

As cost of living swings upwards

YOUR WAGES WILL BUY LESS IN 1970

UNEMPLOYMENT and rising prices are rapidly emerging as the major threat facing the working class in 1970.

U.S. recession overshadows £ upswing

THE ECONOMIC squeeze is to continue, despite the relaxation of the overseas travel allowance.

This hard line—with its threat of higher unemployment, further investment and social service cut-backs, and continued attacks on wages—emerges from an interview with Chancellor Roy Jenkins in the latest number of 'The Banker'.

Faced with the growing threat of recession in the United States, Jenkins makes it clear there can be no let-up in the present government austerity drive.

From our own correspondent
London as a result of the news.
The Chancellor says he is aiming for a £500 million basic balance of payments surplus in 1970 to meet short-term debt repayments and the threatening down-turn in world trade.
Public spending and bank lending are to continue under tight control and there is to be no let-up in the restrictions on overseas capital investment.

Teachers' strike action is too limited

INADEQUATE strike plans announced yesterday by the National Union of Teachers pose the central question facing teachers very sharply: the struggle for the full 135-a-year claim necessarily involves a head-on collision with the Labour government.

The NUT is to stage another round of two-week strikes, starting on Monday, involving nearly 5,000 members in 360 schools.

This is a small increase on last month's campaign, when 4,000 NUT members struck at 250 schools.

Fortnight-long area strikes in February and another round of selective two-week strikes beginning on January 26 are the following phases announced by the NUT.

The National Association of Schoolmasters is also planning 14-day area strikes to begin in Wales in a week's time.

Consider these plans against the background of the economic crisis.

Spending
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Or to look at the claim from another direction: an integral part of the government's loans repayment 'strategy' is the 4½ per cent wage rise norm.

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Several other sections of public employees—postmen, civil servants and local government workers—are pressing wage claims and would pour through any breach made by the teachers.

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Nonsense
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British capitalism's drive into the Common Market, currency decimalization and—above all—the growing tendency towards recession in the United States are now milling a sharper and sharper edge on Labour leaders' basic attack on living standards.

Jenkins' statement that there is to be no relaxation in the economic squeeze is merely an added abrasive.

'Wholesale prices of manufactures', declares the neutral prose of this month's Treasury economic assessment, 'have risen appreciably'.

'This has contributed to the rise in the retail prices index and the rise has been accentuated by the increases in indirect tax-rates aimed at moderating consumers' expenditure in the interests of strengthening the balance of payments.'

In other words, prices have been deliberately forced up by the Labour leaders in the interests of the international bankers.

Unemployment, meanwhile, has been equally deliberately maintained around the half-million mark—with the tacit agreement of the Labour 'lefts'—and is steadily rising.

The fate of just two commodities—coal and bread—will serve to illustrate this.

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This followed a 5-a-ton increase imposed at the beginning of October last year.

BREAD
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This will be the 12th increase in nine years and follows last year's already-approved increases of 2d on standard and 1d on small loaves.

In general, the Treasury admits to a 5 per cent increase in basic materials and fuel prices between December 1968 and December 1969.

'The index of wholesale prices for manufactured goods sold on the home market has followed a similar pattern to that for basic materials and fuels', its assessment states, 'there was a rise in the months following devaluation, followed by a more gentle rise in the last three-quarters of 1968 and a faster increase in 1969.'

Outstripped
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In fact, in the period between mid-1968 and mid-1969, the increase in prices outstripped the rise in weekly wage-rates by .3 per cent—according to the government's own figures.

Now further massive increases are on the way. Few working-class households will share Decimal Currency Board chairman Lord Finke's touching faith, as expressed in a radio interview yesterday, that 'competition in the High Street is in itself sufficient to see that advantage is not taken of the [decimal] conversion tables'.

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BY DAVID MAUDE

Defeated US miners' leader murdered



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Despite every kind of chicanery on Boyle's part, Yablonski won 43,307 votes to Boyle's 75,680.

Yablonski afterwards described the election as 'the most dishonest in the history of the American labour movement', and his supporters registered 100 separate complaints of ballot-rigging with the government's Labour Department.

BRITISH-LEYLAND

Piece-workers win Maxi-line dispute

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By our industrial correspondent

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This is a constitutional form of action, as the right to work at reversion rate is contained within piece-work agreements.

It involves a reduction in effort of about 75 per cent.

Cut by half
During this dispute, the company broke national agreements by cutting in half the piece-work national award and the night-shift allowance—reductions of, respectively, 1s 10d an hour and 1s 1½d an hour.

This they deducted for an almost unprecedented 23 consecutive days.

The issue was put into procedure and a failure to agree subsequently registered—on the instruction of the Engineering Employers' Federation—at York in December.

This is an important victory because of the principles involved.

No more action
Stewards point out that if the employers had been able to get away with this attack, it would mean that an important form of shop-floor action—under which workers can reduce output by 25 per cent and still get £20 a week—would no longer be effectively available.

The victory also puts a spoke in one of the employers' major tactics for attacking piece-work.

STOP WILSON'S WASHINGTON VISIT

Lucas shop stewards support YS demonstration

FOUR DAYS TO GO before the Young Socialists' London demonstration against Wilson's visit to Washington.

Pull out your trade union branch and factory banners, book your coaches and sign up for seats now!

Shop stewards from three Joseph Lucas car components factories have shown the way.

The Lucas Merseyside area shop stewards' committee has passed a resolution supporting the demonstration and delegating six stewards to attend.

Trade union branches, individual union members and members of the Communist Party—signing in conflict with the line of the King Street leadership—continue to sign the Workers Press petition and pass resolutions in support of the campaign.

'Yesterday's batch of signatures included those of AEF, T&GWU, ETU and NUT members, as well as prominent CP members.

CP's role
A LETTER from members of Glasgow's Govan South AEF branch, however, takes up the role played by the Communist Party—supported by the revisionists—in attempting to block the campaign.

'We wish to give as much publicity as possible to the tactics pursued by the Communist Party in trying to block the development of the campaign to stop Wilson going to Washington', they write.

'When a resolution was moved at the Govan South

AEF branch, at least two CP members tried to stop the resolution being moved and were finally successful in blocking it.

'One of these CP members was John Sherriff, the AEF's Glasgow organizer.

'He was, he said, taken unawares by the resolution. Presumably, if he had been more prepared, he would have launched an even more vicious attack.

'Another CP member talked about the "political professionalism" of the resolution—protesting against "long and difficult words which workers will not be able to understand!"

AEF line
'The mover of the resolution was finally permitted to speak, explained the implications of Wilson's visit to Washington, pointed out that the resolution was in line with the union's Vietnam policy and that it had been supported by president Hugh Scanlon.

'He was continually interrupted by John Sherriff.

'At this point in the discussion, branch chairman Harry McShane—former Communist Party member and now a supporter of the "anti-capitalist" International Socialism group—suggested that the resolution be reworded so that everyone could agree.

'The rewording, of course, turned out to mean the dropping of the demand that Wilson's visit to Washington be stopped.

'The political position of the CP thus turns out to be the same as that of Govan MP John Rankin, chairman of "Medical Aid for Vietnam". Expressions of "sincere horror" at the atrocities in Vietnam are accompanied by vicious attacks on those who seek to mobilize a fight against Wilson's visit to Nixon.'

The letter calls on other Glasgow trade unions to move support for the campaign in their branches.

'An affront'
BIRMINGHAM'S Washwood Heath Branch of the AEF has described Wilson's proposed visit as 'an affront to the British working class and those millions of Americans who have demonstrated their opposition to Nixon and the war.'

It demands the cancellation of the visit and favours 'the greatest possible mobilization of the labour and trade union movement to stop this visit.'

AMONG 40 recent Manchester signatories are six Communist Party members—E. Fuss, W. Wooley, H. Lee, R. Stubbs, B. Stubbs and C. Brannigan.

Briefly

FRENCH ARMS FOR LIBYA: Discussions on the prospective French arms deal with Libya took place yesterday in Paris between US ambassador Schriver and French foreign minister Schumann.

The Libyan military government is pressing for the immediate evacuation of American and British bases on its territory.

Reports of this new French arms sale follow rumours of a similar deal with Egypt and the 'escape' of French-built gunboats to Israel.

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BUREAU PROFITS UP: Brook Street Bureau, the world's largest office staff agency, increased their pre-tax profits for 1969 to £550,000. This was 65 per cent up on the previous year.

No retreat from 50 p.c. claim for seamen

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The increase demanded was estimated to amount to 50 per cent and not—as previously reported—between 5½ and 7½ per cent.

A ruling on the claim will be announced by the board on January 19.

The employers have already stated that they are gravely concerned at its size.

The 50 per cent claim comes in welcome contradiction of our fears, expressed editorially yesterday, that the leadership of the National Union of Seamen was preparing a repetition of their 1966 retreat in the face of the government's incomes policy.

It must, however, be pointed out that the NUS executive is committed to asking for a substantial increase by last year's delegate conference.

While asking for 50 per cent, it must not be allowed to settle in negotiations for the lower figure previously believed to constitute its claim.

Plessey workers fight for 'cold' pay

WORKERS at Plessey's Edge Lane, Liverpool, factory met today to discuss further action in their fight for payment after being sent home last week.

A one-day token strike took place at the factory yesterday because of the management's refusal to pay some groups of workers sent home after complaining about the heating.

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Week's talks
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A failure to agree was registered by the stewards with the area official of the Electricians' and Plumbers' Union.

ATUA-Y'S PUBLIC MEETINGS Stop Wilson's visit to Washington

CASTLEFORD
Thursday January 8, 6 p.m.
Ship Inn

KEEP LEFT WEEKEND RALLY

Saturday and Sunday, January 10 and 11

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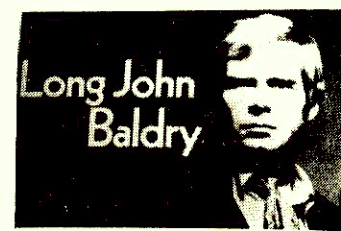
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East India Hall, East India Dock Road
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The Crescendos The Element of Truth

Special appearance



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DEMONSTRATION

● Stop Wilson's visit to Washington
● For the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam

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MARCH: via Oxford Street, Regent Street, Trafalgar Square past Downing Street.

MEETING: 4 PM
Lyceum Ballroom, near Aldwych

Speakers will include leading Oxford car worker and T&GWU shop steward Alan Thornett (right)



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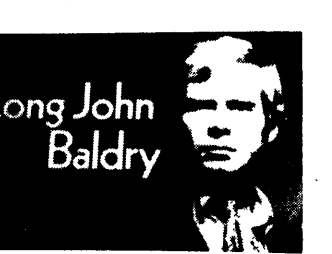
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John McLean Scottish socialist

Friday's Workers Press will carry the first of two articles by Bob Seaton on the Scottish socialist John McLean (1879-1923).

McLean's 1918 High Court speech against the first imperialist war has recently been republished, with an introduction by the revisionist Bob Purdie, of the International Marxist Group.

In the second part of his study, which will appear in Saturday's Workers Press, Bob Seaton replies in detail to Purdie's anti-Marxist estimation of McLean's role.

Make sure of your copies by placing a regular order with our circulation department. Phone 720-2000.

BRITAIN'S four million clerical workers are facing immense changes in office organization and working methods which are equally as drastic as anything being undertaken among industrial workers.

The Labour government, having set out to impose productivity deals with associated rationalization and speed-up at factory level, now attempts to set the same methods to work on all clerical staffs.

At the same time the capitalist press digs up examples of so-called time-wasting by clerks, typists and secretaries in an effort to whip up a campaign in support of the government's proposals.

Following this, insurance, banking, finance and manufacturing houses hire the office equivalents of work-study consultants to link up automated equipment, computers, office re-organization, and time-and-motion methods in an all-out attack on the numbers of clerical workers required.

The basic aim of these consultants is to put office work onto an industrial production-line basis.

Tremendous upheavals of life, working and outlook follow. The acceptance of staggered hours, shift-work, and weekend working is demanded.

Already, with modern office methods many members of lower management and some sections of clerical staffs who previously regarded themselves as 'middle class'—perhaps because of their separation from industrial labour or their closer association with higher management—rapidly take a different view when faced with a tight working-time schedule and a machine line hardly less complex than that of the modern factory workshop.

It soon becomes clear that their existence depends entirely on their ability to labour and not on any friendly relationship with this or that employer.

The key to these developments is to be found in the Labour government's policy of solving the economic crisis at the workers' expense.

The plan has been to give profits an enormous boost and cut labour costs through wage freeze, faster working, and a 'shake-out' of employees.

Selective employment tax was said to encourage employers of 'non-manual' workers to cut back on staff, who would find work instead in industry. This is simply a lie.

A major aim of Measured-Day Work schemes in industry is to get more work from fewer workers and to lessen the shortage of skilled labour. No plans exist to create more jobs for an influx of workers from an entirely different working sector.

The Prices and Incomes Board, a body set up by the government to carry out its policies, recently made it quite clear that productivity bargaining should be used everywhere.

Report No. 123 (August 1969) states:

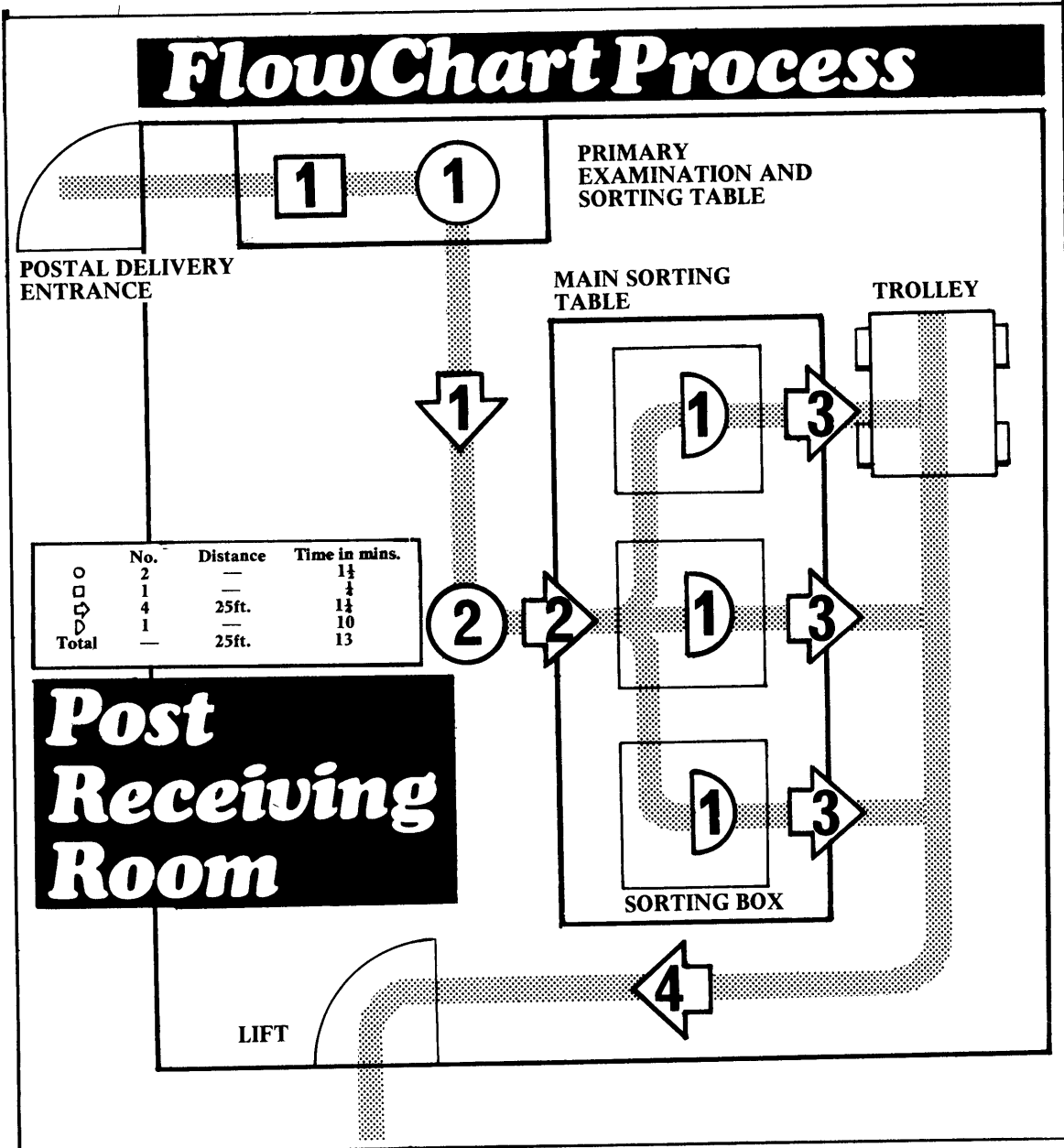
'It applies . . . as much to the public services, distribution, banking and insurance as in the motor manufacturing or textile industries. And it clearly applies to all activities, manual and non-manual.'

The same report makes it clear exactly what sort of benefits the employer can expect:

'Most firms of consultants which implement work-measurement schemes for non-manual workers, quote to their prospective clients increases in productivity of around 20 to 25 per cent; that is, if the work load remains the same a reduc-

Office workers and the crisis

PART ONE BY BERNARD FRANKS



WIDESPREAD re-organization in offices could put thousands of clerks out of their jobs within a very short time, intensifying the work of the few people left. Today and tomorrow BERNARD FRANKS outlines four main aspects of this attack—three of them today, with the final one and a conclusion tomorrow.

Another O and M technique is the micromotion examination.

With this a worker is filmed carrying out a particular operation. The film is then examined frame by frame and the movements made in the operation are charted.

This system also gives times for the job, as the camera used is synchronized with a timer registering to the nearest two-thousandth of a minute.

The cyclograph is also used sometimes, though not very often, in office work.

This is a record of movements which is made by the operator wearing a small light attached to his wrist, which appears on an exposed photographic plate as a continuous line.

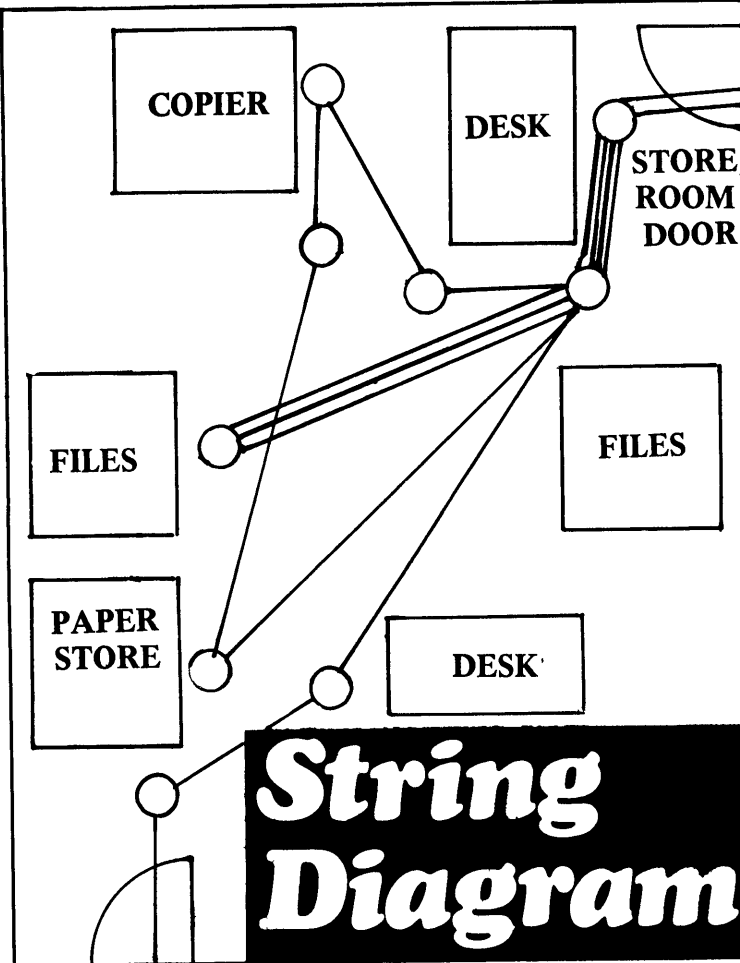
This technique is sometimes used in packing and dispatching departments and with postal sorting work.

One aim of O and M is to kill the friendly atmosphere which may exist in an office. Clerks sitting in groups or facing each other are put into lines one behind the other.

The need for any conversation or for one worker to visit another is cut out by ensuring that a continuous flow of work comes to the worker with a conveyor-belt regularity.

(In the bigger offices conveyor belts may actually be installed for this purpose.)

It is a poor argument against the rationalization and speed-up to say that it is unfair because the management is not being re-organized. In all probability it will be; sections of management will get the push as well.



quickly 'called up' without difficulty on a desk-viewing unit.)

Computers
THE COMPUTER is the monster job-swallower . . . and the number of operations outside its scope dwindles almost daily.

Automation
INTENSIFIED competition and a shortage of clerical staff has encouraged a massive drive to invent and develop business machines of all kinds. Introduction of microfilm filing, photocopying, electronic desk calculators, punch-card

equipment and accounting machines is taking place alongside improvements in standard office machinery—duplicating and printing, sorting and collating, book-keeping and stenographic.

One of the few industries to run at near-boom proportions over recent years, the office equipment sales figure currently stands at around £400 million a year.

Work-study in the office aims to step up the existing trend towards replacing staff by machines.

Certainly, office machinery is expensive, but to a certain extent the cost is offset by:

- increased simplification leading to reductions in cost.
- increased use of hired equipment.
- rationalization and attempts to speed up and cut costs on the production side.
- continuing research into new methods.

(For example, photographic image formation aims at photographing and reduction of existing microfilm records into even smaller storage units. With this method 3,000 pages of print now stored on 100 feet of microfilm could be further reduced to a 4 x 6 inch sheet. Any item from this could be

in computer development have occurred as a result of the United States space programme, and from war research (guided-missile control, etc.).

Just a few of the firms recently announcing that they are turning to use of computers in a big way are the Midland Bank, which aims to computerize its branches at the rate of 100 a month at a total cost of £12 million; the Co-operative Permanent Building Society, which plans to process more than one million mortgage and investment accounts through an IBM 360; eight of Britain's largest motor industry firms (Ford, Vauxhall, Rover, Rootes, Firestone, Joseph Lucas, Ferodo and General Motors of Scotland) which have signed contracts worth £6 million to lease computers from Leasco Ltd. to carry out a variety of tasks in the industry.

Simplification and consequent reduction in size and price has paved the way for the smaller firms to consider buying a mini-computer, while, at the same time, hiring services have expanded with links between an office and a central computer being made on an ordinary STD telephone system.

Present estimates put the number of computers being used in Britain at 4,000, as opposed to around 500 in 1964.

Most computers in Britain are made either by International Computers Ltd.—a firm set up in 1968, combining International Computers and Tabulators with Plessey's and English Electric's computer sections—or by International Business Machines.

An American firm, IBM is one of the biggest companies of any sort in the world.

Its recorded profits for 1968 were £362 million from a colossal sales figure of £2,860 million.

A third major undertaking in the computer industry is Leasco Ltd., the American firm which first introduced computer leasing—as opposed to renting—in Britain and which has signed contracts worth more than 40 million dollars since commencing operations here in January 1968.

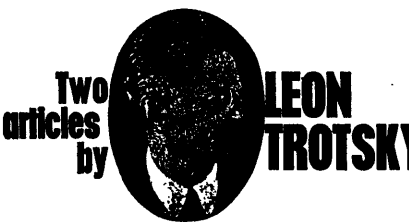
The cut-back in staff with the introduction of computers could be staggering.

In some cases, 100 per cent of conventional office workers could be replaced by a handful of computer and data-processing operators.

Direct links between computers could eliminate almost all present paper-work systems.

The second part of this article will appear in tomorrow's Workers Press.

MARXISM and the TRADE UNIONS



Two articles by **LEON TROTSKY**
Trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay Communism and syndicalism

Available from New Park Publications Ltd., 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. Price 3s. 6d.

WEDNESDAY TV

I.T.V.	and	ex-Seekers singer
2.45 Boat Show. 3.45 More Best Sellers. 4.17 Tingha and Tucker Club. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Lift Off. 5.20 Red Gauntlet. Sir Walter Scott adventures. 5.50 News.	6.00 News and Weather. 6.10 The Pursuers. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure Hunt. 7.30 London. 11.40 Epilogue. News and Weather in French, followed by Weather.	9.00 Kate. News series with Phyllis Calvert as 'agony column' writer.
6.03 Today. 6.30 The Ghost and Mrs. Muir. 7.00 This Is Your Life. 7.30 Coronation Street. 8.00 Max Bygraves Hour. With US comedian George Burns, actor Jim Backus (the voice of Mr Magoo)	10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 Lonnie. Donegan's guests include Herman. 11.00 Professional Wrestling. 11.45 The Papers. 12 midnight Modern Man—The Loser?	

REGIONAL I.T.V.

CHANNEL 4.04 p.m. Puffin's Birthday Greetings. 4.14 Hatty Town. 4.25 The New Adventures of Huck Finn. 4.55 London. 6.00 News and Weather. 6.10 The Pursuers. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure Hunt. 7.30 London. 11.40 Epilogue. News and Weather in French, followed by Weather.	London. 6.00 ATV Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 11.45 Pulse followed by Weather.
SOUTHERN: 2.45-3.45 p.m. London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 London. 6.00 Day By Day and Crime Desk. 6.30 The Doris Day Show. 7.00 London 10.00 Facing South. 10.50 News Extra. 11.00 London. 11.45 Weather followed by Cardinal Heenan.	YORKSHIRE: 3.30 p.m. All About Riding. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Hatty Town. 4.30 F Troop. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar and Weather. 6.30 The Beverly Hillsbillies. 7.00 London. 9.00 The Saint. 10.00 London. 11.45 Late Weather.
WESTWARD. As Channel except: 4.02 p.m. News Headlines. 4.04 The Gus Honeybun Show. 6.00-6.35 Westward Diary. 11.40 Faith For Life. 11.46 Weather.	GRANADA: 3.50 p.m. Encore—It's Truman. 4.15 News. 4.17 London. 4.25 The Short Story. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Octopus. 6.35 The Beverly Hillsbillies. 7.00 London. 11.45 What The Papers Say.
HARLECH: 2.45-3.45 p.m. London. 4.18 It's Time For Me. 4.25 Mr Piper. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report. 6.25 Batman. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 11.45 Weather.	TYNE TEES: 4.10 p.m. Newsroom. 4.13 The Prisoner. 4.35 Intertide. 4.55 News. 5.00 Today. 6.30 Focus On Youth. 7.00 London. 10.30 Face The Press: The Egyptian Ambassador. 11.00 London. 11.45 Late News Extra. 12.02 a.m. For Me To Live.
ANGLIA: 2.45-3.45 p.m. London. 4.30 Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 The Romper Room. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 9.00 Happy Ever After. 10.00 London. 11.45 Reflection.	SCOTTISH: 4.20 p.m. Scotland Early. 4.30 London. 6.00 Scotland Now. 6.30 Raw Deal? 7.00 London. 10.30 Scotland. 11.00 London. 11.45 Late Call.
ATV MIDLANDS: 4.00 p.m. News. 4.02 Women Today. 4.15 Peyton Place. 4.40 The Tingha and Tucker Club. 4.55	GRAMPIAN: 4.17 p.m. Hatty Town. 4.25 Castle Haven. 4.55 London. 6.00 Granpian News. 6.10 Granpian Week. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 11.45 Police News.

B.B.C. 1

12.25 p.m. Nai Zindagi—Naya Jeevan. 1.00 Disc A Dawn 1.30 Watch With Mother. 1.45-1.53 News and Weather. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Tales of Tsar Sultan. 5.15 Tom Tom. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 Nat'l News. 6.00 London—Nationwide. 6.45 The Doctors. 7.10 Tom and Jerry. 7.15 The Laugh Parade: 'Bed-time Story'.	With Marlon Brando, David Niven and Shirley Jones. 'Con men' with an eye for the ladies. 8.50 News and Weather. 9.10 The Wednesday Play: 'The Season of the Witch'. With Julie Driscoll. A girl drops out. 10.24 24 Hours. 10.50 Association Football. 11.35 Weather.
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B.B.C. 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 6.30 p.m. Time Machines. 7.30 News and Weather. 8.00 Man Alive: The Naked Egg. 8.20 Dick Van Dyke and Mary Tyler Moore: As themselves this time, reminiscing.	10.00 Europa: The propaganda battle between China and the USSR. 10.30 My World . . . and Welcome To . . . 10.55 News and Weather. 11.00 Line Up.
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Hand Process Chart

LEFT HAND	O	D	▽	○	D	▽	RIGHT HAND
Picks up envelope	●	●	●	●	●	●	Picks up letter opener
Holds envelope	●	●	●	●	●	●	To envelope
Holds envelope	●	●	●	●	●	●	Slits open
Holds envelope	●	●	●	●	●	●	Removes letter
Puts envelope into basket	●	●	●	●	●	●	Holds letter
Opens out letter	●	●	●	●	●	●	Opens out letter
Idle	●	●	●	●	●	●	Places in tray
Total	2	1	4	—	4	1	1

- This represents an actual working activity—typing, writing, filing, etc.
- An examination for a quality and/or quantity.
- Indicates the movement of workers, materials or equipment.
- This represents work waiting for attention, or any hold-up of working activity.
- ▽ PERMANENT STORAGE Involves any material withdrawn from the work process until required.

BOOK REVIEW

THE HISTORY of modern Greece is very much an international question. It cannot be understood apart from the role first of British, then of American imperialism.

The full tragedy of that history cannot be appreciated either without reference to the crimes of Stalinism.

Since Tsoucalas is unable to cover up for either of these interested parties, much of his book provides a useful and enlightening record. When it comes to interpretation and an alternative policy he betrays the weakness of his own position.

According to him Greece was evolving towards 'political democracy and social modernization' when the colonels put a stop to it. His own sympathy seems to go to the Papandreu, particularly to Andreas.

Although only a minority in a mainly peasant country, the Greek working class came on the scene as a decisive political force under largely Communist Party leadership after the First World War.

This leadership faithfully followed Moscow through the extravaganzas of the 'Third Period' and then into the Popular Front during the 1930s. Less well known, the effects of this policy in Greece in opening the way for reaction was no less disastrous than in France and Spain.

The invasion of Greece by Italy and then by the Nazis in 1940 once again brought the Communist Party into a key position.

During the occupation, and especially after the downfall of Mussolini in 1943, it was able to establish its control over the greater part of the country through the EAM (National Liberation Front) and ELAS (People's Army of Liberation).

All the evidence concurs that an overwhelming majority of the people supported EAM. EAM policy was a liberal-patriotic one. As Tsoucalas puts it:

"The communists had imposed their leadership, but not their ideology."

Thus, after the destruction of the partisan movement the peasants, who had lived under EAM rule for several years, returned to their pre-war passivity.

Churchill's aim was to re-establish British influence in Greece after the war and recover the huge financial stake of British investors.

For this he was ready to make a bloodbath in Greece.

True face

Anyone who wants to see the true face of the British ruling class and its greatest political hero of this century should study the events in Greece in 1944 described in this book.

When British troops commanded by General Scobie landed in Greece they did so according to a design which Churchill had prepared well in advance and cleared with Stalin.

His aim was to break the will of the Greek people by force and restore the discredited Greek bourgeoisie, the exiled government and the monarchy.

As a preliminary the left-wing rebellion in the Greek forces in Egypt was smashed and 20,000 dissident soldiers and sailors were imprisoned in the desert.

In return for a free hand in the Balkans the Soviet bureaucracy was ready to sell-out its faithful followers in the EAM-ELAS organization.

When Churchill visited Stalin in October 1944, the deal was sealed on half a sheet of paper. The wily Tory wardog pretended to be shocked:

"Might it not be thought rather cynical", he suggested, "if it seemed we had disposed of



How Stalinism betrayed Greece

BY TOM KEMP

THE PRESENT regime in Greece was only able to come to power because of the long record of betrayals by the leadership of the Greek Communist Party. Constantine Tsoucalas's 'The Greek Tragedy', recently published in a paperback edition (Penguin Special, 6s), highlights some of the background to the coup.

Stalin's deal with Churchill in October 1944, concluded at a meeting in the Kremlin, fixed Greece firmly in the sphere of British and US imperialism. All that followed in Greece was the result of that treacherous deal, right up to the present friendly relations that obtain between the Soviet bureaucracy and the leaders of the military regime in Athens. The tragedy of Greece will be the tragedy and defeat of the international working class unless Stalinism is politically defeated. That is the lesson of this book.

these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an off-hand manner. Let us burn the paper."

"No, you keep it", Stalin replied. Churchill's instructions were that EAM was to be destroyed. He told Scobie in Athens: "Do not hesitate to act as if you were in a conquered city where a local rebellion is in progress."

Atrocities stories and all sorts of distortions were put out to discredit ELAS. Nevertheless

the partisans fought bravely, evidently against the wishes of the Russians.

In the Commons Churchill did not hesitate to call ELAS "Trotskyist", for Stalin's benefit. In his war memoirs he pays tribute to Stalin, who "strictly and faithfully adhered to our agreement of October and in all the long weeks of fighting the communists in the streets of Athens not one word of reproach came from "Pravda" or "Izvestia".

Many points about the situation in 1944 and the policy of EAM-ELAS remain obscure. Tsoucalas seems to suggest that it was wrong to continue the struggle against the British.

In any case an armistice was signed in February 1945, and a white terror unleashed under the benign gaze of the British army.

What mattered was that the big British investments were restored. Otherwise the Greek economy was shattered; the masses were hungry and in rags and tens of thousands mourned their dead.

Much partisan resistance continued to the new occupiers and their quislings. Meanwhile relations between Stalin and his erstwhile allies had deteriorated. The Greek Communist Party swung over to a policy of insurrection which was launched under the worst possible conditions and did not end until 1949.

But guerrilla struggle was used by the confirmed Stalinist, Zachariades, as a bargaining counter, not as a bid for power.

Combat

The failure to build a real political movement in the countryside was fatal to the success of the guerrilla struggle.

When, in the final stages of the civil war, the partisan armies moved over to open combat, they lost what advantages remained to them.

Forced back to the border, the communist forces had finally to abandon the struggle. The balance sheet of Stalinism in those years was a terrible series of useless sacrifices and defeats which decimated and demoralized the vanguard of the Greek working class.

Reaction was triumphant all along the line. "The left had been beaten and blown to bits," writes Tsoucalas. "Thousands of people

who had constituted the nation's progressive elite had been killed, imprisoned or exiled. The hecatomb can only be compared with the sombre fate of the Spanish intelligentsia."

The Greek Communist Party, learning nothing from its defeats, became all the more obedient to Moscow and moved from guerrilla warfare to the purest reformism which has characterized its policy ever since.

The debility of British imperialism made it impossible for the aims which Churchill had set to be realized. From 1949 the State Department took over.

The aim was to crush 'communism', keep Greece in the 'Free World' and ensure a paramount position for US capital in the country.

Some democratic appearances were best preserved, but even those could be dispensed with, despite murmurs of disapproval in European capitals, where the lesson of American ruthlessness was not lost.

In this set-up there was no real basis for a return to parliamentary democracy with all the liberal guarantees which would have permitted the formation of a left-wing government.

Even the Centre Union government of Papandreu, Britain's old stooge, elected in 1963, caused American displeasure.

Greek politics, behind a facade of parliamentary government, became even more than normally a hotbed of plots and intrigues in which the King, the CIA, the army and various right-wing cliques, backed by big business played their murky parts.

Background

It was out of this background, with the working class held prisoner by the Stalinists' policy of left alliances, that the colonels' coup was hatched.

The present regime rests on the reactionary state apparatus built up on the ruins of EAM-ELAS for which Stalinism was responsible.

It represents a coincidence of interest between American imperialism and the wealthy merchants, bankers and ship-owners who dominate Greek capitalism.

Tsoucalas shies away from a full analysis of the colonels' regime on the grounds that there is not enough serious information to make this possible.

Unable to draw the real lessons of the history he writes, he simply points to the dictatorship as a bad thing. His only prognosis is:

"Even at the risk of seeming pessimistic, it must at present be said that the forces which will shape the future of Greece are still unknown."

In fact the future is in the hands of the Greek working class, which is the decisive class in Greece, made still more important by the economic changes of the past decade. The need is to build in Greece a section of the Fourth International and to smash the Stalinist leadership whose past betrayals have permitted the temporary victory of the most reactionary regime that Greece has ever known.

CINEMA

By Brian Moore

ONE OF the cults of the 1960s was the spy movie.

The first Bond film released was in a way an accident, successful or not for the reasons that the makers intended. They made it for real and the audiences laughed at its absurdity.

There followed then progressively bigger extravaganzas of consumer vandalism. Bodies littered the screen, but the real focus of attention was on the gadgets, gleaming and ingenious.

Bond reduced everything and everyone to expendable objects; men were merely part of the brutal mechanism, women relegated to the most crude forms of sexual exploitation.

If ever there was a barometer for paucity of imagination and sheer vulgarity of taste, Bond was it.

Conspicuous consumption substituted creative invention; sadism, sensitivity. The budgets for the later films ran into millions of dollars of mechanical waste, sufficient, it is worth noting in passing, when the British film industry runs into crisis and unemployment looms up with the season's greetings, to finance at least 20 low-budget films.

'HOMELY'

For those who liked their spies more homely, Michael Caine's Harry Palmer fitted the bill. He provided glamour with the humdrum, wheeling his basket through supermarkets, smoking his Gauloises, reluctantly filling in his expenses, falling foul of his superiors and putting a bullet through his adversary.

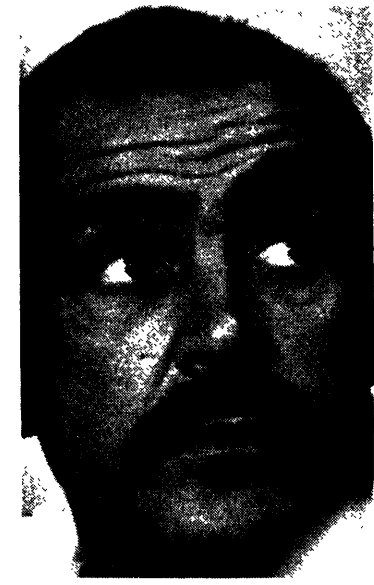
There was a certain evenness about his adventures; he pursued death, sex and shopping with the same, flat imperturbability.

They were not really Cold War thrillers; the politics was always vague; sinister figures were invariably preparing to take over the world. But western values ultimately triumphed.

We could rest assured that the world of machines, opulence and glamorized violence would triumph in its own dehumanized way.

In the middle of this 'sophisticated' camp fascism, John Le Carré wrote a book called 'The Spy Who Came in from the Cold'.

Into the cold



Sean Connery.

They manipulated from their clubs and elegant Georgian houses or country homes. To uphold what? In the name of what?

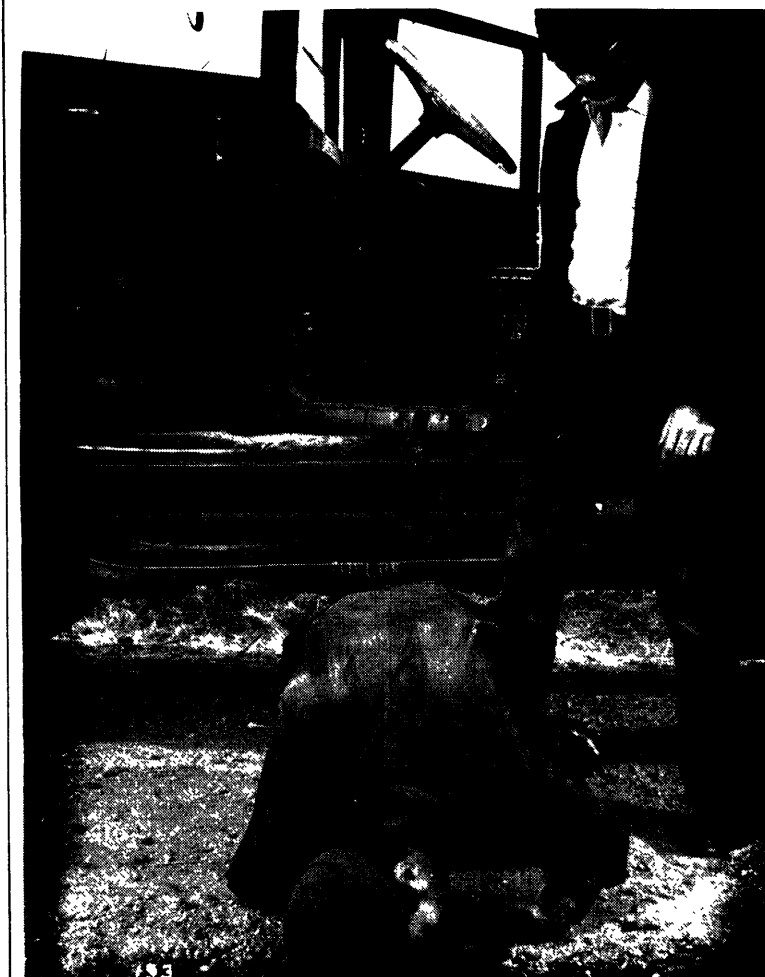
They spoke of values, of Empire, of the British way of life, yet they pursued their petty and anachronistic ends with a petulant violence.

Everything and everybody was expendable.

Le Carré's books are the work of a humanist. But they smoulder with an outrage against an indifference to life. And this is its main quality and impact.

DESPAIR

This book had popularity which one assumes derived from firstly curiosity—the lid was off the murky world of espionage, with an obvious authenticity—but probably more important it reflected the uncertainty of the middle class, a sense of their own manipulation, of their enclosure by 'controls' over and above them, of their anxiety in a changing situation with differing balance of forces.



Christopher Jones in 'The Looking Glass War', a film directed by Frank R. Pierson based on the book by John Le Carré.

It was a compelling piece of writing, the work of a craftsman, but, more than that, of a creative intelligence as well.

Technically, he handled the twists and turns of narrative with the accomplishment of Graham Greene. His paragraphs reverberated with detail in this enclosed world of espionage.

OUTRAGE

But above all was a sense of quivering outrage at waste, at brutality, at hypocrisy and double-talk.

These public school civil servants practiced murder with the calm detachment of a psychopath. They acted on whims, caprices, to further their own positions in the hierarchy; to satisfy their own fantasies.

They were all involved in some costly game that held no brief for, or respect of, human life.

They were reassured equally that the bureaucracies on the other side of the 'Iron Curtain' appeared not very different from the one they knew at home.

They responded to the tension and despair that only humanism could offer them.

The world was a bastard and really ought to be better.

'The Spy Who Came in from the Cold' reflected very much a middle-class Britain coming to terms with a loss of Empire and facing the cold of the mechanized monopolies that were increasingly cutting the ground from under their feet.

The book was made into a competent film, but no more than that.

It lacked the accumulation of detail, deep despair and anguish, and replaced it with an explicit theatricality. It hardly transcended the boundaries of melodrama or spoof.

NOW 'The Looking-Glass War', a later book by le Carré, has been made into a film.

By chance it was the first film I saw in the 1970s and what strikes one immediately is the sense that it belongs to some other era.

The familiar themes are there. Two ageing civil servants, played by Ralph Richardson and Paul Rogers, send a young Polish defector across the East German border to find out information about a supposedly new rocket.

They send him to recreate their own fantasies of Second World War action; back in combat, with simple war-time issues.

Their madness has all the cold efficiency of their trade. In sending the boy to his certain death they carefully cover up their tracks.

It is all an irrelevant charade, calculated anti-life, a game for personal prestige and the gratification of old men.

This is the message of the film. Yet there is a predictability about it, a lack of tension, a lack of energy.

The director has made a film that is instantly *déjà vu*. It is worthy. It attempts to recreate, consciously or not, some of the better filmic situations of the last six years.

A lorry driven into the sea is a quote from Godard's 'Pierrot le Fou'; the boy running down to the sea, a straight lift from Truffaut's 'The Four Hundred Blows'; the surprised dog leaping out of a lorry, Hitchcock.

But it is not only the techniques of the director that give the quality of a competent piece of *passé* style.

The subject matter itself seems irrelevant because the world situation has changed.

As the forces of imperialism in the west prepare to take on the working class, so do the bureaucracies of the communist countries prepare themselves to police their workers too.

They come closer together. France and Czechoslovakia made that clear and the further behind-the-scenes deals reveal themselves weekly.

It is this changed situation that eludes the film.

There is a competent anachronism about it. In contrast, the only living thing in it is the fascinating and vibrant performance of a young actor Christopher Jones, who plays the Pole.

Comparisons are obvious; there is a striking resemblance to James Dean, the young Alain Delon and even Cybulski, yet Jones transcends a mere amalgam, or imitation.

He speaks and moves with the confidence and frustration of a new generation of youth.

It is his dormant energy that is the real impact of the film and makes it worth seeing. He has both restraint, uncertainty, irony and suspicion.

It is these qualities that he embodies that pose the question for the 1970s.

Not as a force defeated by ageing imperialism, but as a revolutionary vanguard for the future.

AS A footnote, the new TV arts programme 'Aquarius' cannot go without comment.

It really did spotlight the utter bankruptcy of bourgeois ideas on art and culture.

Starting with an item on Christmas show 'animals', it continued the pantomime theme with a discussion on Jean-Luc Godard's new film 'British Sounds'.

Watching a set in glorious Technicolor and not having seen the film, it was rather like something out of 'Alice in Wonderland', a sort of glass case of squawking parrots, airing their nonsenses, with all the solemnity that only fools have.

Everything was reduced to a smiling, nervous banality; a sort of 'everything's rather interesting, isn't it?', draining at the same time any weight or import out of their subject.

I got the feeling that they'd given up. They don't even care any more about their own culture.

The only real thing in it was the two carworkers who had the sense and dignity to leave the hall and the twittering reaction behind them.



Yalta, 1944: Stalin and Churchill carve up Europe.

T.U.C. 'GUIDELINES' 'Build the revolutionary leadership'

—say Northants stewards

WORKERS PRESS, over the past few weeks, has published a number of letters from shop stewards and trade unionists expressing their views on the TUC 'guidelines' for disciplining the working class.

From these, there has been a tendency to suggest that militant action on its own will be sufficient in preventing the trade unions accepting the 'guidelines'. Letters have said 'finally

the shop floor will decide' or 'the right-wing unions will probably accept'—both extremely misleading statements.

Firstly, the TUC 'guidelines' are a direct attack on the basic democratic rights of the trade union movement, designed in the interests of the employers

to prevent the shop floor and stewards making decisions or taking independent action. This would place all the authority and decision-making into the hands of a few full-time bureaucratic officials. The ground-work has been prepared. Unions such

as ours—the General and Municipal—already have rules along these lines.

Secondly, trade unionists who say 'right-wing unions will probably accept' the TUC's proposals suggest that the more left-wing unions—such as the T&GWU—will not and may even lead a fight against them. This is dangerous nonsense. One only has to examine

the record and history of the so-called 'lefts' to realize this.

Despite all their 'left' talk and past militancy, they will, in the final analysis, knuckle under and capitulate to the needs and requirements of the employers—as do the right. The only difference being that they will do so under a 'left' cloak. In this sense, they are

even more dangerous than the right. This must never be allowed to happen. The so-called 'lefts' must be exposed and politically fought against at every stage of the struggle.

We should never forget the betrayal of the German working class in 1933 by its Stalinist and reformist leaderships.

The fact that it was the most powerful and organized in Europe did not prevent it from being handed over to the fascists—to be physically smashed and destroyed.

Make no mistake, the same fate could befall the British working class. The British labour and trade union bureaucracy is treading the same path.

They are handing over the organizing working class to the state at precisely the time when the return of a right-wing Tory government is on the cards.

No amount of militant action on its own will prevent the betrayal taking place.

The only way to defend the unions today is by revolutionary means—through the building of a revolutionary leadership within the unions and the preparation for the taking of power.

Sam McLean, Danny Quill, NUG&MW shop stewards, Rigid Containers, Desborough.

From the General and Municipal Workers' Union rule book.

Rule 27.—Disputes

1. Should any dispute arise the members concerned shall make the same known to their Branch Secretary, who shall immediately report the same to the District Secretary for submission to the District Committee, but in no case shall a cessation of work be threatened or take place without the sanction of the District Committee or National Executive Committee as required by rule. . . .
2. Should any Branch or body of members of the Union desire steps to be taken for an advance of wages or improved conditions of employment, the Branch Secretary shall report the claim to the District Secretary or other recognised official in the District, who shall forward the same to the National Executive Committee. . . .
3. No cessation of work shall take place unless two-thirds of the members belonging to the Branch or body immediately concerned shall have voted in favour of the adoption of such course, and then only with the express sanction of the National Executive Committee, and after legal notice to terminate contracts of service has been given. Every member affected shall have an opportunity of recording his vote at a special meeting, for and against handing in notice to cease work. In no case shall members be entitled to strike benefit if they enter upon a strike without the sanction of the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall have power to refer a dispute to arbitration. . . .

T.U.C. prepares imposed agreements danger

—boilermaker

THE TUC 'guidelines' policy would tie up even more firmly the alliance between the trade union leaders and the employers. With the return of a Tory government this year, Wilson's anti-union legislation would be implemented immediately. I see this as an enormous threat to the trade union movement. In the strike at the BP site, Grangemouth, in which I took part, the conflict was between the 500 boilermakers as against a site agreement signed up by the

trade union leaders. This agreement was supposed to be national union policy. Under the TUC plan such agreements could be imposed with the threat that any section of workers who attempted to fight against productivity deals and wage-cuts, as advocated by the TUC, would face the withdrawal of their union membership.

With such a plan, strike action would not be possible at all. As with the welders at the shipyard at which I am now working, it is the rank-and-file who start the fight to defend their conditions. Such fights are won against their union leadership. A new socialist leadership must be built and as part of this struggle an all-out fight must be made against the TUC 'guidelines' policy. A. Courtney, Boilermakers' Society, Glasgow.

Which way for education in the 1970s?

'TO PLAN a future in which an appreciable proportion of the population is at a low level of education is to plan a future in which there will be permanent unemployment.'

This is how the National Union of Teachers' pamphlet 'Into the Seventies' introduces the new decade.

And it is in this light that Workers Press readers should judge the cuts in every branch of education being carried out by the Labour government.

These cuts are not just 'economies' made on the instructions of the international bankers. They are a preparation for the need to 're-examine' the kind of 'planning' reformism is capable of in this period.

As we warned on December 12 in the article 'Labour's Education Policy and Enoch Powell', that Party's leaders are in agreement with Powell on the need to 're-examine' priorities in education and relating education 'investment' to national production.

The logic of this reasoning is simply 'if capitalism is heading for a slump why invest in education at all?'

And even without an economic slump, the education cuts are a necessary response to the trends within capitalism. The experience of America, says the NUT pamphlet, indicates that with the progress of technology the uneducated and semi-educated become increasingly less employable.

There is no future for unskilled labour in a modern society (OUR emphasis). 'In the past we have been prepared to budget for a society based on periodic unemployment; to permit young people to grow up with a low level of general education is to budget for a society in which the community will contain a permanent element of persons who are both unemployed and unemployable.'

No relation

But while the pamphlet makes these quite correct observations, it is unable to relate education's crisis to that of capitalism.

It addresses itself to the government and the authorities in the demand for a new Education Act.

It pathetically tries to warn the butchers of the education system about the consequences of butchery.

As if the Labour leaders are not aware of where their policies are leading the working class!

The passage on the US experiences reads like a watered-down version of the Young Socialists' policy statement.

An answer to the N.U.T. policy document 'Into the Seventies'

BY MARK JENKINS

ment published as far back as 1967. Only without the revolutionary analysis and conclusions.

This document, 'Socialism and Youth', said in section 5: 'Automation, even at its present restricted rate of introduction, disposes of an average of 35,000 jobs (in USA) every week. Those made redundant either go on the dole or are forced to take jobs at much lower pay.

'The growing shortage of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs takes place at a time when the teenage population is increasing rapidly. It is practically impossible for young people to hold down a permanent job without a high-school diploma, yet in the next few years seven and a half million young people will enter the labour market without one!'

'In the South three out of every five young Negroes have

* 'Socialism and Youth', the Young Socialists' programme, is available from the National Secretary, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. Price 6d.

WAGES WILL BUY LESS IN 1970

FROM PAGE ONE

Fiske reported, 'that they do not intend to allow decimation to put prices up. Shopkeepers in an overwhelming percentage will play the game.'

The rules of Fiske's 'game', however, are determined by the basic and insoluble crisis of the capitalist system on a world scale and not by 'statements'.

Let-out

Cross-questioned by his radio interviewer, our decimating lord immediately countered with a statement about London Transport's 50 per cent predicted increase in Underground fares, which will immediately become the let-out for all those 'leading traders' left in business by the inflationary wave sweeping across the Atlantic.

'If the economics of London Transport are such that

no high school education at all. In the last major depression, in 1958, half of those unemployed were from semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. In one year of slump two and a half million of these jobs were permanently destroyed—and at a time when automation had hardly started.'

Pious

Quite naturally the NUT pamphlet cannot and does not pose the problem in this way. While it attacks the understaffing, under-financing, the poor buildings and equipment and the slow pace of comprehensive re-organization, it presently believes that it is possible to draft a new Education Act embracing many reforms and to persuade the government and authorities to adopt it.

No doubt this reflects the feelings of thousands of NUT

members reared in the sixth forms and training colleges on the traditions of English liberalism, utilitarianism and reformism.

But these same teachers are having the foundations of their faith thoroughly shaken up by their own experiences in the current salary claim struggle.

Tens of thousands have been on strike and are embarking on a path that will lead them to the very opposite conclusions to those contained in their union's pamphlet—namely that it is not possible to win reforms from the government in this epoch by reasonable arguments and pressure.

Nor will the government be moved to reforms by patriotic exhortations with which the pamphlet abounds.

'Britain today has to maintain its economic existence in a highly competitive world', it says and, quoting from Disraeli (of all people), 'Upon the education of the people of this country depends.'

Surely we do not have to remind the author that Disraeli was speaking at a time when capitalism was expanding on a world scale and Britain's position was one of world dominance.

Necessary

The 1870 Education Act was necessary for the industrial development of the last quarter of the 19th century. We are living now in the epoch of the decay of world imperialism.

The NUT calls for a new Education Act, but it may well turn out to be something quite different from the list of reforms drawn up in the pamphlet 'Into the Seventies'.

Take, for instance, the removal of the differentiation in class size between primary and secondary schools (40 and 30 maximum respectively). The pamphlet says that this is an overdue reform that could be accomplished under existing legislation. It would result in 'nothing but good'.



Tens of thousands of teachers have been taking action recently which will lead them to draw the very opposite conclusions to the reformist aims of the NUT document. Above: A mass meeting in the Albert Hall, London.

view of the Labour government!

OPPOSES independent schools, but proposes regulations to see they are 'efficient'.

DEMANDS teacher representation on the Education Committee. 'Just as the complexity of modern business undertakings has caused industry to devise methods by which the expertise of departmental managers can be brought to bear in decision-making in industry, so with the teachers in education!

In the months ahead more and more NUT members will embrace this movement.

Bankruptcy

This last analogy reveals the bankruptcy of the NUT document.

For the 'departmental managers' of education (the teachers) are on strike against the government.

While a tiny minority of teachers might be persuaded to collaborate with a government pledged to dismember working-class education, the vast majority of teachers would be (and are being) placed under unbearable pressure by such cuts.

The teachers will find that 'Into the Seventies' is a thoroughly inadequate policy document.

They must turn instead to the movement that produced the education policy outlined in 'Socialism and Youth'.

This statement demanded:

- Comprehensive education for all.
- Reorganize education in co-operation with the factory; control by workers' organizations over technical education.
- Raise the school-leaving age to 16 with full grants for working class families.
- Free access to science and culture for working class youth with special arrangements for entrance to universities and technical colleges.
- Student status with full maintenance grants for all workers-students and those at school from the age of 16.
- The opening of technical re-education centres under workers' control and paid for by big business.

The key to the future of education in Britain is to be found in the French events of 1968. The students and workers fighting the 'reforms' of the Fouchet plan, merged with the struggle of the French working class against the Fifth Republic.

In Britain too the cuts in education go hand in hand

with attacks on wages, the unions and all the gains in the social services wrested in the period of the post-war boom.

Whereas the NUT programme is a list of pious reforms with which to pressurize the government, the Young Socialist programme is designed to expose the betrayals of Labour reformism and build an alternative revolutionary leadership.

Each demand it makes is hinged to a proviso which the 'reforming' government would use to cover its tracks.

Policy

The pamphlet:

OPPOSES tying education expenditure to the rate of increase of national income, but says 'the national income is not static. It is increasing'.

CALLS for 'comprehensive education' by which is meant 'the absence of selection procedures'.

DEMANDS the raising of the school leaving age to 16 by September 1972, but 'hopes that the period required for the assimilation of the raising to 16 will not be as long as that required for the assimilation of previous increases'.

APPEARS to oppose the sixth-form college scheme while not wishing to 'frustrate or inhibit experiments'.

OPPOSES 'the control exerted by industry over the content and methods of industrial training'.

But day-releasing education should not be made compulsory.

'It would be sufficient to grant young people the legal right to day-release but we believe that this could not be made effective.'

OPPOSES the block grant which swamps education in a general financial grant covering all council expenditure because it diminishes the power of Secretary of State for Education when such expenditure is decided by another government department!

CALLS for reform of the 16-19 age group branch of education because of 'duplication of courses and the uneconomic use of expensive and skilled pedagogic manpower'. Precisely the

Italian bosses seek Stalinists' aid to attack workers

BY JOHN SPENCER

REPRESENTATIVES of the four Italian 'centre-left' parties met in Rome on Monday without reaching any agreement on the formation of a new parliamentary coalition.

Soviet Party history reveals split on Stalin

THE RECENT publication of the new Soviet Communist Party history, which contained favourable references to Stalin, has been reissued following its recent sudden withdrawal.

Only a few copies were available when the first edition was released in October. It had a picture of Lenin on the cover.

The new edition has a plain grey cover with gilt lettering.

First reports say that the new edition differs in that its attacks on the Chinese Party are slightly more muted,

By a foreign correspondent

suggesting that the current Sino-Soviet border talks may have influenced the decision to withdraw the first version and replace it with the new one.

Outspoken

On Czechoslovakia, the 'History' is more outspoken: 'The events in Czechoslovakia also showed the method of the subversive activities of imperialism against socialist states . . . their gambling on opportunist elements within the ruling circles of communist parties, on the disruption of the leading role of Marxist-Leninist parties in a socialist society and the overthrow of socialism . . .'

The 'History' also shows that the deadlock inside the Party leadership on the question of Stalin continues.

Those (believed to be headed by Party secretary Brezhnev) calling for a total rehabilitation of Stalin have clearly not had their way: 'A sample of bold self-criticism is provided by the open declaration of the Party on the serious consequences of Stalin's cult of personality and on the serious mistakes and distortions of which he was guilty, especially in the later period of his life.'

Typical comment

This comment, typical of the Khrushchev era, is then neatly balanced by a defence of the bureaucratic machine built under Stalin's leadership: 'At the same time the Party has given a resolute refusal to all who have tried to use the criticism of the cult of personality for attacks on the socialist system and on the Communist Party. The cult of personality did not change the nature of the socialist system and did not stop the progressive movement of Soviet society towards communism, nor did it shake the Party's Leninist foundations.'

The main force that still prevents the bureaucracy from making an open turn back to Stalin is the rising Soviet opposition, and above all the working class, that holds it in check.

These are the forces that will write a true history of Soviet communism and its Stalinist enemies.

The four—Christian Democrats; Republican Party; United Socialist Party (PSU); and Italian Socialist Party (PSI)—came together in an attempt to negotiate terms for a parliamentary coalition excluding the Communist Party (PCI).

The immediate obstacle to agreement is the PSI's vacillating attitude.

The PCI leadership has been urging the formation of an alternative coalition, including the PCI and excluding the Christian-Democrat right wing. Some PSI sections share this view.

Such a government, the PCI leaders hope, would agree on a programme of mild reforms and concessions to workers and farmers, with autonomous regional development and controls on business interests.

This is the 'opening to the left' on which the PCI bases its reformist programme.

RULED OUT

The 'opening to the right'—a coalition of Christian-Democrats and neo-fascists—would be certain to meet a hostile response from the working class, and is ruled out at present.

The experience of the 1960 Tambroni government, which formed such a coalition and was toppled by a wave of strikes and demonstrations, is still fresh in the minds of the Italian ruling class.

The 'opening to the left' would have the support of the majority of organized workers, many farmers and peasants and most of the 1.5 million Communist Party members.

Yet the Stalinists' programme of structural reforms—even more openly right wing than the 'British Road to Socialism'—is a clear preparation for betrayal.

Influential sections of the ruling class recognize this, and support the formation of such a coalition.

CONFUSE

Tied to the employers' parties, with an openly reformist and counter-revolutionary programme, the PCI's role in such a coalition would be to confuse the workers leaving them open to vicious attacks.

Stagni, Chambers of Commerce Union president, indicated in his year-end statement of the economic alternatives facing Italian capitalism: there must either be runaway price inflation or heavy unemployment if the flight of capital could not be reversed.

PCI leaders share to the full his perspective of managing capitalism.

'L'Unita' (December 27) claims editorially that 'the problems of the economy, if handled correctly, can result in progress not only for workers, but for the whole economy.'

'The need today is to raise supply to meet the increased demand resulting from wage rises—there is a need to increase investment.'

HEAVY BLOWS

But as the PCI leaders well know investment cannot be increased without heavy blows against the working class. The PCI programme of structural reforms, favoured by Agnelli, prepares the way for defeat.

Against this background of parliamentary manoeuvring and the preparation of big betrayals, the working class continues to make gains in struggle.

Last week, urban transport workers struck for a substantially improved labour contract and a national policy to modernize public transport.

Metalworkers, chemical workers, construction workers and agricultural labourers have all won considerable gains in wages, conditions of work and trade union rights.

WEATHER

London area, SE, NW and central Northern England, E and W Midlands: Mainly dry with sunny periods. Hazy. Wind light, NW or variable. Cold or very cold. Maximum 2C (36F). Moderate or severe frost at first.

Central Southern England: Dry with sunny periods. Wind light, variable. Near normal on coast. Maximum 5C (41F). Cold elsewhere. Maximum 2C (36F). Moderate frost at first.

Channel Islands, SW England: Dry with sunny periods. Wind light or moderate, SE near normal. Maximum 7C (45F). N Ireland: Dry with sunny periods. Wind light or moderate, variable. Cold. Maximum 3C (37F).

Edinburgh and E Scotland, Glasgow area: Showers or longer periods of snow. Wind SW, moderate or fresh, veering northerly later. Cold. Maximum 2C (36F).

Outlook for Thursday and Friday: Milder weather spreading slowly from the southwest. Occasional snow in the north.



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