorities.

The authors of the Tory document know just as well as organised workers the necessity for solidarity and the control of workers' organisations by workers not the state if their voice is to be heard.

It is all the more significant that the document pays lip-service throughout to the rights of the individual (for example, right to join and leave the union, right to opt out of the union in a closed shop) whilst setting up a legal cage designed to prevent the mass of individual workers organising themselves so as to count as individuals.

Their liberties are to be codified, assessed and controlled from above in the interests of the modernisation of capitalism.

It is true that the document is advertised as a basis for consultation, but such consultation has to be

completed within a month. Clearly a contemptuous gesture to those trade union leaders who think they walk the corridors of power.

In the long run, workers and their organisations will learn the lessons and reorganise themselves to meet these challenges. In the immediate future, we must recognise the Tory proposals for what they are — an attempt to shift the blame for a confused economic situation onto those who are the victims.

The proposals can and must be fought every inch of the way. We have to show our fellow trade unionists and workers in general why the policy is being foisted upon them, in what way it is harmful and that the few crumbs they have been thrown do not make a cake.

the struggle for socialism



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Danish workers take court action over strike fines

WHEN THE VERDICT was announced at the end of a court case in Odense, Denmark, last week, the bosses, government and union bureaucrats must have heaved a sigh of relief.

The verdict was that it was legal for a firm to take fines imposed on workers for striking or taking part in any activity in their defence straight from the wage packet.

Before last winter, when the workers at Burmeister and Wain, a large shipbuilding and engineering firm in Copenhagen, refused to pay a fine imposed for a strike, it was taken for granted that the firm would take it from the wage packet.

Later they were fined a second time and the tillidmand or shop steward made an agreement with the firm to take a little little each week from the wage packet.

Then the workers at Lindo

by Rasmus Rasmussen

shipyard near Odense refused to pay a fine, which was not for striking but for collectively refusing to work overtime. If one man refuses overtime it's all right but if more than a certain number refuse, it's taken as a collective refusal, a 'plot'.

PUBLISHED

After this refusal, the union leaders made an agreement with the firm that entitled them to take the fine from the wage packets. A group of socialist militants working in factories and shipyards in the area of Odense published the agreement as a leaflet, raised money from shop stewards committees throughout the district and one militant working at Lindo chall-

enged in court the right of the firm to take the fines.

Workers at a refrigerator factory in Odense, who have already paid their fines for striking last winter, have said that they will demand their money back if the Lindo workers win their case.

The case now goes on to a higher court and, if the bosses lose, thousands of workers involved in strikes last winter will be asking for refunds. The militants do not have illusions in the courts as a means of advancing workers' interests, but the interest shown by workers in this test case has led to an increasing number becoming aware of the necessity of the right to strike.

At a public meeting called by the militants last Monday 150 workers attended, some from as far away as Svendborg, 25 miles from Odense, where there is another shipyard.

Shadow-boxing union leaders threaten vital US car fight

by Karl Fischer

'YESTERDAY they were the biggest company in the world. Today, they're out of business!'

So spoke an auto worker at General Motors' Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit as he and his buddies poured out of the shop into a cold midnight drizzle last month to begin the national United Auto Workers' strike against GM.

Workers across the country met the strike deadline with enthusiasm and determination. In plant after plant, workers on the night shift came out shouting and chanting, and immediately formed picket lines.

One worker at Chevy in Detroit told a newspaper reporter, 'I got out of bed just to picket tonight!'

Jumped

In several plants in both the US and Canada, GM workers jumped the gun and wildcatted one or two days before the 14 September deadline. Unfortunately, all this enthusiasm and determination will be frustrated if UAW President Leonard Woodcock has his way.

The heart of the strike centres around four major issues. In the area of wages, GM began by making an offer which would have given production workers only 2s 2d an hour in the first year of the new contract. The union announced



WOODCOCK No action on speedup

that it was demanding 10s an hour.

GM's next offer raised the bidding to about 3s 2d. The union then dropped its demand to 6s. That's where the matter stood as the strike deadline arrived.

Two important facts must be emphasised. The first is that all the wage figures that both sides are tossing around are phony because they include a 'rollup' factor of about 20 per cent. This factor is the adjustment that must be made on certain fringe benefits—holiday pay, sick benefits, unemployment benefits—when the hourly base rate changes.

In other words, the last company offer of 3s 2d really amounts to only 2s 6d in real wages, and the last union demand would bring only 4s 7d in real money. The excess is automatically due to auto workers when their base pay rate changes.

Both GM and the UAW leadership are playing this dishonest game, and the union bureaucrats get away with

it because they look like they're demanding more in the eyes of their own rank and file.

The second important fact is that all these wage figures include the 2s 2d an hour that GM already legitimately owes every worker because of inflation in the last three years.

The UAW bureaucracy in 1967 agreed to placing a cap on the cost-of-living allowances. As a result, each auto worker lost an estimated 2s 2d an hour in wages in the last three years. The result is that, whatever wage increase GM workers win this year, 2s 2d of it simply catches them up to where they should have been except for the beating they've taken from inflation.

So the latest company offer of 3s 2d amounts to 2s 6d in real money and a pathetic sum of 10d an hour in new money. The last union demand of 6s would bring only 4s 7d in the weekly pay check, and a bare 1s 5d in actual improvement.

In a year when workers in rubber, trucking and other industries have won wage increases of 30 and 40 per cent, the complete inadequacy of Woodcock's demands is obvious.

Indictment

It should also be noted that in terms of annual wages the Nixon administration has stated that an income of £4500 is necessary to provide an adequate standard of living for a family of four.

The average annual wage in auto falls nearly £1500 short of this minimum figure. Only journeymen skilled tradesmen come even close.

It would take a straight-time increase of about 11s an hour to bring auto workers up to this level.

The hocus-pocus with the wage increase is an indictment of both GM and the UAW international bureaucracy. The company is unwilling to pay its workers an adequate living wage but even worse, the union leaders are unwilling to fight for it.

The second burning issue in the strike is the cost-of-living allowance (COLA). The cap placed on this allowance has torpedoed the wage level of auto workers since 1967.

No matter what wage increase is finally won, the removal of the cap is a crucial demand if auto workers' wages are to be protected against inflation. GM is dead set against this. They have saved some £750million in wages in the last three years because of the cap, and they mean to keep it.

The UAW leadership began the negotiations by demanding full removal of the cap, but that didn't last long. The last union demand called for removal only in the last two years of the contract and how much further Woodcock will compromise away on this key demand at the end no one knows.

The issue of working conditions has become a major national issue this year largely at the insistence of the companies.

For years, working and safety conditions for production workers in auto plants have got worse. The main reason was the refusal of the UAW leadership to organise any real fight against speedup.

They have systematically ignored this important issue, and instead have aided the companies by taking on the role of disciplining the work force on the shop floor.

Assault

But the already murderous pace of speed-up simply isn't enough for GM this autumn. They've laid demands on the table to discipline workers severely for absenteeism to weaken the already inadequate steward system and to remove all right to strike over working conditions.

In short, they've launched a frontal assault on the working conditions of auto workers. The response of the union bureaucrats has been silence.

Woodcock has not mentioned this



UAW members enthusiastically pick up posters for picket duty in the GM strike



Cartoon during the last big GM strike in 1946

issue in any of the union's position papers. He has done nothing to warn the rank and file of the danger of this threat. He has simply ignored the problem in the hope that it will go away.

The last major issue is '30 and out'—retirement after 30 years' service at £210 a month pension. This has been called the 'gut issue' of the strike by the union, and most of the newspaper accounts have laid heavy emphasis on this as the main issue holding up a settlement. The last GM offer would permit retirement after 30 years, but on a pro-rated pension schedule.

In spite of all the attention surrounding 30-and-out, this will probably be the easiest demand to win. It would cost GM very little in extra money.

Trimmed

The company realises that it must give something if GM workers are to ratify a new national contract and they will be willing eventually to concede the least costly demand and grant the early retirement plan.

What this adds up to is a real sell-out on the part of the UAW bureaucracy. They have trimmed wage demands to the bare minimum, they have already made serious compromises on the cost-of-living allowance and they have all but given up the fight on working conditions.

The negotiations that have taken place amount to a carefully rehearsed drama, designed to convince both rank and file auto workers and the public that a real fight is taking place. In reality, both GM and the union leaders are shadowboxing. The final settlement is already all but written.

Woodcock will let the strike run for seven or eight weeks, just enough to use up the strike fund. At this point, with the 320,000 striking workers beginning to think about payless paydays, he will settle up and submit a contract for ratification.

The contract will contain a small

and insufficient wage increase—perhaps 2s 6d to 3s an hour for the first year. Woodcock has already agreed to token increases of only 10d in the second and third years.

It will contain no real improvement in cost-of-living, keeping the cap and leaving workers wide open to inflation. It will grant GM major concessions on working conditions.

Woodcock will win one big demand—30-and-out—and attempt to sell the contract to the ranks by orating about the 'historic-victory' of early retirement. He will try to repeat the performance of 1967, when Walther Reuther rammed the cost-of-living cap down the throats of an unhappy but unorganised rank and file.

Whether Woodcock will get away with it or not depends entirely upon what GM workers on strike do between now and then. The real question is whether this strike will be run by the bureaucrats or by the rank and file.

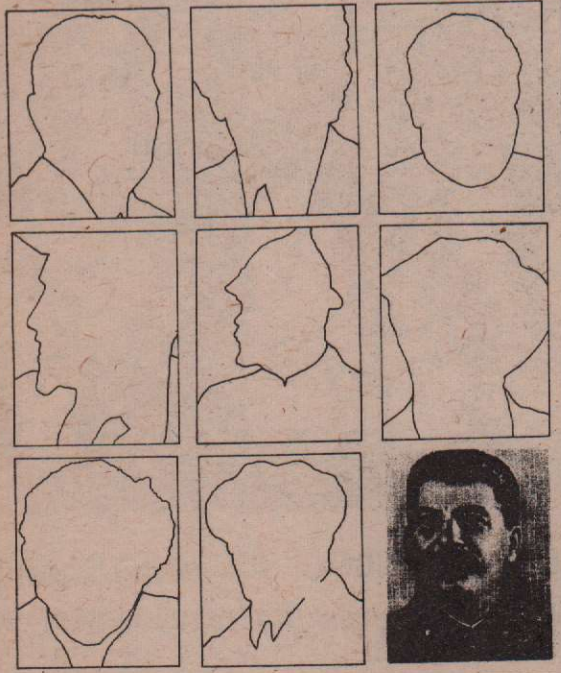
The pressing need at this point is for local strike committees made up of the ranks, organised to run the strike, call picket lines and support rallies, appeal to sympathetic unions, community groups, and students to aid the strike, and, most important, to keep the rank and file informed about the negotiations by holding discussions of the main issues in the strike.

This is the only road for auto workers. If they place their reliance in their timid and compromising union leaders, they will receive nothing for the trust but a wretched sell-out. They will fight a long and bitter strike only to lose, to pay the costs of the defeat for the next three years and to pull the entire labour movement down with them.

If they organise to win, to take the initiative away from the bureaucrats, to make it clear to both sides on the bargaining table that they will settle for nothing less than their full share, they can win one of the most decisive victories in the long history of the American working class.

RUSSIA

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FROM WORKERS' POWER, PAPER OF THE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

NIXON'S VIETNAM PEACE PLAN IS ELECTION FRAUD

By Stephen Marks

LAST WEEK'S American Vietnam 'peace plan' should deceive no one. Nixon's announcement and the carefully prepared publicity which came before it was aimed at American public opinion in the crucial Congress pre-election period as Americans continue to demand an end to the Vietnam butchery.

The massive press coverage, in striking contrast to the near-silence on the National Liberation Front's proposals of a short time before, covers up two crucial points which expose the American 'peace' propaganda.

INSISTS

Nixon insists that the Vietnamese stop fighting before the political terms of a settlement are completely clear. And he insists that any new government must still be presided over by his puppets Thieu and Ky.

This American-controlled regime, with a few 'neutral' ministers added to give window dressing, would then 'arrange' the elections to settle the country's future.

By contrast the NLF plan, while it is prepared to give the Americans a lot of leeway in the timetable of troop withdrawals, insists that the Americans first give evidence of political good faith by dismissing the present leaders of the puppet regime and admitting representatives of the NLF.

The press will do its best to make out that these differences are minor. But they are the tip of the iceberg which helps us to see what the conflict is really about.



NIXON: Vietnam plan geared to US elections

America's rulers are fighting a war of mass murder in Vietnam as an object lesson to the people of the rest of the world that popular liberation struggles will not be allowed to succeed.

The incredible heroism of the Vietnamese resistance and the growing crisis within American society mean that the Americans would like to get out. But they are determined to do so only if they can leave behind a 'safe' pro-American regime.

The guerrillas of the NLF can only survive against the massive and murderous firepower of the Americans because they enjoy the support of the people. So to leave behind a safe regime, the Americans must make sure that

areas under puppet government control are heavily policed by American armed and financed troops and all the local NLF leaders are rounded up or killed.

That is why they have to insist that the Thieu regime keeps control while American troops are withdrawn.

The NLF on the other hand know that elections under any regime not made up entirely of American puppets will put them in a commanding position. It is because the NLF are so deeply rooted in the people that the Americans use such murderous methods of mass destruction to try and root them out.

But this only makes the opposition of the people greater. After the recent US invasion of Cambodia to 'root out' bases on which the guerrillas were said to depend, the liberation forces ended up in control of more territory than before.

TRAPPED

The Americans had only succeeded in spreading the struggle. American imperialism in Vietnam will stay trapped in this dilemma until the resistance of the Vietnamese, combined with growing opposition at home and throughout the world, compels them to admit defeat and pull out to leave the Vietnamese alone in their own country.

Our best reply to the American 'peace' fraud is to redouble solidarity with the Vietnamese.

And the best solidarity is to hammer home in every struggle in the coming months the two central lessons which the peasants of Vietnam have taught us: that the enemy never gives up anything without a fight to the death, and that a people which knows and believes in what it is fighting for can never be put down.

LETTERS

Why we can't abstain on Chile's ballot-box revolution

STEVE JEFFERYS' article on Chile (3 October) gives an accurate description of the contradictory position of the new president, Allende, and then comes to three conclusions:

1. It is highly unlikely that Allende will carry out his programme of nationalisation and that if he does, it will only be by relying on a revolutionary mobilisation of the workers and peasants.
2. That even if Allende is forced by this revolutionary mobilisation to act upon what he said, it is of no matter because it will only lead to 'the setting up of a 100 per cent state-run economy (as it did in, Cuba 1959-61) and 'Chile's problems would be no nearer solution'.
3. That the only alternative is to spread a different type of revolution (which would presumably have the same primary task of expropriating the exploiters as the one which doesn't make twopenne worth of difference) to America, Europe and Russia.

Now Cde Jeffery's abstentionist position on Chile's 'ballot box revolution' is explained by a sleight of hand. The phrase about the setting up of a 100 per cent state-run economy in Cuba implies some kind of bourgeois nationalisation, with compensation, similar to the nationalisation of the railways in this country.

Now this is not what happened in Cuba and it won't happen in Chile either. In Cuba there was a revolutionary expropriation of the property of the imperialists, landlords and the national bourgeoisie, which led to an economic development unparalleled in the rest of Latin America, and this in spite of the undemocratic regime in Cuba, in spite of the problems of isolation and backwardness.

It is quite correct that this revolutionary step forward will only occur through the conscious activity of the workers and peasants. It is also likely that Allende will dither, compromise and retreat.

So what, then, should be the policy of revolutionists in Chile? Should they tell the one million workers who voted for Allende's programme that it is a matter of indifference whether he carries it out or not?

Or should they call on Allende



ALLENDE: no compromise

to go forward without compromise (the calling, of course, being directed at the workers and not for the benefit of Allende)? Should they warn against a possible betrayal and call for the arming of the workers against any right wing coup or imperialist intervention?

And if the revolutionists did all this, would not the workers be in a better position to kick out Allende when and if he betrays his programme? - JOE WRIGHT, Manchester. 14.

Insult to Arab guerrillas

IN THE FRONT PAGE article of 3 October on the Hussein-Arafat peace pact, Socialist Worker's position seemed to take an incredibly confused turn.

Now, more than at any other time, the nationalist unity of Hussein, Arafat and the leaders of the other Arab regimes is exposed to all involved in the Palestinian struggle. Yasser Arafat has signed away not only the military and strategic position of the guerrillas but also the lives of Habash of the Popular Front and Hawatmeh of the Democratic Front.

Without a murmur of dissent from Fatah, these leaders of the guerrilla organisations proclaiming a revolutionary position to the governments of the Arab as well as the Israeli world, face a £5000 price on their heads. How much longer before the Fatah leadership, in the process of selling out the Palestinian masses to Hussein, will be selling them out to the Zionist leadership of Israel?

To suggest that there is any doubt as to whether 'Arafat can deliver the goods' is an insult to our Arab comrades who are fighting against his purely nationalist stand. It is also confusing to those readers who rely on Socialist Worker to combat the propaganda of the national press.

Let it be made quite clear that the defeat of Zionism can only be accomplished in conjunction with the defeat of the reactionary regimes of the Arab world. - ADRIAN SUGAR Leeds 6.

COTTONS COLUMN

SOCIALISTS enjoy a hollow laugh from time to time when the government of the day sets up some 'independent' commission to look at the trade unions. Such bodies always take into their terms of reference '... and employers' organisations' to give the impression that they are impartially looking at both sides of industry.

The Donovan Commission had such credentials and so does the Tory 'consultative document'. But most left-thinking persons know that punitive action is rarely taken against the bosses.

Evidence for this argument comes from the esteemed Chief Inspector of Factories, Mr W J C Plumbe, who published his annual report last week. He says that magistrates' courts impose only token fines on factory owners who break safety, health and welfare laws.

And higher courts impose only one-tenth of the maximum fine on employers who have been convicted. The average fine for an employer convicted of a safety law offence was only £39 and for offences against welfare laws was only £11.

While the bosses get a weak slap on the wrists from their chums on the bench, the terrible toll of factory accidents continues to rise. Last year's figures, says Mr Plumbe's report, show a staggering increase of 70 per cent on 1968. The 1969 total was 322,390.

There were 265 fatal accidents in the building industry compared with 238 in 1968. Total fatal accidents in 1969 were 649 against 625 the previous year.

The annual butchery will go on. Mr Carr's Bill will do nothing about the appalling conditions that maim and kill workers day in and day out. On the contrary, by pushing through legislation to weaken the unions, there is no doubt that working conditions will get worse and accidents increase.

ONE of the crumbs thrown out in the Tory proposals is that there should be no political bar on people standing for union office. If that becomes law, pity poor Dave Bowman.

Bowman, an executive member of the Railwaymen's Union, resigned from the Communist Party a few months ago in order to stand for the presidency of the union. At present only Labour Party members are eligible for that office.

Can we expect to see Mr Bowman running backwards in the near future?

Shut up Eccles!

LORD ECCLES, Tory Minister for the Arts, referring to the plight of the artist at the party conference last week, admitted that 'productivity agreements cannot help to raise their incomes. An artist cannot paint two pictures at once'.

Eccles said he was disturbed by the 'spiritual decay' of society. His activities over the years show how justified he is to speak of such matters.

As a manager of the Central Mining and Investment Corporation before the last war he helped develop the railway system in Franco's fascist Spain.

In 1956 he stated: 'It is quite clear that if you have full employment as a permanent part of your policy it does bring you sharply against the question, what do you put in the place of fear of the sack?'

Later that year he spoke of the nation's old age pensioners as follows: 'Treat them mean and make them keen'.

Up the fjord

THERE was a general strike in Norway on 7 October. It was called officially by the Norwegian TUC and was in protest against the government's budget that will make workers pay more for cigarettes, spirits, beer, petrol, state insurance and car licences.

Perhaps news of this massive mobilisation of the Norwegian workers has not reached your ears? Not surprising. The TUC called them out for just 15 minutes.

Carried away with enthusiasm, the union leaders are believed to be contemplating a total one-day stop-

page - on Christmas Day.

YOU WILL be pleased to learn that profits of industrial companies last month were 10.9 per cent above the level for September 1969 and marked the highest monthly increase recorded this year. We say you will be pleased because the news should encourage you to slap in a big wage claim without delay.

THE Glasgow Committee of Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions discussed the council workers' dispute at its meeting on Monday. The chairman put forward the view that sewage workers should be paid the same as newspaper editors.

'After all,' he said, 'when you look at the situation on a job evaluation basis, they're all shovelling shit.'

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

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Socialist Worker

Major print union splits -threat to workers' unity

PRINT WORKERS in Division 1 of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (formerly NATSOPA) received two circulars through the post on Monday morning. One was a copy of a resolution passed by their executive calling on their members to work with other trade unionists 'in every effort' to

By a Printworker

defeat the proposed Tory anti-trade union legislation. The other circular was to inform their members that SOGAT no longer exists. SOGAT has existed shakily since 1966. It was an amalgamation of the

National Union of Printing and Bookbinding Workers and the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants.

Militants in the industry welcomed it and were under the impression that a new union was being formed with a new rule book that would combine the best elements of both former rule books.

Efforts were made by the militants to ensure that the new rule book would combine the NATSOPA rules for officers (election of all officials every three years) with the more structural democracy of the NUPBW.

Walked out

Both unions were to keep their old rule books and be called Division A (NUPBW) and Division 1 (NATSOPA) until a special rules revision conference was called. The conference took place in November 1968.

It ended abruptly as Richard Briginshaw, General Secretary (NATSOPA) led his delegation out of the hall claiming that Division A were using their superior numbers to railroad their own rule book through as the new rules for SOGAT.

Since then relations have deteriorated to the extent that the only apparent attempts at communication between the executive councils of the two divisions of SOGAT have been the exchange of High Court writs.

The pathetic legal wrangles of the leaderships of both divisions contrast with the efforts made by rank and file members to forge unity on the shop floor. Militants, and the more concerned officials who believed and still believe in the necessity of united action to combat the increasing monopolisation of the industry and the introduction of productivity deals and anti-trade union legislation, have been attempting to build united shop floor organisations, joint branches and trade groupings with some success.

Mass meetings

No edict from any groups of SOGAT members can end these moves towards unity. The union was created by a ballot of all the membership. Mass meetings must be called for the leadership to explain why that mandate has not been carried out.

If we are to win the struggles facing the working class and trade unions, we cannot afford the sectarian and divisive actions that certain full-time officials of both divisions have been taking.

In recent agreements covering the industry, the bosses have taken advantage of the disunity that existed. The latest moves by the executive council of Division 1 must have been more welcomed in the board rooms than they will be on the shop floor.

SOGAT has always tried to work towards unity from the top. The only real unity in the printing industry will be built from the bottom up. Any moves that try to thwart that movement must be rejected.

If the people at the top of our unions cannot work together then the workers on the shop floor will have to replace them with a movement that will build a united union based on democratic control by the members.

Busmen stop work

SOUTHAMPTON:- 500 corporation busmen stopped work last Saturday for an indefinite period. They are demanding a basic wage of £20, an increase on their current basic pay of more than £4.

One striker said: 'Busmen have been pushed around in this town for long enough.' The council is steadily introducing one-man-operated buses and has met little opposition. Confidence gained from the wages struggle may lead to militancy in this area as well.

ICI ENGINEERS THROW OUT PROD DEAL

SW Reporter

TEESSIDE:- 1300 members of the Engineering Union at ICI Wilton have thrown out the Weekly Staff Agreement productivity deal for good. Meeting last Friday, they decided with only 50 votes against to refuse all productivity bargaining from now on and to go for a straight £7 10s wage rise without strings.

This course of action was recommended by their shop stewards' committee. Some of the stewards gave out copies of a document from the Shell Carrington stewards' committee.

This explained how years of productivity dealing had led to a prolonged and bitter strike. Nothing had been achieved by the deals except low pay and redundancy.

Now they wanted a straight rise giving parity with contract workers on their site.

CRUCIAL BLOW

Many workers at the Wilton meeting referred to this document and when they came to vote there was an overwhelming feeling against productivity dealing.

This was a crucial blow against the Weekly Staff Agreement. It will be pointless for the company to try and implement the deal at Wilton when the largest craft union will not co-operate.

It is likely that members of the Electricians' and Plumbers' Union, who have a long record of militancy at Wilton, will now go the same way as the AEF. And it is possible that in the near future all the unions, including the Transport Workers, with 8000 members on the site, will line up against WSA and in favour of a straight rise.

Wilton is the largest site in the ICI empire, employing a quarter of the monopoly's national pay-roll. The site across the river at Billingham is nearly as large.

Sections at Billingham who have accepted WSA may now think again, as will smaller plants in other parts of the country. Plants that have already rejected the deal will be strengthened in their determination.

This week Huddersfield ICI shop stewards have asked for a substantial rise with no strings.

The next priority at Wilton is to re-establish the site's inter-union shop stewards' committee. With a united committee it should be possible to plan a militant strategy for winning substantial gains from the company.

Talks break down

BARNES:- Talks to end the three-week-old strike at Omes' engineering works broke down on Monday when the management refused to negotiate with the factory's AEF convenor.

The strike began when the management, on instructions from the overlords of the Pratt-Whitney combine, refused to recognise the convenor's right to represent clerical workers. He has negotiated for the clerical workers—most of them AEF members—for more than eight years.

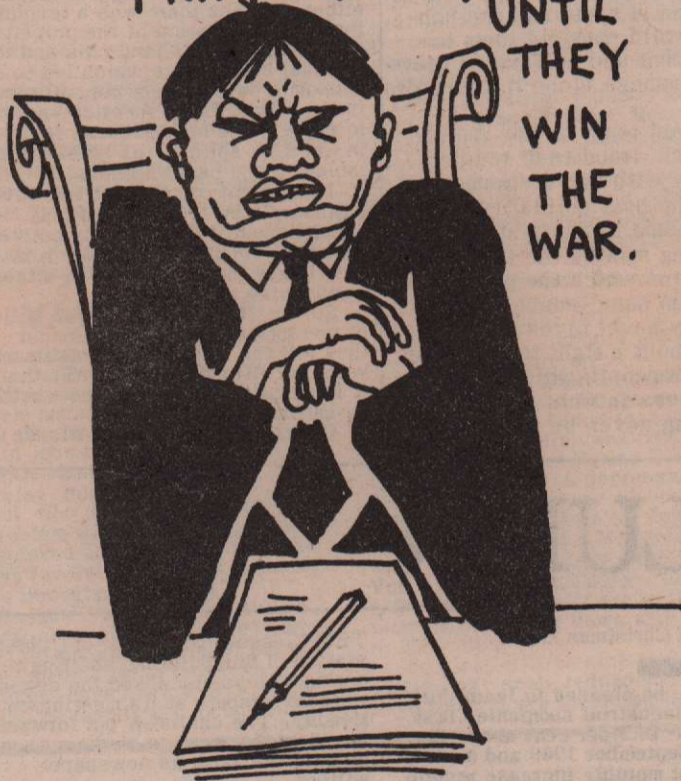
NOTICES

SWANSEA IS: meetings for all trade unionists. Tony Cliff, author of the Employers' Offensive, on productivity deals and union legislation. Sun 18 Oct, 7pm, Plaidd Cymru Hall, Margam Terrace (behind Bethany St) Port Talbot. Mon 19 Oct 7pm AEU House, Orchard St, Swansea. All welcome.

KILBURN IS: debate on Middle East, inc speaker from the Democratic Front. Thurs 22 Oct, Dyne Hall, Dyne Rd, Kilburn (off Kilburn High Rd).

CAMDEN IS: Revolt of the lower-paid workers. Speakers: Valerie Clark (IS), May Hobbs (TGWU), Laurel Tree, Bayham St, Camden Town, NW1. Thurs 22

WE WILL NOT COMPROMISE WITH THE VIETCONG ON PRINCIPLE ... UNTIL THEY WIN THE WAR.



Miners' vital ballot for strike action

ROUSING speeches from Lawrence Daly and other miners' leaders set the tone for this week's vital balloting for strike action to win a 33 per cent wage increase.

All this week miners throughout Britain will be voting at pit-head election stations to decide whether to take their first official action since the General Strike of 1926. Under union rules, a two-thirds majority is necessary before the executive can call the men out.

Speaking at a Yorkshire miners' rally last weekend, union secretary Daly and Yorkshire area secretary Jock Kane expressed their support for strike action in the most militant terms.

It is a vital strike for the miners. Their wages have fallen further and further behind national averages in recent years and their ranks have been weakened by the cynical policy of closures and redundancies pushed through by the Coal Board and with little resistance from the union.

The NUM leaders' militant stand is welcome. But only a mass mobilisation of the membership can ensure a successful fight and safeguard against any compromise with Lord Robens and his gangsters.

An active fight by the whole membership will raise the miners' morale. It will also encourage the rest of the labour movement as they prepare for a show of strength with the Tory government.

Every pit should immediately call mass meetings to discuss the issues and elect a strike committee of working miners. They should collectively demand that all decisions affecting the conduct of the strike must be taken by mass meetings.

CLOSURE HINT AT COV-RAD

WORKERS at Coventry Radiator, part of the £250m Associated Engineering Group, have been threatened with closure of the factory.

The firm supplies the car industry with clutch plates, brake shoes, radiators and other parts. The bosses have produced figures that are alleged to prove that the company is unprofitable due to 'excessive labour costs'.

They have set up a working party to discuss wages and say that possible closure of the plant will be discussed at a board meeting on 22 October.

Wages at Cov-Rad have spiralled in recent years in line with rates in other Coventry car firms. The Cov-Rad spiral has been led by the press operators on piecework.

At present they are banning overtime for an extra 9d an hour to make up their differential with setters. Management are frightened that the spiral will start all over again as a result of the present militancy.

The AEF represents the skilled men and the local right-wing official is conniving with management to discipline the wages of the pieceworkers.

The TGWU convenor and stewards who represent 95 per cent of the factory, have refused to co-operate with the working party. They see it as an attempt to make the stewards police workers' wages.

Cov-Rad workers must not be taken in by the company's phoney figures. It has refused to allow union auditors to examine its books—an indication of how reliable its claim of making a loss must be.

The workers should demand no redundancies and no wage cuts. They should seek support from other AE plants in Leeds, Bradford, Southampton and Sunderland and suggest that workers there put in immediate parity claims with Cov-Rad.

Swansea metalsmen out for 10 weeks

SWANSEA:- The strike of 250 workers at the Alcoa plant is now in its tenth week. The strike has been made official by the AEF but 50 electricians have been abandoned by their union. The dispute is over wage rates for storekeepers.

McGarvey ends 3-week UCS strike by boilermakers

SW Reporter

when the strike started. They insisted on maintaining a 1s 2d an hour differential over other skilled boilermakers.

The union backs them in this but the strikers opposed the welders' demand. The strike ended with no definite guarantee about the outcome of this secondary matter.

The management attempted to break the strike by laying off finishing trade workers as well, even though there was plenty of work available for them.

But the bosses cooled their attitude when McGarvey intervened. He said on Scottish television on Monday that 'boilermakers should

join hands with the management to make UCS viable'.

This kind of remark plays into the hands of the local press that has consistently blamed UCS' prolonged crisis on the workers. The same papers have never criticised the yard owners' investment policy—or lack of it—that has been the most significant factor threatening employment in the Clyde shipyards.

The boilermakers showed considerable militancy during the strike. But if that militancy is to be used to defend and improve wages and conditions in the future, urgent steps must be taken to break down the antagonism between the boilermakers and other yard workers.

Any splits in the workers' ranks invite exploitation by management.