

## Fleet St strike enters third day

# 'Pay up' say print pickets

## Peace, justice & prosperity L.P. style

By our special reporter in Uister JOHN SPENCER

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'Only the intervention of British troops directed here by the wise decision of a British Labour government in August, 1969, has halted full-

August, 1969, has halted full-scale warfare in our streets.' Introduced by Belfast East candidate David Bleakley, the document reiterates the N Ireland Labour Party's sup-port for the 1949 Govern-ment of Ireland Act the law ment of Ireland Act-the law

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A massive search for arms 'We get a lot of people and ammunition was being carried out by troops in hills near Belfast yesterday. ipanies of soldiers were taking part in the operation - one of the biggest searches carried out in N Ireland.

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£500 million surplus ('but you

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Justification

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For all the unprincipled reformist-revisionist hatchet-

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Outside 'The Daily Telegraph' building, a row of placards warned the press lords 'SOGAT says no to Associated Newspapers, Thomson Organization, Beaverbrook Newspapers, "Telegraph". Settle now!"

'Pay now !' insisted others.

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Whichever gets in-Tory or Labour—on June 18', a machine-room chapel father told the Workers Press, they've obviously decided o put the block on wages. It's going to be a hard fight.

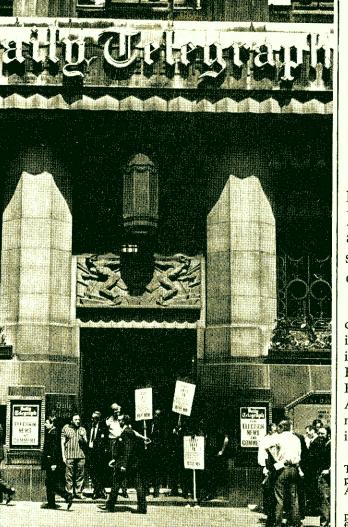
telling us we're £50-aweek strikers, but for every man getting £50 I you three getting a basic of £17.' An audience of rather less than 100 were treated to a Pickets, who were attortuous defence of the tempting to secure a walk-out by SOGAT clerical Labour government's record from Public Works Minister also spoke of their staff. John Silkin, a stage-emotional appeal from ex-Cambridge students' president Anne Mallalieu, singer Cy Grant fears of unemployment as a result of the new techniques the newspaper chiefs

**CLAPHAM** Reformists

# bury class poll issues

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

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MALGAMATED

**DETERMINED** pickets were

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Mr Albert Fava, chair-man of the CAWU branch

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One slogan on a picket's

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Jordan ceasefire broken

FIGHTING between Palestinian guerrillas and Jordan government troops continued yesterday afternoon and evening despite the agreement signed by King Hussein and Yassir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

By our Middle East

correspondent

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A Palestine Liberation pay offer. Fort Dunlop's 1,500 engineers have repeatedly re-jected the offer, refused to accept the 'strings'-which include 'voluntary' redundancy for 100 men-and demanded the Organization Executive

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Attacks on Dubcek and his.

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His name has been indirectly

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-who deposed Dubcek in

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Other elements in the bureau-

cracy have been calling for

a series of political 'trials'.

political tone of the Czech

press and radio since the beginning of the Party purge in February.

WALL ST

And it is these die-hard Stalinists who have set the

Party secretary Gustav Husak

exile fascist groups.

of the most openly pro-imperialist, and therefore the most vulnerable, of the Middle East states. Educated at Harrow, the King inherited the throne as a British stooge, after the assassination of his father,

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Abdullah. In recent years, his patronage, and the financing of the Jordan Army, has come in-

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The daily organ of the **Central Committee of the** Socialist Labour League

PRICE 6d.

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which established the Stormont government as a permanent power 'until the N Ireland parliament decides otherwise'.

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for the injection of more capital into N Ireland. 'A rising level of prosperity is essential for the removal of the insecurity, the fear and the environmental squalor which fill the lives and minds of so many of our fellow citizens with bitterness and frustration.

This, in a situation where unemployment is consistently over 7 per cent, slum housing the rule rather than the exception, and wage rates are more than £4 a week lower than in Britain.

The prospect of peaceful reforms in a country now occupied by 8,000 imperialist troops is quite absurd. There can be no reformist 'improvement' of the situation in N Ireland, wracked by growing danger of civil war.

Many workers will quite correctly vote Labour to keep out the Unionists and Paisley ites. But to return Labour MPs-important and necessary as it is—is inadequate to solve the enormous problems in front of Irish workers.

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becomes essential.

The face of the press election.

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Congress headquarters. But the print unions are

Rescue teams have been

Lively time

We're going to have a lively time in Fleet St over the next few years', com-mented another 'Telegraph'

Reactions to the news that 'Aims of Industry', the 'non-party' free-enterprise organization which last year received donations from big business totalling £29,000, is publishing a four-page give-away 'newspaper' in Fleet St with non-union labour for the duration of

. . . and unreprintable. With leaders of all three political parties ranged against the strike, broad working-class support for the printworkers

**Bosses'** face

lords today-confronted, in an extremely sharp form, with all the problems of crisis-ridden capitalist industry internationally-will be the face of the whole employing class after the

All the indications now are that Wilson will again attempt to increase his

the stops for a compromise settlement in today's talks at Trade Union

absolutely right to press their claim regardless of the general election. No retreat from the 25-per-cent claim!



#### BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

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'Hypnotism'

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'Sogat members should re-cognize the folly of playing follow-my-leader with a man who has blindfolded himself. 'We all know of the high wages with low productivity in Fleet St, but we also know

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power with increased produc-tivity and reasonable profits. 'Something much more radical than a voluntary wage freeze is required,' he added. But does this not fly in the face of previous Liberal asserand imply that legal

with the 'pittance' offered to their staff. Matthews said, in contradiction to the 'Star's' Bloodthirsty

> never taken place. Stung by this question and knowing full well that it ex-posed the Stalinist's refusal to the British people,' he fumed. 'We might as well not have an election."

course! And if the laws are broken?

Obviously an expert at dealing with rebellious workers wherever they might dare to show their heads, Mr Rippon bitterly and splenetically anticommunist' even more so than cracy East of Suez. anti-Tory. Restore the status of the

hunter-killer submarine pro-'As if one man can dictate gramme, etc., etc. Workers Press editor Michael Banda replied fully to these and other Stalinist lies over

## **Vorster faces Paris demo**

**S AFRICAN Prime Minister** Vorster is due to arrive in Paris today after his brief

stay in Madrid. Large-scale security forces have been mobilized to pro-tect President Pompidou's hated guest from anti-apartheid demonstrators.

Jean-Jacques de Felice, a leader of the French Movement Against Racism

Bletchley, Bucks.

who') Wilson and even had

secretary Vic Feather as a

and Anti-Semitism. manded outright cancel-lation of the visit. He added: 'We are plan-

and Madrid.

ning demonstrations outside point of view of a propaganda the Prime Minister's office and the Foreign Ministry.' Paris is the last port-of-call in a tour which has taken Vorster from Malawi and Rhodesia to Lisbon

battle'. We call on workers to vote Labour and as against the Communist Party candidate in order to take part in the movement of the working class to keep the Tories out.

Press.

Replied

our position on the General Election in Monday's Workers

gramme does not assist

the Labourite right wing.

#### creasingly from the US, rather ALEXANDER DUBCEK, re-

than Britain. His anti-Zionist statements are never taken seriously, either by the imperialists and their Zionist agents or by the

Arab people. The danger in the present stage of the Arab struggle is n the political character of the guerrilla leadership. Not only does it continually try to blunt the conflict between the Arab masses and the Arab rulers, but it now comes under the influence of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Arafat himself, leader of both Al-Fatah and the Pales-FEARS that the mounting anti-Tory feeling tine Liberation Organization, in the working class is exposing the irrelehas recently visited Moscow. vance of the Communist Party's electoral Speaking in Cairo on Saturday, he said that by receiving intervention dominated a Hornsey election the Palestine delegation, the meeting addressed by the Party's local candi-USSR recognized the Palesdate Mrs Morris and 'Morning Star' editor tine revolution and its methods of struggle. 'We hope our relations will

strengthened and the In answer to a question on the fight for Soviet Union will understand our cause better,' he said. But every Palestinian knows industrial action against the Indo-China war, record, that the paper would always continue to advocate, that Israel would never have come into existence without stimulate and report such the support received by the Zionists from Stalin in 1947-He cynically suggested that 1948.

perhaps the paper's own staff should strike on this issue-The aim of all the military as if the Merseyside May assistance given by the Soviet leaders to Egyptian defence today is to enable them to strike against the war had hold back the movement in the Middle East effectively and guarantee the status quo. to fight for industrial action, Matthews launched into an This was, after all, the basis of Soviet policy during the 1967 war.

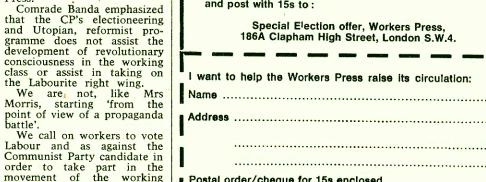
**GOES SLOW** NEW YORK Wednesday-The stock market opened listlessly today, with trading slow and the averages down frac-

tionally. After half an hour of trading, the Dow Jones industrial index was off 0.34.

NOW IT'S UP TO YOU SPECIAL ELECTION OFFER

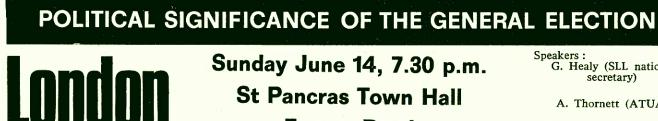
We are absolutely convinced that our circulation can be considerably increased over the election period.

You have the opportunity to introduce new readers by using our special election offer of 18 issues by post for 15s from June 1-20 (back issues still obtain able). Get your new reader to fill in the form below and post with 15s to:

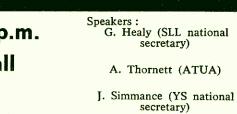


#### explain away the rocketing cost of living; one of his biggest 'eggs'. After smiling fixedly hrough claims that the "wage explosion" has to through to some extent taken care of the rise in prices', Pitt declared that the Tories were 'in no position to talk'. ● PAGE FOUR COL. 6 → tions

● PAGE FOUR COL. 2 ->



Sunday June 14, 7.30 p.m. **St Pancras Town Hall Euston Road** 





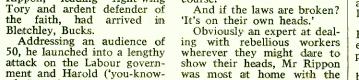
know how to deal with the shirkers'. With imperial colours flying, Mr Geoffrey Rippon, leading right-wing Tory and ardent defender of Anti-union legislation? Of

faith, had arrived in

was most at home with the application of British demo-

an unkind word for TUC dire threat to British demo-

Territorial Army, restore the



#### attack on the Socialist Labour League. The SLL's call to vote Labour, he said, 'completely exposed their nonsensical exposed pseudo-revolutionary' position. The SLL, he continued, are

'Star'

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smears SLI

action.

BY PETER READ



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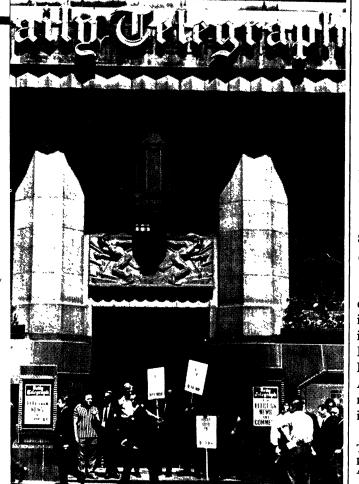
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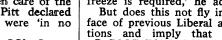
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## **Bloodthirsty**

## evening...

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'It's on their own heads.' Bletchley, Bucks. Addressing an audience of 50, he launched into a lengthy Obviously an expert at dealing with rebellious workers wherever they might dare to attack on the Labour govern-ment and Harold ('you-knowshow their heads, Mr Rippon was most at home with the who') Wilson and even had application of British demoan unkind word for TUC

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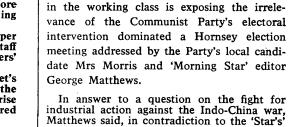
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'Star'

editor

In answer to a question on the fight for industrial action against the Indo-China war, Matthews said, in contradiction to the 'Star's'

smears SLI

BY PETER READ

FEARS that the mounting anti-Tory feeling

record, that the paper would always continue to advocate, that Israel would never have come into existence without stimulate and report such the support received by the action. He cynically suggested that Zionists from Stalin in 1947perhaps the paper's own staff should strike on this issue— 1948.

The aim of all the military as if the Merseyside May assistance given by the Soviet leaders to Egyptian defence today is to enable them to strike against the war had never taken place. Stung by this question and knowing full well that it ex-posed the Stalinist's refusal hold back the movement in the Middle East effectivelyand guarantee the status quo. This was, after all, the basis to fight for industrial action, Matthews launched into an of Soviet policy during the attack on the Socialist Labour 1967 war.

League. The SLL's call to vote Labour, he said, 'completely exposed their nonsensical pseudo-revolutionary' position. The SLL, he continued, are bitterly and splenetically anticommunist' even more so than anti-Tory.

Replied

Workers Press editor Michael Banda replied fully to these and other Stalinist lies over our position on the General Election in Monday's Workers Press.

Comrade Banda emphasized that the CP's electioneering and Utopian, reformist programme does not assist the development of revolutionary consciousness in the working class or assist in taking on the Labourite right wing. We are, not, like Mrs Morris, starting 'from the point of view of a propaganda battle'.

We call on workers to vote Paris is the last port-of-Labour and as against the Communist Party candidate in order to take part in the movement of the working and Rhodesia to Lisbon class to keep the Tories out.

ALEXANDER DUBCEK, recently recalled from his duties as Czech Ambassador to Turkey, has been expelled from the Czecho-slovak Communist Party, it was reported late on Tuesdav

Attacks on Dubcek and his. supporters have grown increasingly shrill in the last few weeks.

His name has been indirectly inked with mythical 'counter-revolutionary plots' and even the activities of

exile fascist groups. Party secretary Gustav Husak —who deposed Dubcek in May last year—would prefer the compromise solution of returning Dubcek to Ankara.

Other elements in the bureaucracy have been calling for a series of political 'trials'. And it is these die-hard Stalinists who have set the political tone of the Czech press and radio since the beginning of the Party purge in February.

#### WALL ST **GOES SLOW**

NEW YORK Wednesday-The stock market opened listlessly today, with trading slow and the averages down fractionally.

After half an hour of trading, the Dow Jones industrial index was off 0.34.

#### NOW IT'S UP TO YOU SPECIAL ELECTION OFFER

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I	want	to	help	the	Wo	rkers	Press	raise	it <b>s</b>	cir	culati	on:	

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Address



hated guest from anti-apartheid demonstrators.

Jean-Jacques de Felice, leader of the French Movement Against Racism

Vorster is due to arrive in Paris today after his brief stay in Madrid.

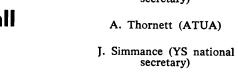
secretary Vic Feather as a dire threat to British demo-

'As if one man can dictate

ning demonstrations outside the Prime Minister's office and the Foreign Ministry. call in a tour which has taken Vorster from Malawi

Speakers : Sunday June 14, 7.30 p.m. G. Healy (SLL national secretary)

**St Pancras Town Hall Euston Road** 



POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GENERAL ELECTION

THE METHODS used by employers in modern produc-

tivity bargaining aim at combining high initial payments and a friendly approach to workers with an extremely fast rate of working, a systematic rundown of the labour force and the assertion of a hire and fire discipline.

These are all to be found rooted in the use made of the earliest form of work study the Taylor System of Scientific Management.

Since capitalism's earliest days, employers have worked to squeeze every last ounce of energy out of the worker by threats of sacking, by speeding-up machines and by giving up workers more machines operate.

However, it was not until the 1880s that attempts were made to measure work systematically and put its examination and operation on a scientific basis.

Frederick Winslow Taylor was born in Philadelphia, USA in 1856. Of middle-class back-ground, he first studied law, but due to bad sight gave it up and, instead, at the age of 18, became an apprentice patternmaker.

Four years later, in 1878, he was made up to journeyman and went to work at the Midvale Steel Company, Pennsylvania.

Within eight years he had taken a degree in mechanical engineering and had also become the chief engineer of the company.

#### The Bethlehem **Steel Company**

It was during his time at Midvale, and following this, at the Bethlehem Steel Company, that he conducted several experiments in timing workers with a stop-watch and that he developed his concept of 'scientific management'

His conclusions, from having held positions at all levels and from having been a gang boss himself for a time, were that employers never knew just how fast a worker was able to work.

He found that in order to protect slower, weaker members of a group, and in order to maintain piece-rates and prevent a iob finishing up too quickly, workers 'soldiered' of worked slower than was technically possible.

Taylor, at all times a bosses' man, decided that it was 'his duty' to break down this protective system and to arrive at a position where each worker was working continuously at the fastest possible pace.

His method was to pick

from the rest and was paid a special wage for working at top speed.

> At the same time, Taylor used a stopwatch to time the speed of operation and also worked out new methods of action to make the worker more efficient. Other workers in the firm who could also work at this pace were paid the special rate until a gang of very fast operatives had been verv built up.

The rest of the workforce was then told to work at the new pace Those who would not or could

not were sacked or given other work. New workers taken on either had to work at this speed or lose the job.

Taylor was not concerned with establishing 'average' work levels for 'average' workers; his aim was a continuous turnover of workers until an 'élite' of highspeed operators was established.

> First-class man

Furthermore, he advised any employer who adopted his system to make tasks so difficult that they can only be accomplished by a first class man'.

certain percentage of them,' he wrote in his book 'Shop Management', published 'Shop Management', published in 1903, 'with the best inten-tion will fail in this and find that they have no place in the new organization, while still others, and among them some of the best workers, who are, however, stupid or stubborn can never be made to see that the new system is as good as the old; and these, too, must drop out.'

Taylor considered it essential in times of full employment to win the workers' full agreement to working at top speed by giving him a new philosophy, that of class collaboration and cooperation with the management:

'The substitution of hearty brotherly co-operation for contention and strife; of both pulling hard in the same direction instead of pulling apart; of replacing suspicious watch-fulness with mutual confidence, of becoming friends instead of enemies.

'It is along these lines, I say, that scientific management must be developed.'

> Sacking and disciplining

Taylor found no contradiction between this view and the fact that he supported the ruthless sacking and disciplining systems operated by the steel companies.

'It is only through enforced standardization of methods, enforced adoption of the best implements and working con-ditions, and enforced cooperation that this faster work

Bernard Franks looks at the early history of Time and Motion methods in industry

Work Study

handler ought to handle between 47 and 48 long tons per day instead of 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> tons.'

From this point Taylor began a 'scientific selection of work-men' and built up a team of workers who moved 47<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> tons a day each instead of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  tons and who received 60 per cent higher wages than normal gangs.

Similarly, by using the same principle of rationalizing work-ing operations and building a force of picked labourers, a team of 600 shovellers at Bethlehem was reduced to 140.

Each of these workers shifted 59 tons of ore a day in contrast to 16 tons by members of the original gang.

20

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To bring this about, Taylor had undertaken a detailed examination of shovelling techniques, breaking them down into their separate moves or elements and timing these to the nearest 100th of a minute.

He experimented with the size of the shovels and found that a greater amount of tonnage was hifted each day with a smaller shovel which the labourers could use at greater speed.

He also carefully drew plans of the yards where the men worked so that the movements of workers from one part of the yards to another could be mapped out in advance. By these methods he eventually arrived at the reduced work force.

> Average cost of handling

This meant that though the actual wage of each worker could be raised from \$1.15 to \$1.88, the average cost of handling a ton fell from \$0.072 to \$0.033.

Taylor estimated that this resulted in a saving of between \$75,000 to \$80,000 a year. He was adamant that extra money should be paid to workers, but this should not be too much.

While on the one hand ninefold increases in output were attainable, on the other hand, no more than 60 per cent increase should be made because:

'It does not do for most men to get rich too fast.

He explained that workers who cannot see why they should not receive double pay for doing double the work should be told that the increase in output is not only due to their labour, but also to the new methods and to the use of new machinery and appliances and that in any case cusomers must be allowed to benefit with lower prices and the company by receiving greater profits.

Exactly these arguments have been taken over in recent years by the Prices and Incomes Board in Britain when turning down wage increases for workers who have raised output by large amounts.

It is significant that Taylor was an engineer, as not only his mac nines shovels but also that of workers and of human actions were made solely in mechanical terms.

ticular gained large interests in New York Banks and in the iron mines and transportation systems.

At the same time, the US working class combined to force employers to reduce the hours of work and increase wages.

By 1905, the American Federation of Labour (AFL), a union that strongly opposed Taylor's methods, had a membership of nearly two million.

The Bethlehem Steel Company needed Taylor's methods to speed up production and reduce costs in the face of competition from United Steel, and also to operate as an alternative to union organization.

It succeeded in this to the extent of buying out numerous small plants, including Midvale, and going on to become the world's second largest steel company.

> Hostility to unions

Taylor's hostility to unions was expressed in particular over their placing limitations on the amount of work an operative should do. and on the collective protection they gave to groups of employees when Taylor specifically wanted deal separately with each to worker.

His hatred came out clearly in 'Shop Management':

'Some of the labour unions have succeeded in persuading the people in some parts of this country that there is something sacred in the cause of union labour and that, in the interests of this cause, the union should receive moral support whether it is right in any particular case or not.

'Union labour is sacred just so long as its acts are fair and good, and it is damnable just as soon as its acts are bad.

'Its rights are precisely those of non-union labour, neither greater nor less. The boycott, the use of force or intimi-dation, and the oppression of non-union workmen by labour unions are damnable; these acts of tyranny are thoroughly un-American and will not be tolerated by the American péople.

'One of the most interesting and difficult problems con-nected with the art of management is how to persuade union men to do a full day's work if the union does not wish them to do it.

'I am glad of the oppor-tunity of saying what I think on the matter, and of explaining somewhat in detail just how I should expect, in fact, how I have time after time induced union men to do a large day's work, quite as large as other men do.'

#### Ruthless exploitation

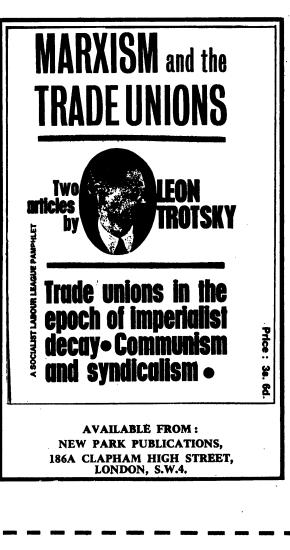
It was the labour unions, however, which organized against the ruthless exploitation of workers

> 'Instead of collective bargaining, Mr Taylor insists on

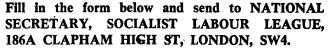
contained the following:

operative who looked able to work at an above average rate. This worker was separated off

'And the duty of enforcing the adoption of standards and enforcing this co-operation



### I would like information about THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE



Name	
Address	

and the second second

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card with his day's working rests with the management alone. The management must instructions on it prior to startsupply continually one or more ing work. teachers to show each new man the new and simpler The best known example of Taylor's system in operation is motions, and the slower men

risen to their proper speed.

with the new methods and at the higher speed must be dis-charged by the management.'

Neither did the need to encourage 'mutual confidence' stop him advocating the occasional

use of secret timing methods

using a number of stopwatches

'There are many cases . . . in which telling the workman

that he was being timed in a

minute way would only result

in a row, and in defeating the whole object of timing.' ('Shop

Taylor's bases for actual changes at management level were found in his concept of 'functional management'.

Seperate

In place of the system where one gang boss supervised all aspects of the work, he put for-

ward the idea of a separate supervision for each aspect of

In a machine shop this would mean a gang boss for preparing work and ensuring that every

machine operator has work to be

done. a speed boss to see that

the right tools are available and

to see that all work is being done in the shortest time, an inspector responsible for quality

and a repair boss who makes

sure that each worker keeps his

machine clean and oiled and

A planning department would send out work specifications and

worker would be handed a

generally maintains it.

supervision

hidden in a notebook:

Management'.)

the operations

given by him in his book, 'The must be constantly watched and helped until they have Principles of Scientific Management', written in 1911. 'All of those who after proper teaching, either will not or cannot work in accordance

He explains how at the Bethlehem Steel Company a gang of

**Chairman:** 

Then, how does scien-

tific management pro-

pose to take care of men

75 pig-iron handlers had to continuously load chunks of pig-iron each weighing 92 lbs into railway wagons:

system

'They were good, average pig-iron handlers, were under an excellent foreman who himself had been a pig-iron handler, and the work was done, on the whole as cheaply

by employers using Taylor's methods A leaflet issued by the head of the machinists' union in 1912

Level of horsepower

At one time he conducted experiments to try and find out what level of horsepower a man could exert in a day, convinced that only by knowing this could he fix a 'proper' level of work and ensure that no slacking was taking place.

The economic period in which Taylor developed his system was one of unprecedented upsurge for the USA.

For example, the promotion of pig-iron, an indicator of heavy 'We found that this gang industrial production generally, was nearly doubled between the years 1893 and 1900. Many comwere loading on the average about 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> long tons per man per day. We were surprised to find, after studying the matter, binations absorbed their weaker rivals and Standard Oil in parthat a first class pig-iron

individual agreement, and any insistence on organized-labour methods will result in discharge. Wherever this system has been tried it has resulted either in labour trouble or failure to install the system, so it has destroyed the labour organization and reduced the men to virtual slavery, low wages, and has engendered such an air of suspicion among the men that each man regards every other man as a possible

traitor or spy.' Taylor spent the time up to his death in 1915 publicising his methods.

**Chairman:** 

It is not a question of a

man who can work and

won't work; it is a ques-

tion of a man who

doesn't meet your defini-

tion of 'first-class' work-

men. What place have

you for such men?

The 'collaboration' aspect in

Because of opposition of government workers to his system, particularly in army arsenals, a Committee of Congress was appointed and TAYLOR was called before it to testify in 1912. After outlining the principles of his system he was questioned by the Committee and a heated discussion took place in which the CHAIR-MAN of the Committee attempted to get Taylor to define a 'second-class man' but Taylor would only do this by defining his 'first-class' operator. The exchange continued :

as it was anywhere else at the

Taylor goes on to state:

time."

I am not speaking about birds at all.

#### **Taylor:**

**Chairman:** 

Scientific management has no place for such men?

## **Taylor:**

**Taylor:** 

I give it up.

Scientific management a man who can work and has no place for a bird that can sing and won't sing.

#### who are not 'first-class' men in any particular line of work? **Chairman:**

No man who can work and won't work has any place under scientific management.

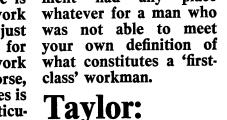
### **Chairman:**

It is not a question of won't work; it is a question of a man who is not however, that suits all a 'first-class' man in any types of men.

one particular line, according to your own

## **Chairman:**

We are not in this particular investigation dealing .with horses nor singing birds . . . what I wanted to get at is scientific managewhatever for a man who



**Taylor:** I believe the only man whether or not your who does not come under 'first-class' as I ment had any place have defined it, is the man who can work and won't work. I have tried to make it clear that for each type of workman some type of work can be found at which he is 'first-class', with the exception of those men Exactly, there is no who are perfectly well place for a man who can able to do the job, but

won't do it.

definition. **Taylor:** I do not know of any such line of work. For

the dray horse and work for the trotting horse, and each of these types is 'first-class' in his particu-

lar kind of work. There is no one kind of work.

each man some line can be found in which he is first class. There is work for each type of man, just as for instance, work for

work and won't work.



'mental revolution among work-men and managements' was taken up by employers in many countries as a new 'philosophy of production'.

Its development in Europe was continued in the 1930s against mounting opposition from organ ized workers, especially to its most refined development intro-duced by Charles Bedaux and known as the Bedaux System.

It would be totally wrong to consider Taylor's methods as a complete fraud.

In fact he had come upon the fringe of a genuine science of work which could make all work operations safer and easier while achieving higher output and which could simplify manage ment, costing and control of an enterprise to a degree which would open its operation to everyone

However, under capitalism this aspect of his systems could only be distorted for the exploitation and subjugation of the worker in the name of profit.

The scientific findings which were supposedly 'impartial' and above class distinctions always turned out to give huge benefits to management and to act to the great detriment of the workers

The major use to which the systems were put, as even Taylor's earliest examples show, were for the systematic reduction of the labour force.

In modern times, with Taylor's policy of immediate dismissal now, in general, no longer available, even more emphasis is placed on 'mutual understanding' and in promoting the 'philosophy' of collaboration in order to achieve results.

What is referred to as Taylor's 'blind spot'—his hostility to the unions—is now 'corrected' and union leaders play a key role in the implementing of work-study systems.

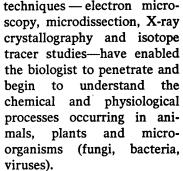
#### Time-and-motion systems

Over the past five years in Britain the modern developments of time-and-motion systems have been lifted from the context of attempts at increasing exploitation by individual employers and have been turned instead into a fundamental aspect of government policy.

Complete political backing is now given to planning and promoting productivity systems for industry and large amounts of money from state funds are being used in an attempt to ensure that these methods eventually operate in every industry and every occupation.

Taylor's concept of planning departments, of providing specifications for all operations and of timing work actions are all used today by work-study consultants.

His system of setting a high level of working tied to a fixed rate with the sacking of anyone who cannot attain this is basically what Measured-Day Work systems aim at achieving.



The complexity of the chemical reactions and the ordered way in which they take place has confronted biologists with many theoretical problems.

For example, sugar (glucose) which is obtained from our diet is broken down chemically in the body by a series of reactions which occur in a particular se-quence known as the glycolytic pathway and the citric acid cycle.

Through these sequences of reactions energy is produced which is utilized for limb movement and synthetic chemical reactions (e.g. building proteins).

#### cell division and reproduction.

Also, living organisms repro-duce, take part in the process of These phenomena which are really basic processes of life can-not be understood from the heredity and evolve. Recent experimental evidence puts in doubt the idea of a standpoint of the two main schools of biological thought — vitalism and mechanical materialgenetic code existing in all cells which is responsible for the development of each organ, tissue and cell in the body. ism. Both are revealed as bankrupt theoretical positions in the face of these and other develop-

It was thought that the genetic code in a tadpole liver cell, for example, caused the production of two liver cells when the original one divided, yet if a liver cesses of life are so distinctive that there must be some factor cell is transplanted to the gills in a tadpole, it will grow as part of at work in living systems which is not found in the non-living that organ.

Also, if a piece of the liver is removed, the organ will regenerate itself to the original size. This shows there is something about the whole organ which has a hand in determining growth,

BBC 1

world. This vital force, it is said, exists in all living beings; it is the 'soul' of life. Vitalism is openly theoretical and the vast majority of biologists reject such

Distinctive

The vitalists say that the pro-

pared with a heat engine. The organization and control of the complex biochemical processes are described in terms of computers.

Although there may be similarities between mechanical phenomena and certain aspects of living processes, the combination of empiricism and eclecticism is no substitute for a real theoretical understanding of the nature of life. The mechanist sees the solu-

tion to an understanding of the processes of life in the realms of chemistry and physics and recog-nizes no specifically biological laws.

Professor Waddington of Edinburgh University expresses the theoretical crisis affecting the biological sciences when he says of the symposium at Lake Como:

HARLECH: 11.00 London. 2.58 Cham-pionship tennis. 4.04 Mad movies, 4.30 Forest rangers, 5.00 London, 5.30 Re-port. 5.40 Election special. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: **'The Scape-goat'** with Alec Guinness and Bette Davis. An English schoolmaster finds himself in trouble after meeting his double in France. 8.30 Dr in the house. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 Lon-don. 10.00 London. 1.00 Weather.

HTV (West) colour channel 61 as

above except: 4.02-4.04 Report West. 5.30 Lone Ran-ger. 5.38-5.45 Peter. 5.55-6.30 Scene

HTV Wales colour channel 41 as above

except: 4.04-4.30 Tins a lei. 6.30-6.35 Cartoon.

HTV Cymru/Wales black and white service as above except: 4.044.30 Tins a lei, 5.30 Y dydd. 6.30-6.35 Etholiad cyffredinol.

6.35 Etholiad cyffredinol. ULSTER: 11.00-2.58 London. 4.10 Rom-per room. 4.30 News. 4.35 Floris. 5.00 London. 5.30 Summer season. 5.45 London. 6.30 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: **'The Jazz Singers'** with Danny Thomas and Peggy Lee. A young boy is torn between show business and religion. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. 10.40 Campaign Ulster. 10.55 London.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00-3.00 London, 4.15 Origami. 4.30 Phoenix five. 5.00 Lon-don. 5.30 Calendar, weather. 5.45 Lon-don. 7.00 F troop. 7.30 Dr in the house. 8.00 Mannix, 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London, 1.00 Weather.

**BORDER:** 1.40-2.58 London. 3.52 Nanny and the Professor. 4.23 News. 4.25 Enchanted house, 4.35 Forest rangers. 5.00 London. 5.30 News. Lookaround. 5.45 London. 6.30 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.00 Dr in the house. 8.00 Strange report. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. 1.00 News, weather.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-2.58 London. 4.00 Scotland early. 4.10 London. 4.35 Forest rangers. 5.00 London. 5.25 Scot-land now. 5.45 London. 6.30 High iving. 7.00 Film: 'Blood Alley' with John Wayne and Lauren Bacall. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. 1.00 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58-2.58 London. 4.05 Freud on food. 4.30 Mad movies. 5.00 London. 5.30 News. 5.45 London. 5.55 Grampian voter. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'An American in Paris'. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London.

as evolution or perception to their traditional problems.'

Just as vitalism is openly idealist in method (vital force is only another name for Plato's 'psyche', the entelechy of Aris totle, the immortal soul or divine spark of various religious thinkers, the Kantian 'inner prin ciple of action' and Hegels' 'uni-versal reason') the mechanical materialists open the door for the God-seekers such as Koestler (see the review by John Craw-ford of 'Beyond Reductionism'). Only on the basis of a dialec tical materialist method is one able to conceive of the processes of life.

#### Development

The quantitative addition of chemical molecules at a certain stage gives rise to a qualitative development in the nature of the chemical system where different laws of development apply. A unit of DNA called a nucleotide does not have the ability to replicate, yet at a certain level of 'addition' of nucleo

# ex-British colonies

forces murdered great numbers of parents and children)? What price the inferior, segre-gated, starved 'education' given in return for this slaughter and

much more by the missionaries and state of Britain? Even today, ten children are killed off by super-exploitation for every one in school for a few years.

Medical 'aid'

Since the average life-span of an African in S Rhodesia under Britain or Smith is half a normally expected span in the 20th century, it is not an exaggeration to say that British imperialism regularly and systematically murders half the Rhodesian popu-The short life of the Africans in S Rhodesia is due to his lation.

The press and pulpit, otherwise so vocal about 'genocide', say nothing of this.

It is against this mass killing of semi-colonial people by the imperialist system of super-exploitaion that medical and other 'aid' has to be measured — apart from the enormous profits made by British investors and the British state through this 'aid'.

As for the hospital services provided by Britain, these hardly exist for the African population.

Moreover the general state of health among the dispossessed is far lower under British rule than it was under the old tribal system.

British 'democracy' has meant that the majority of the people of 'British Africa' have been systematically murdered by Brit-In S Rhodesia there was one doctor for every 3,600 inhabitants -a 'better' ratio, compared with the 8,000 in N Rhodesia and sh monopoly capital and the British state—a genocide which 35,000 in Nyasaland. measured bv the British This ratio was entirely due to statistics themselves.

super-exploitation by British im-perialism and to his oppression by the political arm of British

imperialism, whether this arm be

a Crown Colony dictatorship, or the dictatorship of Ian Smith.

Average income

The average income of an

African worker or peasant in S

Rhodesia is one tenth of the

As a result the conditions of

living become conditions of dying. They bear comparison only with the most terrible crisis

years of the industrial revolution

in England and the Irish famine.

average wage in Britain.

His insistence that the new methods must begin gradually and that 'such improvements as directly affect the workmen least should be started first' are now built into most productivity schemes.

One thing is certain from examination of modern exploitation systems, particularly those promoted by government agen-cies---PIB, DEP, etc., though the methods are more refined and surrounded by far more double talk than Taylor ever used-the end products, the increased intensification of labour and a savage cut-back on the number of workers employed, are exactly those originally arrived at among the pig-iron handlers and ore shovellers of the Bethlehem Steel Company, USA.

Problems The phenomenon of reproduction also raises many problems.

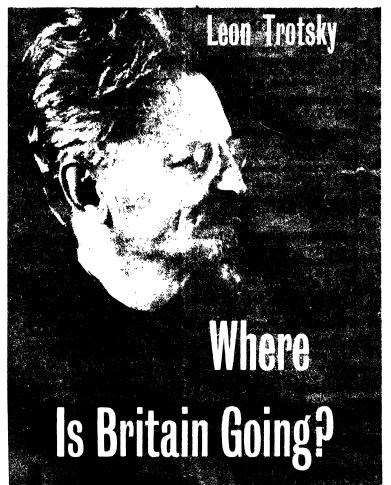
A recent symposium at Lake Como in Italy attended by leading scientists from many coun-tries attempted to tackle the central questions raised by the latest research into the nature of

life. The main problem is to explain

For example, human beings do not dry out when it is warm or take in water through their skins when it rains because the body maintains a constant shape, chemical composition, etc. How did life arise if it is so complex compared with the chemical reactions which we meet every day?

#### why living things are organized and how they maintain that organization in the face of a 1verse environmental conditions

#### IMPORTANT READING



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8.00-9.00 a.m. Good morning, Mexico. 9.38-11.38 Schools. 12 noon-1.30 p.m. World Cup grandstand. Brazil v Rumania, West Germany v Peru, Sweden v Uruguay, El Salvador v Russia. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.35 Schools. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Hector's house. 5.25 Abbott and Costello. 5.30 London. 5.50 News including BBC Campaign report and weather. 6.00 WORLD CUP GRANDSTAND. Who goes through to the 1970 World Cup? Brazil v Rumania, West Germany v Peru, Sweden v

- Uruguay, El Salvador v Russia-highlights England v Czechoslovakia, Morocco v Buigaria, italy v Israel, Beigium v Mexico--preview.
- 6.45 ELECTION 70. Journalists question politicians.
  7.30 THE DOCTORS. 7.50 TOP OF THE POPS.
- 8.25 DICK EMERY SHOW. With guest Josephine Blake.
- 8.50 NEWS including BBC Campaign report and weather.
- 9.10 RAQUEL. Raquel Welch with guests Bob Hope, John Wayne,
- and Tom Jones. 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Conservative Party. 10.10 24 HOURS.
- 10.45 'THE NAKED AND THE DEAD' with Aldo Ray, Cliff Robertson and Raymond Massey, War story,
- 12.45 a.m. WORLD CUP GRANDSTAND. England v Czechoslovakia, Morocco v Bulgaria, Italy v Israel, Belgium v Mexico.

#### **REGIONAL BBC**

All regions as BBC 1 except: Midlands and E Anglia: 5.30-5.50 Mid-lands today. Look East ,weather. North of England: 5.30-5.50 Look North, weather. Wales: 2.30-2.50 Dysgu cymraeg. 5.30

#### BBC2

- 11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL.
  - 7.05 p.m. USING BROADCASTS IN SCHOOLS.
  - 7.30 NEWS including BBC Campaign report and weather. 8.00 NOT A WORD. Word/game. 8.30 THE MONEY PROGRAMME.

  - 9.10 W. SOMERSET MAUGHAM. 'The Door of Opportunity, with Marianne Faithful. A young couple have just returned from Malaya. Their relationship appears normal.
  - 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Conservative Party.
  - 10.10 JAZZ SCENE. Ronnie Scott Club with The Stephane Grappelly-Teddy Wilson Quartet, Otis Spann and Thelonius Monk Quartet.
- 11.00 NEWS including BBC Campaign report and weather. 11.05 LINE-UP.

#### ITV

GRANADA: 11.00-2.58 London. 3.55 London. 4.10 Short story, 4.35 Forest rangers. 5.00 London. 5.25 Newsview. 5.45 London. 7.00 Film: "The Hunch-back of Notre Dame" with Charles Laughton, Maureen O'Hara, Edmond O'Brien, and Cedric Hardwicke. Paris is celebrating the annual Feast of Fools during the reign of Louis XI. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. 11.00 a.m.-2.58 p.m. Schools. 3.20 Beating retreat. Massed Bands of the Royal Marines. 3.55 Origami. 4.10 Crossroads. 4.35 Flipper. 5.00 Magple. 5.30 Mad movies. 5.45 News.

5.55 WORLD CUP 70.

- TYNE TEES: 11.00-2.58 London, 4.05 Newsroom. 4.18 Sara and Hoppity. 4.30 Floris. 5.00 London, 5.30 Today. 5.45 London, 7.00 Love American style. 8.00 Invaders. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London, 1.00 News. 1.02 Epilogue. 6.30 ON THE MARGIN. Today's election special. A report by the 'Today' team on the campaign in a crucial marginal constituency.
- 7.00 NEAREST AND DEAREST.
- 7.30 ACTION FILM. 'The Three Musketeers' with Gene Kelly, June Allyson, Lana Turner and Vincent Price. Four friends in 17th century France swear to protect the King from Richelieu with their lives.
- 9.30 **THIS WEEK**.
- 10.00 'A BETTER TOMORROW'. Conservative Party political broadcast. 10.14 NEWS.
- 10.45 WORLD CUP 70. England v Czechoslovakia.

#### **REGIONAL ITV**

CHANNEL: 11.00-2.58 London, 3.42 Puffin's birthday greetings. 3.52 Lon-don. 4.05 Wendy and me. 4.35 King Kong. 5.00 London. 5.30 Houseparty. 5.45 London. 5.55 Police file. 6.00 Sports roundup. 6.20 News, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: "Three Brave Men". 8.30 Royal Duchy. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. 10.00 Life in France. 10.14 London. 12.55 News, weather in French, weather. WESIWARD: 11.00-2.58 London. 3.40 News. 3.42 Gus Honeybun. 3.52 Lon-don. 4.05 Wendy and me. 4.35 King Kong. 5.00 London. 5.30 Diary. 5.45 London. 6.30 News. weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: **'Three Brave Men'** with Ray Milland and Ernest Borgnine. 8.30 Royal Duchy. Prince Charles visits the west. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. 10.00 Weather. tides replication becomes pos-

ANGLIA: 10.59-2.58 London. 4.10 Newsroom. 4.20 Plupp. 4.30 Flipper. 5.00 London. 5.25 About Anglia. 5.45 London. 6.25 About Anglia. 6.35 Cross-roads. 7.00 'Jubal' with Glenn Ford, Ernest Borgnine and Rod Steiger. A gentle-mannered drifter finds work on a friend's ranch but makes an enemy of a sadistic ranch-hand. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London. 1.00 Reflec-tion. sible It is at this stage that the system should be considered. From the standpoint of biological laws Engels stresses this in his 'Dialectics of Nature' (page 255). tion. **ATV MIDLANDS:** 11.00-2.58 London. 3.25 ATV today. 3.55 Peyton Place. 4.25 Enchanted house. 4.35 Stingray. 5.00 London. 5.25 Women today. 5.45 London. 6.25 ATV today. 6.35 Cross-roads. 7.00 'A Date With Judy' with Wallace Beery, Jane Powell, Elizabeth Taylor, Carmen Miranda, Xavier Cugat and Robert Stack. 9.00 Nearest and dearest. 9.30 London.

'If I term physics the mechanics of molecules, chemistry the physics of atoms, and furthermore biology, the chemistry of proteins, I wish thereby to express the passing of each of these sciences into another, hence both the connection, the con-tinuity and the distinctions.'

• In later articles we will discuss the origins of life, evolu-tion, the genetic code, and the problems of biology under capitalism, from this standpoint.



### Towards an Independent Revolutionary

Art Culture and Socialism and a Manifesto

Art and Revolution An article compiled by the author from a talk he gave to a Moscow club on February 3, 1926, and a number o other addresses.

The Manifesto, appearing in 1938 under the signatures of André Breton and Diego Rivera was in fact drawn up in collaboration with Trotsky Price: Two shillings and

sixpence Available from 186a Clapham High Street,

London SW4



In S Rhodesia the majority of the population die before they are 40 years old. A half to a third of babies die before they are one year old.

Health statistics are but one reflection of the extent to which British rule has produced 'back-ward countries' or 'under-developed states' in Africa. peans.

Such 'civilization' as Britain

brought was either confined to

the Britishers and other Euro-peans who settled like social

ocusts on the lands stolen from

the African tribes in devastating

wars of conquest, or else has to

possessed.

facilities.

'civilizing missions'.

police in the struggle for educa-

spheres as well.

separate, superior, services for the 'white' settlers, the number of doctors being almost directly proportional in the three territories to the number of Euro-

**Doctors 'reserved'** 

In the United States the number of inhabitants per doctor is about 750.

be measured relative to the total In British 'tropical Africa' destruction of life and of the means of life by the British conthere are about 25,000 Africans per doctor and the latter is usually reserved, firstly, for his quest, dispossession and enslavement of the conquered and dis-European patients.

#### There is one hospital bed for every 1,300 people (100 in the USA) and this bed is, firstly, for 'Civilization's' price For every non-European treated

Europeans only in well-equipped in a (segregated) missionary or state hospital, 13 died of supermission and state hospitals, health services in British exploitation and lack of hospital Rhodesia having been entirely segregated along racial lines.

No European died for lack of In addition to the starvation hospitals. For every non-Euro-pean admitted to a mission hosof medical facilities for Africans and hospital segregation, hos-pital fees of 10s to 18s a day (for minor treatment) effectively pital, thousands were killed by the British conquest and rule. The destruction of life itself excluded the population from wrought by Britain was almost medical treatment. for this was infinite in comparison with the lives 'saved' by the imperialist the average weekly wage of a Rhodesian wage-slave 'enjoying' British rule, as they do under Smith today.

The price of civilization can hardly be measured in other How many Africans were not killed by British troops and

This is how British rule in S Rhodesia denied and deprived the African workers and peasants of even the most elementary benefits of world civilization.

## Nottm hosiery engineers' strike decision taken today

500 WORKERS – members of the AEF and metal mechanics — are meeting today to decide whether to continue their three-week-old strike at the Bentley engineering group's two Nottingham factories.

The strike followed the dismissal of AEF convenor Mick Wyler for using bad

The dispute is the longest of a series over the last few months as unrest in the factories has grown with attacks on union organization linked up with plans for introducing productivity into the factories.

A MAJOR SPLIT is developing inside the Ulster Unionist Party over its attitude to the Rev Ian Paisley and his extreme right-wing Protestant

BY JOHN SPENCER

Unionist

cracking

Party

under

strain

Paisley

Unionist Party. The row, which has been festering ever since the events of last August, came to a head at the weekend when Armagh official Unionist candidate Jack Maginnis issued an unprecedented statement in which he : • PUBLICLY THANKED

Paisleyites for staying out of the Armagh contest. • PRAISED their 'extreme loyalty and patriotic love for

Ulster', and PLEDGED, if elected, 'defend the constitution to and the good name of this province . . . with much greater zeal than ever before'. The Paisleyites, he added, 'had and still have valid reasons' for opposing him!

#### Appeasement

Paisley, of course, is sharply critical of the Chichester Clark Stormont gov-ernment, which he claims has carried out a policy of appeasement by agreeing the Callaghan 'reforms' and seeking closer links with the 'green Tories' of the Eire government. of Chichester

Yet many Clark's official list of Westminster candidates sympathize with Paisley's hard line. Maginnis is not alone.

Chichester Clark has giver a blanket endorsement to all the Ulster Unionist candidates, but they have refused to return the favour by endorsing his policies. He dare not risk deepening the split on the eve of the election.

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

fore productivity can be intro-duced into the factories.

other factories in the group at Leicester and Loughborough.

The dispute may spread to

stoppage shortly before the language to a rate fixer. present dispute. The management sees very clearly that shop-floor strength must be broken beclearly

Bentley engineering is part Clore's Sear's Holdings

which is a main part of the East Midlands hosiery indus-

try. The Nottingham factories produce circular knitting machines.

#### Wages up

Since the opening of the new County Road factory in 1965, the union organization in both factories has been able to push up wages through increased piece rate bonuses.

The attacks on union con-ditions produced a stoppage in March by the 500 men when the management dis-missed a labourer for representing a group of labourers and asking for a pay rise on their behalf. Strike action was taken by 40 workers over the sacking

of a foreman. A two-day strike followed in April when Mick Wyler

was suspended for two days. The present dispute fol-lowed the walk out of 11 members of a fitting section. The management proposed to cut the bonus earnings by 12s an hour for work which was not timed. The dispute, after failure to agree at York, produced an official AEF strike on Monday, May 11. The following Wednesday

the convenor was again sus-pended and sacked the fol-lowing Thursday. The men walked out on May 19.

#### No card

At subsequent meetings the voted to continue the strike because although the firm agreed to Mr Wyler's reinstatement, he would not be able to hold a steward's card. With the growth of com-

William Cotton's factory in Loughborough contributed £254 to the strike fund last week. **Brian Behan** 

FOR THE MARXIST movement, the evolution of those who desert it is of great educational interest. It can often throw considerable light on the social forces which pulled them away from the

struggle for revolutionary leadership, and clarify the theoretical issues posed by the desertion.

A report in Tuesday's 'Daily Mail' is headed: 'A Behan goes to university at 42'. It quotes a student magazine

article by Brian Behan, announcing that he is going to study history at Sussex University.

Behan, brother of the late Brendan, was in 1958-1960 associated with the Socialist Labour League and before that

with the Communist Party. The article quoted by the 'Mail' shows that he is now moving very rapidly to the extreme right. He thinks that Universities need a cross-section of atti-

tudes and prejudices, says the

#### **Elections and strikes** IN ITALY'S first regional elections --- for which voters went to the polls at the beginshow workers ning of this week-the

**DAVID BARNES REPORTS ON ITALIAN SCENE** 

strength it puts Rumor in a better position to 'moderate' the centre-left.

Socialists' desire for reforms. This is parliamentary cretinism run riot, and certainly doesn't represent the real views of the employers. For the trade unions have been forced to announce a two-day stoppage of all state employees on next Monday and Tuesday, and three-day rail strike starting on Sunday.

Post office workers are planning additional strikes, and to this is added the pressure from the entire working class for reforms in housing, health, education and transport, together with tax cuts and price curbs.

It is this pressure from the working class, reflected also in the strengthened

Communist Party vote, that is the real force on the

**CP** governed

The CP has, with the support of PSIUP, control of Emilia, whose capital Bologna has been a Communist-governed city since after the war.

In the two neighbouring provinces of Umbria and Tuscany, coalitions of Communists, Socialists and PSIUP are possible. If such coalitions are formed, the future of the centre-left will be shaken nationally. The solid working-class vote for the parties of the labour movement pose the question of a government of workers' parties.

Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats and PSIUP combined took 48.5 per cent of the poll. The way forward for the Italian working class lies in the struggle to make the leaders struggle to make the leaders of the parties fight for such

#### Rump

Involved in this is the fight against the anti-communist rump in the Social Democratic leadership, who broke again only last year from the Socialist Party, and against all the schemes of the Socialists and Stalinists for parliamentary collab-oration with the Christian Democrats.

The Social Democrats, with 7 per cent of the votes, are the keystone in the employers' plans to continue with 'politics of the centre'. To break workers from them would force the rightwing Christian Democrats towards the fascists for their majority and raise the question of power before the parties of the labour movement in a way that would allow very rapid de-velopment of support for revolutionary policies.

Stalinist Czech Communist Party is now being openly admitted by Prague Radio. In a recent broadcast an excerpt from an article by Jaroslav Rous entitled 'Youth-the most precious

asset of the Party', the crisis of Czech Stalinism is spelt out quite brutally: 'The Party, above all, needs young workers. The improve-ment of the social and age

structure of the Party's ranks is one of the most urgent requirements of the present stage. In this respect we have greatly failed in meeting our obligations to future generations. Spearhead

The broadcast admitted that young workers were the spearhead of the anti-Stalinist movement in the period lead-ing up to the Kremlin inva-sion of August 1968 and that

even today they refuse to succumb to either the threats or bribes of the bureaucracy: It would be equally possible to prove that the fact that there is a relatively small number of young people in the Party is one of the rea-sons why youth is succumbing to such a large extent to various alien ideological influences . .

Youth

leave Czech

Party

THE DESERTION of young workers from the

'The small number of Communists [Rous here means Stalinists] among the young was certainly one of the reasons why anti-socialist [i.e. anti-Stalinist] elements succeeded, in 1968, in deceiving, by their irresponsible demagogy, such a large number of young people and in driving them, by their fanaticism,

BY ROBERT BLACK

acts. This open hostility of the youth leaves even hardened bureaucrats completely nonplussed

into resorting to dangerous

Shrug shoulders

'Officials of primary organ-izations often shrug their shoulders helplessly. They do not seem to be able to find anyone among the mature enough [sic]] admitted to the Party' to be

In fact, the situation is so desperate that the admission of hostile youth into the Party is connived at.

The bureaucracy has no option but to attempt recruitment from layers that are openly in opposition to the policies of the Party leader-

ship: 'If we are going to wait for the young people to mature sufficiently to be admitted to the Party—in particular today when it is hardly possible to describe several of our public organizations as a school of commun-ism [again, Stalinism] - we shall not see the necessary changes in our lifetime.' (Emphasis added).

Admitted

Rarely — if ever—has the tter bankruptcy of the utter Stalinist bureaucracy been so openly admitted.

Its total rejection by the young workers of Czechos-lovakia is the surest guaram-tee that the fight against the Husak regime and its Soviet protectors will go on, and that youth in their mil-lions will rally to the programme of the political revolution throughout E Europe, just as they are at this very



Behan (right) on an SLL Trafalgar Square platform against apartheid in the early 1960s.

nationalization and trade

declared himself for 'local consumer-producer alliances that will develop mutual aid as the motor force of society'. This idea will be recognized as resembling the 'corpora-

**Biography boost** 

In the trade unions, the fight against the type of blind militancy represented by Behan in the 1950s begins to win ground.

position to the right of the by Behan's latest phase. He

The battle for Marxist theory and political clarity, so vital in the unions today, is attracting thousands of wor-

Worke

Warning

unions, and in favour of the House of Lords and John Bloom-the washing machine manufacturer. Amid much clowning, Behan moves into the university when the fight against Marxist theory there is very strong.

tions' advocated by Musso-lini's Fascist Party.

Tory Party. And he has not stopped travelling." This is certainly confirmed

university

JOHN CRAWFORD looks at his past

this only as a syndicalist dis- It is worth noting that,

#### Powerful

The Ulster Unionist Partyan integral part of British Toryism—is drifting rapidly towards Paisley. Chichester Clark is powerless to interfere, even if he wanted to. The Party's break-up symptomatic of the extremely severe political crisis now developing in Britain's oldest colony.

are necessary to halt the wages drive and facilitate It shows with great clarity that the dispatch of British troops last August and the rationalization and producmuch-vaunted Callaghan tivity speed-up? reforms have enormously increased the dangers facing the working class in the six counties and throughout Irebut every captain of British land.

Fruits

The rapid swing to Paisleyism is the fruit of the Labour government's betrayal of every socialist principle in Ulster. No socialist will mourn the break-up of the Ulster Union-

ist Party. But its crisis is a symptom

of the ruling-class preparation for civil war. Workers in Ulster are

pay strike', the 12th parainstinctively preparing to meet this with a massive graph began 'No attempt is to be made ...'. In full it should have read 'An attempt is to movement for unity against the Unionists. be made for united action with Leeds Corporation bus-

They must now begin to take up in earnest the revolutionary tasks in front.



#### SOVIET-US FRIENDSHIP VITAL-KOSYGIN

added. Moscow Wednesday-Soviet premier Alexei Kosygin said today that good relations be-tween the Soviet Union and the United States were in the interest of world peace. He told an election meeting in the Bolshoi Theatre that no appreciable progress had been made in normalizing relations with China or in the current border talks in Peking.

He said that because of the Indo China war and Washington's support for Israel, oviet-American relations had failed to develop in recent vears.

But the Kremlin believed the establishment of good relations between them was not only in the interest of Soviet but of the whole world.

petition in the hosiery machinery industry, Bentley's have been attempting to introduce work study standard times into Nottingham factories.

FROM PAGE ONE

sanctions against the unions

Here Lord Byers speaks not

only for the Tory press barons,

industry who knows that a

showdown with the unions

cannot be avoided or long-

Yet Chancellor Roy Jenkins denied vigorously the exist-

ence of any crisis-'most cer-

tainly not'—and continued to

CORRECTION

In yesterday's back-page story

Yorkshire busmen plan third

men and other companies for

'Those in the United States

who think that only the Soviet

side is interested in better

political and economic rela-

a wage rise without strings'.

delayed.

are

Stewards rejected the application of standard times. The introduction of cine cameras into Webster Bennett

and the machine shop produced a

Print strike

You need some of these skinhead people and these dockers who shout "Ho, ho, Enoch Powell". Otherwise you get a false society.' Later he says:

'The universities seem to have replaced the old trade unions and radical movements as centres of discussion.

argue for 'an effective volun-

tary incomes policy'. 'We can make this work.

People in this country will see

sense,' he told his disbelieving

'conciliation pause' did not apply to the present strike as

possibility of a second Indus-

trial Relations Bill, he warned:

At the Tory press confer-ence, seated beside a benignly

smiling Maudling, Mrs Castle's shadow Robert Carr went to

great pains to prove that Tory

trade union 'reform' meant

not legislation, but only 'rules'.

However, 'a claim of this

kind takes time to settle,' he

said in reference to the Fleet

St shut-down, '14 days is too little to deal with a claim of

Obeyed

the country to have power to

have a cooling-off period this

country have always obeyed

reasonable orders given by our courts.'

These proposals were echoed by Heath at his Edinburgh

'If ever there was a case for

. Unions in this

 $25 \text{ per cent} \dots$ 

is it.

Wilson rose to add that a

However, questioned on the

one is needed it will be

audience.

it was official.

brought in'.

years, Behan ha In ten covered the entire political spectrum, from ultra-leftism towards implied support for Powellites and he has by no means stopped moving.

press has greeted the small shifts in the total proportions of votes cast

for each party as an

endorsement for the

The parties in Rumor's

coalition have in fact polled 58.2 per cent of the total,

as against 55.1 in the 1968

ground slightly while the

Christian Democrats, Re-publicans and Social Demo-crats have gained a little.

The fascist vote, which rose over a 100,000 to 1,271,232, reflects the re-actionary facet of the re-

sponse of the middle class

to the social crisis. The Communist Party in-

creased its share fraction-

ally to 28.2 per cent (almost seven million) while the

**PSIUP** (left-wing socialists)

vote was cut by a quarter to 800,000.

'Moderation'

Not only does the vote strengthen the centre-left, argues the Italian press, but

The Socialists have lost

parliamentary elections.

centre-left government.

But an examination of his political history shows that he has remained consistent in a very fundamental sense. Behan was part of a group

of syndicalist workers who coexisted with Stalinism inside the Communist Party.

As with all representatives of this tendency, he opposed the struggle for Marxist theory in the working class, substituting blind militant action for the development of revolutionary leadership. Once described by Harry Pollitt as a 'model Com-munist', Behan began to raise disagreements with CP policy

in the building industry in 1956. He put up no real political struggle against Stalinism, but, after he was removed from the CP Executive in 1957, he

left the Party. About the same time, other leaders of the CP trade union groups were breaking with the Party, or beginning to break, also without a theoretical fight.

#### Indignation

John Horner of the Fire Brigades Union and Leslie Cannon of the Electrical Trades Union were two examples.

Each of them found a path towards the established machinery of the labour movement, after parting with the CP in a wave of moral indignation. Behan, however, joined the

Trotskyist movement. But although repeatedly urged to study its programme and theory, he refused to do

In 1958, he was involved in the strike on the MacAlpine Shell-Mex site, but he saw

London area, E and W Midlands, central northern England: Sunny. Wind light and variable. Very hot. Max. 30C (86F).

Glasgow area: Sunny periods. Wind easterly, light. Very hot. Max. 25C (77F).

Outlook for following 48

pute, not in terms of the lessons of political leadership to be learned from it. He was criticized within the

ticular, he wanted us to turn

away from our work in the

As in every aspect of syn-

dicalist and sectarian politics,

the outcome of such a line, if

carnied out against the labour

bureaucrats, and the training

of the young forces which

Discussion

ment of the working class.

Above all, he ever more

hours: Continuing hot and

sunny. Isolated thunderstorms

afternoon and evening, per-

haps becoming more wide-

spread in southern areas later.

Congratulations

military dictatorship in Indo-

nesia. Sri Sultan Hamengku

Buwono, has sent a congratu-

formed

trade unions.

political views.

member.

tory.

one discussion.

opposed to Behan's views on the Labour Party, his followers, Blackburn and Tariq SLL for this action. Towards the end of 1959, Ali today, echo Behan's sec Behan's differences with the tarian and irresponsible ideas when they tell workers not to Trotskvist movement began to vote Labour on June 18. come out in the open. In par-

#### Anarchism

while, at that time, Mandel

was on paper diametrically

Labour Party, just as the Young Socialists was being But Behan was not interested in Mandel's type of politics. Moving on towards anarchism, he soon denounced trade unions, as well as the Labour Party, as 'capitalist we had adopted it, would have been to prevent the struggle for Marxism being organizations'.

But it was not only the revisionists who noted Behan's break with the Socialist Labour League. Fleet St was also very inter-

were to take the battle from ested. His rejection of theory the Labour Party into the they saw correctly as a weapon to weaken the working class. In 1963, a magazine calle 'Twentieth Century' publishe an article by him under th As the very full discussion title 'Why I am an agitator on these issues developed inside the SLL, so did Behan's Among other things, Beha declared himself agains

Before the 1960 Conference of the League, Behan had attacked the leadership in public and broken important **CLAPHAM** decisions of the leading committees of which he was a FROM PAGE ONE For this, he was expelled. Asked by a young immigrate worker about what he would Mea--while, he had begun to opp, e all centralized revoactually do about prices, h lutional leadership as inhibit-

'thought I had answered that ing the spontaneous moveone'-adding, lamely, that 'th government is committed using the machinery of th decisively rejected the need Commission on Industry an for Marxist theory and his-Manpower to deal with rises However, a question o Don't rattle the old bones immigration—'hasn't the go of Trotsky at me!' he said in ernment been guilty of grove ling before Powellism?'-This break with the SLL close to drawing blood; it w was welcomed by two groups promptly farmed out. Silkin flailed back th

accusations of backing dow before Powell were arran nonsense, tried to impugn th psychological motivations the questioner and claime that Kenyan Asian entry ha been restricted in order 'help Kenya sort out its racial problems'

Answering questions on his attitude to anti-union legisla-tion, Pitt claimed that 'In Place of Strife' had been dropped not because of strike action by sections of the trade union rank and file, but because of pressure inside the Parliamentary Labour Party. ACTING president of the June 18 must see an overultra-right communist-killing whelming anti-Tory, Labour

victory in Clapham. But it will be a thick political rope round reformism's repulsive neck, not a vote of confidence in the Pitts, the Silkins, the Mallalieus and the Beckinghams.

This was followed in Ju 1963 by the appearance in the 'Daily Express' of a boost for his autobiography, which came out in 1964.

Commenting on the 'Express' article, G. Healy wrote in 'The Newsletter' (June 29, 1963):

'Behan never really broke politically with Stalinism. His criticisms against it were alof theory. ways confined to emotional outbursts of anger and dema-'This explains why he has right. moved so rapidly to the right

to the point where he has gone from being a member of the Communist Party right through the Socialist Labour learn from his fate. League and now occupies a

moment pioneering the fight against imperialism from Vietnam to the USA.

The evolution of Behan from the super-proletarian syndicalist, worshipping the **BEA FLIGHTS** 'spontaneity' of the working class, to the student, defend-ing the rights of Powellism in DELAYED

the colleges, is a warning to all those who belittle the role SOME BEA flights were de layed or cancelled again yesterday at Heathrow as a Behan has certainly not result of the pilots' work to stopped his evolution to the rule-now in its 11th day.

The pilots are demanding a He will reappear in even 13 per cent pay increase and more reactionary movements as the crisis develops. We say they will continue workwarn all workers and students

ing to rule until they are offered a 'satisfactory' deal. to watch him closely — and They have rejected a 10 per cent offer.

led			
the	1	ALL TRADES	<b>BRISTOL UNIVERSITY</b>
or'. an st	Political	UNIONS ALLIANCE	YOUNG SOCIALISTS STUDENT SOCIETY
	significance of General	MEETINGS	Marxist Week
	Election	'Fight the Tories'	June 11-17 In commemoration of the
ant ild he hat	OXFORD Wednesday, June 17, 7.30 p.m. Alma Hall, Alma Place Speaker: G. Healy (SLL national secretary)	ABERDEEN. Thursday, June 11, 8 p.m. Music Hall (West Front Room)	centenary of Lenin's birth. Thursday, June 11 Marxism and the economic crisis. Friday, June 12 George Orwell—from Communism to anti-Communism. Sunday, June 14 Folk music and working-class consciousness.
to the nd es'. on ov-	SWINDON Friday, June 12, 7.30 p.m. Co-operative Hall, East Street Speakers: G. Healy (SLL national secretary) Frank Willis (ATUA)	OLLERTON. Saturday, June 20, 1 p.m. Plough Inn.	Monday, June 15 Marxism and history. Tuesday, June 16 Marxism and alienation. Wednesday, June 17 Lenin and the coming English revolution. Speaker Mike Banda, editor of
me vals hat	ATUA and Young Socialists meeting	MIDDLESBROUGH. Friday June 12, 7.30 p.m. Labour Club, Linthorpe Road.	Workers Press. Meeting will include a film showing how Workers Press is produced. ALL MEETINGS 8.15 p.m.
ant the of ned had to	Eve of election meeting GLASGOW. Sunday, June 15, 7.30 p.m. Workers Press offices, 46 West Princes St, St. George's Cross.	WIGAN: Sunday, June 14, 8 p.m. Market Hotel, Mesnes St. Speaker: Bill Hunter (CAV-Lucas shop steward).	STUDENTS' UNION QUEEN'S ROAD BRISTOL

MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

#### YOUNG SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATIONS

For Socialist <b>policies</b> To keep the Tories out		Labour June 18! e Wilson!
BIRMINGHAM	SHEFFIELD	NEWCASTLE
Saturday June 13	Saturday, June 13	Saturday June 13
Assemble 2.30 p.m.	Assemble 2.30 p.m.	Assemble 3 p.m.
Waterloo St, Victoria Sq	Young St, Moor	Morden St
The demonstrations	will be followed by	public meetings.

press conference. tions between the United States and the Soviet Union Behind the evasions and the waffling of the Tory leaders deeply mistaken,' he lies the reality of Powellism and the firm intention to The Soviet premier, who is Moscow's candidate for the shackle the trade unions and drive down the standard of Soviet of Nationalities in the

living of workers. In the face of the print workers' action, the sugar coating on the Tory pill is wearing extremely thin.

11,000 DUNLOP LAID OFF (See page one story) More than 14,000 Dunlop workers were idle today -3,000 of them engineers on strike and 11,000 laid off.

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Supreme Soviet-parliamentary—elections on Sunday, said the Kremlin had worked for a number of years to try and normalize relations with China, at least at state level.

LUCAS

**STRIKE ENDS** THE strike of 650 workers in the Joseph Lucas Ltd diecasting and plastics factories

at Formans Road, Birming-ham, in support of a £9 wage claim was called off yesterday morning by a narrow majority. Workers voted to return to work on Monday.

S England, central southern England, Channel Islands, SW England, N Ireland: Coastal fog patches at first, becoming sunny. Wind light and variable, sea breezes later. Very hot inland. Max. 28C (83F) near coast 24C (75F).

latory message to Ceylonese Prime Minister Mrs Bandaranaike on her election victory of two weeks ago.

of péople. The revisionist groups, the Pabloites and 'state capitalists', saw him as a great gain for themselves, Pablo making a special trip to see him.

WEATHER