

# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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## Czechs step up repression against the left

by Chris Harman

REPORTS from Czechoslovakia indicate a further intensification of the repression against opponents of the regime and the Russian occupation.

Several hundred people have

been arrested. Among them are at least 10 members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, an organisation formed some months ago which has declared its opposition to both the Stalinist regimes of Eastern Europe and the capitalist regimes of the

west.

The Czech Home Affairs Ministry last week swooped on 'Trotskyist cells' alleged to have issued pamphlets attacking the regime. A printing press was confiscated.

Socialists in Britain must

show their support for leftists arrested by the Czech and Russian authorities.

### PROTESTS

Local socialist groups, trade union branches and student

socialist societies should make their protests known.

Members of the British Communist Party, which is still nominally opposed to the Russian occupation of Czechoslovakia, should be asked to join in such protests.

## Labour: handouts for the bosses, poverty for kids

by Jim Kincaid and Roger Protz

£590 MILLION will have been doled out by the Labour government in investment grants to big business in the current financial year, according to an estimate this week from the Ministry of Technology.

When Prime Minister Harold Wilson promised in 1966 that his government would 'care for the needy' it is now clear that it was impoverished businessmen he had in mind. A comparison between the enormous handouts to the bosses and the plight of the real needy should convince any workers who still have doubts that the Labour government has nothing in common with socialism.

Take children. A party that claims to be in favour of more equality would take immediate steps to ensure that the appalling housing conditions and poverty that cause child mortality, ill-health and under-nourishment would rapidly be stamped out.

But a study of recent official figures shows that the 'social' - that is, class difference between children, their health and their environment is as wide if not wider than ever.

Look at the figures for infant mortality in the just published annual report of the Registrar General for Scotland in 1968. (The reports for England and Wales do not contain this information but census returns indicate that the class pattern remains much the same for the whole country.)

Social class 1 (professional) Social class V (unskilled manual)

Stillbirth rate per 1000 births	8.0	19.7
Postneonatal rate per 1000 births	3.2	13.7

So the wives of men doing unskilled jobs have their babies stillborn 2½ times more often than the wives of professional men.

Postneonatal deaths are those occurring

during the first year of life. The class difference here is much greater - the death rate for the babies of unskilled parents is four times greater. It is in this period of life, after the relative safety of the hospital has been left behind, that differences in home environment really begin to make their impact on children of different classes.

This is emphasised by class differences in the cause of death. Pneumonia, for example, killed social class 1 babies at a rate of only 0.6 per 1000 births, but at a rate of 3.5 per 1000 for babies born to semi and unskilled workers - that is six times more often.

The Scottish figures also give comparison over time:

	Soc. Cl. 1	Soc. Cl. V	V is greater than 1
Stillbirth rates			
1939	34.1	42.7	by ¼
1968	8.0	19.7	by 2½ times

The 1968 figures for class 1 is only a quarter of what it was in 1939. But in class V the rate has only a little more than halved, that is, the class gap has widened fantastically.

In the book Children Under Five by Douglas and Bloomfield a sample study was made of 5000 children born in 1946. This is a widely-accepted and reputable study which can be only slightly out of date. (A - children of professional and salaried fathers, B - children of semi and unskilled fathers.)

Height at age 4: A children averaged almost one inch more than B children.

B children suffered from twice as many colds as A children in the first five years of life. In the same period, 50 per cent more B children than A died of infections of the lower respiratory tract - bronchitis, etc. These sort of infections are particularly associated with bad housing conditions, damp, overcrowding, lack of pure air because of closeness to factories, etc.

By the end of their fifth year, less than one half of A children had had measles, but two-thirds of the B children had.

Overcrowding (that is, more than 1½ persons per room): only 4.8 of the A children but 35.2 of the B.

Perhaps all this is improving. Hardly likely, considering that Labour has abandoned its miserable house-building target, leaving millions to survive in tenements and slums. The ending of free secondary school milk has already caused rickets to reappear in Glasgow and undernourishment in the East End of London.

Perhaps you think we are being too harsh - after all, Labour cannot do everything at once. Fair enough. So let them stop giving £590 millions a year to the bosses and start taking action to save the children.



'Dear Harold: I've had your bullets - now could I have some food?'

## Wilson lied over arms to Nigeria

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE has been produced to prove that the Labour government lied about the volume of arms sent to Nigeria for use against Biafra.

When Harold Wilson was asked in 1968 if more arms were going to the Federal government, he stated in the Commons: 'We have allowed the continuation of supply of arms by private manufacturers in this country exactly on the basis that it has been in the past, but there has been no special provision for the needs of the war.'

Michael Stewart, the Foreign Secretary, made an almost identical claim more than a year later.

### Charade

But now this monstrous charade has been blown sky high by the publication of research by a political economist into the Nigerian government's trade figures during the course of the war.

The economist, Mr George Knapp, has shown a massive build-up in the supply of arms after Biafra's bid for self-determination began in 1967. Nigerian customs dockets show a 35 per cent increase in the import of British arms between 1966 and 1968. The arms, for Nigerian ground troops, were worth £2,817,560 in 1968 compared with £80,357 in 1966.

In June 1968, Stewart claimed that Britain was providing only 15 per cent of the total value of all arms to Nigeria. But the Nigerian trade summary proves him false.

In the category covering armoured vehicles, artillery weapons, small arms and ammunition, Britain supplied more than 80 per cent, compared with 40 per cent in 1967. This share of the death market was worth more than £3,500,000.

### Protect

Wilson and Stewart lied to protect the interests of the gun salesman, from whom the government gets a handsome rake-off. If the real figures had been disclosed during the war, there would have been a public outcry at this profiteering from death.

But the Labour leaders were not just acting in the interests of the gun merchants. Behind the scenes were their real masters, the tycoons of Shell-BP who wanted the Biafrans slaughtered at any cost to ensure the free flow of oil again.

The dead, the dying and the starving of Biafra vividly spotlight that identity of interest between government and industry that Wilson and co so proudly acclaim.

IS INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE

Mike Cooley (DATA)

on white-collar militancy Sunday 25 January, 7.30pm 6 Cottons Gardens London E2. (tube: Liverpool St, Old St)

## VIETNAM Protest against Wilson's US visit

Torchlight March to 10 Downing Street

Sunday 25 January

Assemble Charing X Embankment 6pm

Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, 13 Whites Row E1 (BIS 9845)

## Biafra crushed to safeguard profits

Special feature on on page 4

# LETTERS

Letters to the editor must arrive first post Monday. Type or write on one side of the paper only. Letters may be cut for reasons of space.

## Barbarians versus Barbarians: the last all-white rugby match

BARBARIANS vs. Springboks, Twickenham, Saturday, 31 January. This match is the final one in the current all-white Springboks' rugby tour and needs a turnout of anti-apartheid demonstrators on a scale that has not as yet been achieved.

We need to ensure that the body of people opposed to apartheid sport, and British complicity with it, is growing and will continue to do so. The all-white Springbok team have, throughout their tour, been challenged at every match and on many other occasions by people who condemn the racial basis of their selection; who believe that sportsmen should be chosen only on merit; who know that racism is written into the South African constitution and that this represents misery and deprivation for the vast majority in that country; and who reject British support for apartheid in sport as in other fields.

The response throughout this tour has been magnificent, by students, representatives of the labour movement, the churches, other organisations and the general public. We hope to exceed it on 31 January.

Details of the demonstration are as follows: **Assemble** in St Mary's Road (adjoining Twickenham station) from 12.30pm on **Saturday 31 January**. **March off** at 1.30 to reach Twickenham Stadium at 2 o'clock and **demonstrate** there until 4.30pm.

We hope that you will alert all your members and supporters to turn out on this occasion and look forward to seeing you there. - **ETHEL de KEYSER**, Executive Secretary, Anti-Apartheid, 89 Charlotte St., London W1P 2DQ

### Evasions and mistatements

THE LATEST SAMPLE of what is rapidly becoming Monty Johnstone's fortnightly Socialist Worker column contains his standard quota of evasions and mistatements.

At the risk of boring everybody I will state for the umpteenth time that at no stage have I said that the Communist Party's congress was not formally against productivity bargaining. I have said that the party's overall policy and history makes it impossible for the



Springbok demo: 31 January must be the biggest

CP to give substance to its formal opposition.

Monty, for whatever reason, misunderstands my point about the TUC-government manoeuvring over trade union legislation. The point I was making, and it needs thinking about, was that the agreement reached, between V Feather and B Castle, in no way damaged the central part of the government's strategy which is to induce the trade unions to place their main emphasis on achieving increases through productivity bargaining.

For the CP to claim that this is a massive victory is at best naive and at worst deliberately misleading. The trade union bureaucracy has a special interest, whatever part of the political spectrum it supports, in maintaining an 'independent' trade union movement so long as it remains dependent on the trade union bureaucracy.

Virtually unanimous support for productivity bargaining from the union bureaucrats means that a

determined struggle must be made at rank and file level. It is no good the CP calling for strengthening the shop stewards and increasing participation of the rank and file in the democratic processes of the unions if they do not give organisational form to these demands. With all the seasoned industrial militants in the CP that Monty claims and based on the party's rich experience of mistakes (from the British section of the Red International of Labour Unions onwards) in rank and file organisation, one would have thought they would have a stab at it.

There are no signs as yet that they will do so. The reason, I repeat, is that the party's policy of winning friends and influencing people, among the trade union bureaucracy and the labour left precludes a genuine class policy of leading a militant struggle against productivity. The congress resolution on Defence of the Trade Unions mentions neither rank and file

**KATHY SIMS'** article on D H Lawrence (18 December) seemed to me quite brilliant. He was, of course, fascistic in his outlook and this was never more clearly expressed than in his ranting to women, as set forth in his novels. He was always ranting about 'sex in the head' but it was where he himself had it, poor thing.

There was a lugubrious silliness about his sex attitudes and they reached a peak in Lady Chatterley's Lover. He knew as little of the upper classes as he knew of the working classes. As Kathy Sims so cogently put it, he spent his entire life in a cloud of unknowing. - **ETHEL MANNIN**, London SW1 9

organisation nor productivity and this is the policy that will guide the CP's militants for the next two years.

It is a matter of some pleasure for me to note that the CP will devote a whole issue of Cogito to the Czech question. Perhaps at last we will have the answer to some pertinent question about the Russian invasion. Answers that the CP have been unable to give some 18 months after the event and Monty Johnstone after some two months of high-powered correspondence. I doubt that the answers will be forthcoming, however, particularly if the issue of Cogito devoted to Trotsky is any guide. (By the way, when is part two coming out?)

Cliff's reference at the Hackney debate, as I recall, to the absence of any mention of China in the current edition of the British Road to Socialism relates to the fact that China occupied a prominent and revered place in previous editions. The point being of course that the British party found itself incapable of mentioning the biggest single problem of the international communist movement - The Sino-Soviet dispute.

Monty is right, at last, on the question of the CP membership being 30 times larger than the IS group (if its claimed membership figure of 30,000 is true) but numbers aren't everything. The CP of the early 1920s was an infinitely better organisation than the CP of 1970, even though it was a tenth the size.

The IS group started not on the wave of revolutionary regroupment following the Russian revolution 50 years ago but in a split in the British Trotskyist movement in 1950, of a few individuals. In terms of the British revolutionary marxist left (a definition which effectively excludes the CPGB) it has grown and continues to grow. The CP does not, it declines.

Perhaps Monty can promise us a whole issue of Cogito to evade the answer to that one. - **JIM HIGGINS**, Wembley, Middlesex.

\* The Johnstone-Higgins debate is concluded but we welcome letters from other readers on the points raised by both correspondents.

### Ford: worse than the army

I BOUGHT your paper outside West Kensington station. As a life-long socialist, I was pleased with its contents and tone.

There were two items which interested me personally. One was the column about General Q'Dwyer and the Amritsar mass murder in 1919 (8 January). I have spent several years in India and I know its history under British imperialism.

The other item was the article about Ford at Halewood. When I came home from India and Burma, I worked for several years at Ford, Dagenham and I can testify to the fact that the iron discipline and espionage directed against the workers there was worse than the Army.

We will never get socialism through parliament, only through the combined militant action of the workers. I am an active member of CND and on the commission of the National Convention of the Left. I want to see an end to the petty squabbles of various left-wing organisations and the setting up of a solid, united left-wing front against capitalism.

I feel that before we can destroy capitalism, before it destroys us in its future wars, and establish a revolutionary socialism, we have to have a revolution of the human mind. To combat the poisonous muck peddled by the millionaire press we should adopt a new kind of slogan publicity on demonstrations, listing the crimes of capitalism against the workers.

The names on placards and also on walls up and down the country: Remember Amritsar, Ireland 1916, Spain, Greece, Korea, South Africa, Sharpeville, Pinkville, Vietnam and today Biafra. This is the history of capitalism with its mass murder of the world's workers for profit.

These are the facts that the left must confront the capitalist mass media with, night and day. Capitalism must be destroyed before it destroys us all. - **ERNEST OFFEN**, London W14.

## 'Crude view' of cinema's role

**KATHY SIMS'** praise of the film Adalen '31 (8 January) is fundamentally the same as her criticism of D H Lawrence.

It is a crude, functionalist view of the film maker or novelist's job. He must be 'on the side of the workers' to be of any value and, if he is, he should show the rank and file vanguard at political work - not the 'labour aristocracy' in their everyday life.

This is nearer to 'socialist realism' - a stalinist perversion on a level with its other distortions of marxism, instead of an approach informed by the marxist view of society, responsive to what the artist may have to contribute in his work.

It hardly seems to occur to Kathy Sims that the film may assert a more complex message than that we should hate the capitalist system for a massacre.

The film asserts the creativity of the working class. The 'irrelevant' scenes of 'everyday routines of an upper working class family' are contrasted with the formality of the employer's home. The capitalist's daughter shows the working class boy pictures of the impressionists - Renoir and others - painters whose colour and light-consciousness are reflected by the filming of the natural scenes in which the workers' struggle takes place.

The workers live and die in this reality and the employers have their dead prints of Renoir. The boy and girl's brief love is not merely 'another youthful film on sex-exploration and awakening' and cannot be dismissed with the absurd flippancy of 'of course life of a kind did continue during the strike'.

Life did and does go on for the working class and it is this very life that the rank and file militants were defending and for which the boy's father gave his life. This side of the film is not just an irrelevancy to the march and massacre but a comment on it that makes the film 20 times better than a crude emotion stirrer.

Of course we should hate capitalism but we should let artists and writers (even if they are not revolutionaries) add to our understanding of why. - **DAVE STOCKING**, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffs.

### Defending the fascists

I WAS rather sickened to see three letters attacking Roger Protz (8 January) for his statement that socialist organisations should not debate with fascist groups.

The letters really defend the National Front and attack IS for disrupting an NF meeting with the Socialist Party of Great Britain. But the letters make no mention of the NF's disruption of anti-apartheid rallies, attacks on anti-Springbok demonstrations and, worst of all, their attacks on a Labour Party election meeting in Walthamstow.

No, these three socialists obviously think that a revolutionary socialist organisation is a bigger danger to their 'freedom to debate' than the fascists. M Ballard's statement that we should let the NF speak as we let the Communist Party and Labour Party speak misses the most important point: that the two parties are not **openly** anti-working class, which the NF is, but because of their links with the working class they betray that class.

The SPGB and ILP position is very close to stalinism in the 1930s when the German CP regarded the social democrats as the main enemies of the working class, and not the Nazis. In this action and their opposition to Trotsky's United Front they betrayed the working class (with the help of the social democrats).

However, we can be pleased that the SPGB and ILP will never achieve the importance of the German CP. - **BARRY MILLS**, London N16.

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# Socialist Worker

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

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

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

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

# WHERE WE STAND

production.

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

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

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

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

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

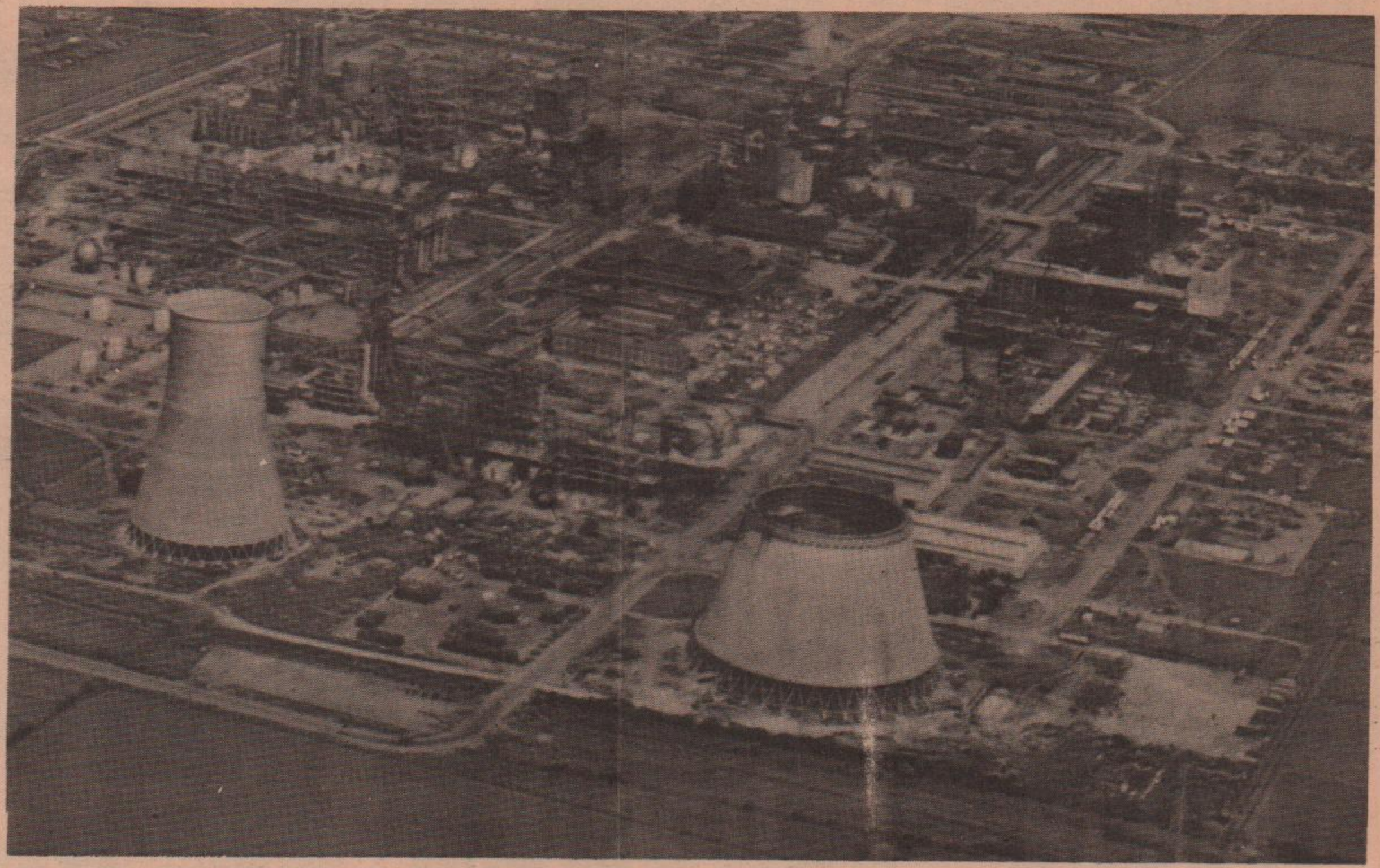
**Opposition to all ruling-class policies and organisations. Workers' control over production and a workers' state.**

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

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

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

# The ICI threat: prod deals, work transfer and sackings...



An aerial view of part of ICI's chemical complex at Wilton, Teesside

by John Charlton

AT NO TIME in the history of Imperial Chemical Industries has the establishment of a strong combine committee been of greater importance for its thousands of workers. Three main developments lead to this conclusion:

1. The company's clear intention to step up investment in plant abroad, especially in Europe.
2. The massive take-over bids already in the pipe-line and the rush which would probably follow their successful conclusion.
3. The management's determination, sadly aided by the official union leaderships, to thrust through a dangerous productivity deal, the Weekly Staff Agreement (WSA).

These developments are closely influenced by the fierce growth of competition in the international chemical and textile industries. The products of these industries are so advanced that their most profitable markets are clearly in the most modern sectors of the world, especially Europe and North America.

And the giant American, British and European companies are involved in a tremendous battle for a larger share of the market. For many years ICI almost completely dominated the British market by its sheer size and ability to invest in, develop and use the most advanced techniques.

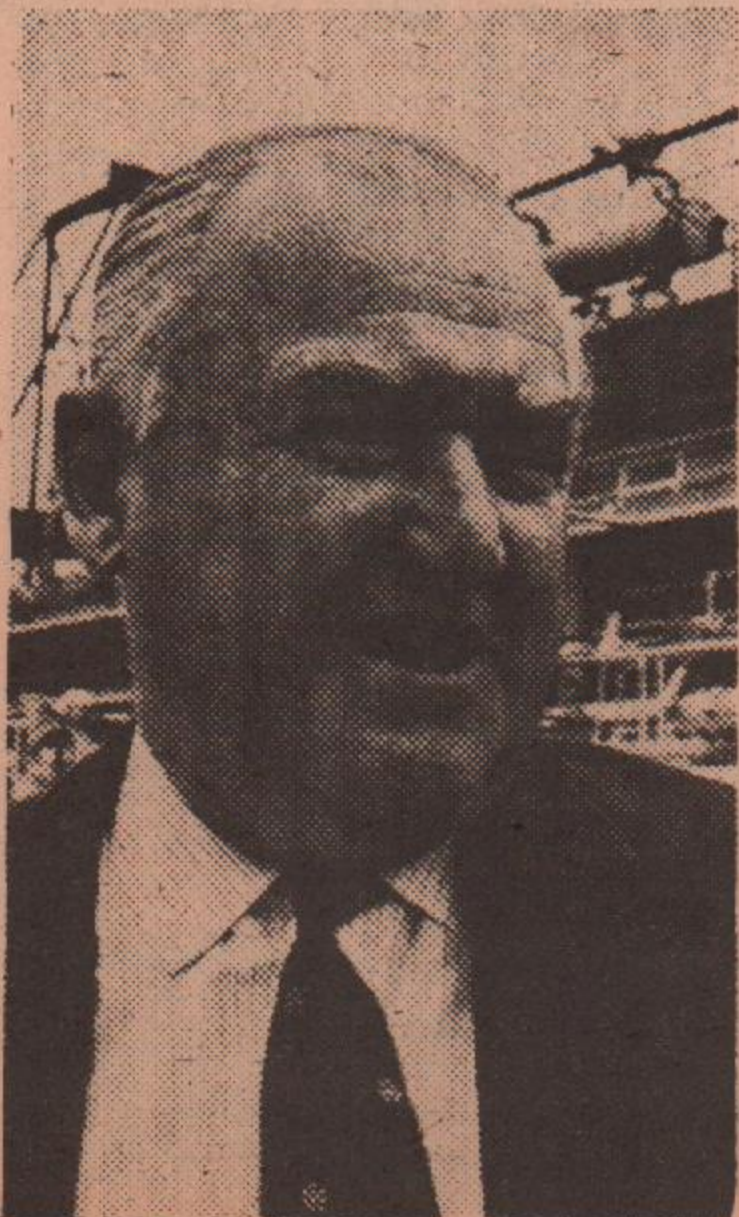
However, the second half of the 1960s has seen a tremendous assault on this privileged position by the US and European giant chemical and oil companies. Such companies as Du Pont, Dow, Monsanto and Union Carbide, (US), Hoechst, Enkalon, AKU (European) and oil giants Esso and Shell all have the resources at hand to make sizeable inroads into the British market. More than £300 millions were invested last year by foreign companies in this field.



Of course ICI has retaliated. Last year the company invested £21 millions in a plant in Virginia and has taken up options on several other sites. At the time, chairman Sir Peter Allen said: 'It is both logical and an indication of our commitment to the market that we should now become established as a domestic (US) manufacturer.'

ICI has also made large investments in South Africa and Australia but by far the biggest investments have been made in Europe, at Rozenburg (Holland) and Oestringen, Offenbach (W. Germany). To get an idea of the scale of the operation, in 1962 European sales, by value as a percentage of the total company sales were 7 per cent. By 1968 the figure was 33 per cent and the company plans to raise it to more than 50 per cent in the next five years. The biggest European site at Oestringen is only operating at about 25 per cent of its potential.

Clearly the company has substantial gains to make out of British entry into Europe and it is no accident that ICI directors are



Sir Peter Allen: bring ICI into line with US competitors

among the most outspoken advocates of entry. ICI has always occupied a place very close to the centre of government and their influence at the time of possible negotiations may well be crucial. It is pretty certain that the interests of the company will be placed some distance above those of the mass of British people.

This shift into Europe creates a situation of very great danger for ICI workers. As the Oestringen complex will operate in similar areas of manufacture (plastics, terylene, nylon and polymers) the company will have the opportunity to use work transfer as a way of intimidating militant workers in Britain. The fact that they also believe that the German labour force is easier to control is a further source of danger. Dr Klockner, the Oestringen general manager was obviously thinking along these lines when he said recently: 'One man can do a range of jobs...the same plant in the UK might need 10-15 per cent more employees.'

In the past few weeks the affairs of ICI have never been far from the headlines. In early December the company lodged a take-over bid for two major textile finishing companies, Viyella International and Carrington Dewhurst. It was followed by the announcement that talks would take place between ICI and its biggest competitor in the field of artificial fibres, Courtaulds.

Nottingham Lace and Lansil Ltd., were also mentioned in a Financial Times article as possible future victims. If these mergers take place they would create the largest textile company in the world and would reduce considerably the gap in total assets between ICI and her biggest international competitor, Du Pont.

This particular round of take-over bids marks a change in policy for ICI for it will mean that the company will enter the field of finished textiles for the first time. There can be little doubt that the successful completion of these bids would be only the first round in a 'mopping up' operation which would result in a very substantial increase in assets for ICI and the redundancy of thousands of textile workers in the 'rationalisation' which would follow.

When he returned from a fact finding visit to the US in 1968, shortly after becoming chairman, Sir Peter Allen said that the most staggering factor in placing US industry at an advantage over the British was that the Americans did the same job with two-thirds less labour. His main ambition has

often been stated: to bring ICI into line with the US competitors in this respect.

However, although several of the newly acquired plants may be closed down - demanding that the new combine committee develop a strategy to cope with it - Sir Peter will hope to achieve his ambition by selective redundancy at existing plants and through natural wastage. This policy is central to the productivity deal.

Of course ICI have always been pioneers in developing more efficient ways of exploiting their work force: time and motion, work study, continental shift working and fringe benefits in lieu of pay. It is not surprising that the management began thinking about the possibilities opened up by productivity deals as long ago as 1962.

The first draft of the deal, Manpower Utilisation Payment Structure (MUPS), was drawn up in 1965 and in 1967 negotiations were concluded between the company and the signatory unions for trials to take place on nine carefully selected sites. The attitude of the unions is summed up adequately by a TGWU document of December 1967: 'productivity dealing...is a process whose advantages...can present solutions to the problems outweighing possible disadvantages, and it should therefore be encouraged.'

It is important to stress that all the unions, from the Electricians/ Plumbers and General Workers to the Engineers and Transport Workers were signatories. As far as is known, none lodged any objections to the principal of productivity bargaining. It is only fair to point out, however, that in the face of unexpected rank and file resistance ETU President Les Cannon has ordered his members to enter discussions at plant level while Jones and Scanlon have maintained a discreet silence!

Between the starting of trials and the signing of WSA (the successor to MUPS), the company and unions reached an agreement for a 6.8 per cent pay increase. Barbara Castle weighed in and ruled that an increase above the then norm of 3½ per cent was not justified without clear signs of increased productivity, despite the fact that ICI profits had risen by more than 40 per cent in two years. This was a clear sign of the collusion of state and management in preparing the ground ideologically for the new type of pay deal.

At the end of the trial period, five sites moved straight on to WSA to be joined later by three others. On more than 40 sites little or no progress has been made. When the deal was first published much of the publicity centred upon the 'unparalleled' increase in pay of up to 22 per cent. The intention was to substitute an annual salary paid weekly for a basic rate plus bonus

negotiated locally.

At the Gloucester fibres factory, not known for its aggressive trade unionism, the pay offer was enthusiastically greeted, the effect of the other conditions being quietly forgotten. At Doncaster fibres factory, however, where strong local bargaining had already forced take home pay to within 10 per cent of the new offer, the workers said no and have continued to say no.

This picture seems to be true of the whole country. The trial sites, in areas like East Anglia, the West Country and N Ireland, where trade unionism is traditionally weak, have tended to embrace the agreement, while the well-organised northern sites have stalled and focussed their criticisms on conditions rather than pay. Rumours are strong that the company will shortly announce a further increase in the pay rates - as much as £3 a week. It will be very difficult for an increase of up to £8 to be rejected, but it must be made clear to all employees just what the company wants so badly that they will pay £8 a week extra to get it. This is what the bosses are after.



1. To reduce manning over a period of time by two-thirds. To do this they will declare redundancies, initially where local organisation is weak. Despite the honeyed words in MUPS/WSA about redundancy, they gave MUPS, a great send off at Gloucester with a 25 per cent sacking in 1967.

They will employ natural wastage. In some factories there is a 20 per cent turnover a year. They will increase flexibility. Skilled men will do some labouring jobs and unskilled will be shunted around at the supervisor's convenience. There will be small changes at first to minimise friction, but because WSA is opened and the amount of flexibility a matter for local agreement, the changes will be gradually increased. Jobs will be carried out according to work study standards. These are based on a work rate of 100. Common sense and practice have dictated in the past that they must be operated at about 30 per cent below.

2. Control over wage rates. This will be achieved by national (which exclude factory bargaining) negotiations and also by the phoney

grading system. This is based on a job assessment. It is claimed to be scientific, as each job is said to be 'assessed' very carefully' according to the degree to which it requires various qualities such as Memory, Visualisation, Original Thinking, Disparate Attention, Even Temperament, Co-operativeness, Leadership, Agility and Sensory Accuracy (samples of 24 qualities required to turn a nut, for example!).

Points are awarded, the total of which determines the grade at which a workers will be paid. The jobs are assessed by a management team from which shop stewards are excluded.

It is totally unscientific, as qualities are not measurable on any known scale. Obviously the bosses can decide what they want to pay and arrive at points totals accordingly. It ought to be referred to as the Mumbo Jumbo Scheme.

3. Control of shop stewards and rank and file initiatives. Stewards will no longer argue over price, bonus or any financial questions. Such matters will be covered entirely by a company-wide nationally-negotiated agreement between management and trade union leaders.

Shop steward authority will be undermined by splitting the workforce into small teams which include a supervisor for discussions on labour saving. The team will remain together and will be encouraged to see itself as a competitive entity. The team organisation will be used to solve most workplace problems, deliberately setting out to isolate the steward.

And, over-riding all of these vital factors, is the desire of the management to persuade the workers that they all belong to one big happy family. The opening section of the WSA is cluttered with phrases like 'common aims'... 'Co-operation and involvement'... 'responsibility and involvement'. This is perhaps the most dangerous part of the whole exercise as it is so difficult to measure and it cannot be fought with traditional trade union tactics. It requires a frank assertion in political terms that the interests of capital and labour are in total conflict.

At present there is substantial resistance to WSA based mainly upon local initiative and an inefficient network of unofficial contacts. If WSA is to be defeated, or even if it is finally implemented, the combine committee has a tremendously important role to play. In the past, combine committees have been weak for a variety of reasons: the company's ideological weapons and its paternalism - relatively good working conditions, fringe benefits like a profit sharing scheme and the Billingham Sports Stadium, canteens and social centres.

Then there has been the persistent jealousies among craft and non-craft unions. The great disparities in local conditions have also weakened such a development. However, simply because productivity deals are applied company-wide and the union leaderships are committed to making them work the success of the combine committee is crucial. The only way to fight is by strong local organisation backed up by a strong combine committee.

Finally, the following demands could perhaps serve as a useful starting programme for the new combine committee:

1. Outright opposition to WSA.
2. £5 on the basic pay NOW (already demanded by the Doncaster Joint Committee).
3. A cast-iron No Redundancy guarantee.
4. A serious effort to bring the more isolated factories into the committee at the earliest possible time.

## HOW ICI TURNS THE SCREW

1	Profits as per cent of capital employed	12.9
2	Profits as per cent of sales	10.3
3	Sales as a multiple of capital employed	1.3
4	Sales as a multiple of fixed assets	1.0
5	Sales as a multiple of stocks	4.3
6	Sales per employee (£)	5,570
7	Profits per employee (£)	595



The end: wounded Biafran soldiers hear of the surrender last week

# Biafra crushed to safeguard profits

by Wenda Clenaghan

THE NEWS of Biafra's collapse came as a surprise. With its small but determined fighting force pitted against the lack of enthusiasm and even outright mutiny of the front-line Federal troops, it seemed invincible.

Constant reversals were suffered by the Federals due to harassment behind the lines by a 'hostile population' supposedly liberated from the clutches of the Biafran regime.

The stepping-up of gun supplies, the secondment of officers from the British and Russians, plus the increasing employment of white mercenaries by the Federals, was in the end decisive. Wilson had to break the stalemate caused by Ojukwu's order to attack the oil installations.

Britain, supplying 60 per cent of the arms, was also worried by the expense caused by the increasing needs of the Federals. It is calculated that a single 105mm shell costs £17, an 81mm shell £25 and 10,000 rounds of small ammunition £25. Since any one of the 14 Federal divisions was more than capable of letting off one million rounds a day, the arms supplies were costing Britain £20m a year. These supplies were not paid for in cash, since Nigeria has long since been completely broke, but were dished out on limitless credit with strings.

Why did Britain step up her supplies? Ojukwu, until March 1969, had respected the private property of the Shell-BP consortium that had invested £52m in capital equipment in the East of Nigeria. He had never called for nationalisation or the seizure of the oil installations.

His squabble with the rest of Nigeria had been over who — Biafra or Lagos — was to get the royalties of the £68m yearly turnover in oil tossed out to the 'natives' by the oil bosses. By ordering the attack on all oil installations 'even to attack the smallest bucket suspected of containing oil', Ojukwu hoped to threaten the British arms suppliers into stopping their operations.

The attack had a dramatic effect. From April to August last year, production decreased by 400,000 barrels a day to 280,000. The Federal government then blacked out all figures for oil production which has dwindled to a tiny trickle.

## Hit bosses where it hurts

since the value of a barrel of crude oil is £7, the Biafrans' action was costing Shell-BP £29m a day and hitting the capitalist where it really hurts — in his pocket. No wonder there was an increase in arms supplies.

The British government had been worried from the start. Wilson argued that the 'one united Nigeria' had and would continue to offer magnificent investment opportunities, with a turnover trade of £170m to British businessmen. Any lessening of support for this policy by giving in to Ojukwu's threat to oil, would 'jeopardise all these investments because of the anti-British feeling that would erupt in Nigeria if we cease to be an arms supplier'.

The United Africa Company, owned by Unilever, controlling half of Nigeria's import trade and employing 20,000 Nigerian workers, bewailed the length of the war

which had caused a 25 per cent drop in its turnover.

The British stepped up their efforts. So did the Russians. The motives of the Russian ruling class are essentially the same as the British. Though they had few investments in Nigeria, they used the war as a heaven-sent opportunity to regain the influence in West Africa which they had lost when Nkrumah was kicked out of Ghana in 1966.

They will split the post-war Nigerian market with the West. They did not mind sharing it in Ghana.

The big Russian guns around the Uli airstrip, the life-line for Biafra, clinched the war militarily for the Federals. The loss meant an end to the outside supplies of guns and ammunition. Starvation was beginning to reach the Biafran upper classes with the cessation of 'mercy flights'.

The Biafran military government had been able to cream off at least 10 per cent of the mercy flights as well as charging hard currency for landing rights to buy guns. Ojukwu, faithful to the laws of the market, introduced no form of rationing. Poor people, including children and the old, died in droves.

The soldiers were more moved by the emaciated near-corpses who were their fellow villagers and kinsmen. They could not ship out their children, as the Biafran upper class did. The plight of the starving starving slowly sapped the soldiers' will to fight.

## Lucrative trade in slavery

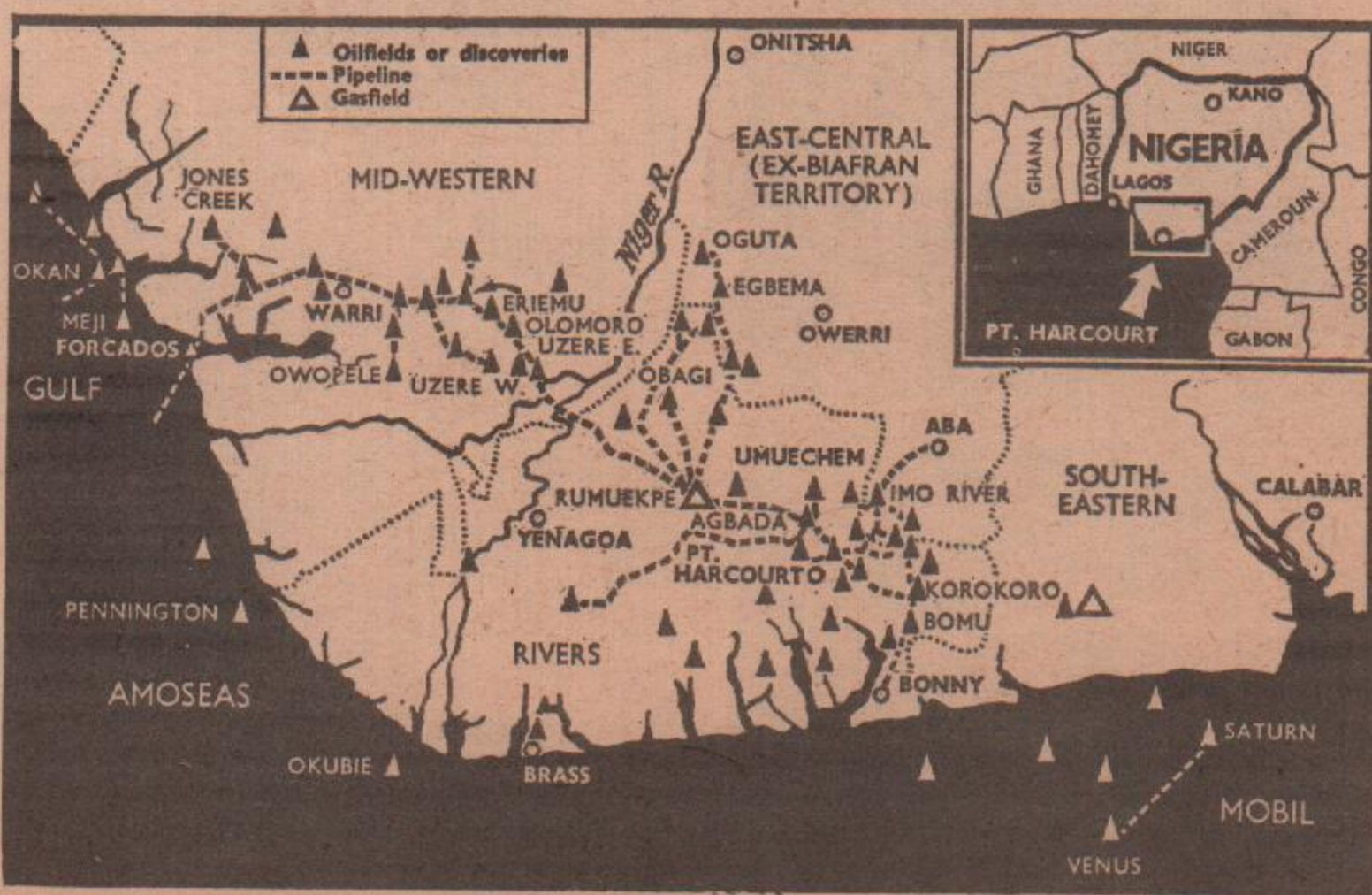
The causes of the war lie in the history of Nigeria and are embedded in the political structure of the country created by the departing British colonialists.

West Africa first became an important supplier of raw materials to the Europeans around 1450. The Portuguese began shipping out slaves from Lagos, taking them via the triangular trade route to the West Indies. Most of the European powers rushed to share in this lucrative trade.

By the 17th century, the British slave trade had become big business. Quick fortunes were made. The human merchandise shipped in bulk and sold in the sugar plantations, became the capital on which the great port of Liverpool was built.

The Barclays brothers, Quaker slavers, used their fortunes to found the bank. A group of West Indian planters financed Watts' steam engine and other important inventions vital to the progress of the industrial revolution. In West Africa, kingdoms were formed that were based on profits made by the African middlemen. They raided each other for captives who were then sold to the white slavers.

When slaving became unprofitable — basically because the French planters were undercutting British sugar prices and British capital was now more interested in the East Indies — Prime Minister Pitt encouraged Wilberforce to introduce his Bill for the



abolition of the slave trade in 1807. The West African chiefs lost their incomes and their empires faded away or were kept half-alive by small trading. The exploitation of these areas was carried out in the 19th century by a pioneering imperialist called Goldie who set up the Royal Niger Company.

By the late 19th century, surplus capital was bursting Europe at the seams and had to be exported to the colonies. The Berlin Conference of 1885 saw the great scramble for Africa. West Africa was rapidly annexed by the French, Germans, Portuguese, Spanish and British.

Lord Lugard, fresh from sorting out the natives in Uganda, was sent to the River Niger territory. He quickly annexed the West, where the constantly warring Yoruba kingdoms did not resist.

The North was a harder nut to crack. Rules by devout Muslims, the Hausa population was forced into producing crops for their conqueror overlords. They made a bargain with Lugard who, having shown them his Gatling gun, 'had impressed upon them the inevitability of British rule'.

The lands east of the River Niger, 80 years later to become Biafra, were not grouped into kingdoms at the time of the British arrival. Slavery had not affected them politically. Instead the people, mainly Ibos, elected village chiefs and councils of elders.

Because the East had not been badly depopulated by the slave trade and warring kingdoms, overpopulation was an increasing problem. Unlike the North, there was no ruling class with a vested interest in keeping their people ignorant and missionary schools were popularly received. Armed with literacy and labour skill, millions of migrants left the crowded East to go to the richer areas of the North and West, where peanuts and cocoa were becoming the main exports of Nigeria.

The migrants were assimilated in the West. In the North they were forced to live in ghettos outside the city walls. By the 1960s there were 1,300,000 Easterners in the North and another 500,000 had

taken up jobs in the West. The Second World War increased investment in Nigeria. The Malayan colonies had been cut off and tropical supplies of rubber were imported instead from Nigeria. Lagos expanded as a port, catering for the cross-Atlantic convoys and as Southern air base for the North Africa campaign.

Black Nigerian nationalism developed. This was spearheaded by Azikiwe, an ambitious journalist from the East who had been educated in the United States. He became a household name in Nigeria in 1949 when his paper was banned for championing the cause of the Enugu miners who had been shot down on the orders of a white policeman during a militant strike.

The colonies were no longer paying their way in the dying British empire. Nigerian nationalism was never strong enough to send the British colonialists packing. Instead, the trend of trade away from the colonies towards the already economically developed countries drew personnel and capital from West Africa. But the British needed to leave behind reliable stooges whom they could trust to protect their still sizeable interests.

## Corruption and embezzlement

Azikiwe was recalled and formed a party, the NENE. The Action Group was set up by a group of small businessmen in the West and the Northern Muslim leaders grouped themselves together in the Northern People's Congress.

These politicians were to prove the most corrupt of any in Black Africa. Paying lip-service to democracy and the people, they embezzled government funds and sold contracts to foreign firms for a 10 per cent fee. They fed racial and tribal lies about one another in their fight for a slice of the Federal cake.

As the British prepared to move out, it was necessary to go through the motions of 'democracy' by holding elections. The party politicians hired bands of thugs who toured the countryside destroying ballots, kidnapping opposition candidates and threatening the voters.

The Northern People's Congress won a majority of seats. The representation had been deliberately calculated by the British. Because the Northern Muslim leaders were rigidly conservative, they could be used to counteract the uppishness of the

southerners who, although corrupt, had capitalist ambitions that might later clash with the British.

Independence saw the North in power in alliance with the East, led by Azikiwe. This alliance between the feudal North and the more progressive East was due to Azikiwe's dislike of the other southern party, the Action Group in the West. He felt more able to handle the Northerners, but it was a bad calculation.

In 1964 the workers of Nigeria erupted in a general strike which for a time seemed potentially revolutionary. The workers voiced the disgust felt by the mass of people for their political bosses. The strike was gaining momentum, demanding nationalisation and investigations of corruption, when the leaders, frightened of the force they had brought into action, called it off.

The governments of the four regions persuaded the union leaders to end the strike 'in the national interest'. Hesitant union chiefs received visits from the tough boys.

The workers, Ibo, Hausa and Yoruba, were united against the Federal and regional governments. They had all suffered baton charges, tear gas, mass arrests and shooting.

Riots broke out in the West following the installation of a puppet regime by the Northern feudalists. Azikiwe and the East split from the North. The Muslim chiefs had out-manoeuvred him and now had their own strong man in the South.

## Threat to wash rulers' dirty linen

In January 1965, an army coup led by five majors completely changed the situation. The party bosses in the West and North were killed, including the prime minister, Abubakar. The majors also killed senior Western and Northern army officers.

One officer escaped — an Ibo named Ironsi. He rallied 'loyalist' forces and took over from the rebel majors.

All political parties were banned. Ironsi promised an investigation into the private fortunes of the politicians and civil servants and threatened to wash all the dirty underwear of the ruling class in public.

The dispossessed Northern rulers seethed. The Southern politicians were in jail and gagged. The Northerners began to fan the myth of 'Ibo dominance'. They said the army was staffed by Ibos and that the East was trying to subjugate the rest of Nigeria.

Ironsi announced a decree to change the country from a federal to a unitary structure. Terrified that they would lose the base of their power — the regional state coffers and officers — the feudal Muslim politicians led hordes of hired thugs into the Northern Ibo ghettos. Murder and mutilation were set loose. In the barracks, Eastern soldiers were massacred in their beds.

Thousands died but many escaped. Hausas sheltered fleeing refugees. The racialist and tribal propaganda of the Northern rulers had not affected the masses.

180,000 refugees flooded into the East where Ojukwu, the military governor of the region since the first coup, arranged to ship out migrant Hausas. He was terrified of reprisals. Refugees came from all walks of life. They included top

The vultures sharpen their claws:

## Now oilmen prepare for Nigerian boom

—Sunday Times headline, 18 January

Continued on page 5

# The telly tycoons are feeling the pinch...

by Paul Foot

A GREAT CRISIS has hit commercial television. At Westward Television, the total number of Rolls-Royces available for London executives has been slashed from five to four.

The chairman of Westward, Mr Peter Cadbury, is warning viewers in Devon and Cornwall that the company may have to close down.

Mr Cadbury need not worry. The short, vicious propaganda campaign which he and his fellow TV magnates have been conducting over the past few months has brought its reward.

The government, which tells the teachers to be happy with a rise of £80 a year and is struggling desperately against an 'avalanche' of wage claims from over-prosperous workers, has told Mr Cadbury and his friends that this year's budget will remove the increase on the government levy imposed on the commercial television companies last April.

The original levy was imposed by the Tories in the 'give-away' Budget of 1964, because even the Tories were embarrassed at the gigantic profits in which the 'pioneers' of commercial television were wallowing.

The Postmaster General, Reginald Bevins, imposed a graded levy on advertising revenue which did not touch the first £1,500,000 but which brought in about £26m a year from the £80m then earned in advertising revenue by the TV companies.

## ...like Peter Cadbury - four Rolls-Royces instead of five



GRADE: worked behind the scenes

made the late Lord Harmsworth blush.

The chief difference was between those companies which gave their profits straight back to the shareholders and those who spent some of them on profitable enterprises which had nothing to do with television. Sir Lew Grade, for instance, made ATV the centre of a giant monopoly in the show business world, which controls record companies, agencies and theatres throughout the country.

When the Monopolies Commission complained, Grade gave most of his agency to his son.

Even so, ATV shareholders have received more than £2m in dividends every year for the last eight years - in which ATV's pre-tax profits have never fallen below £5m. Similarly, the Bernstein

brothers at Granada have widened their empire into the field of book publishing and now control at least three major paperback companies and a substantial share in Jonathan Cape.

Throughout those years of head long jamboree for the shareholders and directors of commercial television, the producers of programmes had to fight for every penny. Independent producers, concerned to produce new or 'unorthodox' programmes had to fight even harder.

## Abysmal

The commercial companies were in the enviable position of monopolies who could not lose. There was no alternative for the television advertiser but to advertise on the one commercial channel. However bad the programmes, however incompetent and arrogant the management, there could be no loss of advertising revenue and no loss of profit. The abysmal standards of Grade and Co worked wonders in reducing the standards of the BBC, which rushed to 'compete' in pap and drivel.

When the commercial contracts were renewed in 1967, there was a great stampede to get the licenses. It was a Gold Rush of opportunists, with so-called journalists joining hands with financiers and profiteers in hungry 'consortia'.

The ITA, to show it had teeth, removed two old companies and put in four new ones. One of these, London Weekend Television, has now broken all the promises made to the ITA and sacked almost everyone who made them.

Yet the new Dick Whittingtons were disappointed. To their horror, they discovered that there were workers in the industry who



were not altogether happy about their share in the great TV splurge.

In the summer of 1967 the ACTT (cinema and television technicians' union), representing most of the technicians in the industry, staged a prolonged strike which seriously hampered profit-making for the companies for several months.

Together with the squeeze, which reduced the rate of increase of advertising revenue, this boded ill for 1969. The slight increase in the levy meant that some of the companies would be down to their last million pounds in profit. This was intolerable and the companies acted accordingly.

Film production was slashed. This time last year, six major TV film series were being filmed. Today there are none.

The Christmas issue of the ACTT journal reports that some 30 per cent of its members in film production, which depends almost entirely on television, are out of work and the figure will grow in the coming months.

In every aspect of television, in children's TV, features, current affairs, variety, drama, the accent is on cheapness or big 'colour' masquerades (like the Tom Jones show) which can be sold before production in America. The men who have squandered fantastic profits over the past 10 years, have, at the prospect of losing another 3 per cent of their revenue, deliberately created large-scale unemployment and even worse television standards to trample the government into line.

The government agreed at once. It will, after all, be very important that Mr Wilson, Mr Jenkins and Mrs Castle get a free run on television in election year to complain about workers who take direct action against the government for their own selfish ends.

## Aussie unions act against Vietnam war

from Peter Finch

SYDNEY, NSW:- Trade union activity against the Vietnam war and conscription has increased in recent months in Australia.

Following the world-wide trend, the main impetus behind the anti-war movement has been the students and a layer of newly radicalised young workers. But a recent and vital phenomenon has been the growing rank-and-file union opposition to the war.

In November several workers were jailed for refusing to pay fines arising out of an anti-war demonstration. Rolling strikes by waterfront unions, stoppages by miners and a march took place in New South Wales' south coast industrial belt, where the jailed men came from.

In Victoria there were strikes in several factories and the Williamstown dockyard, when the state secretary of the Engineering Union was arrested at a march in support of his son, a draft resister.

## Refused

But the most important event occurred before Christmas when Sydney dockers refused to work the Vietnam war supply ship Jeparit. They were acting on a decision carried overwhelmingly by a meeting of the Waterside Workers' Federation held just after the revelation of the massacre at My Lai.

Since 1966 the Seamen's Union has refused to man arms ships to Vietnam, and they have sailed with a mixed civilian and navy crew. At different times individual dockers and whole gangs have refused to work the ships, but now the union as a whole is involved. Support came from boilermakers who refused to do repair work and watchmen from the Miscellaneous Workers' Union who refused to go aboard.

The government backed away from confrontation with the strikers, who were supported by a levy on other workers and attempted to get the ACTU (TUC) to end the affair. The union eventually agreed that the current cargo only would be unloaded but that dockers would then maintain their ban on loading for Vietnam.

The government finally commissioned the Jeparit as a navy vessel, meaning that the ship will in future be worked by servicemen. As a parting shot on the day it sailed, tugmen and bunkering crews refused to touch the ship. There is also a strong chance that workers will refuse to carry out repair work on its return to Australia.

## Soaked

Since then the revenue has soared to £100m. Last year, the British government, having for four years soaked wage and salary earners in higher and higher direct taxation on essential goods and services, decided timidly to raise the TV levy from £26m to £29m.

The millionaires of the networks have been roaring like wounded bulls ever since. A special committee consisting of Sir Lew Grade (ATV), Mr Sidney Bernstein (Granada), (who cannot come to meetings in the winter because he spends it in the Bahamas), Lord Shawcross, the pauper-director of 19 large companies, which include Thames Television, has been working behind the scenes to change the government's mind. They argue that the levy will cut the profit margins of independent television down to nothing and that programme production will suffer.

For the last 10 years, these men have been engaged in operating what Lord Thomson (Scottish Television) once described as a 'license to print money' with a total disregard for programme production and a contempt for public taste which would have

**NEXT WEEK**

Continuing our analysis of productivity deals and the employers' drive against the workers

**TONY CLIFF**

writes on time-and-motion study and speed-up. Make sure all your workmates see this important article

## Biafra crushed

from page 4



Lagos civil servants, teachers and 12,000 railway workers.

Appeals were made to the Federal government to help resettle the refugees. Gown was now in power, a puppet of the feudalists, chosen because he came from a small Northern tribe. He gave no promises to Ojukwu, not even a guarantee of safety if he came to Lagos to talk.

The refugee problem seemed hopeless. One way of overcoming it was to qualify for the oil royalties which would finance settlement by development in an independent area bursting with the skills which the refugees had brought.

Oil in the past five years had become twice as lucrative as Nigeria's former top export, cocoa. For the first time, the East found itself richer than any other region. The Easterners, smarting over the massacres in the North which

had not differentiated between Ibo and non-Ibo, saw oil as their salvation. Since the Federation offered nothing except massacre, they would secede with the oil and build their own nation. Biafra.

There is no doubt that this was a popular decision and not one taken just by a clique of Army officers and 'top men'. On 26 May 1967, the consultative assembly of chiefs and elders, 335 members elected by the villages, gave Ojukwu a unanimous mandate to pull out of the Federation. This he did on 30 May.

Now the nation of Biafra is dead, with up to three million of its people massacred and many more due to die in a few weeks because of the relief blockade.

The workers and peasants, not just the bosses of Biafra, wanted to be free. They failed. The big guns of the imperialist powers of Britain and Russia saw to that.

## JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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

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Send to IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

# Socialist Worker

## Railwaymen face low wages and massive sackings

### £10 MORE OR WE STRIKE SAY 400 FORD STEWARDS

by Bryan Simmons  
AEF Dagenham shop steward

FORD SHOP STEWARDS voted on Sunday to support strike action throughout the combine from 2 February unless management offer a minimum increase of £10 a week at Friday's crucial pay talks.

Meeting in Coventry, the 400 stewards voted to back the convenors' demand for £10 a week more. They decided to call on the executives of all the unions at Ford to support the strike unless the management agreed to the increase.

The rise would bring Ford's 46,000 manual workers close to parity with Midlands' car rates. A £10 increase would be equivalent to 5s an hour more, but it would still leave Ford men 2s an hour behind the top-paid workers at Rootes' Ryton plant.

#### Start to think big

The feeling at the conference was that Ford workers must start to think big. The days are gone when we talked in pennies while Ford was making millions that were boosted by low wages for their workers throughout Britain.

Ford convenors reported on their recent successful international conference in Ostend. A telegram of solidarity was read from Ford workers in Germany and Belgium, supporting the claim for parity.

All Ford workers should support the extension of international contacts started by their shop-floor representatives. An international journal to fight an international corporation like Ford is urgently needed, but it will cost money.

### Tenants in richest borough fight steep rent increases

by Mike Fuller  
Chairman CGTA

WESTMINSTER City Council in central London has recently announced plans to increase the maximum rents of its tenants by anything from 4s to 10s a week — and to end all internal decorations and repairs, equivalent to an increase of 10s a week.

The executive committee of the Churchill Gardens Tenants Association immediately organised a mass meeting of tenants and put forward the following proposals:

1. An outright refusal to pay the increases and all future increases under the council's differential rent scheme.
2. A refusal to sign any agreement embodying the council's proposals on internal decorations.

Speakers emphasised that they were not prepared to see council tenants shoulder the burden of communal housing in Westminster while the wealthy ratepayers avoided their obligation.

The council's policy of 'protect the ratepayer' had led them to the ridiculous position where, to balance their accounts, they were prepared to increase rents by up to 10s a week, rather than obtain an extra 2d rate from the ratepayers. This is all that would be necessary in the richest local authority in the country.

The cost is mainly due to the phenomenal increases in interest rates and the prohibitive cost of building council dwellings, so the cry went out from the meeting that tenants were no longer prepared to be the poor relations in decisions taken by national and local government. Housing demanded a social solution on a national scale, the tenants declared.

Both proposals were passed and preparations are under way to put maximum pressure on the council in the next few months.



A section of Sunday's audience (Pictures Jeff Pick)

### Mount campaign against prod deals says Cliff

SW Reporter

MORE THAN 300 people — 100 of them standing — packed a meeting at the Africa Centre in London last Sunday to hear a discussion on productivity deals.

between Bert Ramelson, the Communist Party's industrial organiser and Tony Cliff of IS. The attendance marked a growing awareness on the left of the importance of productivity bargaining and the need for a strategy to fight it.

Bert Ramelson outlined the background to the introduction of this new and dangerous system. The employers, he said, wanted to increase their profits by reducing labour costs.

Because militant workers had learned to use existing wage negotiations to their own advantage, the bosses had gradually brought in productivity deals in order to smash collective bargaining.

#### Opposed

He declared that the Communist Party was totally opposed to such types of bargaining and said that workers should have nothing to do with them.

Tony Cliff said the important thing for trade unionists was to prepare a massive campaign against productivity deals. It wasn't enough to be against them in a negative manner — workers needed to mount an offensive against them.

When the bosses offer substantial wage increases in return for loss of tea breaks and shop-floor defensive practices, shop stewards would have to throw the deal back at the management and expose them on every point.

Unless they adopted such a strategy, Cliff stressed, militants would find themselves isolated by their own members who would be inclined to accept the wage offer and ignore the danger of the strings.

He attacked the Communist



RAMELSON: Bosses want to increase profits

Party for not criticising 'left' union leaders like Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones who had signed productivity deals, often against the wishes of their own members. When would we see such criticism in the Morning Star, he asked?

by a Liverpool NUR member

£10 million profit in 1970 — that was British Rail chairman Sir Henry Johnson's prediction in his New Year message to 300,000 railwaymen. But he quickly added that belts would have to be kept tight 'to provide money for adequate future investment...'

That was why we got only a £50 increase last year. But he got a £5000 increase — up to £15,000.

Railwaymen today are fed up. We have sacrificed everything in the forlorn hope that one day we would get some benefits.

Secondmen have all but disappeared from loco foot-plates. Yards and lines have been axed, services cut out. Travelling ticket collectors will disappear — their jobs will be done by passenger guards.

About 90 per cent of signalmen will disappear as power boxes take over.

And now the biggest threat of all looms larger every day — liner trains speeding containers along at 75 mph with a very rapid turn-round. Liner trains are unloaded and reloaded in two to three hours by a handful of men.

Far from getting better, our wages and conditions are gradually deteriorating. Most of us still only get £13 — £20 for 40 irregular hours.

Excessive overtime is rampant. Guards usually average 60-70 hours a week.

Railwaymen are fed up with the lack of fight shown by their unions — NUR, ASLEF and TSSA (clerks). For years the membership has been hit, not only by redundancies and 'natural wastage', but also by lack of confidence in the union leaders.

But now the bureaucrats' problems are over. From January 1, union membership was compulsory and the increased dues (NUR up from 2s 6d to 4s) are collected by the management.

#### Withdraw cards

This was agreed after 'an understanding' on the question of unofficial stoppages. The union can now withdraw the cards of militants in the knowledge that British Rail will then sack them.

A united fight needs to be started now to win back union power for the ordinary railwayman and to get the parasites off our backs.

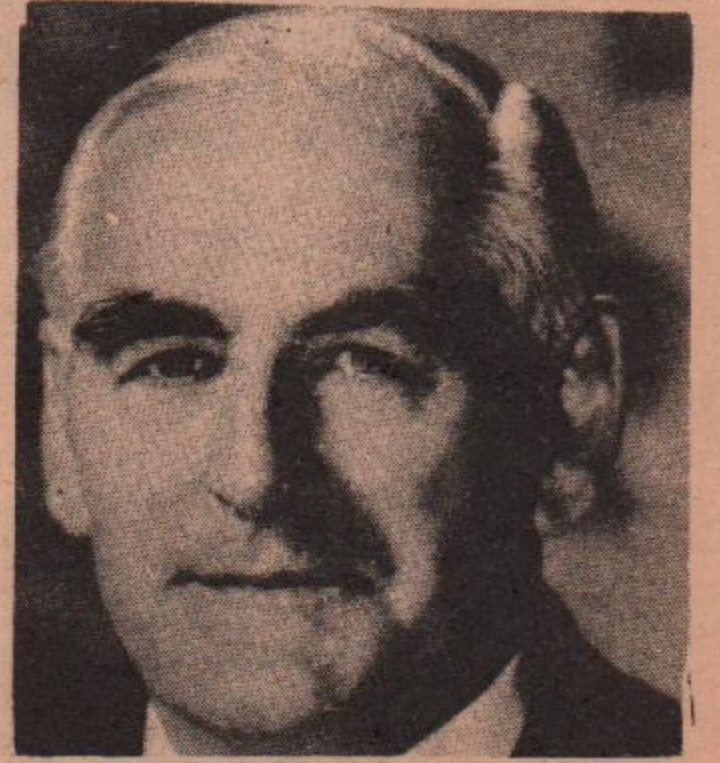
There is opposition to Sid Greene and his partners even on the NUR executive committee — but it is silent outside the EC meetings. Now the opposition must organise.

That is why the national bulletin Underground has started in Liverpool this year. It is written and financed by railway workers and is campaigning (among other things) for a £5 increase without strings for all grades.

The first issue was well received. But if its aims are to succeed it must receive articles and cash from all over the rail system.

The next issue will appear on 1 February and orders should be sent now to:

B Dawson, 5 Devonshire Road, Liverpool 8 (2d each or 1s per dozen, plus postage with orders).



JOHNSON: 'tighten your belts'

### Workers and students unite to stop Powell

SW Reporter

DUNDEE: Militant workers and students have formed a committee against racialism in an effort to stop a visit by Enoch Powell to the university this Friday.

The committee includes members of the National Union of Railwaymen and a number of Pakistani workers from the town's jute mills.

The students' association was due to meet today (Thursday) to discuss Powell's visit. He plans to speak to the university Conservative Society.

Left-wing students will call for an occupation to stop the racist MP from entering the building. If the occupation is rejected, the Socialist Society will attempt to go ahead on its own.

A large body of police has been planning desperately for some time to ensure that Powell is smuggled into the building.

### Big protest planned for Nazi visit

OXFORD: Students are making plans for a major protest demonstration when West Germany's neo-Nazi leader Adolf von Thadden and Ulster's right-wing Protestant Ian Paisley speak in the city on 10 February. A call has gone out for maximum backing from other areas for the demonstration.

## NOTICES

TONY CLIFF in Dundee: socialist weekend school, 23/24 Jan. From 2.30pm Sat., Students' Union, University of Dundee. Middle East, Eastern Europe, debate on Ireland, productivity deals. Transport and details from IS branches in Glasgow (329 1075), Aberdeen (41592) and Edinburgh (667 4326)

LIVERPOOL public meeting, Sun 25 Jan, 7.30pm Russia and China — why the split? Chris Harman, editor International Socialism. Gnd floor, 142 Princes Rd Princes Park Gates. Buses 25, 26/7, 60, 80, 86/7, H1. Free admis.

PROTEST AGAINST POLITICAL REPRESSION IN MEXICO

Friday 23 January 7.30pm

Mexican Embassy  
48 Belgrave Square SW1

PHOTO CLASS, London IS members only. Write to R Cox, 41 Lloyd Baker St WC1. First 10 only.

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

NORTH LONDON IS branches: support lobby against Haringey council's racist education plan to disperse immigrant children: Monday 26 Jan 7pm Wood Green Civic Centre, N22 (tube: Wood Grm)

Prepayment essential 1s a line, 5 words a line. Copy with cash first post Monday.

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### Sell-out danger as NUT meets Castle

by Duncan Hallas

THE NEWS that teachers' leaders are seeing Barbara Castle and Edward Short on Friday spotlights the danger of a sell-out over the pay claim of £135 a year.

The claim, which even if won would merely restore the real earnings level of 1967, is the rock bottom minimum demand for the class teacher on the basic scale — currently £16 10s rising to £30 18s after 14 years' service.

NUT branches have been holding meetings in the last week to consider motions calling for ballots for area strikes when the present wave of fortnightly stoppages ends. The response has been unprecedented.

Instead of the normal few dozen members at the branch,

hundreds of members have poured in. In Hackney, more than 500 turned out.

The vote for extended strike action has been overwhelming. In Wandsworth 876 voted in person or by write-in for a ballot on a total area stoppage. Six voted against.

Never in the history of the union have the members been so eager to fight.

The weakness is at the top. In spite of General Secretary Britain's talk of a 'long, hard struggle' to London strikers, there is no doubt that many executive members are looking for a face-saving compromise.

Sustained pressure from below is the only way to force prolonged area strikes.

Not just teachers' pay is at stake. The whole future of the educational service is being eroded by cuts.

The teachers' fight is an essential part of the fight against these cuts. From September this year the union is committed to instructing its members to refuse work in classes of more than 35 pupils. This is direct action on the most important reform in education from the point of view of working-class children.

If the salaries fight is won, this action will have the support of thousands of previously passive teachers who are gaining confidence in the present struggle. If it is lost, it will be a big setback for the prospects of a successful battle — the vital class-size issue.

In both cases, the government can be beaten. But only if the rank and file decisively impose their will on the impositions at the top.