

# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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## Biafra: ping- pong politics

WHILE Nigeria's General Gowon searches without success for transport to take supplies to the starving millions in defeated Biafra, it proved possible last week to shift several tons of expensive food and champagne to Port Harcourt to allow military occupiers to enjoy a celebration feast.

And in London, the dying Biafrans have become a political ping-pong, to be batted to and fro between the government and the Tory press.

The Labour government enthusiastically backed the Federal Nigerian government in order to safeguard the substantial interests of British big business in the country, particularly the huge Shell-BP oil wells in the East.

Labour's support was underlined by an enormous and lucrative increase in arms supplies to the Federal side.

### Class reasons

The Tories were also enthusiastic supporters of the Federal case, for the same class reasons. But it is election year and their millionaire friends in Fleet Street have suddenly discovered that starvation in Africa, which has existed for a century or two since the colonial powers moved in, is a good issue to clobber the government with.

And so the honest reporting of journalists is blown up on front pages usually devoted to scare stories about strikes and a row is manufactured between reporters and the government's Nigerian observer Lord Hunt.

Of course, the press stories are true, in spite of the political reasons for their use.

Of course, the situation is worse than Lord Hunt admits. But, to be charitable, he is more used to climbing mountains than dealing with human problems.

And while all these cynical gentlemen play their games of mini-power politics, the corpses multiply...

### Schools protest

DEMONSTRATORS paraded outside Wood Green Civic centre in North London on Monday as the Haringey Tory council pushed through a controversial 'banding' scheme for secondary education in the borough.

Other protesters interrupted the meeting from the public gallery. The scheme will maintain selection at 11 and will destroy proper comprehensive education. The council will also attempt to disperse immigrant children.

The lobby was supported by Cypriot and West Indian groups, the Communist Party and Tottenham, Hornsey and Stoke Newington International Socialists.

### International Socialists PUBLIC MEETING Solidarity with BLACK PANTHERS

Selma James  
Charles Leinenweber (ISUSA)  
A British Black Panther  
Chairman: Paul Foot  
FRIDAY 6 FEBRUARY 8pm  
Africa Centre, 38 King St WC2.

## DOLE QUEUE THREAT US recession worries Wilson

by John Palmer

HAROLD WILSON's chief reason for flying to his superiors in Washington this week is to plead with Nixon to save Labour's election prospects from disaster.

While there, of course, he will also be instructed on what is expected of him by the Pentagon as part of its strategy for fighting the National Liberation movements in Vietnam, the Middle East and elsewhere.

Labour leaders are becoming more and more worried that developments in the American economy threaten to destroy the fragile basis of British economic recovery, which has been paid for by working-class sacrifice. They fear that America will not correct its huge balance of payments deficit without producing a serious trade recession.

An economic recession in America would have consequences not just on that side of the Atlantic. Because of the dominating role of America in western capitalism, any fall in industrial production or any big increase in unemployment, is bound to spread the recession to western Europe.

That is why the banking chiefs and economic ministers of the main western European states were also huddled in Brussels this week wondering what action they should take if the American economy developed a recessionary tail-spin.

### New bout of chaos

In fact, Nixon is caught in a cleft stick. If he does nothing about America's huge payments deficit, he will court trouble with foreign governments and bankers who are no longer willing to accumulate dollars simply because America cannot pay its way.

In their view, the dollar is over-valued and sooner or later they would start to sell dollars again for gold, producing a new bout of monetary chaos. This would be particularly dangerous for Britain with its over-exposed currency.

Nixon has already taken drastic steps to curb inflation and improve the balance of payments. He has slashed foreign aid (consigning millions abroad to near starvation and disease), he has cut spending at home on health and welfare (condemning the ghetto-dwellers to further misery) and he has imposed higher taxes and a ferocious credit squeeze.

But inflation, which is fed by America's vast spending on arms and the Vietnam war, is difficult to kill. Although the increase in industrial output has already stopped and unemployment started to rise, inflation continues unaltered.

The American ruling class knows that it is risking a serious recession and further bloody violence in American cities where young black and Latin American workers are savagely hit by rising unemployment. That is why many Senators and Congressmen want stronger Federal and military payments to deal with any rebellion in the ghettos and to tackle the growing wave of strikes in American industry.

### New attack on wages

Wilson knows that any spread of the recession to Britain must mean higher unemployment (already at 630,000) as well as new attacks on wages and the social services.

If necessary, he is prepared to make such attacks, but if possible he would prefer to wait until after the next election. The Labour leaders want votes before they show their hand and time is running out before they have to hold an election.

In the meantime, the Tories are brazenly parading, via Enoch Powell and Keith Joseph, right-wing extremist policies which they have feared to display in public since the 1930s.

The development of the American recession comes at a time when economic expansion is also slowing down in western Europe. The problems of the big business system in a period when the arms economy produces less and less stability cannot be solved by any one state.

In his New York speech this week, Harold Wilson expressed his worried about 'the international wave of new aggressiveness by organised labour'.

The latest turn of events emphasises that only by developing that aggressiveness from the trade union level to the political level can the working people in America, Britain, Europe or elsewhere finish with the system which does not care for their interests.



### 2000 condemn Wilson's US visit

2000 marchers took part in a lively demonstration last Sunday against Harold Wilson's visit to President Nixon. The demonstration condemned the recent massacres by US troops in Vietnam and the Labour government's continued support for American policy. The marchers called for victory for the South

Vietnam National Liberation Front. Called by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, the torchlight procession made its way to Downing Street where police provocation led to a few skirmishes and arrests. The march was supported by the International Socialists, International Marxist Group and other groups

## Miners back rugby march

by Nigel Walby

THE SPRINGBOKS' rugby tour of Britain met one of the largest and most impressive demonstrations against apartheid when they played Wales in Cardiff last Saturday.

More than 2500 people marched through the city to picket Cardiff Arms Park. They were led by a band and by the leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers, including the MP for Merthyr, S O Davies.

The march was a vivid example of the growing opposition to apartheid and all forms of racialism. The breadth of support for the campaign was indicated by the wide variety of banners and slogans carried. A notable one was the banner of the Cardiff International Athletic Club. With them marched former British and Empire heavyweight boxing champion Joe Erskine and a large contingent from the multi-racial community of Butetown.

Despite the boasts of the extreme right-wing National Front that they would bring people in from all over the country to show a real welcome for their racist Springbok friends, their march was a complete flop, mustering only a handful.

More than 1000 police had to escort the Springbok team to the match as the demonstrators surrounded their bus.

slogans and waving banners. This brought some of the players' 'lady' friends to the hotel balcony to shout abuse, with much waving of two fingers at the marchers.

One fallen idol is comedian Spike Milligan who enraged marchers by crossing the picket line to go to the match despite an appeal by a Labour councillor that he should stay away.

Immediately after the kick-off, a mass meeting was held to organise opposition to the proposed tour of Britain by an all-white South African cricket team. It is clear that socialists still have the task of ramming home the political lessons of the Springboks tour—namely that condemnation of racialism in sport is not enough. Condemnation must be backed up by using the power of the working class to link up with the Africans to fight the common enemy of big business.

Saturday's demonstration indicated that this lesson is beginning to be understood by a growing section of the working class.

THIS SATURDAY: Springboks v. Barbarians at Twickenham. Demonstrators assemble in St Marys Road, adjoining Twickenham station at 12.30pm. March off at 1.30pm to reach stadium at 2pm and demonstrate there until 4.30pm.

by Stephen Marks

The Coming War between Russia and China, Harrison Salisbury (Pan 5s)

THIS BOOK appears at a time when its subject matter is hanging in the balance. In Helsinki, the Russians and Americans are engaged in the crucial arms talks which will determine the future of arms competition between the two world giants, and hence the future of their entire economies and of the world.

And in Peking, Russia and China are deadlocked in negotiations over their border squabble.

While each of these hangs fire, an elaborate diplomatic dance takes place in Warsaw and the strange spectre of US-Chinese alliance emerges. The future of mankind appears to many to hang on the outcome of this diplomatic game, whose meaning and development can only be guessed at from vague hints and 'informed' leaks from the corridors of power.

And as a backdrop, in the mysterious hidden wastes of Asia, great armies mass, preparing war while jingoes stir folk memories going back to Genghis Khan and the spectre of radioactive holocaust hovers over the endless steppe.

Or so it would appear. And here Harrison Salisbury is in his element.

Essentially a talented and impressionistic diplomatic gossip, he weaves an impressive web of facts, suggestions and informed 'inside information' laced with exotic historical irrelevancies to add a spice of 'colour'.

(Not many Russians today remember the incident at Otrar on the Sir Darya River in the summer of 1218...but 700 years later they still live in its shadow.) And 'The game was up for the Russians. Golovin, dressed in a Russian embroidered caftan lined with black sable, sat down in a big tent opposite Prince Songgotu, who was dressed in cloth of gold trimmed with otter and beaver.'

Issues at stake

But Salisbury marshals his facts and hints in a way which lays bare many of the issues at stake in this crucial conflict. It emerges as what it is: not an obscure ideological wrangle but a power clash between a powerful imperialist nation and a massive backward country trying to wrestle with problems inherited from a past of foreign oppression which its present regime cannot solve.

Salisbury's method is to describe the conflict in terms of classical ruling-class diplomacy. Thus he captures many of the essential elements in a conflict which does indeed show many continuities with past history. But he cannot explain how this conflict can take place between the two mighty countries each of which claims to speak in the name of the world working class and of socialism and one of which saw the first and only successful workers' revolution in history.

Salisbury shows how the cold war myth of two 'communist' powers



A Chinese patrol on the Ussuri: socialists must defend them against Russian aggression

# Cynical view of Russia-China conflict

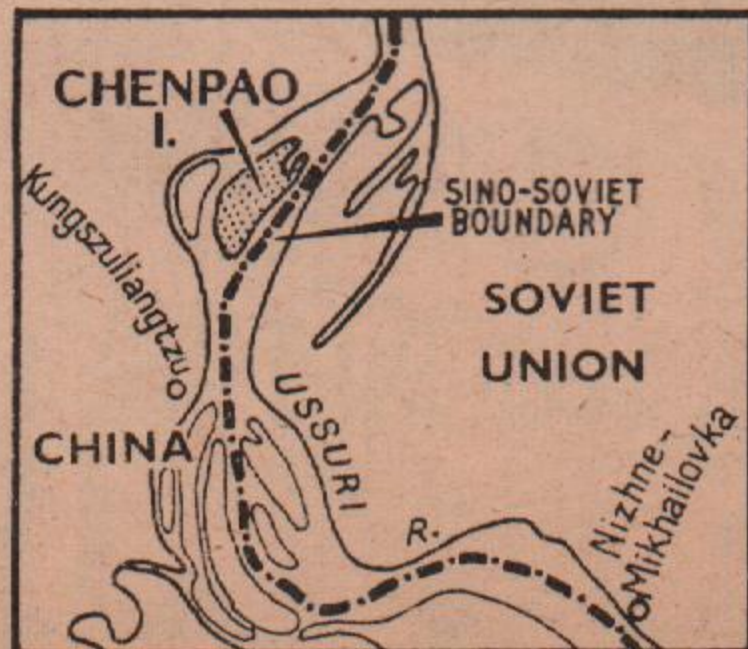
united by common ideology and falling out over points of marxist theory conceals the reality. Stalin's Russia was motivated in its Chinese policy by pure nationalism.

Preferring the nationalist Chiang Kai Chek to the Chinese communists, in the belief that Chiang's rotten regime would be a friend of Russian interests, Moscow boasted in the 1930s that she was giving Chiang 10 times as much aid as the United States, while Mao got none. Keeping the territory stolen from China by the Tsars, Stalin also kept the economic concessions of Tsarist imperialism in Manchuria and took advantage of general chaos in China to set up a puppet regime in the mineral-rich border province of Sinkiang.

Even after the war, Russia tried to keep the province of Manchuria, with most of China's industry, in the hands of Chiang, and was the last country to withdraw its ambassador from the collapsing nationalist regime. Mao's victories, hardly reported in the Russian press, changed little.

When Mao visited Moscow in 1949-50 for prolonged talks, Stalin gave him less aid than Chiang had received and forced him to accept a continuation of Russian bases and Russian exploitation of Chinese resources. Finally, by the Korean war, Stalin tried to prevent Mao from repeating Tito's bid for independence from Moscow.

Stalin's death appeared to bring



some changes, as Russia abandoned some of her privileges and instead sought to bind China to her by heavy dependence on technical aid. But the Chinese refused to accept Russia's moves to agreement with the US in the late 1950s, seeing, correctly, that this carve-up by the two super-powers would keep backward China from any chance of development.

Thus from 1959, the Russian experts were withdrawn, leaving projects half-finished and taking blueprints with them. Throughout this period, Russia never ceased her attempts to 'contain' China, keeping even in the early 1950s the massive armies built up in Siberia originally to meet the Japanese threat in the 1930s and 40s.

Salisbury not only brings out these facts; he embellishes them with a wealth of personal 'inside information' and other details to

illustrate the constant friction behind the facade of 'communist' unity. But to understand the origins of the conflict, one must go deeper.

In their fight against landlord oppression, the Russian peasants were led by the working class which in the early days of the revolution tried to extend workers' power to the advanced countries of the West. When the Russian workers lost power in the aftermath of isolation, the new bureaucracy led by Stalin abandoned the world revolution in the interests of building up the might and strength of what was by now their state.

Chiang's massacre

Thus the Chinese workers in 1927 were betrayed when Stalin forced the Chinese party into an alliance with Chiang Kai Chek, who rewarded them by a massacre. What was left of the party left the cities for the countryside, where the Chinese peasants were led by Mao Tse-tung to the overthrow of Chiang's regime and of foreign imperialism.

But the workers played no part in this process and Mao's party had ceased to be a workers' party in all but name. Led by anti-imperialist elements of the middle class, supported by the peasants, it was committed to the nationalist mish-mash of 'socialism in one country' as was Stalin.

Meanwhile the Russian bureaucrats had divided the world with America in 1945 and fallen out over the spoils. All the countries in the Russian sphere of influence were ruthlessly exploited and Stalin's efforts to do the same with China ran up against the self-confident nationalism of the new regime.

The spectre of a China free from Moscow threatened Russia's hold over the rest of her empire, as Tito's breakaway had done. And today, the Russian leaders balance uneasily between two factions.

The 'hardliners' based in the army and heavy industry, stand for a return to the full rigour of Stalin's day, while the 'liberals' demand reforms which the economy now needs to move forward but which threaten the stability of the system. To avoid a choice, since both could lead to explosions, the Moscow leaders mark time.

Tighten screws

China is the strongest opponent of these economic reforms. The 'cultural revolution' was designed largely to eliminate those Chinese bureaucrats who wanted the same. The conflict with China gives the military/Stalinist faction their head, and also prevents them from turning to Peking. It also gives an opportunity to tighten the screws on the East European satellites and, by threatening an external challenge to Moscow's rule, it also waves the big stick over the heads of the regime's internal opponents.

A Chinese success against Russia therefore threatens the precarious stability of the bureaucracy as a whole within Russia and in its rule over other nations. The Chinese challenge cannot be allowed to succeed.

For America, as Salisbury points out, the conflict offers an opportunity to play off one against the other. But as she has no links with China, she must first establish them. Hence the current approaches in

Warsaw. And the Chinese are quite willing to play. As wedded as the Russians to the theory of 'socialism in one country', they are quite willing to abandon their paper talk of world revolution, which they have never allowed to stand in the way of deals with friendly powers, however reactionary.

But this does not mean that Moscow and Peking can be equated. When the Russian leaders act in this way, they strengthen their oppression of their own workers and of whole exploited nations. When the Chinese leaders act in this way, they threaten the independence which they themselves won from imperialism.

For socialists, therefore, defence of China against Russia is obligatory, as the defence of oppressed nations always is. Equally, the only real defence of China is the overthrow of the Mao regime by the Chinese workers, who began to show during the 'cultural revolution' that they can pose an independent challenge to the ruling class.

Because Salisbury, an intelligent spokesman for the 'far-sighted' section of the American ruling class cannot see this, his picture is restricted to the elements of nationalism. For him, it all goes back to the Tsars and Genghis Khan, if not Attila the Hun. For revolutionary socialists, this cynical approach leaves out one factor: the working class, which, betrayed by both regimes will overthrow both.

★ STAR LETTER

## Prod deals: action, not words

MONTY JOHNSTONE's declarations of opposition to productivity deals and his repeated insistence that the Communist Party is opposed to productivity bargaining may seem very impressive, but reality is very different.

At the present time voting is taking place in the AEF for the election of a national organiser. The 'left' candidate is a well-known CP member, J Foster.

In his election address he states: 'The last 1968 engineering national negotiation took a major step forward.' No criticism or reservations about this agreement are expressed by Mr Foster.

According to the president of the Engineering Employers' Federation in his speech to the EEF annual general meeting on 27 February 1969: 'Within the agreement the Federation gained some vital concessions... In future the unions will not be able to pursue claims unless they are justified by a major increase in productivity.'

The Federation have also secured the union's acceptance of such techniques as job evaluation, work measurement and method study.

Obviously the 1968 agreement was not an advance. What is the CP going to do about Mr Foster? Will it publicly dissociate itself from his remarks? Will it discipline him?

Monty Johnstone must learn that it is not just what you say, but whether or not you are prepared to fight. JOHN SETTERS (AEF), Birmingham.

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# Socialist Worker

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## WHERE WE STAND

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

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

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

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

production.

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

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

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

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

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

International Socialists therefore fight for:

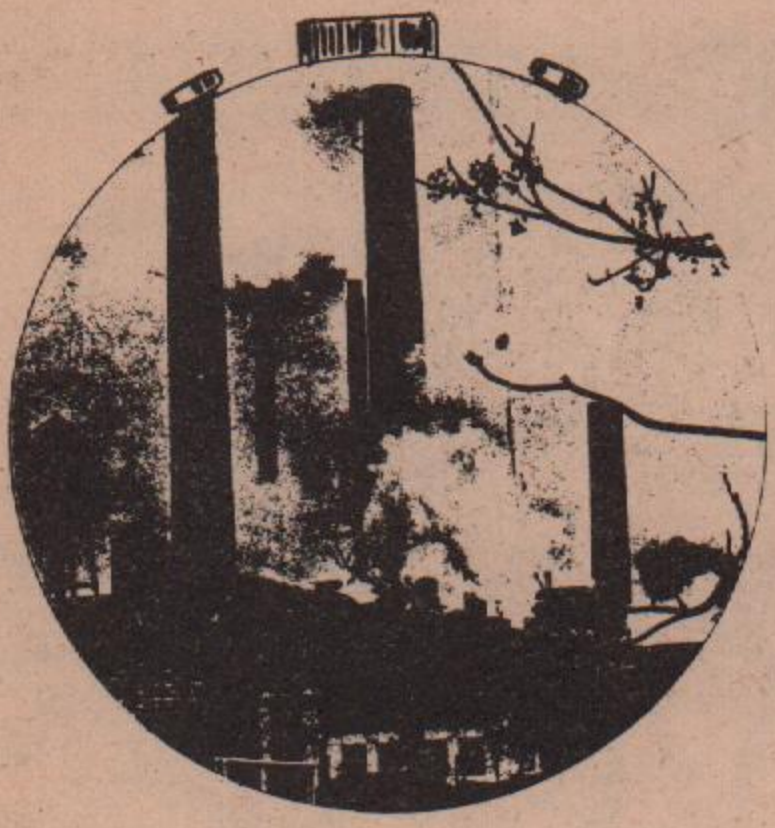
Opposition to all ruling-class policies and organisations.

Workers' control over production and a workers' state.

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

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

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



# Time and motion study: 'scientific' way of squeezing more profit

by Tony Cliff

IN 1911 Frederick Winslow Taylor, the creator of 'scientific management', bluntly expressed his view on the relation between boss and worker, capital and labour:

'Now one of the very first requirements for a man who is fit to handle pig iron as a regular occupation is that he shall be so stupid and so phlegmatic that he more nearly resembles in his mental make-up the ox than any other type.'

We have progressed since 1911. Now a whole army of highly-paid pen-pushers is employed by industry to wrap up the simple, homely attitudes of Frederick Winslow Taylor into honeyed expressions about the need for better labour relations and for worker and employer to belong to one big, happy family.

But remove the honey and the same basic attitude remains. The worker is a machine, without human emotions, without group solidarity, a machine to be measured and manipulated to carry out certain tasks.

Behind all the scientific jargon of work study techniques lies the desire of the owners of industry to more effectively turn the screw on their labour force. The men in white coats with stop-watches time the worker's every motion—including his natural ones—in an effort to turn him into a profit-producing robot.

Work study is a central aspect of the employer's drive to force productivity bargaining onto the great majority of workers.

For half a century, the piece-rate system was associated with the rate-fixer and his stop-watch. He was probably the most detested man in the factory.

Time study has now become part of the wider, allegedly scientific, approach of work study which aims to make a rational analysis of the whole work process.

This approach has become vital to modern management, whatever the method of payment. In Britain the pioneering role was played by Imperial Chemical Industries, whose handbooks have become standard works for all employers.

## Work study has mushroomed

With the move to Measured Day Work, work study becomes central. Once job evaluation, grading and rating have been fixed, what remains to be settled is the determination of the 'production standard'.

Work study is necessary to fix this standard. With the spread of productivity deals, work study has mushroomed. British Industry Week, the newspaper of the hawks of the Confederation of British Industries, said on 3 May 1968:

'For one profession the measures introduced by Mr Wilson have done more good in three years than anything else since the war.'

'The profession in question is work study. Manufacturers, service industries, local authorities—virtually every sector of the economy—are now realising the need for it. In many respects they have little choice... The recent government edict that only general productivity deals will be passed, calls for better and more accurate work-measurement control.'

Between 1965 and 1968, the number of members of the Institute of Work Study Practitioners increased three-fold—to 15,000.

Work study is a combination of method study and work measurement. Method study is the systematic recording and critical examination of existing and proposed ways of doing work as a means of reducing costs.

Work measurement is a technique designed to establish the time spent by a qualified worker in carrying out a specified job at a defined level of performance. The actual working out of time and motion study is as follows:

**Stage One:** The most effective method of working is determined by

a work study engineer.

**Stage Two:** The conditions under which the time study takes place are observed and recorded.

**Stage Three:** The actual time taken by the worker is observed and recorded.

**Stage Four:** The actual time is adjusted to a basic time by means of the work study engineer effort-rating the worker's performance.

**Stage Five:** The basic time is converted to standard time by applying a fatigue-rate and personal allowance rate.

The standard time forms the allowed time for the work to be performed.

D J Desmond, writing on the Statistical Approach to Time Study in 1951 said: 'The object of modern time study is to determine the work content of a job in terms of the time it should take a fully-trained and experienced operative to perform the job when working at a normal rate—a rate which he could maintain for the whole of the work period without undue fatigue... At present there is no uniformity of definition as to what constitutes normal rate.'

## Spotlights major drawbacks

Mr Desmond's slight qualm helps spotlight the method's major drawbacks:

How is the selection of 'average workers' to be determined? What are the conditions in which the experiments take place? How should the job be divided into its parts?

The questions multiply: For how long will the experiment go on? How would you rate the skill, effort and consistency of the worker? What is a 'normal' pace? How do you measure effort or fatigue? And what allowances should be made for personal needs and relaxation?

An 'average' worker? Experiments have shown that differences between the fastest and slowest worker can be as much as five to one.

Because of the vagueness of the idea of 'average' and 'normal', the results of time and motion studies are not scientific at all.

One writer on the subject, W Baldamus, (in R Marriott: Incentive Payment Systems) has said: 'The most striking feature of time study rationale is the contradiction between the claims which the practitioners make of scientific accuracy and their general admission of the extent to which their practice requires intuitive judgments...'

'Everything, we are told, depends on the objective measurement of the exact time required by a given worker for a given operation. And yet it is always admitted, though often reluctantly, that there are certain difficulties. The most serious one stems from the fact that the 'required time' cannot be defined without intuitive guesses as to what is in fact a normal, reasonable, fair, average or right degree of effort for any particular task.'

In other words, time study boils down to being sheer guesswork. The inconsistency of the individual time study engineer and the variation between engineers is incredible.

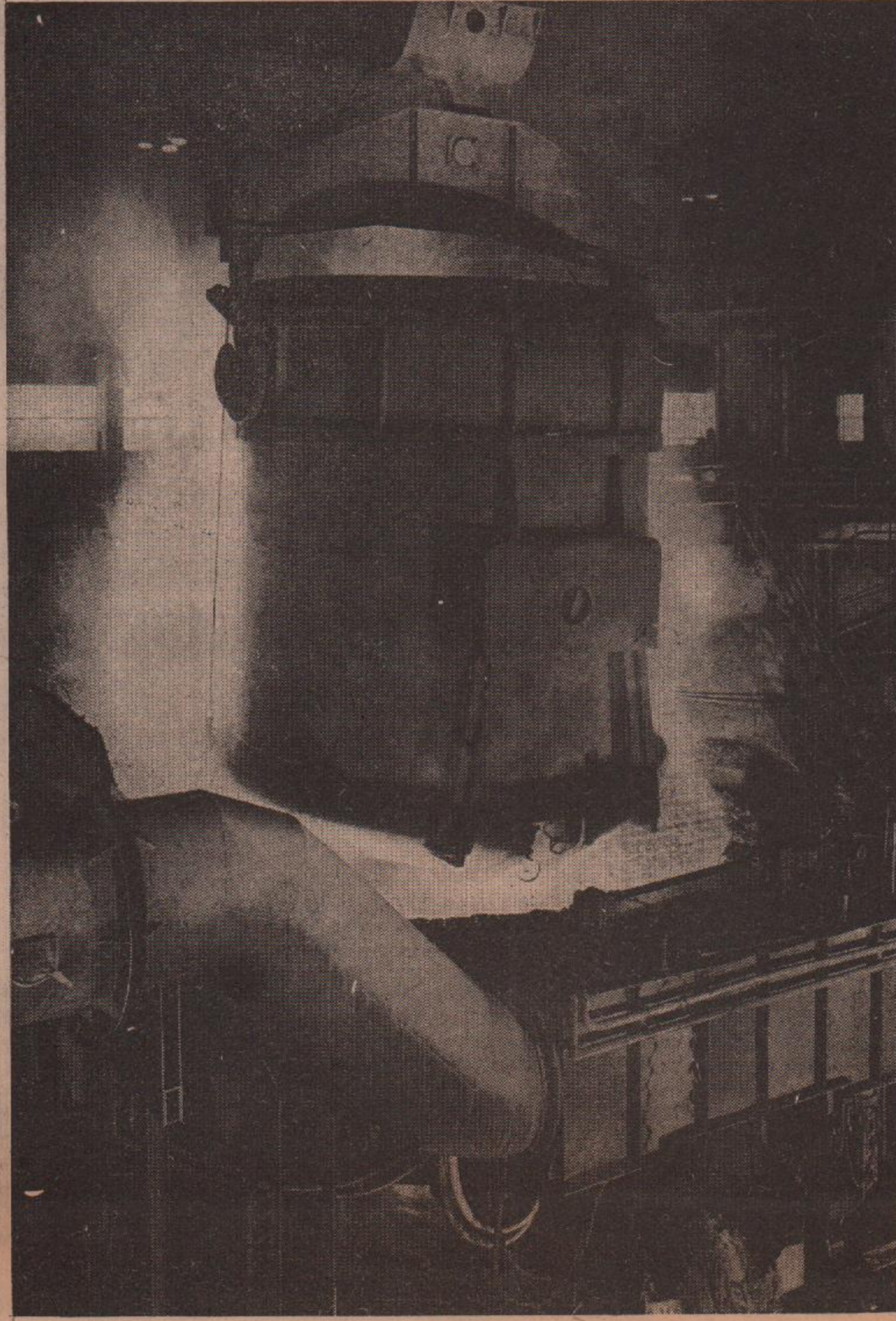
In one American study, (quoted in Marriott's book) five operators each did four different jobs at five different paces (90, 100, 110, 120 and 130 per cent of normal). These rates of work were set on the average judgment of six time study engineers.

The 100 situations were filmed and the pace of work was rated twice by six other time study men, with a month's interval between the two ratings. The results showed:

1. The smallest variation in their own ratings by individual observers was a 'standard error' of 10.1 per cent which was admitted to be 'quite large'.
2. Different observers showed variations as high as 28 per cent.
3. Different workers on the same job were rated differently by as much as 15 per cent.

In a controlled experiment under laboratory conditions (reported by Marriott), 13 firms or organisations provided 24 time study engineers. The wide variations in the rating forced an observer of the experiment to state:

'One commonly hears time study spoken of as being a procedure



Steel: brutal tone of bosses' demands

accurate to about 3 per cent... The inference is then that this experiment has shown that time study is 14 times as inaccurate as it is commonly supposed to be.'

If the scientific pretensions of time and motion study are exposed and the workers' organisation is militant, they can manipulate the method in their own interest. But workers should not underestimate the danger of the work study engineer, even if the immediate impact on work conditions of the stop-watch is minimal.

A militant in a large North London engineering factory told me after the work study engineer had studied his shop: 'It's hard to say whether the work study really achieved anything for the management.'

'In terms of the agreement, probably little or nothing has been lost—because of high-level militant organisation, experienced stewards, justified suspicion of management and work study men—but the work study is dangerous because individual workers were watched closely for long periods and the job is so varied and so are their attitudes to it, that even while consciously trying to fool the work study man they could unconsciously betray the organisation of work from the workers' point of view.'

## Management can spot divisions

'Even given safeguards which the management concede quite readily like only allowing the work study man to talk to a worker if the steward is there, time limits, etc. If the management know what to look for, they could find out such things as:

- who are the militants and how they communicate.
- which workers are biased towards the management.
- what annoys the workers about the management.
- what annoys the workers about other workers.
- where the divisions are among the workers.'

varied from day to day, consistent with variations in the work load, to provide for the right number of employees to be economically employed on each job.

3. Management will decide what class or grade of employee will be used on any job including where there is a change in work method or type of material adopted.

**Working at a reasonable pace:**  
1. All work will be performed at a reasonable pace as required by the management, who will determine the reasonable pace and performance they require.

2. Industrial engineering techniques will be used at management's discretion to determine the pace of work on a rational basis with the results freely available to all.

3. If the results are not acceptable to the unions, independent engineers can be brought in. The cost of this will be borne by the division.'

The attitude of the unions to work study is uneven. Many are lukewarm, while a few are highly enthusiastic.

Among the enthusiasts, pride of place goes to the Electronic, Electrical and Telecommunications Union. When it was the plain old lovable Electrical Trades Union, it told the Donovan Commission on the unions in exciting detail of its experiments with management of time study in ICI, the Greater London Council, BOAC and Fairfields shipyard on the Clyde, where:

'Management... brought down to the college all of their shop stewards and deputies, boilermakers, engineers, electricians, carpenters, painters—all 13 unions with the shop stewards in the plant were brought to the college in three courses.'

## 'Solve production problems'

'Top managements, including most members of the board, technical management at key levels, P A (Management Consultants), trade union officials, all applied themselves to looking at the problems facing the new company. They determined how work study and critical path analysis could help solve the production problems of their enterprise and how, if successfully applied, they could guarantee all their employees with a high level of earnings.'

Ignoring the sop about high earnings (ask the Fairfields workers!) there are the time-old words of class collaboration, the subordination of the workers to the bosses. The words are penned not by the CBI, but by the minions of Mr Leslie Cannon, CBE.

With such friends on their side, rank and file workers are in no need of enemies.

Once again the message is clear: the fight against all aspects of productivity bargaining must begin on the shop floor. There, and only there, can the force be forged to begin to counter politically the employers' offensive.

COMING SOON!

# The Employers' Offensive—productivity deals and how to fight them by TONY CLIFF

All trade union militants and socialists will need this important study. Watch for special pre-publication offer

PLUTO PRESS  
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With wide variations in ratings, time study is sheer guesswork

**Students should not be dismissed as a 'privileged group'**

# New plans for higher education will hit at the working class

by Peter Goodwin and Martin Shaw

BY THE END of the month, universities will have to give their opinion to the Vice-Chancellors' Committee — the body that represents official university interests to the government — on the document University Development in the 1970s.

This document contains threats of more serious attacks than ever before on the conditions of students.

Every year a bigger percentage of young people get the qualifications needed for higher education. On the government's latest estimates, if the same percentage of qualified young people were sent to university as now, it would mean a doubling of the number of places in universities by 1980/1.

And already many qualified students are denied higher education. It seems likely that the government will expand higher education to meet a large part of the demand. Big business needs more qualified manpower. It also fears the consequences of hundreds of thousands of young people denied the opportunity for higher education which they feel they have earned.

But the government will try to make the expansion on the cheap. They will attack conditions in higher education, just as they allowed conditions in schools and the social services to deteriorate.

Along with the waves of attacks on the working class have gone attacks on higher education:

**University capital expenditure: cut drastically.**

A recommended increase in student grants: halved.

Restrictions on local education authority budgets: these have led to sackings of teachers and cutting of classes in technical colleges.

But compared with some of the proposals in University Development in the 1970s, these attacks look very small. The government has suggested 13 possible ways in which expenditure might be cut. Let's have a look at some of them:

1. Replacing students grants by loans. Students grants are not exactly princely at the moment. They have been raised by only 6 per cent in the last 4½ years. Think how much the cost of living has gone up in that time.

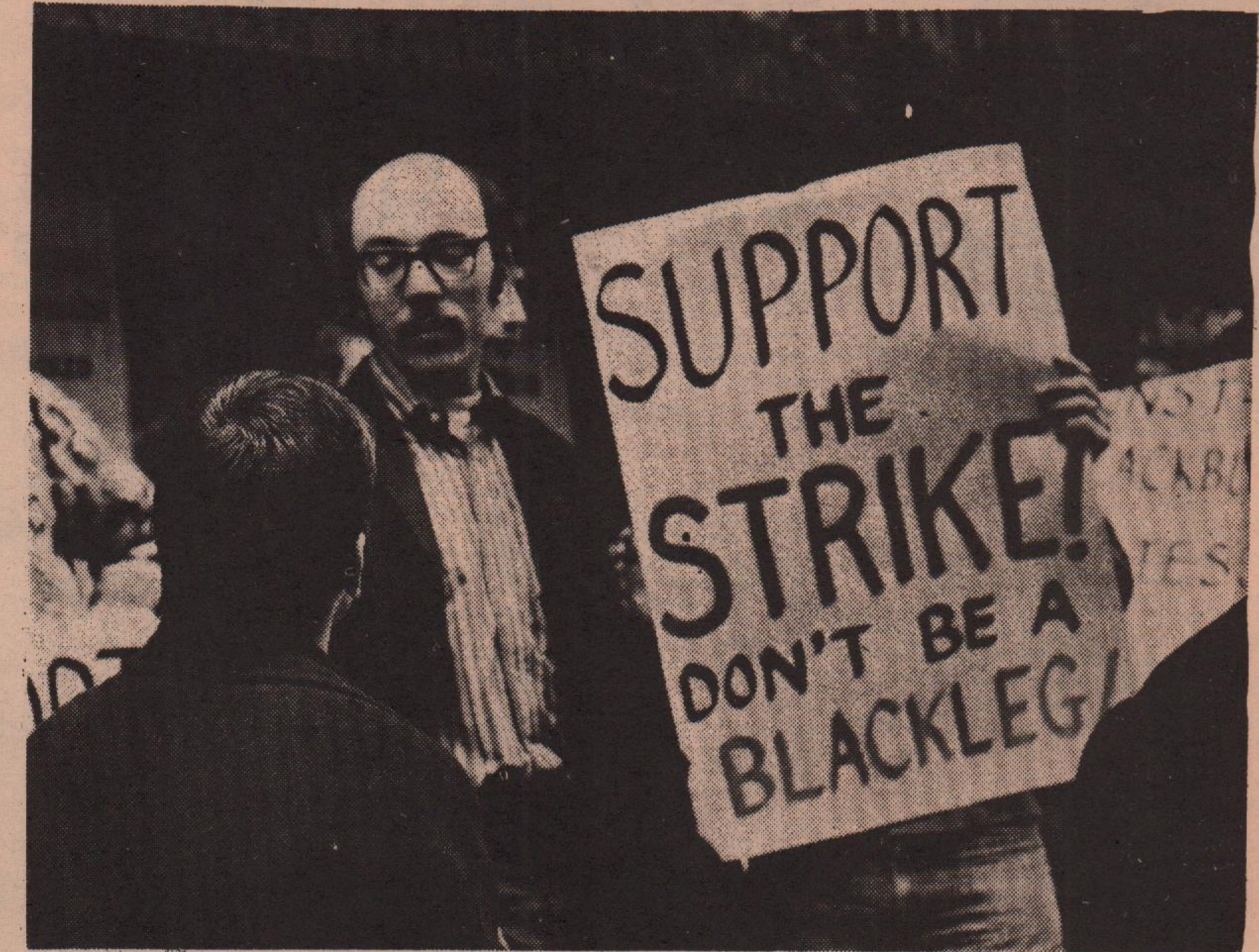
## Obstacles

Replacing grants by loans would put even more obstacles in the way of working-class students. Their parents could not afford to pay and when they left university or college they would have a couple of thousand pounds to pay off. Think of doing that on a teacher's salary.

2. A requirement that "grant-aided" students should enter specified kinds of employment for a period after graduation which might have the effect of reducing applications — and would also lower wages in those particular kinds of employment.

3. Two-year courses: either for 'bright' students to do the three-year course more quickly, or as a lower grade course for 'less' bright students.

Already English university courses are among the shortest in the world. A further shortening would only lead to more cramming, more slavery to exams and the creation of second-class courses —



Poster during the battles at LSE shows students learning from workers' experiences



with no doubt second-class conditions.

4. More students living at home. Again the burden would be greatest on working-class students. Young people who wanted to get away from home would be discouraged from going to university.

5. Increase in the number of students to each teacher. This would lead to less flexibility for students to study what they wanted to, greater use of teaching methods that allow less discussion by students and also possibly the creation of an underpaid stratum of teaching assistants recruited from graduate students. This proposal seems almost certain to take effect.

6. Reorganisation of the academic year. One proposal has been for three 15-week terms per year. First-year students would go to the first and second terms, second-year students to the second and third terms and third-year students to the first and third terms.

As well as making students' conditions worse and creating serious housing problems, this would above

all fragment students — making it easier for the authorities to impose their will on a constantly-changing student body. All the students would never be at university at any one time.

All these measures mean more obstacles in the way of working-class students. They also mean that conditions will be even worse and universities will be even more geared to exams than they are now.

And the money saved will not mean more cash for primary schools or teachers' pay or hospitals.

Students, teachers and workers must fight side by side against all cuts in education. Students should not be dismissed as a privileged group whose resistance to worsening conditions is simply 'selfish' and 'irresponsible'.

The bulk of students are not destined to be bosses or top civil servants. Many will become teachers or technicians.

Students who passively accept the conditions and ideas imposed on them in the universities are likely to remain passive when they start work, to become scabs — thinking of themselves as 'professionals' — or to help the bosses screw profit out of workers as 'personnel managers'.

## Demand

What can be done to fight these proposals?

Immediately, students must demand that the Vice-Chancellors reject not just specific items on the government's list, but any attempt by the government to make entry to universities more difficult, to allow the living and working conditions of students to deteriorate, or to thrust the burden of cuts in education on to polytechnics, colleges of education, or the secondary and primary

sectors of education.

They should demand that Vice-Chancellors and governing bodies pledge themselves now not to implement any such cuts. They should let these bodies and the Association of University Teachers which also 'opposes' the government's proposals, know that they won't stand for merely token opposition to such changes. They demand action as school teachers have taken over the deteriorating conditions of the schools and their own pay.

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## Attack

Socialist students, basing themselves on this platform, must take the issue now into students' unions. They must attack the inactivity of most union cliques who are only too happy to express their 'concern' at the government's proposals but not to involve most students even in discussing the future of their colleges.

But we must realise that this is just a first step. The government won't be stopped until the protests of students are united with the real power of the workers.

If students are isolated, they will be defeated. The battle against a deteriorating educational system is a long one. As an ageing economic system desperately tries to avoid the full cost of expanding opportunities in line with the need for education, cuts in quality will continue to be made.

Unless, that is, socialists in education and in the factories build up an understanding that we can only have the kind of educational system we want when it is freed from the straitjacket of a profit economy and related to a system of production for need.

But this understanding needs to grow in a workers' movement which is fighting the system.

The real battles to come in the universities will be between those who see a student movement fighting for its own interests, by itself, and those who see that the struggle for education is the struggle for workers' power, for socialism.

Students must support workers' struggles against attacks on their wages and conditions and must help to build a socialist movement that can weld these struggles into a battle for political power.

## Productivity deals: grotesque distortion of IS line

by Roger Protz

WORKERS PRESS, the organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League, commented (22 January) on the discussion the previous Sunday between Bert Ramelson, Communist Party industrial organiser, and Tony Cliff on productivity bargaining.

Its leader column suggested that the increasing tempo of economic and political crisis was forcing 'revisionists' like the International Socialists into closer co-operation with the 'Stalinists' — the term of abuse which Workers Press reserves for all members of the Communist Party, whether leadership or rank and file.

IS, the leader adds, is one of the revisionist groups which 'mortally fear the working class'. Workers will have noticed our members cringing in terror outside their factory gates.

The paper stated that, in the Cliff-Ramelson discussion, both sides arrived at an agreement, 'for slightly different reasons', to support productivity bargaining.

Regular readers of Socialist Worker will know that such a statement is quite grotesque as far as IS is concerned. We have repeatedly stressed that productivity dealing is one of the most serious threats ever posed to the organised labour movement.

Writing in Socialist Worker on 15 January on the Fawley productivity deal, I said, 'Future articles will give detailed advice to trade union militants on how to fight productivity

agreements. And fight them they must, for their aim is to deliver the workers, bound hand and foot, for sacrifice on the altar of big business.'

In his article this week and, at considerable length in his forthcoming book, Cliff mercilessly exposes the motives of big business in introducing productivity bargaining and discusses the need for a militant campaign against them.

The title of the book will be The Employers' Offensive — productivity deals and how to fight them. If Workers Press is right, and Cliff is really in favour of such deals, his title must rank as the most bizarre of the year.

I sent the following letter to the editor of Workers Press:

'You sent two representatives to cover the discussion on productivity bargaining on 18 January between Ramelson and Cliff and I would have thought it possible for them to have taken an accurate note of the proceedings.'

'It is quite untrue that either speaker supported productivity deals. I do not intend to defend Ramelson, but in the course of two lengthy contributions, Cliff stressed that such methods of bargaining constituted a grave threat to the working class and it was vitally necessary for workers to mount a campaign against them. He gave many examples of the way in which productivity deals had stripped workers of their hard-won rights and had forced down their wages.'

'The whole emphasis of his speech and in his forthcoming book on the subject is that militants

must fight such deals every inch of the way. Only a charlatan or a fool would draw the conclusion from this that IS "supports" productivity bargaining.'

'As for any improving relations between IS and the leadership of the Communist Party, both Cliff and other IS speakers at the meeting strongly attacked the CP for its absence (until we put the heat on them) of criticism of productivity bargaining in its press and its fulsome support for "left" union leaders like Scanlon and Jones who enthusiastically support such methods.'

'We have a tape recording of Cliff's main contribution at the meeting which makes it quite clear that IS is emphatically opposed to productivity and all its works. I trust you will now withdraw your deceitful remarks.'

Unfortunately, Workers Press had more to say. In its following issue of 23 January, it devoted 41 column inches to further distortions of IS's attitude to productivity bargaining.

Cliff's line, the paper's reporters claim, was in some ways to the right of Ramelson's. Cliff's crime was to suggest that workers should not give an outright 'no' to productivity deals because the pressure of the workers for higher wages would leave militants isolated.

Instead, he said, militants and shop stewards should demand discussion on every productivity 'string' in order to expose the real intentions of the employers to the mass of workers.

This formula, says Workers'



## BOOK SERVICE

Henri Le febvre  
The Explosion: marxism  
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# HAND IN GLOVE

## JIB bosses and union leaders

SW Reporter

WHEN THE Joint Industry Board for the contracting electrical industry was established, militant members of the Electrical Trades Union attacked the set-up and said that it was designed to break rank and file organisation on building sites and to weed out militants.

The board established very close relations between employers and unions, so close in fact that the JIB agreement and the union rules are often identical.

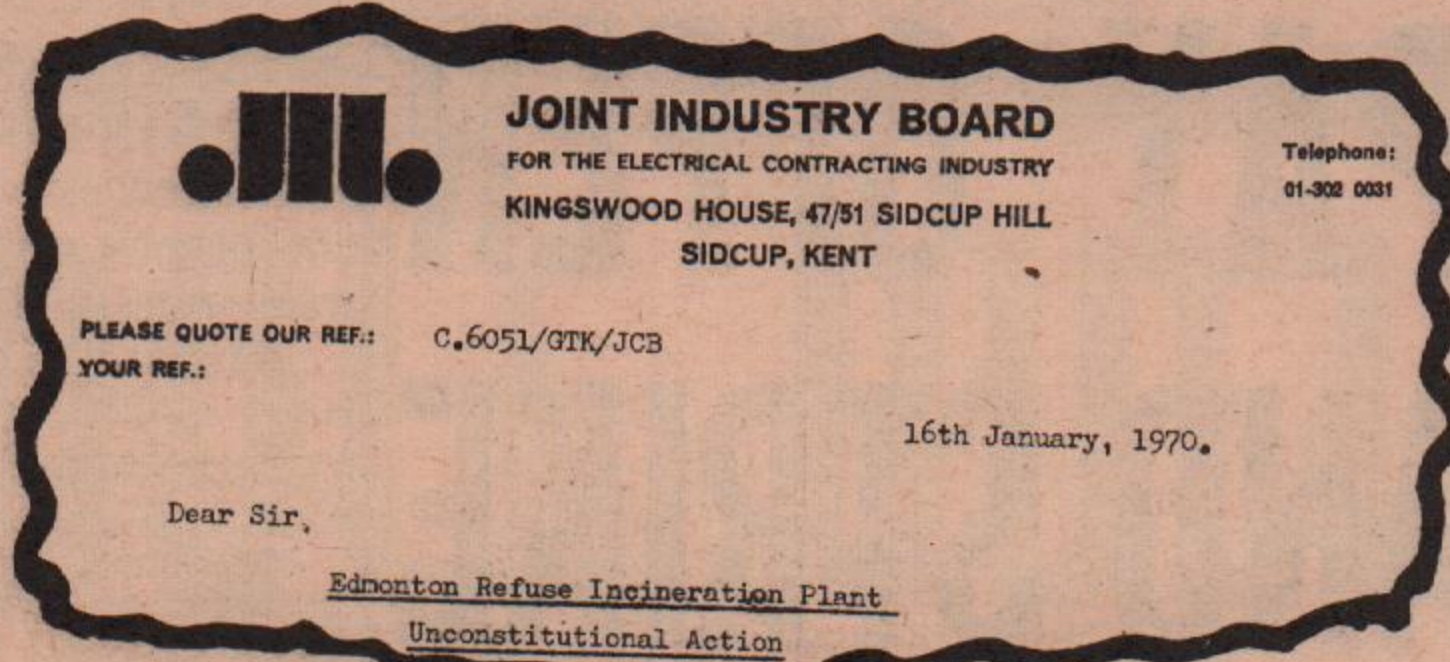
The JIB has created a new industrial concept: An injury to the boss is an injury to the union bureaucrat.

The union, recently reorganised to become the Electricians and Plumbers (EETU/PTU) has now changed the rules so that full-time officials are appointed by the executive instead of by the rank and file. Appeals against expulsion by the executive are heard by a sub-committee of the executive.

### Fight needed

The JIB and the new union rules act as a straitjacket for contracting electricians who find it almost impossible on individual sites to fight to improve wages and conditions. And such a fight is urgently needed as soaring costs bite into already meagre pay packets.

The December issue of the EETU journal Contact attempted to prove with the aid of graphs how electricians working under the JIB now receive the highest wages in the building industry.



### Head of G T King's letter to Edmonton electricians

But graphs mean little unless they are backed by facts. And the simple fact on the Edmonton Refuse Incineration Plant building site in North London is that the electricians are the lowest paid and they work longer hours than anyone else. Overtime was compulsory for the electricians but they found that even working as much as 80 hours a week gave them less in their pay packets than labourers were getting for a 40 hour week plus bonuses.

Hours were not the only grievance. One man has already died on the site and the workers demanded that an ambulance and registered nurse should be provided.

The ambulance is now at the ready but the nurse has yet to arrive.

Canteen and toilet facilities are extremely poor. The employers have promised improvements, but they have yet to materialise.

In an effort to improve site conditions and their wages, the electricians voted to work to rule by banning overtime and rigidly applying safety regulations.

In normal circumstances, such

action would have won approval from any self-respecting trade union. But in this case, the electricians have been denounced by the JIB and the union and threatened with disciplinary action.

Mr G T King, director of the JIB, wrote on 16 January to every electrician on the site warning them against the 'unconstitutional action' due to start the following day. He went on:

'I must remind you that all JIB employee participants have undertaken to fully comply with the JIB national working rules and that refusal to work overtime on a job where there are declared working hours to meet the completion of work against a contract date is a contravention of clause (10) (b) of the JIB national working rules.'

### 'Honour obligation'

'I also understand that Mr F J Chapple, EETU/PTU general secretary, has written to the shop steward, Mr B Capuano, advising him that it is a breach of the union rules for any member of the union to refuse to work strictly in accordance with the JIB national agreements and national working rules as well as being a breach of the JIB rules.'

'I must, therefore, call upon you to honour your obligation of JIB membership and to maintain normal working in accordance with the JIB agreements and national working rules. Otherwise, I shall have no option but to report the facts to the JIB national board for disciplinary action under JIB rule no 21.'

The close working relations of the JIB and the union top brass are



FRANK CHAPPLE: 'End overtime ban'

revealed by Mr King's heavy prose. It is clear that the letter to the site steward had been made known to the JIB before its receipt by Mr Capuano — a strange concept of trade-union democracy.

But the most fascinating admission is that a breach of JIB agreements or working rules is also a breach of union rules. The rank and file union member is in the position of a man on trial for murder who is prosecuted by two leading Queen's Counsel and denied a defence barrister.

As observed by the knowledgeable Mr King, EETU general secretary Frank Chapple had written (reference FJC/BL/P, 16 January) to the shop steward, Mr Capuano, thoughtfully enclosing a second copy for display on the site notice-board. Mr Chapple wrote:

'I have received a communication from Brother Rossiter (area full-time official) enclosing a letter to him, 7 January, in which you indicate that not only are members on site banning overtime but they are not prepared to remove the ban on overtime.'

'I must point out to you that a decision by the members to ban overtime is a breach of agreement under which they are working. In addition it is a breach of the union rules.'

'Such a decision will render you liable to disciplinary action by management, who are bound to try to restore normal working within the provisions of JIB agreements. Your failure to carry out an instruction of the area official given within the provision of the union rules also renders you liable to be dealt with under the provisions of these rules.'

'I therefore instruct you to advise our members to withdraw the ban on overtime.'

If the EETU was still controlled by members of the Communist Party who forced electricians to work 80 hours a week and threatened them

with possible expulsion if they took action against such appalling exploitation, the millionaire press would be frothing with anger.

But the current plight of electricians is ignored by the defenders of democracy in Fleet Street, for the union is now run by safe and responsible men like Frank Chapple and Les Cannon.

If their plans to merge with the giant General and Municipal Workers' Union go ahead, they will create a powerful right-wing bloc against the Transport Workers and the Engineers. All trade unionists can see the dangers of such a monopoly of power residing in the hands of men who are firmly committed to stamping out unofficial action in every area of industry open to them.

The JIB has worked well — for the bosses. The hourly rate of pay is kept constant for long periods, regardless of the ever-upward movement of prices. Unlike other workers in construction, the sparks cannot boost their meagre wages by carefully negotiated bonuses.

### Tremendous odds

The Edmonton men are determined to fight on, but they are up against tremendous odds. Faced by the Mussolini-style 'syndicate' of the JIB, only a nationally-organised movement of rank and file electricians and plumbers can hope to stage a successful fight to restore militant trade-unionism to the EETU/PTU. A start has been made with the publication of Flashlight, a new rank and file paper for electricians and sparks.

If it can lay the basis for a national rank and file organisation, electricians will pose a serious threat to the well-ordered lives of Mr G T King and Mr F J Chapple.

\* Available from L Hurworth, 194 Torrington Drive, Loughton, Essex, 3d a copy plus postage.

## LETTERS

### Did Lenin distort Marx?

R C W RICHARDS (15 January) quotes Lenin's State and Revolution without realising that it is a notorious distortion of Marx's views on the state. In this pamphlet Lenin tries to make out (1) that Marx believed the state should be smashed in a head-on collision by armed workers and (2) that by 'dictatorship of the proletariat' Marx meant the ruthless government of a vanguard party.

In fact Marx argued that a majority of socialist workers should first capture (perhaps by means of the ballot box) the state and then convert it (by smashing its anti-democratic features like bureaucracy and militarism) so that they could use it to change the basis of society from class to common ownership. During this period of social revolution Marx advocated that the state should be democratic.

Anyone who doubts that all Marx meant by 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was the democratic exercise of political power by a socialist working class should read Hal Draper's article in New Politics (Summer 1962). - J LEE, Tottenham N 17.

### Expose fascists

I AM VERY dubious about Barry Mills' statement (22 January) that the National Front is openly anti-working class. This may be obvious to us, but unfortunately I don't think that it is so obvious to large numbers of workers.

Surely it is our job to expose the National Front's fascist ambitions, the main weapon being the offer of our own socialist alternatives to their position.

I agree that it will be necessary sometimes — and at other times useful — to physically confront the NF and that inevitably such confrontations will be violent. But as long as their fascism remains largely

implicit we have to beware of appearing as crude physical aggressors.

The exceptionally courageous among us may enjoy 'fascist-bashing' expeditions everytime an NF member clears his throat, but I doubt if it does much good and, if handled crudely, may be misunderstood by decent working-class people. - GORDON BLAIR, London SW8.

### Factual film

BO WIDERBERG's Adalen '31 was pulled to pieces 12 months ago in the Swedish 'marxist' press for reasons similar to Kathy Sims' (8 January). Let us not add to this but instead encourage people to go and see what is essentially a beautiful and factual film.

Director Widerberg used as advisers surviving workers who took part in the struggles at Adalen in 1931, also some were in the film.

The love story was added by Widerberg but as Dave Stocking points out, is relevant, and was not thrown in to show youthful sex-play. (How many of the sex film heroes rush off to play 'The Internationale' in a workers' band at the head of a demonstration, just as they have undressed their girl and seen their first naked female body?)

The Swedish film industry makes many films dealing with sexual problems, but this isn't one. Widerberg may even be a revolutionary, why not ask him?

He declared his solidarity with the French student struggle in 1968 and tried to reactivate the 'cultural revolution' at the Cannes Film Festival in 1969 where his film won an award.

At present he is making a film of the life of Joe Hill, the Swedish IWW militant murdered by US copper bosses, so upholders of socialist realism get your pens at the ready. MIKE JONES, Chester.

## JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

ABERDEEN Pete Drummond  
19 High Street Aberdeen  
ACTON Bob Cartwright  
27 Bath Road W4  
ANGEL Barry Huggill  
154 Downham Road N1  
ASHFORD Roger Crossley  
The Schoolhouse, Hamstreet  
nr Ashford Kent  
BARNESLEY Joe Kenyon  
120 Standhill Crescent  
BATH Richard Newby  
17 Burlington Street Bath  
BIRMINGHAM Godfrey Webster  
128 Yardley Wood Rd B'ham 13  
BRADFORD Neil Patterson  
25 Fernhill Grove off Park Rd  
BRIGHTON Andrew Moir  
29 College Road  
BRISTOL B R Horlock  
26 Elmdale Tony Bristol 8  
CAMBRIDGE Tony Needham  
12a Metcalfe Road  
CAMDEN EAST Richard Kuper  
45 Falkland Rd NW5  
CAMDEN WEST Robert MacGibbon  
22 Estell Rd NW8  
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COVENTRY Dave Edwards  
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Town Tenement Farm  
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FOLKESTONE Helen McConnell  
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FULHAM Brian Rose  
49 Schubert Road SW15  
GLASGOW North - Ian Mooney  
4 Dalross Passage W1  
South - S Morris 4 Elphinstone  
Street Glasgow SW1  
GRAYS & TILBURY Alf Waters  
1 Russell Rd Tilbury Essex  
HAMPSTEAD Chris Barker  
36 Gilden Road NW5  
HARLOW Hugh Kerr  
70 Joiners Field Harlow Essex  
HARROW Kevin Simms  
56 Salisbury Road  
HAVERING Terry Ward  
91 Heath Park Rd Gidea Pk  
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD  
John Barrett 20 Belswaine Lane  
HORNSEY Chris Russell  
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HULL Dave Gate 90 Bristol Rd  
ILFORD Roger Richards  
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104 Westbourne Road  
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KINGSTON John Owen  
4 Sandown Court Esher  
LAMBETH Dick North  
85 Downton Avenue SW2  
LANCASTER Don Milligan  
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LEICESTER Barry Thomas  
39 Lower Hastings Street  
LEEDS Vince Hall  
Flat 3 25 Bagby Rd Leeds 2  
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82 Blackheath Road  
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Brian White 49b Crescent Park  
Heaton Norris Stockport  
MERSEYSIDE Janice Humphrey  
96 Princes Rd Liverpool 8

MERTON Pam Kelsey  
47 Richmond Avenue SW20  
NEWCASTLE Tony Corcoran  
26 Lesbury Rd Newcastle 6  
NORTHAMPTON Mick Bunting  
25 Witton Rd Duston  
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81 Drayton Rd  
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181 Ifley Road  
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5 Grosvenor Road Newcastle Staffs  
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31 Heatherdene Road  
STOCKPORT Geoff Hodgson  
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STOKE NEWINGTON  
Mike McGrath 28 Manor Road N16  
SWANSEA Rose Bussey  
11 Alexandra Terrace Brynhill  
TESSIDE Phil Semp  
72 Mersey Rd Redcar  
Rob Clay 33 Pasture Lane  
Lazenby Teesside  
TOTTENHAM Mel Norris  
30 Buller Road N17  
WANDSWORTH Mark Hutton  
87 Broderick Road  
Wandsworth Common SW17  
WATFORD Paul Russell  
81 Carpenders Avenue  
Carpenders Park  
WIGAN Ray Challinor  
34 Whiteside Aye Hindley  
YORK Bill Kaye  
20 Newton Terrace York  
VICTORIA Tony Dunne  
14 Carlisle Mansions  
Carlisle Place SW1



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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Send to IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

ALTHOUGH it has had no autumn season, Angry Arts has been going through an important phase in its development. Its aim is to show left-wing films followed by political discussion, rather than to show films as entertainment, passively received. The new season will be divided into two quite different types of programme, Angry Arts and CounterAct.

Angry Arts will simply aim to be a better organised version of what took place in the past. A need still exists to show radical films which get little or no release. We wish to develop better ways of involving the audience in ideas raised by the film.

CounterAct: we want to build a series of programmes that are anti-consumption, where the degree to which the audience understands and controls the programme is as important as the content. Participation by the 'audience' will destroy the concept of audience. The first programme will deal with 'the family'. Education and communication will be covered later. We shall invite groups directly involved in political work relevant to each subject, but we also want anyone interested in participating to do so. Full details of programmes and membership from: - GEOFF HOLLAND, Angry Arts, 6 Bramshill Gardens, London NW5.

# Socialist Worker

## FORD'S 'PALTRY' PAY OFFER -CONVENORS DEMAND STRIKE

by Jim Lamborn (AEF)

**46,000 FORD WORKERS** will strike from Monday unless their demand for £10 a week to reach parity with Midlands' car rates is conceded by the management.

On Tuesday, following the latest company offer of only £4 a week, a spokesman for the convenors from Ford's 21 plants said: 'Several convenors advocated taking strike action immediately but they were persuaded to honour the resolution passed by shop stewards calling for the strike to start next Monday.'

Mass meetings will be held at all 21 plants this week and the two major unions, Transport Workers and Engineers, will consult with their shop stewards.

### 'Hard cash offer'

Last Friday, (23 January) at the first meeting of the joint negotiating committee, Ford's personnel director Bob Ramsay made his long-promised 'hard cash' offer to the unions.

The increase amounted to 1s 6d extra an hour, or £3 a week. Ford workers at present are working a considerable amount of shift work and Ramsay used this fact to quote 'average' pay figures. He made the point that wage rates in other car manufacturers' plants varied from plant to plant while Ford paid a nation-wide standard rate.

Ramsay said that if the unions wanted industry-wide bargaining they should discuss this with the Motor Industry Joint Council. With the anticipated mergers between the AEF, NUVB, DATA and the CEU to make one engineering union, this tactic could be an interesting possibility for the future.

### Prepared to fight

At the second NJNC meeting on Tuesday, management upped their offer to 18 per cent or £4 a week. They also agreed to bring in equal pay for women by 1 March, 1972.

The shop floor demand for £10 a week or 38 per cent would bring Ford workers into line with the 17s 5d an hour rate at Rootes' Ryton, Coventry, plant. The latest Ford offer would make the top rate at Ford 14s 8½d an hour.

After their victory last year, Ford workers are preparing to fight again. They have seen Swedish Volvo workers win £45 for 40 hours. They have seen Ford workers in Australia gain a 17½ per cent increase. They are not prepared to accept what they consider a paltry sum.

## R-R WORKERS MARCH AGAINST SACKINGS

by George Kelly

**LAST FRIDAY** (23 January) 13,000 workers at Rolls-Royce factories throughout Scotland downed tools in protest at threatened redundancies.

Later 3000 manual workers and staff marched through Glasgow streets to Shawfield Stadium where a protest meeting of 4000 Rolls-Royce workers was held.

The crowded meeting loudly applauded Hillinton stewards' convenor George McCormack when he said: 'If they sack one they sack the lot'.

A resolution pledging that works and staff unions would continue to oppose redundancies was approved unanimously.

This present mood of militancy looks well for R-R workers' fight against pay-offs. But they must remember that the usual round of deputations, with pressure on MPs, councillors and union officials, may not be enough and the constant

threat of strike action must be held over the bosses' heads.

The threatened redundancies at R-R come at a bad time for the West of Scotland with the shut-down of Voith Engineering and the Torpedo factory at Alexandria. Combined with probable pay-offs for finishing trades at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, more than 3000 jobs are at risk at a time when Scotland's unemployment rate of 4.4 per cent is nearly 2 per cent above the national average.

In recent years, when closures took place in the Glasgow area, the Clyde Action Committee, a group of shop stewards, organised opposition. The committee should reconvene and call on all workers in the West of Scotland to fight the bosses' attack in the area and take the opportunity to make workers aware of the political reasons for these redundancies.

## TOLIN PETITION

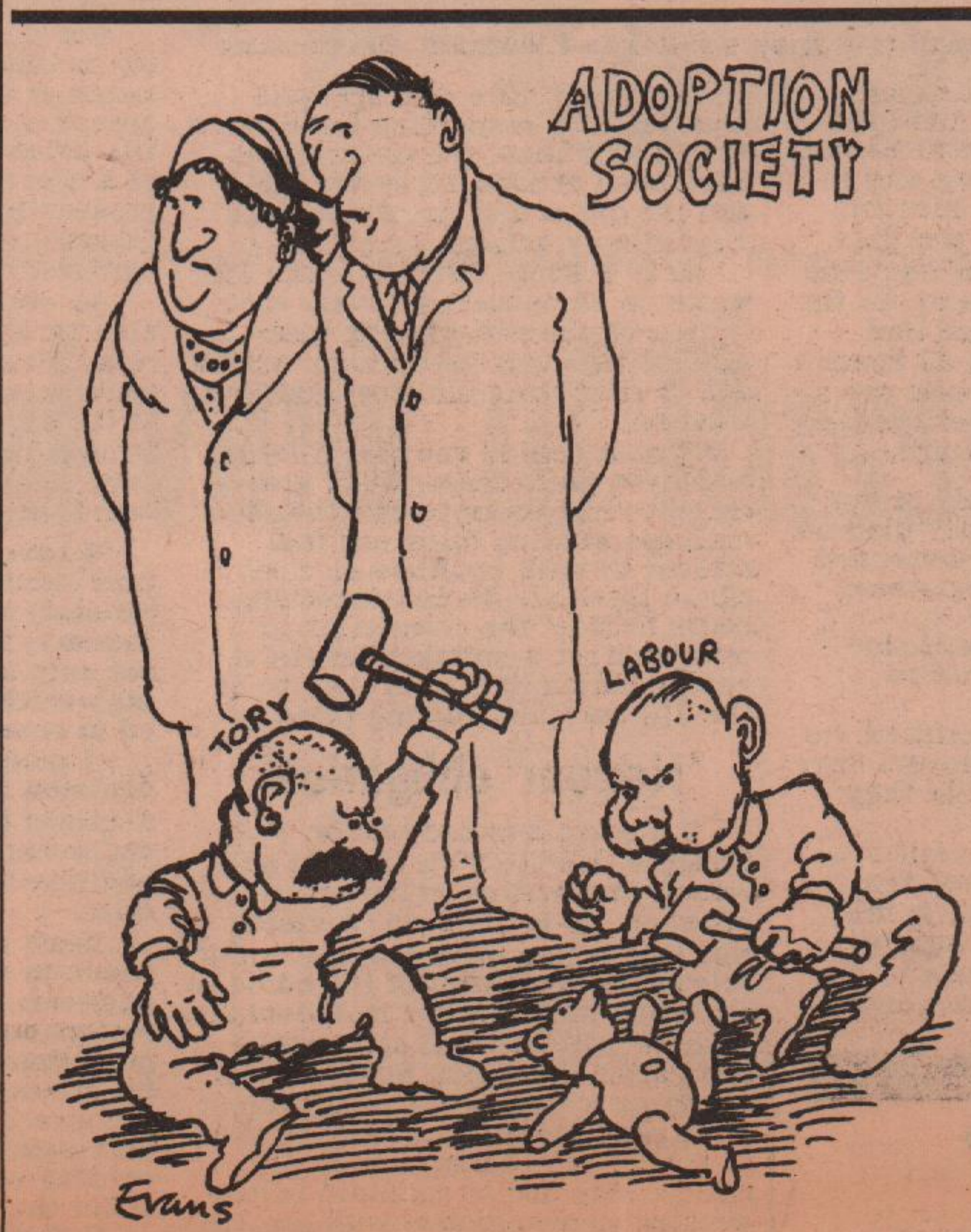
**SUPPORT** is coming in steadily for the petition for the release of the Italian left-wing editor Francesco Tolin

Those who have signed include Sydney Bidwell, MP and several other Labour MPs have expressed interest in the campaign. Many trade

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unionists, teachers, students and Labour Party Young Socialists have also signed the petition, as have the editors of New Left Review.

Since it is essential for the petition to be sent to Italy as soon as possible, we are setting **MONDAY 16 FEBRUARY** the closing date for the return of the petition forms. The forms can be obtained from and should be returned to Socialist Worker



## Centrax men out for three months

by Granville Williams

**THE EIGHT UNIONS** involved in the dispute at Centrax factories at Exeter, Newton Abbot and Heathfield in south Devon are still on strike after 13 weeks and there is still no sign of a settlement.

Members of the strike committee have toured the country to raise funds and inform other factories supplying materials to Centrax of the nature of the dispute. Centrax produces turbine blades, axles and generator sets.

The strike is of crucial importance to trade unionists all over the South West. There is now mounting pressure for a general increase in wages throughout the West Country, and on Saturday (31 January) there will be a march through Exeter with the theme of a decent wage-structure for the area.

### Mass meeting

The march will start at 2pm and will be followed by a mass meeting in the Civic Hall. Princesshay is the starting point and representatives of teachers, nurses and other lower paid workers will be on the march, as well as the Centrax strikers.

Shop stewards and trade unionists in the Tolpuddle group are demanding £17 10s as a minimum wage in the South West. This demand links up the struggles of teachers, nurses and all the lower paid. A victory for the Centrax strikers would give a great

### Productivity deals: IS challenge

**THE International Socialists** have written to the Socialist Labour League, inviting them to debate how best to fight productivity bargaining. See statement on page 4.

impetus to these demands.

Members of the strike committee have been shocked by the disparity between their wages and those of skilled workers in the Midlands and North. It has added weight to their demand for 4s an hour increase which would then only bring wages up to the same level as the Bristol area. The take-home pay for lower paid workers was a little as £9 10s for a 40 hour week and operators took home £12 plus an average 30s bonus for a 40 hour week.

As one member of the committee said: 'The management have the idea that we are yokels with hay in our hair. We are doing highly skilled precision work and we want a better wage for it.'

**Money is urgently needed to support the strike. Send to: C Perry, 15 Church Road, Newton Abbot, Devon.**

### SW Reporter

**A SIT-IN** in Edinburgh University Appointments Bureau began as a protest against apartheid on Monday 19 January.

Barclay's Bank, which has heavy commitments in South Africa, were interviewing students for jobs that day.

But when the students gained access to the files of the office, facts came to light which altered the nature of the demonstration.

It was found that the bureau operated not only racial discrimination but

## Smug speakers dominate dole queue meeting

by Ross Hill (NUR)

**'ONE MAN OUT OF WORK** is a crime.' That was the sentiment expressed by one of the 150 delegates to a conference on unemployment in Liverpool on Sunday. It was organised by the local Trades Council.

Richard Ryke, a lecturer speaking from the most ivory of towers, explained that while unemployment on Merseyside used to be 2½ times the national average, now it was only 1½ times.

His smug complacency was attacked at question time. Floor speakers pointed out that the level of unemployment may be going down relatively, but in real terms it was rising to 4 per cent.

30,000 are idle in the area and 60 per cent are under 40 years of age.

Mr Eric Allen of the North West Industrial Development Association lavishly praised his own efforts to attract industry to the area.

But several rank and filers explained that our 'gain' was merely a loss to fellow workers in other areas. Both speakers were attacked for avoiding the question of the root cause of unemployment—the big business system.

### Indictment

Mr Allen even mentioned that in 1939 unemployment dropped to ½ per cent. One delegate asked him: 'Is it not a terrible indictment of this society that the only way to get rid of unemployment is to have a war?'

Mr Murray, the TUC assistant general secretary, pinned his hopes on a 5 per cent growth rate in the economy. He was assailed by an angry heckler who declared: 'But that will only mean more productivity deals and more dole queues!'

Some two dozen speakers from the floor were given three minutes each. Many called for outright opposition to productivity deals which employers use not to shorten hours or improve wages and conditions but to increase the rate of profit.

Speaker after speaker called for nationalisation of all basic industries and banks. Workers from nationalised industries pointed out the need for workers' control in those industries.

### Declining

One speaker mentioned the declining effect of expenditure on weapons. While Camell-Laird once had massive naval orders, they now employed relatively fewer workers and 3000 would lose their jobs when the Polaris programme was concentrated at Barrow.

The meeting passed a tame resolution calling for demonstrations and lobbies. But if there is to be some slight improvement in the situation, a campaign must be launched now for a general strike on May Day against unemployment, rising rents, fares, prices and taxation.

As a Trades Council executive member put it: 'It was only because of unrest in this area about unemployment that the government got Ford and Vauxhall to come here. It was only because of the May Day strike last year that the government thought twice about bringing in penal anti-strike laws.'

## University class bias exposed by sit-in

### SW Reporter

**class discrimination** as well. One applicant was described as 'cheerfully proletarian' (his father was a railwayman) who 'might do well on the sales side in a less sophisticated sphere'.

Another was described as 'a small-town boy in essentials', and many are called 'long hired' and 'scruffy'.

The university has obviously been operating a service for employers instead of the service for students which it claims.

When the students issued a statement describing some

## Riggers demand site safety—80 sacked

SW Reporter

**RIGGERS** at the Edmonton Incineration Refuse Plant building site in North London were sacked by contractors Stewart and Lloyd on Tuesday when they insisted on working strictly to legal safety regulations.

The shop steward quoted the 1966 Safety Act to the management and demanded to see safety certificates for their equipment. The management said they had no certificates and dismissed the men.

Other workers refused to do the riggers' work and a further 80 men were sacked. The dismissed men are members of the Constructional Engineering Union and the Heating and Domestic Engineers.

The 100 electricians on the site have banned overtime and are working to rule to enforce safety measures — full details on page 5.

## NOTICES

**FULHAM IS**, Sun 1st Feb 8pm. John Palmer on Towards Socialism. Wetherby Arms 500 Kings Rd Buses 11, 19, tube Fulham B'way

**US Black Panthers' weekly paper:** fortnightly supplies expected in next 2-3 weeks. Subscribers or help with distribution, contact Bridget Harris, 9 Huddleston Rd, London N7 (01-607 7633).

**ANGOLA DAY** celebration: Pinder of Wakefield, Grays Inn Rd (nr Kings Cross), Wed 4 Feb. Organised by Cttee for Freedom in Mozambique. Spkrs Lord Clifford and Ismail Martins (MPLA).

**ANTI-APARTHEID** demo to welcome S African ambassador: Portsmouth 4 Feb. March starts 11.45 am at Tricorn. Teach-in at Polytechnic Students' Union. Torchlight procession at 5.30pm. Sleeping facilities available. Contact Portsmouth IS.

**UNEMPLOYMENT** in the North-East, pamphlet by Dave Peers, available from Newcastle IS 6d plus 4d postage.

**MARXIST STUDIES** winter issue. GEC-EE Merseyside. Theory of state capitalism, Ken Tarbuck. Industrialisation of backward countries, Ernest Germain, Bukharin and socialist realism, B Biro, British Trotskyist movement — some notes, John Walters. New printed format, 52pps. 3s 4d pp. BMS Publications, 16a Holmdale Rd, London NW6.

Prepayment essential is a line, 5 words a line. Copy with cash first post Monday.

of the facts they had found, the university was forced to act. A mere sit-in did not disrupt the running of the university — the interviews were being held elsewhere — but the exposure of the university's role was more serious.

Last Saturday morning, officials and police broke into the building and removed the files. The sit-in ended soon afterwards. But it did achieve one thing. Fewer students in Edinburgh now believe that the university is an academic institution independent of big business.