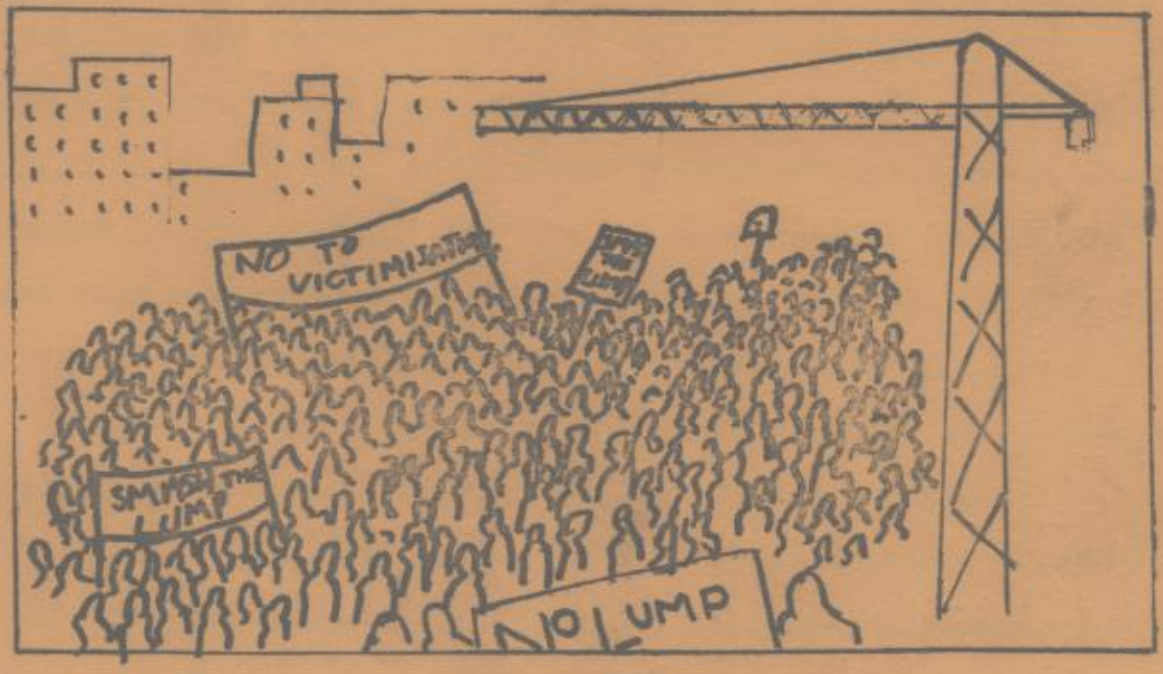
BUILDING WORKERS-ORGANISATION AND THE LUMP



By Paul Smith

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INTRODUCTION - SECTION ONE

The story that we live in a welfare state is wearing a bit thin. Today the working class faces prescription charges, dental health charges, and "Fair Rents". The parts of the welfare state that remain are financed by the better off sections of the working class, through high taxation, anyway. If the government felt that it could get away with it, social security would probably go the same way as free medicine. Even so housing always was a "special case". Not one postwar government achieved the housing target it set itself. And now the magic number of 400,000 houses per year has stopped appearing in the lists of promises that governments and oppositions make in their manifestos.

The failure to solve the crisis of housing led to massive squatting in London between 1945-48. Today the squatting movement is still with us - and growing. Last year a record 20,000 families were homeless, 1,200,000 lived in slum conditions, 200,000 were on council waiting lists, 3,000,000 lived in unfit homes, and a further 200,000 homes became unfit this year. It was always the case that the first thing to be cut when governments had to cut spending, was the building programme. Equally whenever the 'big

boys' in the city lost "confidence" in British Industry, it was always property development that suffered.

But the flow of money away from property, and building not only hurt families looking for houses. The building companies profits were hurt. Their reaction to being hurt was to remove competitors from the field, and grew bigger. This meant two things. First prices could be 'fixed', so that when there was work, fatter profits could be made to offset the lean years. Secondly, bigger companies had more machinery, more capital and more permanent staff, all aiding the fight for big contracts. The 'big ten' in the trade have reached a position where they are no longer badly affected by the ups and downs of the British Economy. They have done this by concentrating all their resources on the search for the 'quick killing'. So, despite the consistent failure of the state to meet the barest community needs, both wings of the property business are making incredible profits. Mr. Harry Hymans of the Land Security Investment Trust Ltd., stands to make £15,000,000 on Centre Point (building by Wimpeys) if he sold it today. In the property building side things are fine, all of the major companies profits have jumped dramatically. The value of

Wimpeys' shares have increased by 500% over the last 10 years. MacAlpine gave £32,350 to the Tory Party in 1969/70, roughly £3 per worker they employed. Taylor Woodrow had record profits last year, for the tenth consecutive year. In the first 6 months of 1971 their pre-tax profits rose by 60% from £1.7 million to £2.7 million. In Liang's, the managing director gets a paltry £17,000 per year, nothing compared with the £35,000 per annum Taylor Woodrew's "man on the spot" gets. But every cloud has its silver linging; Laings directors got a pay rise of between 35-38% last year to catch up.

But this was only half the story. The capitalist economy has more and more come to be run by a few big monopolies. But this was never true of the building trade to the same extent as other parts of the economy. The lack of certainty in the trade always meant that not many companies were prepared to risk big money. For the million and one small jobs, even on the large sites that still holds true. The small contractor, or sub-contractor still has a large percentage of work in this industry. Because of the risks, its one of the few places left in Capitalism where the individual can "make good" despite the monopolies. It is estimated

that there are over 10,000 employers in the building trade, mostly made-up by small sub-contractors. And like the old individual bosses in the days of Queen Victoria, they have the same attitude to unions!

So, the building trade is even more unplanned, and insane in its results, than the rest of the Capitalist Economy. There are 10 huge firms making large profits; thousands of small employers; something like one million building workers, half of whom are unemployed at any one time; and a desperate housing shortage conbined with the lack of basic community needs like schools, and hospitals in many areas. If the results of all this disorganisation is bad for the working class as a whole, it is doubly bad for the worker in the industry.

THE EMPLOYERS- SECTION TWO

In 1947 the Building Trade Employers signed a deal with the Buidling Trade Unions that gave official blessing to the wages system in the Trade. The bonus system. This deal carried company unionism to new heights for it played into the hands of the Employers strategy for the industry. Although the Employers became more and more nationally organised, they were moving to prevent this happening to the workforce. The bonus system guaranteed that militants, who had become established on a long term site had the effects of that militancy limited to that site, however long it lasted. Basic rates were so low that each individual site had to bargain to increase the bonus to take home a living wage. In this situation a militant site could be totally cut off from another site across the road.

The Employers continued this scheme through the rule book. The famous "flexibility" clause, gives the right to shuffle militants around at will. Combined with this clause the employers operated one of the worst black-lists in British industry. Sites like the Horseferry site in your record of employment mean little chance of getting another job easily in the area.

Added to all this it has been estimated that nearly 400,000 building workers are on 'the lump'. The lump is a system which cuts down paper work, creates great flexibility of labour, and most importantly prevents the militant organisation of many sites. Lump labour is always the starting point for any struggle in the Buidling Trade. In 1970, after months of selective strikes and picketing the lump was chucked out of a stronghold in Birmingham, the Woodgate Valley Sites. Today, Birmingham building workers are now starting anew the fight against the lump, which has been reintroduced on a grand scale.

THE STRIKE

The last time the employers had faced selective national strike action in the building trade was 1963. That in itself shows the grip of lump and the disorganisation of the trade. The struggle was sold out for a few pence by the national unions. It is clear that the employers federation did not understand what had happened in the trade when they faced the prospect of strike action at the end of the summer of 1972. However, they quickly adapted to the new situation!

Learning the lessons offered by the Engineers Employers Fed-

eration the building employers banded together on several bases. They set up a joint strike fund of £2 million to bail out members hit by the selective strike action. They also co-operated on a joint paper on "intimidation" in the industry. As the strike developed the control was taken away from the national leadership of UCATT (as was shown when the first offer it accepted was rejected by the regions). When this was clear the employers returned to their traditional strategy. They offered agreements region by region, company by company. The union leadership accepted this offer. Thus backward areas were used to make sure that there was no national and united force of workers opposing the employers last offer, or prepared to bypass the official union leadership.

THE FUTURE

The employers have been using the disorganisation of the trade, on a grand scale to try to win back their losses. Victimisation struggles immediately broke out up and down the country. Cubitts, World's End Site in Chelsea was the first. In other areas the lump was reintroduced in a grand scale. Contractors in Birmingham and the Merseyside area attempted to have the Council 'minute' removed which banned lump labour on Council contracts.

The 'labour only' merchants, were extended to a national organisation set up in Liverpool called "Site Services". This organisation also vets the workers on its books for any history of past militancy, before providing labour for the main contractors.

To meet the problem of having a series of big companies with huge profits, nationally based (which encourages workers to organise nationally, and compare wages and conditions from area to area with the same company) Bovis, for instance, has broken up its operation. It is finding its identity behind the cover of a series of smaller concerns. The employers take the challenge of the last strike very seriously. They know that workers in the trade feel the two year deal is a sell out. They are preparing for future struggles which they knew are possible long before the end of 1973.

A final word must be said about the growing role of the police in the industry. Charges of conspiracy have been laid against Shrewsbury building workers, for their picketing during the strike. The Employers (indeed the whole ruling class) will watch carefully to see how far workers are prepared to defend their only weapons. However isolated the militants are in the building trade, here is

an issue for which the whole strength of the labour movement must be used. To find issues and use them to mobilise the rest of the working-class is one way to bypass the disorganisation of the building trade.

THE UNIONS - SECTION 3

The two main unions within the building trade are UCATT and TGWU. (In addition, there is ETU, GMWU and CEU). Over the past two years, they have gone through a number of amalgamations. The national association of Plaster Operatives (NAPO) merged with TGWU whilst UCATT emerged from the fusion of the Amalgamated Society of Painters & Decorators (ASPD) and the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers (AUBTW) with the larger ASW. This trend towards national mergers has meant not just fusion but, more importantly, amalgamation of trades. Both UCATT and TGWU have skilled and unskilled membership, and have a policy of all-trades recruitment. (However, despite this the old craft divisions continue). There are a number of reasons for this.

Firstly, up to 1972 the rationalisation of the building industry, which had meant greater control by a few large firms at the top (Wimpeys, Laings, MacAlpine, etc). This meant that building workers in Stoke could more easily compare their rates, conditions, and their employer's tactics, with those of building workers in Merseyside. Regional differences were being reduced and at last a significant section of building workers were beginning

to face the same problems and the same employers. National organisation and a national policy were becoming more obvious and possible necessities. Withoug national policies the unions would lose rank and file support and show a growing weakness in the face of the national construction companies.

Secondly, the growth in militancy among building workers. At first, it was confined to the major centres of London, Manchester and Merseyside. The last three years have seen militancy spread - e.g. Birmingham, Stoke, Glasgow, North Wales, Chester, Essex, etc. Furthermore, out of this militancy, has grown a rank and file movement. The Building Workers, Charter. Up to the last national strike local struggle has seen the Charter (a rank and file organisation) in the thick of it, taking the lead.

These two factors have brought about the amalgamations and forced the union bureaucracy into adopting a national policy based on a greater degree confrontation with the employers leading to the national claim and strike. The bureaucracy's need to move left and gain a militant face was made more urgent for them looking at UCATT's state. In terms of membership, UCATT (or, as it was then, ASW plus AUBTW and ASPD) lose 20,000 members from December 1970

to June 1971. In terms of money, in 1970 it had a deficit of £160,000. It had been forced to sell union property in order to keep ticking over. The reason for declining membership is the same as that for the growth of Charter - until recently the old bureaucracy has been little better than a company union. It sold out on the wage agreements throughout the 1960's whilst doing little to improve conditions or stop abuses. Its near financial bankruptcy, was due to the loss of dues and its top-heavy officialdom. UCATT has inherited from the old unions some 200 full-time officials earning £3,000 a year. (That's over 3 times as much as a labourer's basic of £17 a week).

Thus, UCATT's very existence was in question (not to mention the bureaucrats' jobs) even before the national strike. To survive, the bureaucrats had to attract back the lost membership and unionise the bulk of building workers (out of 1,250,000 only 400,000 are in unions). The only was to do that was by giving the men what they wanted. That was, to fight on wages, conditions, the "lump" etc. - on a national scale. UCATT could only survive if it was seen by building workers as an organisation that could give them something.

The leftward shift in the union was reflected in the old bureaucracy's initial demand of £30 for 35 hours plus 3 weeks holidays. (The Charter demand was for £35 for 35 hours - they supported the unions demand's as a first step fowards winning £35). However, the National Federation of Building Trade Employers dismissed this out of hand. In February, the NFBTE offered increases of £1.40 for craftsmen and £1.20 for labourers. Their second offer in early March was little better. Their final offer before June, when the 1969 Agreement ran out, was 1) increases of £2.40 in June for craftsmen plus another £2.60 in February 1973 bringing them up to £25 basic rate½ 2) increases of £2 in June for labourers plus another £2 in February 1973 bringing them up to £21 basic½ 3) this agreement to run until December 1973.

Although far short of the £30 demand, never before in the building industry had the unions rejected such an increase. The old bureaucrats had been pushed to such a position by the challenge to their leadership and, above all, by the extreme pressure of the Charter. All the demonstrations and stoppages that UCATT and TGWU called for in support of the claim were organised, run and dominated by Charter militants. In many ways, the old

bureaucracy were caught between two stools. The last March offer of the NFBTE was adequate in their eyes (George Smith, Gen. Sec. of UCATT, said that if the employers had included the threshold-cost of living - clause, the unions might have accepted). Yet in the eyes of the rank and file it was not enough. Acceptance would have allowed Charter to make even greater strides in undermining them.

The Charter had already flexed its muscles in the negotiations. Apart from being the driving force behind the 'official' demonstrations, it held its annual conference in April 1972. 865 delegates (the bulk from UCATT) attended. A militant programme was worked out for the expected breakdown of negotiations - 1) for the working towards a national one day stoppage; 2) to push through the regional councils for an official policy of strikes on selective sites; 3) an official overtime ban on all sites. Coupled with this was a resolution calling on the TUC to stand firm over non-cooperation with the NIRC and to call a conference to reaffirm its opposition to the Industrial Relations Act. It also demanded that the TUC "call a national strike to defeat the Tory Government and bring about a General

Election". It was clear who was making the running.

The old bureaucracy was forced to tag along behind - its UCATT conference in June adopted the Charter strategy. The nervousness of the old bureaucracy increased as their deadline of June 26th to the employers ran out. In the re-convened talks of June 24th, they had watered down their position as far as they safely could. Hence they were willing to accept the employers' last March offer (despite it increasing the differential, despite it lasting for 18 months, despite it not giving shorter hours or extra holidays) on two conditions. They were, a) that the £25 basic for craftsmen be paid immediately; b) that a threshold clause be added - The Times reported the details as "a built in pay increase if the cost of living rosd beyond a certain level". The employers refused to consider this unless the agreement was extended to March 1974. At least negotiations had broken downn.

And so the old bureaucracy, caught between the hard line of the NFBTE and the growing militancy of the rank and file and the threat of Charter, stumbled into strike action. The logic of their position (to maintain national leadership through a thriving militant union) is leading the old bureaucracy into mili-

tant action but the dangers are becoming apparent - the rank and file are way ahead of them in terms of militancy.

THE STRIKE

The Transport and General Workers Union (construction section) and the Union of Construction and Allied Technical trades began to fall out from the beginning of the strike. UCATT, the biggest building union had been forced, from the left to take up strike action. A battle had long been going on between the General Council (where the left, on the Communist Party's platform had been making gains) and the Executive Committee, where George Smith ruled the roost. However, seeing Charter, and the influential militants tied up at the base running the strike Smith gambled on being able to pull off an early settlement. His funds meant that he could only pay £2 per week official strike pay, and that compared unfavourably with the £5 being paid to T&GWU members. He had gambled without the T&G. If the rank and file had been organised through the Building Workers Charter, it could have been them that stopped Smiths attempted settlement on both occasions. As it happened, the T&G, seeing a chance to win some of UCATT's base struck out against the first settlement (for £25

and £29 in '73) which UCATT's E.C. tried to accept. The result was that the regional officials told Smith that if he wanted any union left, he would have to reverse his position.

From the beginning both unions tried to go slow on a full national stoppage. It was only the rank and file, developing flying pickets, that made a national strike inevitable. At the end of the strike both unions carefully prepared the way for settlement by agreeing to a policy of regional settlements, using the isolation of militants in the trade as the employers had done.

The final settlement of £26, review of hours in '73 and a 2½ year deal even though it was considered a sell out, was nevertheless witness to the power of the rank-and-file once they had organised their action nationally. The union leadership could not get away with less.

THE FUTURE

UCATT's future is not a rosy one. The debts the union has, outlined previously, have mounted because of the strike. In this new situation UCATT's leadership is fully aware of a threat, both from its own left wing, and from the Transport and General. The E.C. has therefore pressured its officials into a new line. It

is determined that the union and the membership will not part company as they did during the strike. The test of the top heavy union officialdom is now how far it is capable of keeping its finger on the pulse of the membership. To save money, regional staff may be cut down. To save its jobs sections of regional staff are desparately trying to win back the hearts and minds of their membership.

The alternative to this new life for the officials (made easy by 'Charters' offer of a bridge to the rank-and-file to the left bureaucrats) is a merger with the T&GWU. Under the slogan of "one big democratic union for the building trade" the officials hope to ensure the resources and machine necessary to make their jobs safer.

Although the possibility of merger is a small one now (Smith has struggled all his life to prevent it) we may see it emerging as part of the platform of the 'left' officials in the struggle against Smith. We are in favour of one union for the trade, however a union which unites the struggle of the membership, not makes life easier for officials!

CHARTER - SECTION FOUR

Charter developed out of rank and file movements of London, Birmingham, Manchester and Merseyside. These militants of the Barbican, Horseferry Rd., Woodgate Valley, etc. saw the need for the Charter because of the beginnings of rationalisation of the industry and the total inability (and total lack of desire) of the union bureaucracy to lead or co-ordinate their struggles. Throughout the 1960's, the bureaucrats had sold out, signing three-year agreements which gave increases of sixpence to ninepence an hour per year. They were not even enough to keep up with the rises in the cost of living. These sell-outs had reduced building workers to 16th position in the Department of Employment's 1971 wage table (one above agricultural labourers). And this in a booming industry! It is little wonder that the "lump" prospered, attracting more and more building workers who saw no advantages at all in working on a union site.

From 1970-72, the Charter united militants giving them a public face and providing a programme of demands they fought for. It lead major struggles in Merseyside, Fiddlers Ferry near Warrington, in Manchester and in Birmingham (where the "lump"

was at least temporarily smashed on all major sites). However, the fact that it is a rank and file movement does not mean it is free from defects. Although, struggling against the union bureaucracy, it also always provided an election platform for the "left" bureaucrats who emerged at regional level. This split in the bureaucracy was a logical effect of the leftward shift of the union as a whole. The various levels of the bureaucracy move leftward at different speeds. The regional officials and General Council members were in immediate contact with the rising militancy at site level. Hence, their shift leftward was faster than the old national bureaucracy. This difference can be seen in the conflict between the Executive Committee and the General Council of UCATT over the former's attempts to reduce the latter's powers as explained before.

Thus, the Charter always consisted of two potentially conflicting forces - 1) the "left" bureaucrats who wanted to overthrow the present leadership and to form a more militant union. They sincerely wanted a union based on the Charter demands. 2) the rank and file who wanted all that the "left" bureaucrats wanted but saw that as a product of the militant struggle at the base.

By the time the strike began Charter was in an excellent position to sew up the rank and file leadership of the trade. Charter's base had been the big cities. In London the Communist Party were so strong that Charter was never much more than another meeting of Communist Party militants wearing another hat. But in a whole series of areas outside the big cities (North Wales, Lancashire, the Scottish Borders and the North East) the Communist Party had no base. Charter was acting more and more as an organisation which lead militants in these areas. In fact, to make sure its pressure on the left of the union was having a national effect, the Communist Party needed the independant layer of workers outside the cities to look to Charter for a lead. Charter was a means by which the C.P. could build a bridge between the militants and the 'lefts' in the union, led by the C.P.

During the strike Charter lost this base. For the first time since 1963 a whole new layer of leaders were thrown up to run the strike. They saw nothing of the paper during the strike. It neither helped with their problems in the areas, nor did it explain the case of building workers to the rest of the working class. Charter has now to try and rebuild in these areas.

The reason why Charter did not appear was because the militants who run Charter "were too busy running the strike in their areas". What that meant was that they put the interests of their own area to building a permenant unity in the trade. Certainly, to produce Charter in the strike, as a genuine expression of the rank-and-file would have embarrassed the union bureaucrats. But the big test of Charter was precisely whether it was prepared to take the rank-and-file on that collision course if necessary.

After the strike, sales of Charter dropped by between ⅓ and ½. Charter groups were very poorly attended, even in the big cities. Some areas, like Birmingham, sent angry criticisms to the Editorial Board. An Emergency Conference was supposed to be organised to start the rebuilding of Charter.

THE FUTURE

Charter is trying to rebuild an alliance between the union lefts and the rank-and-file. The issue of the 'lump' is an issue on which such unity can be achieved. The unions (particularly UCATT) can only survive by increasing its membership and dues arriving at the centre. For the rank-and-file the lump is still a burning issue. The way Charter is running the campaign can

lead to defeats however. By concentrating on protest actions, go slows, etc. instead of a campaign for national action, Charter is liable to see support peter out. By concentrating on gingering up Labour councillors to prevent anti-lump rules being removed from Council statutes, may offer the ideal form of protest action - but does not lay the basis for the permanent abolition of the lump.

The Communist Party (probably over the heads of its militants) is determined to grab now, what it can in the trade. Direct C.P. members are standing on so-called Charter platforms in the big cities. If they have missed out with the new stewards in other areas, they are determined to consolidate their hold in traditionally strong areas. This clear subordination of the interests of building a strong national rank-and-file organisation in the trade (entirely necessary) to the party building of the C.P., may lead them to some clashes with their own militants.

WAY FORWARD - SECTION FIVE

1. A rank-and-file organisation in the building trade is an essential basis for moving forward. In other industries workers can get together all the time, through the union at rank-and-file level. In the Building Trade that is impossible. But what is also needed is a central strategy for the struggle against the disorganisation of the trade and the lump. To be sure of success this struggle can only be waged nationally, through the unions in an all-out stoppage. Charter must begin the preparations now.

2. While we are faced with the Freeze, Charter must take up the problems of drawing building workers into a class-wide struggle against the freeze and against the Tory government. We must not let the Tories offensive succeed in isolating workers from each other in different industries, and from the rest of the workers movement (tenants, housewives, etc.).

REGISTRATION

It is clear that a fundamental struggle for the re-organisation of the trade has to take place sooner rather than later. Constant battles against the lump simply wear down the workers'

stamina and fighting spirit. Protest actions are not enough, in themselves to solve the problem. Charter offers two possible solutions, the first is nationalisation. But nationalisation within the Capitalist system does not protect the workers' interests. After the war, steel, coal and the railways were nationalised as a hiving off exercise in reverse. Private capitalism could no longer afford the running costs of these industries. The manufacturers however, depending on the cheap supply of transport, steel and fuel. The only answer was for the state to take them over and run them from the pockets of the taxpayers (vast majority, working class). The workers in these industries found wages and conditions no different to before. Except that a wages struggle now meant taking on the state directly. It is clear therefore, that nationalisation only has a chance of serving the working classes' interests if it does not take place where the forces of the market still operate. And as long as the building industry is operating in a privately owned industry, in which production is for profit, it is impossible for workers to take responsibility for the management of this industry - they would simply be put under pressure of forces they could not control

and would end up accepting redundancies, etc. Clearly this situation would be no guarentee of job security, permanent wages, or even a closed shop!

Charter also demands Registration of all building workers. This scheme is that the industry should have a permenant labour force, which is registered. This would prevent 'lumpers' moving in to make 'spot' cash. Equally it would allow some sort of permenant organisation of workers in the trade. But there are many dangers with this scheme, shown by the decasualisation of the docks under Dorlin. It can mean a living off of a large section of the workforce, increases in production without extra wages and a 'stand by' pool of labour, on lower rates. This acts like a big stick, waved by the employers against militants who step out of line.

We have to combine a struggle for Registration, with a struggle for control over the aspects that directly affect the workforce.

The struggle for workers control over their own conditions and affairs, blocking any attempts to take the employers' problems out on the workers, must take place at two levels. At site level, the site committee must struggle for control over the

issues that affect the work force - safety, bonuses, redundancies, etc. At national level, through the Charter, we must demand the reorganisation of the industry in the building workers interests. By raising these points, we introduce one immediate and very important political idea to the rank and file in a very practical way. Workers should not take any responsibility for the problems of their industry while it is owned and controlled by capitalism.

It is therefore clear that we have to spell out the safeguards which must form part of our programme

a. Workers must now not only struggle against lump but for a closed shop in the trade. We must organise a rota of pickets for non-union sites in any area, and refuse to work not only with lumpers but non-union members.

b. Site stewards should take a register of all union members. These lists should be held by the local shop stewards committees - nobody to get work in the area without first being a union member.

c. We should fight in the local labour movement for support for our struggle to win a closed shop, and stamp out 'lumpers'.

d. We must organise so that the contractors are not allowed labour in the area, if they do not give full pay to their workers when the site closes, or offers them alternative five days work. Five days work or five days pay is a demand which we can take into the rest of the local working class - which faces redundancies.

e. We should elect site committees on every large site. These should represent every craft and skill on the job - as well as labourers. These committees should of course be open to immediate recall as the labour force on the site changes. They should fight for control over safety conditions, bonus arrangements, etc.

ONLY A START

But of course all this is only a part of the fight building workers have to wage inside their own organisations. £35 for a 35 hour week still has to be won. We can make this a permenant gain if we fight for this increase to be tied to the cost of living. We have to fight inside our own unions, for one union for the trade and for rank-and-file control over all decision making within the union therefore we should call for:

a) right of recall of all officials by union branches;

b) national conference to be the policy making body;

c) General Council to be the highest body between conferences;

d) No official to earn over the average wage of his members.

All of these ideas must be put into practice around one, central campaign not only against the lump but for 5 days work or 5 days pay for workers in the industry. Therefore we should fight for a central meeting of all shop-stewards in the trade to plan the way forward.

THE FREEZE

All workers are involved in the struggle to smash the freeze and bring down the Tory government. Building workers will have the second stage of their agreement "frozen" in April. Clearly building workers cannot struggle, and expect success on their own. We must play our part in building a movement of the whole class against the Freeze. We should take a load in building and sponsering local conferences of rank and file workers against the freeze. In such conferences we can organise local demonstrations, and solidarity actions with workers in struggle. We can begin to forge a common programme of action with tenants facing rent rises, and all workers facing price increases. We must start organising

now, recognising that the basic needs of workers cannot be raised without a clear political and practical line on capitalist society as a whole. We must realise that the historical interests of the working class (uninterrupted rise in living standards, improvement of working conditions, welfare services, etc.) can no longer be satisfied by the capitalist organisation of society. The Buidling Workers Charter, representing many thousands of workers, has a clear opportunity to raise these issues in the building trade, by incorporating them in its programme for struggle.

SMASH THE LUMP, CLOSE SHOP NOW, REGISTERED BUILDING WORKERS

FIVE DAYS WORK OR FIVE DAYS PAY

BUILD LOCAL CONFERENCES OF WORKERS AGAINST THE FREEZE