

**WORKERS**

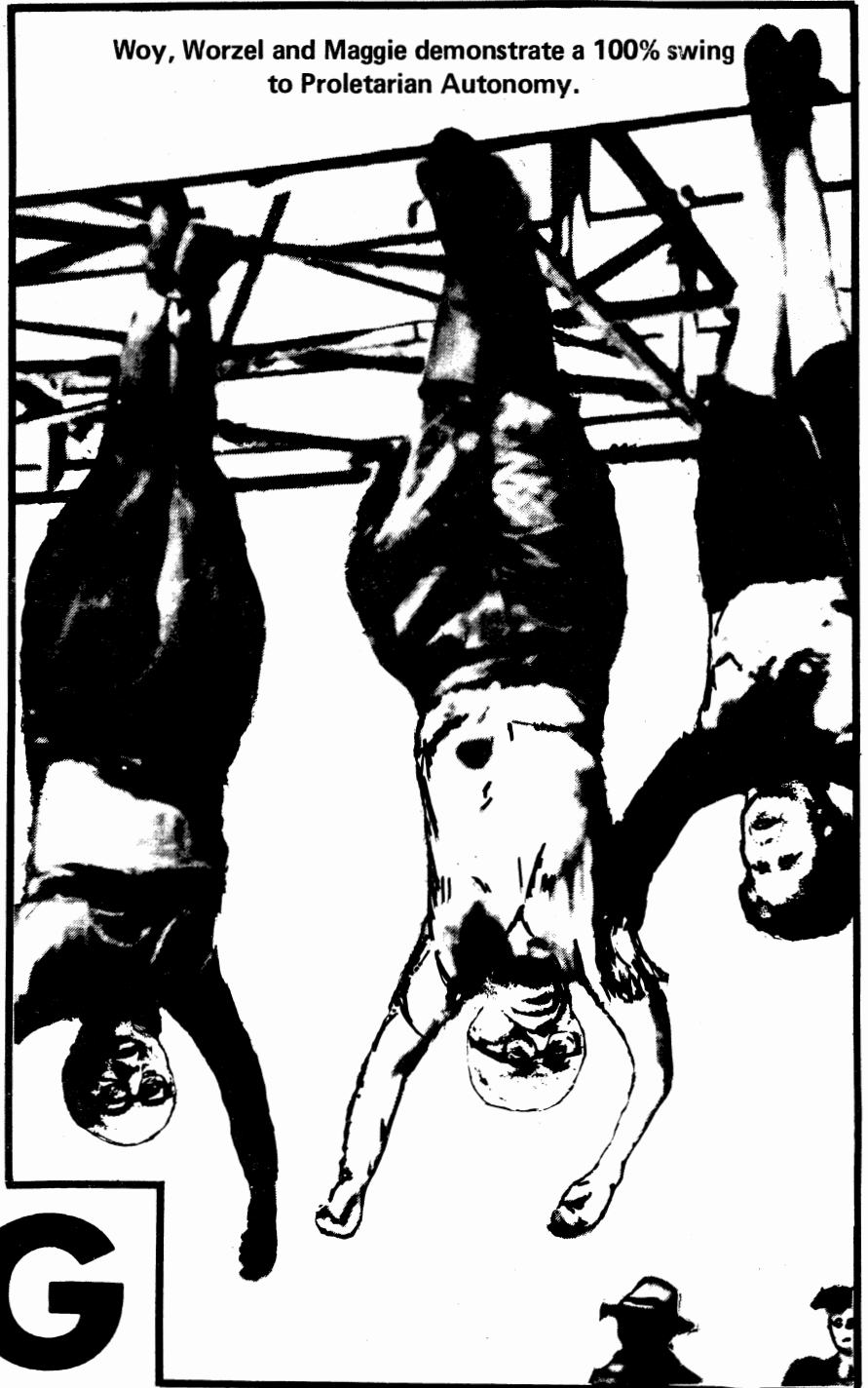
June 1983 15 pence

**PLAYTIME**

**Popular yarns  
of class war**

**ALL  
OUT  
FOR  
A  
HUNG  
PARLIAMENT**

Woy, Worzel and Maggie demonstrate a 100% swing  
to Proletarian Autonomy.





A General Election is a General Election; and in many respects, denouncing the mystification of the ballot box yet again is of little interest. So why bother to comment ?

This election won't be fundamentally different from any other. But the background to it has changed since 1979. Unemployment is much higher, and no one can deny the existence of a world economic crisis. Even the Labour Party acknowledges this, in spite of its frequent references to the "Tory recession".

Yet, whilst most people consistently name unemployment as the most important issue at the election, this is not reflected in voting intentions.

People in Britain seem to have resigned themselves to the 'inevitability' of unemployment. They are generally totally cynical about the solutions proposed by Labour and the Alliance. The election has therefore not dwelt on economic policy, but has rather centred on the issue of nationalism.

The Tories have built up an image of a renewed national self-confidence and self-assertiveness. They have also played up the Russian menace for all it is worth; while they have tried particularly hard to portray the Labour Party's programme

as introducing an alien, 'marxist' way of life. For its part, the Labour Party has accused the Tories of selling out the country to the Americans. It proposes rigid trade controls and withdrawal from the EEC.

The vehemence of this struggle to prove who are the best patriots has been portrayed as a growing 'polarisation'; the two main parties are supposed to have moved to the extremes of left and right. By any meaningful standard this is utter nonsense, they merely represent different styles of managing austerity.

The 'extremism' they flaunt boils down to the need for a radical posture in order to impress upon people the need to make sacrifices. The traditional 'mixed economy' methods of dealing with economic crisis, and the 'consensus politics' associated with it, had clearly failed by the late seventies. Drastic measures were called for, and were first imposed by the Labour Party of Healey and Callaghan (although this was dressed up as the price of an IMF loan which would lift Britain out of recession).

When the Tories were returned to power after the Winter of Discontent (1978-9), their policies were essentially a continuation of Healey's: controlling the money supply, cutting back public services, cutting wages.

The two parties were soon back into more appropriate roles. Relying on the working class's short memory, the Labour Party was soon making radical noises about 'Tory' cuts, 'Tory' recessions, the uncaring Tories etc. Every question came back to 'getting Maggie out', as though the Labour Party was totally without blame for the state of things.

Meanwhile the Tories, who aren't burdened with having to appear a "workers' party", tore into the common task with gusto.

### CAPITAL-IST PUN-ISHMENT

This was a far more effective set-up for dishing out misery. The key victory for the ruling class was the steel strike of 1980. The government stuck to its guns while the unions ground down the workers with thirteen weeks of ineffective striking. Steel moved into and around the country quite freely while the strikers were reduced to poverty.

Other defeats were inflicted on weaker sections of the working class, the gov't. skilfully avoiding any confrontation with more powerful workers (eg. the miners). The unions and the Labour Party divided us, so that the Tories could rule us all the more effectively.

But at the same time, the government's economic strategy was a palpable failure. Early in 1982, unemployment had rocketed and inflation was far from under control. Thatcher was being deserted by her staunchest allies — the CBI criticized her at its annual conference, there was growing dissent on the Tory backbenches, even the Conservative press expressed doubts.

More importantly, people were clearly becoming more and more disgusted with the democratic spectacle as a whole. Traditional party allegiances were breaking down faster than ever before. Generally this expressed itself as apathy and cynicism. But for those most exposed to the effects of the crisis — the young, largely black, inner city unemployed — it could find a violent expression.

Now that the General Election is upon us, the reason for the emergence of the SDP has become clearer. It was indeed a 'media creation', but not in the sense that the Labour Party claimed (to stop a socialist government being elected), but rather to arouse flagging interest in the electoral

blow it up burn it down

# ELECTION '83



game. 'Liberal revivals' had worn a bit thin, but a new centre party could be dressed up as something new. The General Election campaign started a long time ago, with all those by-elections presented as the greatest political development in the history of the world.

Capitalism is scraping the bottom of the electoral barrel. This is an international phenomenon. In Germany the bipartisan formula has been challenged by the rise of the Greens. In Italy they have had a variety of alternative protest candidates, including a "Rock" list. In the French presidential election there were sixty candidates including Coluche, a sort of Gallic John Cleese.

This inflationary growth in parties and candidates does not illustrate the strength of western democracy, but rather its desperation. The mere newness of the SDP's image attracted some short lived interest, enabling people to read into it what they wanted.

There was a further reason for the SDP's early successes. With Thatcher's strategy collapsing, the ruling class needed a 'safe' alternative. People were not yet ready for Tony Benn, who was too busy restoring the Labour Party's tarnished socialist image. So for a time, a period of centre-coalition government seemed a strong possibility.

Of course, the Falklands War put paid to that brief period of uncertainty. Thatcher saved her political skin with the Torpedo that sunk the General Belgrano. Since then the 'Falklands Factor' and Thatcher's 'leadership qualities' have been flogged

for all they are worth, and the ruling class has rallied round for a big Thatcher victory at the election.

But it is not just the Tories who have fought a chauvinist election. The Labour Party, the trade unions and their allies in CND have responded by trying to prove that they are the best patriots. And we must agree, their record in the Falklands War was impeccable. For instance, COHSE called off industrial action for a week as a "mark of respect" for the dead; the National Union of Seamen encouraged members to volunteer for service in the war, and the TGWU called off a national dock strike. The Labour Party's 'opposition' consisted in criticising the government for not having a fleet big enough to deter Galtieri!

This is what the famous non-nuclear defence strategy amounts to - building up the navy and other tried and tested conventional methods of massacring the proletariat. They have tried to sell this as the nation asserting its independence from the Pentagon - yet it only reflects doubts which have been expressed at the highest levels within NATO itself. But of course, if for any reason, NATO decides not to deploy Cruise and Trident in Britain, this will be claimed as a great victory for common sense/socialist defence policy/grovelling in Greenham mud etc. . . .

## NINE O'CLOCK NOOSE.

The Labour Party's obnoxious chauvinism isn't confined to its alternative militarism. Its rhetoric on unemployment, if not directed at Maggie, is directed against the most conveniently placed foreigner (instead of immigrant).

As Ken Livingstone wrote in London Labour Briefing: "All that Labour wishes to do in government hinges on our ability to control the movement of capital. One thousand million pounds is flowing out of Britain to be invested abroad". For Labour it is not capitalism that is the problem, but the fact that it is under the 'control' of filthy foreigners and unpatriotic usurers.

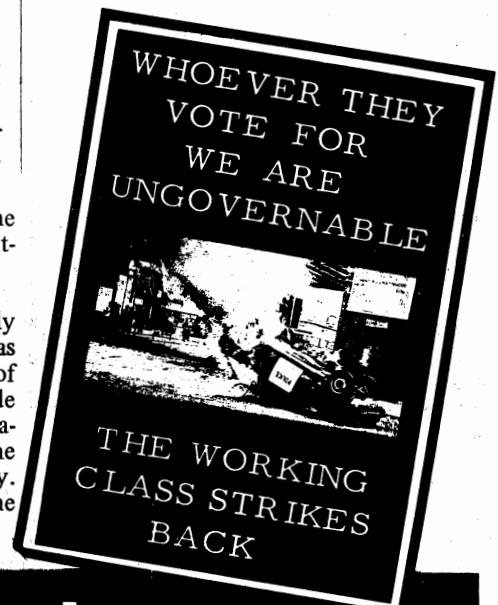
Their opposition to the EEC is specifically aimed at nationalist sentiment (it "was never designed to suit us"). Their policy of protectionism - strict controls over trade and capital flows - was the policy advocated by the most nationalist sections of the Tory party in the first half of the century. But it is just a different means to the same end.

Thatcher wants British workers to 'save jobs' by accepting falling living standards. But of course in other countries workers face the same choice. Labour wants to save British jobs by protecting the British market from foreign goods. But of course other countries will retaliate with tariffs against British goods. Either way, it is workers who will suffer from an intensification of economic competition, whether it takes the form of unemployment or lower living standards.

## LEFT DANGLING.

The left-wing of the Labour Party has kept a relatively low profile in this election. Benn and co. are aiming for government the election after this, by which time they hope Thatcherism will be totally discredited. The left may then be called upon as capitalism's last line of defence against social violence, which Arthur Scargill predicts "will erupt in the cities of Britain on an unthinkable scale" under the Tories (Sun 28/5/83). Evidently he too sees 'rivers of blood' . . . . .

For us, it does not matter who proved to be the best patriot on June 10th. Whoever it is will be compelled to impose austerity measures, and it does not matter how they are cooked up for public consumption. Whoever wins will also say that it is the "democratic process" itself that matters. The show must go on. But their great speeches and campaigning have excited no great passion (even amongst the committed party faithful). The reason is not merely weariness with politicians. On the other hand, we cannot attribute it to a sudden political awakening to the mystification of the ballot box. It is above all due to the increasingly evident distance between the speeches and daily reality - the contrast between the New Jerusalem they all promise and the unemployment, pollution, shitty jobs and boredom which we have to endure.

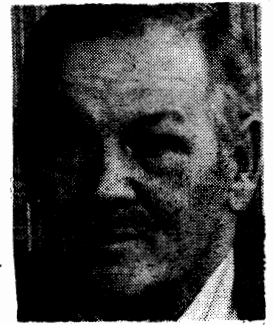


# kick it till it breaks

The Apostles



"HOW THE B\*\*\* 'L DID THIS HAPPEN DUFFY?"



"SORRY ABOUT THIS MR MUSGROVE — WHAT THE B\*\*\* 'L DO WE DO NOW?"

The 'washing up' dispute at British Leylands Cowley Plant at Oxford, following immediately on the strike at Ford Halewood, was hailed as the revival of shop floor militancy in the car industry by the popular press. As we write the issue of washing up time hasn't been settled — plant level negotiations having broken down, a mass meeting on May 26th rejected the company's terms. The matter now has to go back to negotiation between BL senior management and national union leaders. This is unlikely to take place before the elections.

Washing up time was one of the local perks that BL have steadily been abolishing since the Edwardes plan was adopted. Though questions of time have always been potentially explosive (eg. the 1981 teabreak strike at Longbridge) no trouble was expected. After the 'consultation' procedure had been gone through for three months, BL announced it was going to abolish it despite opposition — the 'blue newspaper', the procedural bible introduced by Edwardes gave them the right. To everyone's surprise on 28th March the assembly plant came out solidly.

The strike was to become the first official dispute at Cowley since 1959 — though it was only made official (by the TGWU not the AUEW) after 17 days. Management and Union leaderships were caught on the hop. It took three weeks for Terry Duffy (AUEW president) and Moss Evans (TGWU) to respond to BL's request to intervene decisively to end the strike. Nine days and three mass meetings later they got a return to work. The AUEW attitude was summed up by Ken Cure, Duffy's right hand man (in more senses than one). "I don't want to see anyone beaten into the ground, and that applies to the company as well as our members". The TGWU by contrast backed the intuition of its district official David Buckle that something could be made out of the accumulated anger of the strikers.

It was his encouragement and successful request to the TGWU to make it official, which prevented this being the standard capitulation by the unions which has characterised BL since Edwardes rolled up the stewards structure. It was all set to go that way — demoralised stewards were hinting they'd be able to get a return to work in exchange for a one off cash payment within days. The problems facing stewards are so bad that neither union is able to recruit a full quota, indeed the AUEW is unable to hold quorate stewards committee meetings.

### DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

The reign of terror (this is in no way an exaggeration) as workers and middle management were 'motivated' into line, achieved its objectives. BL is on target to make a profit within a year or two, and commence the process of privatisation — assuming that the fight to the death between the 30 mass car producers world wide hasn't eliminated it. As Edwardes himself recognised however, its one thing putting pressure on — the problem becomes how to stop the explosion when its reduced. His failure was the classic failure of 'dictators' — to leave a successor with the same combination of management skill and personal charisma in order to safely 'democratise'. As usually occurs in such circumstances, the Hard Men needed to achieve the goals under a 'dictatorship' are very difficult to restrain when it becomes time to 'democratise'. In this case the strike swiftly became a test of virility between Edwardes successors — already engaged in internal feuding over his 'legacy' and their place in the company.



DAVID BUCKLE :  
'I believe in consensus.'

The background has to be understood. The Edwardes plan called for, very briefly, the submission of the workers (job flexibility, massive speed ups, intensified discipline etc), large scale closures, redundancies and mechanisation, the complete restructuring of negotiating machinery (the elimination of stewards and local officials, in favour of national agreements etc.) and also a shake-out of middle management who had to be terrorised into meeting targets. So far it sounds like the agenda for any of the nationalised industries. The difference was that BL was in a nearly terminal state when Edwardes took over. British Cars hold less than 50% of the UK market — and BL's three competitors in Britain are all subsidiaries of three of the

biggest multinationals. The world car industry is already in massive crisis — in a future article we hope to go into this — briefly however, massive overproduction is facing a shrinking world market for cars. Edwardes correctly perceived that the only choice was to take the gloves off — this was in any case the price of govt. support once the Tories had replaced the Labour govt. who appointed him.

### WORK YOU \*\*@\*†\* !

The management response was a display of 'The Resolute Approach'. Their only offer (reworded a couple of times) was to phase out washing up time in conjunction with the introduction of 'Audited Plant Status' to the assembly plant. This would have happened anyway — its been introduced through most of BL including other parts of Cowley already. Since it involves work measurement & job evaluation its not even particularly welcome. The inducement to co-operate is the raising of maximum bonus levels from £18.75 to £30. At the moment the workers are getting full bonus every week so this would mean a potential £12 rise. But bonus is calculated on a plant basis, so workers can see no direct link between their higher work and the bonus received — which is set by any disruptions elsewhere in the plant. Even better it will almost certainly involve up to 280 redundancies. And if stocks of Maestros build up and line speeds slow or short time working is imposed, the bonus obviously goes.

Beyond that the management offered only more and more strongly worded threats of sackings. To their dismay a large proportion of the strikers were clearly ready to give two fingers to this package and call their bluff.

Anger had been building for some time. The intensive pressure of the job, combined with ever greater levels of harrasment and abuse from foremen and management had become too much. Last November there was a walkout by the nightshift after such an incident. The unions had agreed that better consultation with management and report backs would take place as the price of a return to work. This didn't happen and minor stoppages continued. The workers were also aware of a stronger position with the introduction of the Maestro line, and the cars launch in March. 1600 workers had been taken on for this and having had no time even, to adjust to the pressures they found themselves under, they proved particularly militant.



## BACK TO WORK PLEASE LADS.

The union response was less consistent. Initially local officials refused to even open discussions. Pressure from headquarters after Austin Rover chairman Harold Musgrove had approached them direct, stopped that. They still refused to accept the company's terms. Here unity ended. Some, especially the AUEW, wanted to push for a cash buy off. Buckle and the TGWU were after something else. They saw it as a chance to make a public issue of working conditions in BL, as part of an attempt to renegotiate the position of the union within BL.

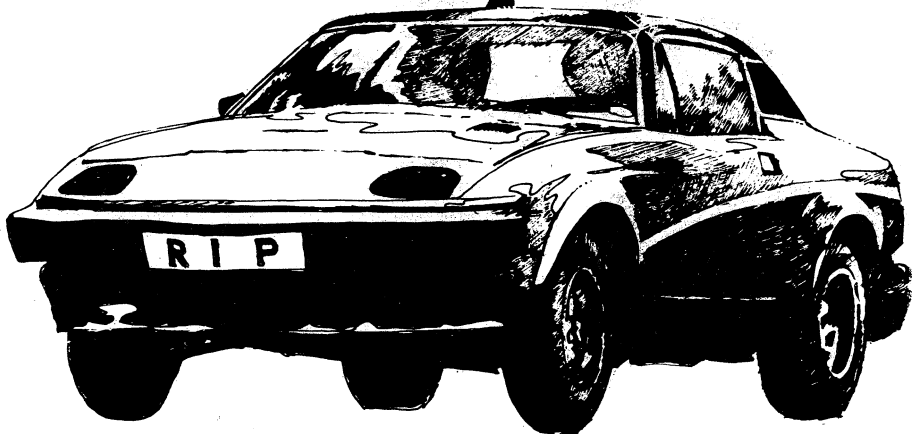
This has to be understood in terms of Buckle's own stance towards the 'politics' of industrial relations. A right wing Labour Party 'corporate humanist', Buckle's goal was a return to 'consultative' management. Professional collective bargaining, without a rigid 'constitution' spelling out rights and duties in detail. (In the model of the famous 'British Constitution' which underlies the British form of 'Capitalist Democracy'.) Constant informal consultation to solve joint "problems" preferably before they 'get out of hand'. This is in line with the majority consensus of opinion in management circles. But its totally at odds with the tough 'constitutional' approach adopted by BL under Edwards, especially where it calls for 'involvement' in decision making by workers (quality circles, 'briefing groups', business and company 'councils' etc.) and personnel policies based on 'respect' for individuals.

'Consultation' leaves no room for 'divisive' militancy of course. As Buckle replied to those who accused him of this, he had been at the forefront of the fight against the militant leftist stewards in Cowley. (His role in the victimisation of Alan Thornett (Socialist Organiser) was decisive in the failure to fight his sacking last November.). A tight rein was kept on the running of the strike. Buckle was to boast at the mass meeting on the 14th which rejected the company's second 'compromise' - leading to the TGWU making it official: "You have stayed out for two weeks without a single picket on the gate and without anyone having the slightest worry about anyone trying to come in". No attempt to prevent stocks of Maestros being moved out - that might damage the company.

## THE REAL MAESTRO.

Buckle's strategy was excellent. On the one hand bringing the issue of working conditions into the media debate. Here Buckle's skills in dealing with the media was crucial. (Skills learned no doubt in his other career as Oxford magistrate, former member of the Arts Council, governor of Ruskin college, and general full time Meritocrat.) Of course the 'real' issue became not the intensity of the job itself - Buckle indeed argued that it was unnecessary to abolish washing up time because workers could produce more than the quota required in any case. The issue became abusive management and the breakdown of grievance machinery. The other prong of the strategy was to convince TGWU HQ that there was

# Some of us are dying to build your car



TRIM AND BUMPERS: Nasal and Sinus Cancer  
WINDOWS: Lung Disease, Cataracts  
VINYL TOPS: Angiosarcoma  
COPPER WIRE: Lung and Skin Cancer  
PAINT: Lead Poisoning, Liver Disease  
SEAT CUSHIONS: Emphysema, Bronchitis  
ASSEMBLY: Stress, Mental Disturbances

ENGINE BLOCKS: Silicosis, Cancer, Burns  
SHEET STEEL BODY: Deafness, Amputations  
GEARS: Dermatitis, Lung Disease  
TYRES: Leukemia  
BRAKES AND CLUTCH: Lung Cancer, Asbestosis  
BATTERY: Lead Poisoning, Burns

**Profitable  
business is just a  
throw away**

*and the workers  
are the  
rubbish!*

sufficient militancy among the strikers for them to risk making it official and put the screws on BL.

## WHOSE LIFE ON THE LINE ?

Talking of failure in the context of the unity and spirit demonstrated by the strikers - a good many of whom were clearly ready to take it all the way if need be - is a bit mealy mouthed. The strike is one of the more encouraging episodes in the class struggle this year. Nevertheless the fact that they allowed the unions to run the strike and set the objectives to be 'won' meant that they set tight limitations to what could possibly come out of it. The victory was Buckle's victory - forcing BL to agree to a joint union/management enquiry into industrial relations at Cowley, and to make a scapegoat of director of operations Tom Gray. The actual issue of washing up time could be left to joint plant negotiations during a month-long cooling off period. If a satisfactory 'compromise' couldn't be stitched up then the weeks holidays and the elections would defer the need for union leaderships to impose some carve up on the workers. Plenty of time to defuse the militancy that was no longer required. It remains to be seen if union calculations succeed.

Either way the real issue has been lost sight of. Working on the lines in car factories is literally a killer. The pressure has always meant nervous disorders and heart trouble on top of the range of industrial diseases brought on by the materials used and the conditions. The militancy of the early seventies that leftists talk of nostalgically involved absenteeism as workers couldn't take the pressure, a high turn over in jobs as people could no longer stand it. Regimes like that at BL have stripped a lot of the protective reforms workers had won, the crisis in BL in the context of mass unemployment has left many people frightened to give up their jobs without the cushion of redundancy money. The result has been that instead of resigning to go and die elsewhere some those who can't get on to the normally overscribed lists for redundancy are dying on the job. The wonder is not that workers are not exhibiting the "New Realism" Thatcher boasts of. Its that they're prepared to work at all at places like Cowley for £80. a week . The washing up strike may or may not cause BL to reform its management style. If it leaves anything clear its that the real issue wont be addressed until workers are prepared to go all out - and take on not just management but their 'own' unions and their 'own' stewards.

# STEWARDS SCARED SHIPLESS

We carried an article in the last Playtime about British Shipbuilders demand for 9000 redundancies and a wage freeze from its workforce. The dramatic recession in all but warship building has left BS facing a £70m. loss for last year and emptying orderbooks. BS were hoping that union acceptance of the redundancies and freeze would help them sell a rescue plan to the Govt. involving financial support to tide them over the next two years. By then they hope that some recovery in world trade will rebuild demand for merchant shipping.

They've refused to give any details of the plan to the unions. Ostensibly so as not to compromise any negotiations with the Department of Industry by conducting discussions publicly - where unions and govt. would both feel obliged to adopt political postures. 'No Lame Ducks' / 'No Compulsory Redundancies Or Closures'. Behind locked doors the real business can be done. The unions response to this demand for a blank cheque was to announce that they would meet any compulsory redundancies or closures with a 'nationwide occupation'. We will see later what this means in reality. This was presumably what BS were calculating on in any case. They must know that the unions can't agree (in public at least) to compulsory redundancies or closures, and that following on the 25,000 (30%) redundancies since nationalisation in 1977 they might well find there were insufficient volunteers for this latest round.

Its become fairly common knowledge that they actually want 20,000 redundancies this year and a number of yards are to be 'mothballed'. That being the case why waste time negotiating with the unions now? There have been few signs of any fighting spirit on the shopfloor - but it might be as well to see what the unions can drum up. It will also put pressure on the government to agree to some 'plan', if only by demonstrating how much 'public' support there is for Britains Heritage as a Seafaring Nation - its merchant fleet and the repair and shipbuilding back up. When the maximum degree of 'realism' has built up among the workers and the incoming government has indicated what it will agree to, then will be the time to seriously thrash out with the

unions how that package (of jobs) can be sold.

In the meantime this round of redundancy is underway. 474 (half the workforce) at Henry Robb at Leith. 780 at Austin and Pickersgill in Sunderland. These are first because its believed there will be little difficulty in getting enough volunteers. The first 1,100 at Govan and 300 at Scott Lithgow are planned for the time of the annual holidays in July. By staggering the demands on each yard affected over the next year - backed up with the argument that refusal to agree will lead to total closure - the possibility of any fightback extending beyond a single yard is lessened. They hope.

But behind these redundancies and the one closure announced so far - Scott Lithgows Cartburn Yard - are the prospect of more still. Advance rumours are being circulated by BS about 'mothballing' of several yards. Singled out as likely candidates are the rest of Scott Lithgows and Govan. Its called 'mothballing' in an attempt to present the closure as somehow not final - as if there were a realistic likelihood of yards reopening. 'Closure' has a nasty inevitable sound to it when it comes to persuading workers to take the money and go quietly. It lends force to the arguments of those who want to fight, as they try to persuade the less decided that theres something to fight for. (If only in the last resort better redundancy terms). 'Mothballing' slips easier off the tongue - it keeps alive the illusory hopes of men facing a lifetime on the dole. After all even if world trade gets worse not better won't that lead to war. Lots of orders for multi-million pound coffins for the sailors judged expendable in demonstrations of government virility, like those on the General Belgrano and the Sheffield. And doesn't 'mothballing' mean a small number of security and maintenance jobs as an inducement to a lucky few not to rock the boat.

In the last few months the unions have switched from a policy of sabotaging struggles 'for the good of the industry' to calling for a 'nationwide occupation'. The credibility of their threat at the moment is almost non-existent. The legacy of bitterness and demoralisation they have reaped through their supine attitude to 'rationalisation' and job losses, means that more than resolutions will be needed if

these calls are to be listened to. And given their actual plans this seems even more unlikely.

## YESTERDAY'S SOLUTIONS

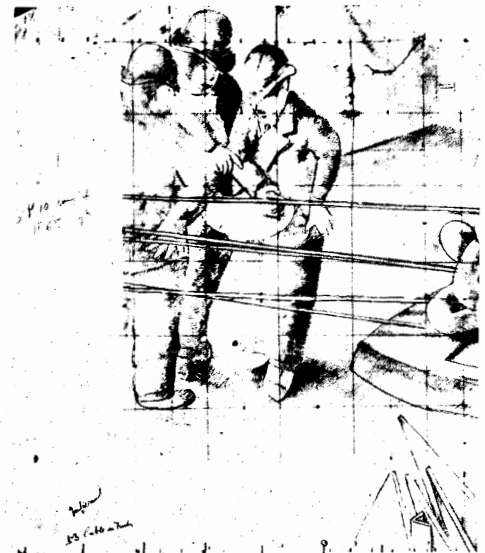
In the last issue we published an account of the Crossword strike by Scott Lithgow platers, which was sabotaged by the stewards. The following account by one of the platers takes the story to the end of April.

"Pat Clark (the steward who's victimisation led to the strike) went to an industrial tribunal in February and I'm sorry to say (though not surprised) that he lost his case. I'm afraid there is nothing else to say about it."

"The situation on the Lower Clyde at the time of writing is as follows. Let me point out to you firstly, that what I'm going to tell you is what I've learned from other workers and from the press as the Kingston/Glen platers at the Port Glasgow end of the group are expelled from the shop stewards committee and are excluded from all mass meetings.

When British Shipbuilders officially announced that half of the Scott Lithgow workforce were to be made redundant and that Scott's Cartburn yard at Greenock would close - 300 to be laid off at the summer and the rest between then and March 1984 - the shop stewards committees decided to call meetings of their respective departments and ask the workers to pay 50p per man into a fighting fund, which would be needed in order to fight the corporations proposed redundancies.

Every department agreed to pay this levy of 50p with the exception of the Kingston/Glen platers (the crossword strikers). The platers stewards called three meetings on this question of the fifty pence in order to get the platers to reverse their decision. At each of these meetings our stewards were told - if they didn't like the departments decision then they should resign. They didn't, and the platers still haven't paid the 50p. And because they haven't paid the levy, they have been expelled from the



shop stewards committee and excluded from mass meetings.

The platers felt that, looking at the shop stewards committee's track record over the past years, they couldn't take the shop stewards committee seriously when they speak about fighting redundancies. We cast our minds back to our last strike and the role which the shop stewards played then — they were instrumental in getting a worker the sack. We cast our minds back to last May ('82) when the secretary and the chair signed a no strike agreement with the company. We cast our minds back to the late seventies when redundancies should have been fought but weren't. At that period the shop stewards called mass meetings and made fiery speeches about fighting redundancies only to call mass meetings a week later and tell the workforce that there would be no fight — and recommended that voluntary redundancies should be accepted. These points are only a few of our reasons for not paying into their fighting fund.

It was also made clear at the platers meetings that we are not shying away from a fight. If there is going to be any fighting with the bosses, then we are prepared to fight. We don't see lobbies etc. as fighting, the fight will have to be done at the point of production — within the yards.

The shop stewards called a mass meeting of the workforce (excluding the Kingston/Glen platers) and asked for the 50p to be paid on a weekly basis. This was accepted by the mass meeting. At this particular mass meeting, workers called out for an explanation as to why the Kingston/Glen platers were not present. The chairman of the meeting told them that the platers had been asked three or four times to pay the 50p and keep on refusing to pay it — that is why they are not here. If they pay the levy, they can attend the meetings.

It was at this mass meeting that the shop stewards fighting campaign was spelled out to the workforce. It was to be a 'political campaign'. The shop stewards were inviting all local political parties, churches, local councillors etc. and Uncle Tom Cobbley

and all, to join forces with them in order to fight the forthcoming redundancies. This is what the stewards call involving the community. Meanwhile, the workforce and the townsfolk are being urged to send letters of protest to the government and British Shipbuilders.

There have been lobbies to BS hq. in Newcastle and to the Scottish TUC conference at Rothesay. Members of the workforce get sent on these lobbies, as this is what they term involving the workforce. What else has been going on? Well, David Steele has been to the yards and Michael Foot was in the yards today. The local prospective Tory candidate has been in the yards, and was asked by the stewards to join them in the campaign. She declined.

While all this fighting is going on, the workforce doesn't seem to be up nor down over it. There are a lot of workers prepared to take voluntary redundancy. But they are not going to get that choice as British Shipbuilders have told us that all redundancies will be compulsory.

The sad thing about it all, is, that all this was foreseen years ago."

A few days after this account ends, union delegates from shipyards met in Newcastle and agreed to meet compulsory closures or redundancies with a 'nationwide occupation'. The following week the annual conference of the Shipbuilding Industry Management Association — the shipyard managers union — gave its national council power to oppose compulsory redundancies by "whatever means are available" and demanded that there be no further contraction of the industry. Demonstrating as nothing else could the reality of the threat — and the total impotence of the 'united' response to it.

Union delegates in the Clyde area facing 4000 declared redundancies, had already drawn up 'secret' plans for an occupation in response to the redundancies at Govan and Scott Lithgow. At mass meetings over following weeks these plans were announced. The 'occupation' at Port Glasgow for example will consist of locking all the gates except one. This will be picketed by 25 men by day and 5 by night. The rest of the workers will be sent home — to be recalled for picket duty on an eight week rota. That is except for maintenance plumbers, electricians, computer workers and some office staff who would work normally and draw wages, "as the survival of the company is important". And the security staff will be working — to prevent "drunkenness, thieving and vandalism". Nationally no attempt has been made to build support for this 'occupation'. At some yards work is going on day and night to complete orders and overtime hasn't been affected. Signs of anger have been seen however. At Swan Hunters Hebburn yard BS Chairman Sir Robert Atkinson and BP Dignitaries were heckled and their cars rocked at a launching ceremony on April 19th. Stewards apologised in writing to Swan Hunter but "blamed elements not connected with the Hebburn yard for the trouble."

"... Should redundancy notices be issued to workers then the yards must be occupied at once. To leave the yards will only lead to the defeat of the struggle. It is on the shop floor that we are in our most powerful position. . . . It is here that all our communication and collective decision making is strongest . . . . .

"In the fight that lies ahead, we must be prepared to occupy every yard in the group for as long as may be necessary. Also, we must be prepared to lock out management. One of the most significant advantages of resistance within the yards, is that it leaves us on the inside and the employers, politicians, unions etc., on the outside where they all belong. . . . .

"The fight at all times must remain in our own hands" . . . . .

Hammer & Tongs.

The rank and file paper Hammer and Tongs has reemerged in Port Glasgow. They give the viewpoint of militants on the shopfloor to the occupation proposals :

### National Occupation

The union have decided on a policy of national occupation as a means of convincing British Shipbuilders to change their plans regarding cuts within the industry. But, can we really believe that the unions have any intention of implementing this idea of occupation ?

They have done absolutely no groundwork whatsoever. They have not contacted the other nationalised industries which are facing the exact same problems as the shipbuilding industry. The miners, railwaymen, steelworkers, NHS workers are all facing massive cuts within their respective industries. At the advent of nationalisation, regular meetings should have been organised with the workers of the other nationalised industries with a view to strengthening ties, so that we could all act together and face the vicious attacks being made on us by the government.

These cuts in industry are necessary under the capitalist system. We are not the creators of this system — we are the victims of it. The problem facing us at the moment is not just a national problem, it is an international problem — and we should be fighting it internationally. We should have had meetings with the workers from European shipyards in order to use our joint power to fight against Thatcher's government and others like it.

The policy of a national sit in would be a good one if the workers of British Shipbuilders had a good record in the past of supporting other workers in struggle. We have never, in the past, supported the miners, railwaymen, or the steelworkers when they were in need of it.

Even locally our record is dismal. Sure, we supported Lee Jeans, but only to the tune

SHIPBUILDING ON THE CLYDE  
by Stanley Spencer



# YOUR CARING SHARING COP-OUT

WAGE LABOUR AND THE CULT OF DEMOCRACY.

The Labour controlled West Midlands Council recently invested £8,700 in a singing and dancing co-operative. The authority's entertainment consultant praised the group Atmozphier's professional qualities, saying "I predict success in capital letters".

Meanwhile, women working at a shirt-making co-operative set up with money from the Transport and General Workers Union face a more doubtful future. The Unicorn factory, which was turned into a co-operative 18 months ago when Luvisca closed its Taunton plant has been hard put to maintain its workforce even on half pay. Mutual recrimination abounds. The manager even had to close down the factory for a cooling-off period.

Success or failure is never certain in the world of co-operative enterprise. What is certain is that the level of media interest will be maintained. Co-operatives can be called upon to justify any point of view: they are living proof of the ideals of free enterprise as well as of the pragmatism of socialist planning.

The actual extent of co-operative enterprise in Britain is small, but it is growing. The number of registered co-ops has trebled in the last four years. There are at present over 650 coops employing roughly 6,400 people.

In Italy, some 4,000 co-ops employ 145,000 people. In France, 1,000 co-ops employ 30,000. British co-ops are almost exclusively small concerns - there is only one employing more than 500 people.

This narrow base has implied only limited activity by national and local government. Diverse support and advice organisations have been set up, particularly the Industrial Co-operative Ownership Movement (ICOM). ICOM was set up mainly through the work of Ernest Bader, the owner of Scott-Bader, who turned his firm over to the workforce after a strike in 1949. The smell of paternalism has never lifted. In 1976 the Labour Government awarded ICOM £500,000 for promotion and loan-funding.

Co-ops are usually affiliated either to a local Co-operative Development Agency (CDA) or to the smaller Co-operative Union. The two dozen or so CDA's have generally been set up as an arm of local

government. In 1978 the Labour Govt. set up a national CDA (present director George Jones of Unilever) on a grant of £300,000 per year for three years (trimmed back somewhat by Sir Keith Joseph). It acts as a source of advice for co-ops and as a consultant for local authorities.

## CAPITALISM CO-OPTED.

Finance can often be hard to obtain for new co-ops - commercial banks often seem suspicious. Not because of any dislike of co-ops as such, but because co-ops tend to be undercapitalised and individual shareholding is restricted, so they do not appear to be good investments. However, money can be obtained from Local Authorities if they are sympathetic (especially for the more ideologically based co-ops in Left Labour boroughs). Local Authorities have powers under the 1972 Local Government Act to develop co-op activities - but only to the value of what can be raised on a rate of 2p in the pound. There is also a national investment fund - the Industrial Co-operative Ownership Fund, which has some limited access to government money.

So there is a small but burgeoning and highly respectable co-operative sector, in search of bureaucratic support. And there are a growing number of bureaucrats and politicians ready to provide it.

The Liberal-SDP Alliance is particularly charmed by the vision of a "company owning democracy". Job Ownership Ltd, which is to the Liberal Party what the Institute for Workers Control is to the Labour left, has already drawn up a series of legislative proposals for worker ownership. They argue that workers would work harder and more responsibly if they could see their individual capital stakes grow; wage settlements would then be moderated since by paying themselves more, workers would only be robbing 'their' company of funds for reinvestment. They argue that this would also help reduce inflationary pressure on the economy as a whole.

In essence, such schemes abolish the conflict between owners or management and workers within the individual firm. Associated workers become their own capitalists, and the conflict between capital and labour is apparently abolished.

But to imagine that the conflict has actually been abolished is to mistake a caricature capitalism for the reality. It is to believe that 'the capitalist' is anything more than a personification of capital, an official of the world of commodities.

If workers want to take on his role for themselves, it will only be in order to manage their own exploitation; to police the alienation of their own labour. The activity of the firm is not the result of the subjective whims of its managers (except in the fantasy world of modern trade unionism). To survive, the firm must sell its product. A commodity is useless until it has been exchanged. The firm is bound to act according to the demands of that commodity, demands determined by its relations with all other commodities - ie. by the laws of the market. In the upside down world of capitalism, it is the commodity - an inanimate object, the product of human labour - which turns people into its dumb instruments in their separate roles of 'workers' and 'consumers'.

In the 'normal' small business the owner/manager is responsible for imposing discipline and for selling the product or ser-



"I DON'T CARE HOW HARD THE WOOD FOR THOSE GLC POLICE TRUNCHEONS IS, IT'S STILL MY TURN TO BE FOREPERSON."



vice. The workers do what they are told (or not) and collect their wages. The co-op abolishes class conflict between owner/manager and worker – and also ostensibly the competition between workers for promotion or differentials—within the individual firm. This makes its 'worker-managers' more sensitive to the need to work harder and compete with other firms.

The world of commodities is not more sympathetic to an enterprise because it is co-operatively owned. To survive the business must compete. To compete it must produce its goods at a lower cost than its rivals. The co-operative gives its workers the illusion of control, but only of the world as it already is: the world of commodities. In that world, external and invisible forces direct peoples actions; autonomous action directed towards clearly perceived goals is impossible within the terms of capitalism itself.

### COOPED UP

One of the implications of the unfolding of capital's laws has been the growing concentration, socialisation and statification of businesses. Competition between firms has meant that firms are constrained to replace 'obsolete' machinery to remain competitive; otherwise the 'obsolescent' firm will itself be swallowed up and 'rationalised' by its rivals. But there comes a point where the firm can no longer stay in the struggle simply by reinvesting its own profits. In some cases, particularly in basic or infrastructural industries (raw materials, energy, transport, post, public utilities etc.) this may lead to nationalisation. The state is satisfied with less profit, so the share of the other capitalist interests, who divide up the surplus value produced by the working class, can be increased.

But more generally, as profits become so small that the entrepreneur or private shareholder has neither the incentive nor the ability to enlarge the scale of production by investing more money himself, the firm becomes increasingly dependent on long term credit provided by financial institutions.

The nominal 'ownership' of most companies has become irrelevant. Boards of directors, composed of representatives of the main financial backers (which may include the state, or even several states) control the fate of the firm. They preside over vast hierarchies of managers and technicians.

## INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES

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The producers' co-operative is therefore ruled out in the vast bulk of capitalist enterprises, except where corporations wish to ditch unprofitable plants (e.g. when Courtaulds sold its Rochdale dyeing mill Davey-Kenyon to the management and workforce two years ago). In most firms, even if co-operatives could be created, they would be entirely at the mercy of those who control long term credit – 'fictional capital'. In large concerns, self-management schemes may serve to reduce the cost of disciplining the workforce by removing the need for some strata of middle management. But the co-operative form of organisation itself will be mainly relegated to those archaic sectors of industry and firms 'left behind' by capitalist advance: firms which have survived with a high proportion of workers to machinery, (and often a high proportion of skilled and semi-skilled, rather than un- or de-skilled labour) in the production process. This explains the more widespread existence of co-operatives in Italy and France, countries where the ratio of plant and machinery to labour – the "organic composition of capital" – is relatively low.

### THE HAPPY TREADMILL

Firms in this situation (often small-scale manufacturing concerns, e.g. printing, clothing) may initially be able to struggle against declining profits by shedding labour, cutting wages and associated costs of production. If the owners pull out and a co-op is set-up to save the business, the workforce place themselves in the position of managing this task.

Although the sort of business where co-operative structures are feasible are marginal in terms of capitalism as a whole – 80% of workers work for firms employ-

ing more than 100 people – such firms are often of local importance. Labour Party local authorities and trade unions (especially the TGWU) have often been anxious to step in and act as patrons to such firms. In line with their appeals to the idea of a skilled working class 'community' which has long since disappeared, they seek to act as ideological mentors to such co-operatives. The identification of workers with their work in such small concerns is in tune with the party anthem of "job preservation".

In London the GLC intends building up a co-operative infrastructure for development, advice and access to finance. It aims to afford a degree of protection from market pressures on financing for co-ops, both directly (a subsidy of up to £5 a week per job), and indirectly (by minimising through various devices, the interest payable on GLC loans to co-ops). But it also aims to provide a degree of protection from market forces on co-ops as they sell their goods or services.

### STATE-JACKETED.

One of the aims of this municipal protectionism is to set up new co-operatives which can show that they are taking on "production which would otherwise not be undertaken in any sector of the economy". The GLC and other bodies would mobilise wasted resources and place them at the disposal of co-operatives. Such "popular planning" for "socially useful production" often simply means diverting resources to the left-wing gravy train. More idiotic street theatre, organic food, subsidised housing for the inner-city gentry and cheaper election leaflets for the Labour Party.

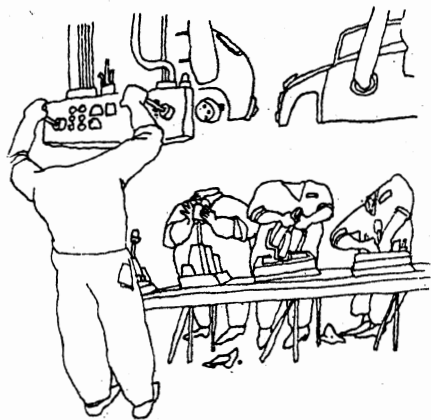
But there is also an attempt to build up survival networks entirely dependent on leftist bureaucratic patronage. The populace is encouraged to take over the running of activities which capitalism can no longer afford to perform through the agency of the state. Thus free schools, tenants self help organisations, nurseries, local transport for the elderly. Such participatory networks can reduce the cost to the state of maintaining and policing the workforce.



CONTD. PAGE 10

At the same time, they can buttress the power of the Left within the hierarchy of capitalist interests.

For the left — an alliance of the old workers' movement (trade unions, Labour Party, Communist Party etc.) and middle functionaries such as teachers, social workers, local government officers — it is a question of building up a bloc of common interests through national and local state agencies. The ideology which bonds this alliance attacks capitalism on a secondary, superficial level, notably the failure of the free market to meet social needs, and the inequality of 'ownership' or 'control' in the workplace and community. These people are always ready to step in where the more grotesque and obvious injustices arise, thereby safeguarding capitalism's existence as a whole.



'Democratic planning' and 'workers control' — the idealisation of the state and of the worker-as-producer form the basis of the left's response to capital's crisis. The alliance of bureaucratic corporatism and popular self-management (the twin faces of 'Socialism', each feeding off the carious flesh of the other), is unable to resolve the central problems of capitalism.

An example of this was the Lucas Shop Stewards' Corporate Plan — much debated amongst enthusiasts of workers' control. Although it was an attempt to plan production on the basis of 'social need' rather than 'profitability', it was in reality only a criticism of the level and allocation of public spending. It was a request for the state to protect the corporation, to cushion it against the demands of making its commodities profitable. But to soften the demands of profitability on Lucas only means aggravating them elsewhere, since unless capitalism as a whole is expanding the amount of surplus value it produces, support for Lucas could only come from the taxes imposed on other more profitable businesses. The need to restore the profitability of capitalism as a whole will always return to haunt its would be reformers, whatever their subjective intent. 'Control' is reduced to exercising an illusory influence over decisions already inscribed in the logic of capital.

As the Labour Party's Alternative Economic Strategy stresses, if the demands of democratic planning are to be met, it is important "to have an economic strategy which can provide the resources to ensure an overall increase in the provision of services." This would require either an acceleration of economic growth (more intensive exploitation of labour, mainly through greater mechanisation) or a redivision of the way surplus value is shared out in existing capitalist society. Capitalism's continuing difficulties already eliminates one of these options.

### ONE NATION UNDER A PLAN.

On an international level, the attempt to stop the flight of capital from countries adversely affected by such redivisions of surplus value (for example, greater state intervention in the economy.) would demand a growth of 'autarchy' — of national self-sufficiency. It is not surprising that those sections of the Labour Party most in favour of workers' control are also the strongest advocates of strident protectionism (control of the flow of trade and capital). This is often masked by a crude anti-U.S. imperialism (even the ideology of national liberation.) More commonly it goes in hand with anti-EEC jingoism. Workers control, the identification of the worker with 'his' enterprise, 'his' community, and The Plan could be the basis for the militarization of labour within a siege economy.

In the protectionist socialist version, workers control is a hopeless attempt to control the market. As the Co-op tries to eliminate 'wasteful' and 'unfair' conflict within the firm, so Socialism hopes 'ultimately' to eliminate 'wasteful' and 'unfair' class conflict inside the nation. But the laws of the commodity are only temporarily suppressed to reappear elsewhere, eventually on the international level. You cannot square the capitalist circle. The end result of this process is war — competition between States over the control of resources or markets.

Co-operatives may offer certain advantages, certain concessions to their workers, which

are welcome in the same way that a wage rise or an improvement in conditions may be welcome in any firm. But such advantages never come without a price tag of some sort attached. Co-ops are only one option, which capitalism may or may not be able to offer in particular circumstances.



The logic of capitalism will always impose itself whether management structures are democratic or dictatorial, bureaucratic or libertarian. Capitalists are only the officials of capital: therefore our aim must be to destroy capitalism, not to democratise it. No form of democratisation whether it be co-ops, 'workers control' or self-management can remove the absurdity which compels individuals to sell their labour, to expend their energy in the performance of useless and wasteful tasks, and regard other individuals as means or obstacles to 'earning a living'.

Communism is not defined by vague terms borrowed from the vocabulary of bourgeois politics (like 'direct democracy', 'co-ownership' etc.). Communism is the destruction of wage labour and of the commodity, of production for exchange, and of the State, democratic or dictatorial. This is the precondition for the suppression of work and its replacement by a new type of free activity.

Workers Playtime is produced by some members of the London Workers Group. It is not the public face or theoretical journal of the L.W.G. Articles reflect the thoughts, fantasies and inadequacies of their authors (in no particular order).

Playtime is intended as a forum for discussing the reality of class struggle. If you have something to contribute — news, feedback or whatever — we would like to hear from you. There is no editorial line — but that doesn't mean we don't know what we disagree with.

This is the third issue of Playtime, the intention is that it appears every two months. Next issue August — deadline 2nd week in July.

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The LONDON WORKERS GROUP is an open discussion group involving autonomists, councillors, anarchists and anyone else interested in workplace class struggle from a revolutionary point of view. It meets every Tuesday at 8.15pm upstairs at the Metropolitan Pub, 95 Farringdon Road, EC1. (Two mins. Farringdon Tube). Anyone welcome to join in (except party recruiters!). If you want to know more but can't face meeting us, or if you want a copy of our free bulletin (a stamp would be nice) write to the above address.

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of 20p. per head, per week. What about James Lamont's yard at Port Glasgow, Inchgreen Dry Dock, Cowal Engineering, George Brown and Joy Sullivan. How much support did we give them? In fact, cast your mind back to the Kingston/Glen plater's strike last September. They not only failed to gain support, but were attacked at every opportunity by the so called voice of the workers - the shop stewards committees. One full time convenor told representatives of the platers that, management wouldn't need to put the boot in, because they would do it for them. And they did!

So, what is the alternative to national occupation? The alternative is an occupation where necessary. This would mean an occupation in the yards where the cuts are going to be made - and continuation of work in the other yards. The reasons for this being: If we have a national occupation, how do we finance it? If we can't get support from other industries then we

would have to finance it ourselves.

What about strike benefit from the unions? Does anyone really expect the union to pay out large sums of money on a weekly basis? For instance, at £5 perhead, per week would cost £325,000, at £10 it would cost £650,000 and at £15 it would cost £975,000 nearly one million pounds per week. Absolutely no chance.

If we have occupations where necessary, then the people who are working can finance those who are occupying the yards.

Community involvement is great, but the shop stewards seem to think that means talking to the local political parties and the churches. Sure, Harry Mulholland will get his photo taken with you, but will he get the council to declare a rents freeze with no arrears when the sit-in is over? Very unlikely. What about the real community, the people themselves? Unfortunately, in this area, the majority of people depend on social security benefits or wages from the shipyards, which would make it hard for them to give you anything other

than purely moral support.

If we have occupations where necessary, we could hold out much longer because we would be getting financial support from the other yards that have work to carry on with. What about the Sunderland yard that has just won an order for two tankers? If they join the occupations maybe the Govan Shop stewards and their management will take the orders from them, just as they did with the Swan Hunter Polish order a few years back.

As Hammer & Tongs put it the shipyard workers have only themselves to count on in the fight ahead - they're still going to need all the solidarity they can get.

Shipyard workers are clearly facing the crunch. At the level of BS/Union /Govt. negotiations, everything is in suspension until after the elections. Labour are promising a "maritime strategy embracing both shipbuilding and shipping interests. We will re-establish the British Shipbuilding Corporation as a public sector company with a new financial basis and adequate resources for investment" (Election Manifesto). In other words a brief respite on redundancies and closures until a new 'Corporate Plan' has been worked out. At the start of May Shadow Industry Sec. Stan Orme was demanding a "two year survival programme for shipping". That sounds like Labour support for the BS secret plan.

Challenged by Foot, Thatcher and Industry Sec. Patrick Jenkin (the man who advised the nation to clean its teeth in the dark during the Heath govt. power workers strike), are hinting that some "extra help might be on the way" (Telegraph 14/5/83). This apparently only means more financial support for shipowners placing orders in Britain - like her old chum Lord Matthews (P&O/Express Newspapers). Likewise there will be no reply to BS secret plan for the industry until after the election. If there is a Tory landslide then selling off the profitable Warship yards will be firmly back on the agenda - that would spell the end for most of the rest of BS.

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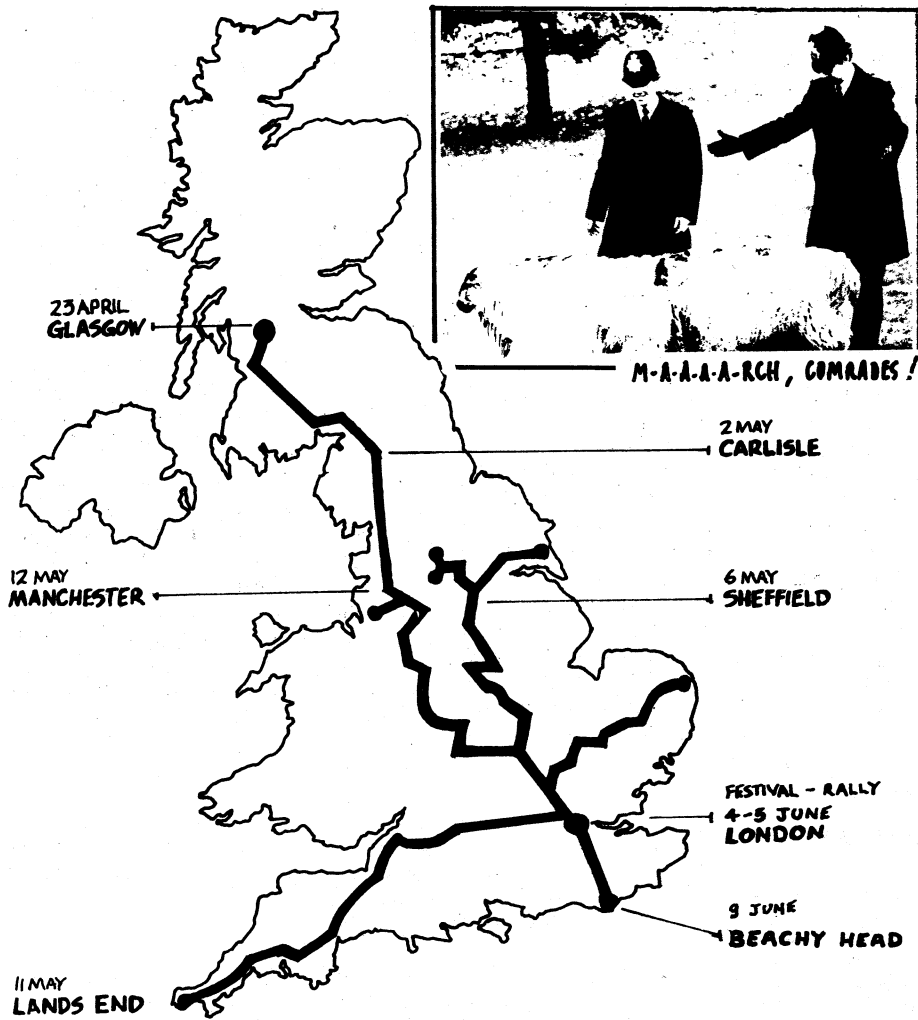
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"We must try this collective bargaining thing again sometime soon."



The second Great Peoples Crusade for Jobs got off to an inspiring start in Glasgow on April 23rd, with a stirring speech from Michael Foot on the need to "arouse the conscience of The Nation". Infused by his deep personal knowledge of the human waste generated by redundancy, this established the flavour of the whole event.

The main group of pilgrims, in their distinctive green-and-lemming coloured anoraks, was joined on its passage south by others from the four corners of England. It enters the Socialist Promised Land of Brent on June 2nd, where it will be greeted by Ken 'Giss'a Job' Livingstone. It climaxes in Hyde Park on June 5th, when the marchers will all put brown paper bags on their heads and take part in a mass 'die-in' for Jobs. If this gesture succeeds, rumour has it that an extra leg will be added to the route, ending at Beachy Head in Sussex on Democracy Day (June 9th). The celebrants will join hands in a symbolic show of unity and jump off together.

Not since the Royal Wedding has the plight of chronically unemployed people so captured the imagination of the British public. Comparisons spring easily to mind—the unemployed marches of the '30s; the Canterbury Pilgrims; the Childrens Crusade of the 14th. Century (when thousands of infants from all over Europe were persuaded to march on Jerusalem, only to be sold into slavery or die between Marseille and North Africa); the annual migration of Caribou across the plains of Canada (when many fall into rivers and drown)...

The march was blessed, before it set out, by the Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, the Anglican Bishop of Manchester and the Moderator of the Church of Scotland. It is, after all, a 'coming-together' of all kinds of people from the 'broad church' of humanity. The crusade crosses many boundaries—religious, class, regional and rational. Its appeal is universal and timeless; it is the plea, down the ages, of the deserving poor for the sympathetic attention of those more fortunate than themselves.

The message of this march is clear, and must not be confused with politics. Work is an essential bondage element in human society. It ties us to each other, and to the institutions under which we live. Without it, we become unstable and psychologically disturbed. It is not a question of satisfying our material needs. It is the problem of meeting our spiritual craving for hard graft in an age of mass idleness.

Many human stories have emerged over the weeks of the crusade, often full of pathos. We heard the tale of the unemployed graduate, her years of study in the loneliness of a cold student garret, her eyesight failing from Writing by Candlelight through the long winter

nights, her hopes of being rewarded with a lowly executive post in some multinational company or state department dashed by the callous hand of a fate she could not presume to understand. Of the skilled manual worker, thrown onto the scrap-heap in the middle years of life, when all he asked for was another 15 years of the same. Of the ex-foreman, stripped of his job abusing others, and now suffering massive hair-loss through abusing himself.

The people on this march were not the caricatures of grasping ingratitude we all know. These were not the insolent youths, crabby housewives, social outcasts, unmarried mothers, thieves and professional dole-queuers who make up seven-eighths of the population. They were respectable, well-spoken people who knew their rightful position and didn't ask much from life. Just the sort of people you would pick to go on a 400-mile sponsored crawl.

The march was not just aimed at moving our consciences. It was a morale-boost for the unemployed themselves. After the 1981 Pilgrimage, many of those who took part reported afterwards that they had acquired a new self-respect. Of course it was not all plain sailing. There were 'ripples' on the pond, caused mainly by a few peoples misunderstanding of their true purpose in coming on the march. Some wanted to ignore the organisers' Code of Conduct, others didn't want to wear the green uniform, and a handful kept shouting controversial slogans. But this year, such heresies were anticipated. Pilgrims were hand-chosen for their cheerful willingness to 'knuckle under'. And the result was most successful. In many ways, going on the walk must be like being back in a job. There are stewards to keep everyone busy, well-informed and marching in step. Police have been on hand just in case of extra problems, their wages paid by the organisers—a moving display of solidarity between the employed and unemployed.

As the crusade reaches its finale, it can only inspire us to look for a golden future. This is not the first hunger march, and it will not be the last. One day we may all be taking part in this wonderful movement. As it grows in size, fervour and moral authority, we can glimpse the first dim streaks on the horizon, the dawning of a new age of truly full employment. When that day breaks, we will all be put to work, and work will make us free.

**Peoples  
crawl  
for jobs**

**'83**