

# Workers press

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

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY • NUMBER 224 • WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1970

PRICE 6d.

## What we think Responsibility for Ulster deaths

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The ban is simply a smoke-screen behind which the ultra-right wing Unionists can regroup and prepare their forces.

The Tory government which bears responsibility for the murder of O'Hagan is the same government which threatened less than three weeks ago to use troops to break the dockers' strike.

The military intervention in Ulster, as the Workers Press has repeatedly pointed out, is a direct threat to the working class not only of Ireland, but of Britain as well.

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He also spoke to the general about the hostility which the army was causing by its tactics.

In return for this sage advice, Freeland agreed to appoint a commission (composed of course of army officers) to investigate complaints from residents in the riot areas.

Instead of denouncing the Tories for their murderous military dictatorship in Ulster, Fitt hopes to arrive at some compromise with them.

There can be no compromise with British imperialism in Ulster or anywhere else.

If the British troops are now treating the Catholics of Belfast like they treated the workers of Aden and Cyprus, a large measure of responsibility lies with the 'lefts', the Stalinists and revisionists who have apologized for them and justified their presence.

The Socialist Labour League, against all these tendencies, has fought consistently for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops from N Ireland.

The murder of Daniel O'Hagan is a tragic reminder of the urgency of this demand.

## ATUA CONFERENCES

### DOCKERS

Saturday, August 15

2 p.m.-6 p.m.  
YMCA Room 1  
Mount Pleasant  
LIVERPOOL

For further details write to: L. Cavanagh, 5 Gamlin St, Birkenhead.

### MINERS

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Danum Hotel  
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## Lucrative routes to go private

# Tories to loot state airlines

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The Tories knew a victorious docks strike would have reverberated throughout the entire transport industry and would have greatly inspired airport workers to intensify their struggles for higher wages and security of employment, as well as against Tory rationalization plans.

In the 1950s and early 1960s Tory policies enabled the private airlines to expand whilst the overall development of the industry was held back.

This policy had an adverse effect on the development of the whole aircraft industry. Stagnation and low wages were further compounded by the implementation of the utterly retrogressive principles contained in the 1961 White Paper on the nationalized industries.

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The Labourites, however much they might protest at this feat of high altitude robbery, must bear a major proportion of the responsibility for the present situation.

Despite the advice and against the opposition of the unions in the industry, the Labour government appointed the infamous Edwards Committee to inquire into the industry.

Its report predictably recommended the expansion of the private sector by the formation of a 'second-force'

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## Location strike

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The closure of MGM's Borehamwood studio and the threat of similar action at Shepperton have thrown over 1,000 out of work in recent months.

### Confused

The restricting of the campaign to protest marches and a lobby of parliament has left many union members confused over how to proceed.

Steve Cox, film editor at Wyatt Cattaneo Productions, told Workers Press: 'American money has been withdrawn because its cheaper to make films in Italy and Spain.'

'I don't see how we can take strike action. We're weak now because of unemployment. I don't think this march will hit the employers where it hurts.'

Shouts of 'We want work' were heard as union officials spoke outside ABC's headquarters in Golden Square.

### 'Good films'

The speakers—Alan Sapper, Film Federation Union secretary Alan Griffith, Writers Guild secretary Peter Plouviez, Actors Equity secretary and Leslie Littlewood from the TUC general council—came back repeatedly to 'the right to see good British films' and the American domination of the British film industry.

But not one word of nationalization was mentioned.

Producer Tony Garnett told us: 'It is disgraceful that many members of the industry are out of work. The way to solve the problem is nationalizing the industry under the control of workers and the local communities and not to go like Oliver Twist with a little bowl to the employers.'

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The Iraqi, like Boumediene of Algeria, refused to attend the Tripoli 'summit' and have attacked Nasser for agreeing to the US proposals.

Throughout the Arab world, Nasser's standing is in decline as a result of his acceptance of the Rogers plan.

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United Nations 'mediator' Jarring will then begin work on indirect Israeli-Arab negotiations.

The conference of Arab countries, due to open in Tripoli yesterday, was postponed while the Libyan leader Gaddafi flew to Baghdad for talks with the Iraqi government.

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Gahal, led by Menachem Beigin, is not only opposed to withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, but believes in the reconquest of the empire of King Solomon—a Jewish state from the Nile to the Euphrates.

The Meir government now has the support, not only of the 'left' Zionist Mapam, but also of MAKI, the most right-wing of the Stalinist parties.

## RESPONSIBLE

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They have attacked the Iraqi rejection of the plan as 'incomprehensible' and said that the Iraqi attitude 'does not help the genuine struggle against the aggressor'.

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## JOBS FOR THE GIRLS

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Before the election Mrs Dunwoody was Parliamentary Secretary with responsibility for the film industry at the Board of Trade.

1970: Thirty years since Trotsky's assassination

## SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

### Memorial Meeting

ACTON TOWN HALL High St, Acton

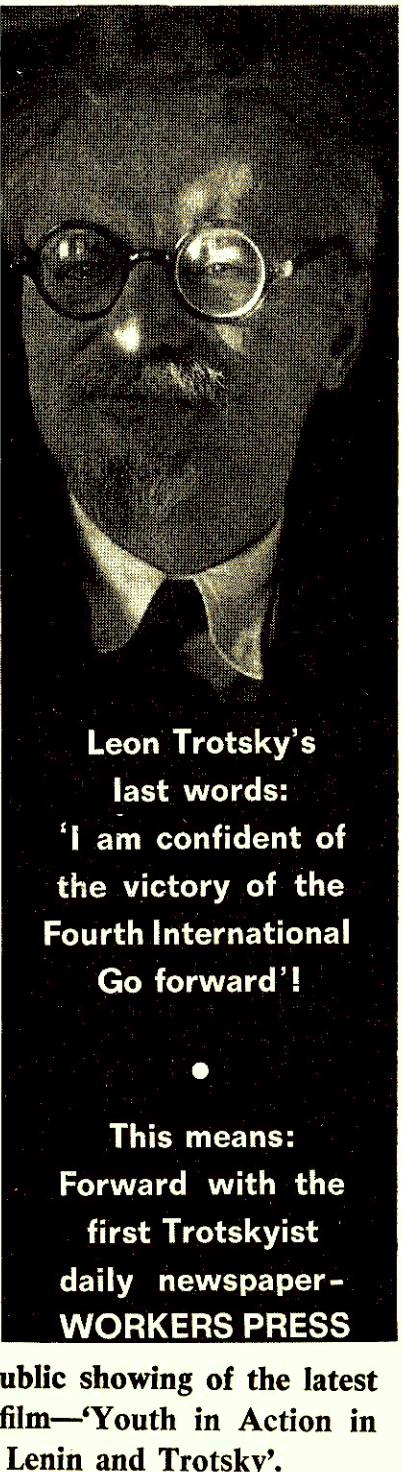
Sunday August 23

Starts 3 p.m. Admission 2s

Speakers: G. HEALY (SLL national Secretary), M. BANDA (Editor Workers Press), A. JENNINGS (Editor Keep Left).

Chairman: C. SLAUGHTER (SLL Central Committee).

ALSO: The first public showing of the latest Young Socialists' film—'Youth in Action in the Year of Lenin and Trotsky'.



Leon Trotsky's last words: 'I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International Go forward!'

This means: Forward with the first Trotskyist daily newspaper—WORKERS PRESS

## Speed-up in water industry

THE FIRST PIB report on the water industry published yesterday remarks on the low level of earnings in the industry—£24 13s 7d average for 46.7 hours in England and Wales and £23 6s 11d for 48 hours in Scotland.

The report considers that progress in the use of work study has been slow and recommends that the introduction of incentive payments schemes should be accelerated.

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## CBI urges tougher union plans

TORY EMPLOYMENT and Productivity Minister Robert Carr this week turns his attention in earnest — with assistance from his Party's research department — to how, concretely, the unions can be shackled and the wages fight curbed.

Today he begins a new round of talks with employers' and union leaders on the content of the Industrial Relations Bill he will introduce in October.

First in the field will be representatives of the Confederation of British Industry. Pay-policy talks involving both public and private industry moguls will be kicked off tomorrow with an 'informal' pow-wow between nationalized industry chairmen and the Ministers concerned.

ENCOURAGED both by the union leaders' retreat on the docks and by Lord Denning's anti-'closed shop' remarks in the Court of Appeal last week, the CBI will urge Carr to grasp the nettle Labour's Barbara Castle shied away from.

They will express 'grave objections' even to some aspects of present Tory policy.

### Not observed

According to a CBI bulletin dated last Friday, its industrial relations working party — chaired by British Rail labour relations man Len Neal — fears that measures which would allow parties to contract out of legally-enforceable agreements 'could be regarded as laying down procedures which need not be observed'.

To 'strengthen the unions and associations... encourage the development of collective bargaining and the more general observance of agreements', the CBI will therefore press for 'strongly developed provisions for legal control under a system of registration

## Dusty answer at Longbridge

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Night-shift men walked out Monday night over the same issue, just 24 hours after the Midlands car industry began full post-holiday production. The strike halted production of the Austin 1800 car.

The question of manning scales in the plant is given added importance by the drive for Measured-Day Work, spotlighted in Turnbull's threatening message: 'Unless we manufacture efficiently,' Turnbull said, 'we cannot possibly contemplate planning large sums of money to expand our capacity... our whole future depends on this, including full employment in our factories.'

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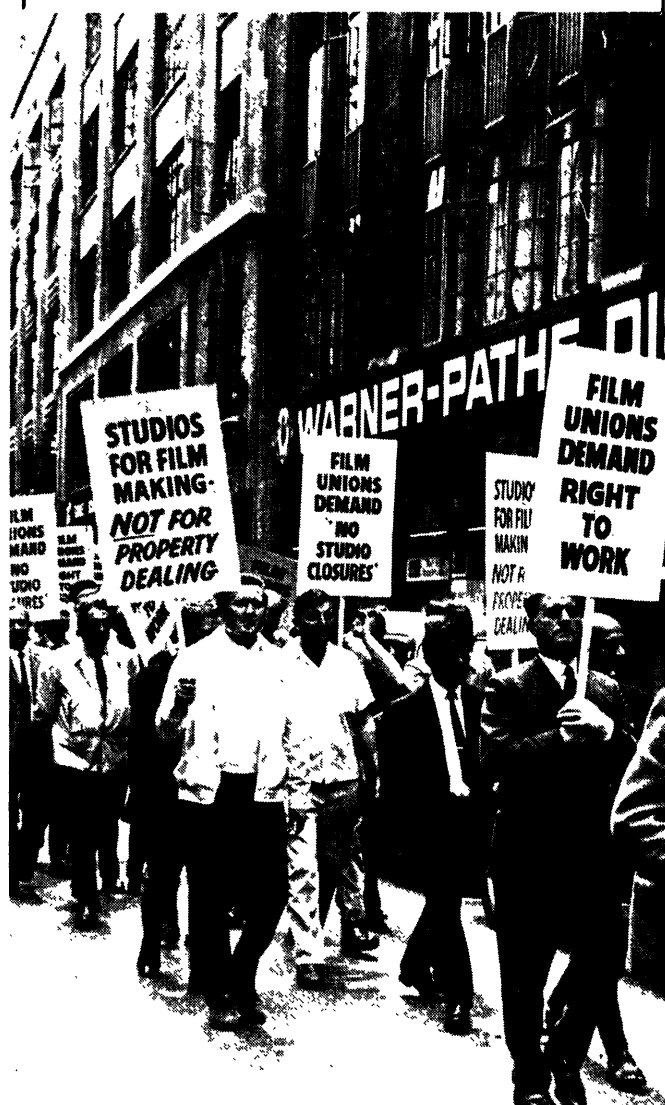
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1970: Thirty years since Trotsky's assassination

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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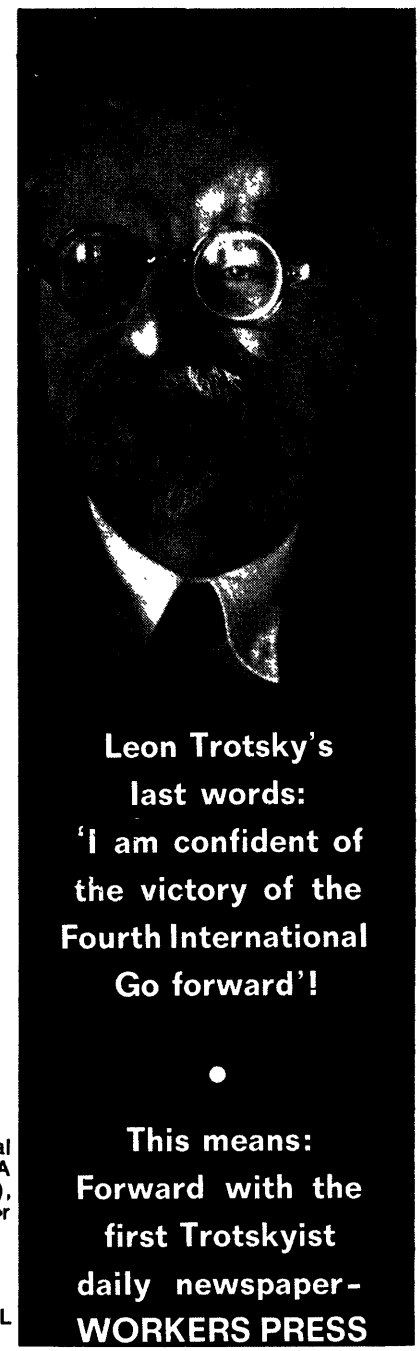
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(Francis Gorman, Union President, United Textile Workers, November 1937.)

**WORK-STUDY systems and the various methods of applying them are not new.**

Some workers will tell you that these systems have been operating in some factories for years. Others can tell of the struggles against the Bedaux work-study method in the 1930s.

The leaders of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, took a close look at time-and-motion methods.

In preparation for his book 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism' written in 1916, Lenin made a comprehensive study of the Taylor (time-study) and Gilbreth (method-study) systems.

He commented that under capitalism they were 'a torture or a conjuring trick', while Trotsky wrote in 1920 of Taylorism as a system under which:

'The elements of the scientific organization of the process of production are combined with the most concentrated methods of the system of sweating.'

The system was first introduced in a developed form in Britain in the ten years which followed the defeat of the 1926 General Strike.

It was no doubt thought by Charles Bedaux—the system's chief protagonist—that he would encounter less opposition among the demoralized workers in Britain than had been the case in America.

Any such predictions would have quickly proved wrong by the wave of strikes and general unrest which greeted the attempts of employers to introduce the Bedaux system. Workers saw through the claims that this was a 'scientific' method of aiding both management and workers.

#### Employer's profits

The essence of the scheme, of course, was that it pushed up the employer's profits and often allowed him to dispense with large numbers of workers altogether.

One of Bedaux's main innovations was the concept of the 'standard minute', a method of timing the work process which allowed a great rationalization of movements — in other words, speed-up.

That Bedaux was the founder of modern work-study methods is flatly denied by all present-day work-study consultants, managers and union officials who say that today's systems have nothing to do with Bedaux's system.

This conspiracy of silence is maintained because of Bedaux's subsequent history and because of the disputes which broke out when attempts were made to apply his methods.

The story now is that modern systems are based on the work of Taylor, not Bedaux.

In fact, Bedaux brought together all the work of previous time-and-motion engineers like F. W. Taylor and F. Gilbreth.

Taylor, working in the latter part of the last century, was the first man to apply the stopwatch to the organization of work, and developed systems such as that of loading a lorry in half the previous time with fewer men.

Because of his aim to investigate and analyse 'scientifically' all the components of the production process; and to experiment with materials, machines and methods of work using measuring instruments such as the stopwatch he became to be known as the first developer of 'scientific management'.

Gilbreth was more con-

cerned with work-motions.

His aim was to 'eliminate wastefulness resulting from the use of unnecessary, ill-directed and inefficient motions'.

Gilbreth introduced the concept of avoidable delay, to describe 'either idleness or an unnecessary movement that is not an essential part of the cycle and does not advance the product or the operation'.

Such delays began at the point where 'the body member departs from the normal pattern of work, and ends where the member resumes the normal pattern'.

To measure this, Gilbreth devised the technique for filming workers and dividing their jobs into 1/2,000 parts of a minute—called a 'wink'. This is known as the 'wink micro-motion film technique'.

#### Techniques of exploitation

Bedaux began to sell his developed variety of these techniques of exploitation to the British employers through a private company on whose Board sat AEI and Enfield Rolling Mills directors.

Bedaux and his company director associates were soon faced with a two-month strike against their system by girls employed at the Wolsey stocking factory at Leicester.

From December 1931 to February 1932 they were out behind the slogan 'No Bedaux!'

Opposition also came from linoleum and biscuit-making workers. Three hundred women struck at Amalgamated Carbutretors Ltd. saying they 'were determined not to have anything to do with the Bedaux system'.

In 1933 800 men walked out of the Smethwick firm of Henry Hope and Sons 'determined not to return to work until the firm is willing to abolish the Bedaux system'.

The strike lasted for eight weeks, with mass picketing of the factory and a public meeting following a march from Smethwick to West Bromwich.

Three hundred engineers at Elliot Bros of Lewisham also struck against job-timing in 1933, and the same year a thousand workers out at Venesta Plywood, Silvertown, behind the demand, 'Bedaux must go!'

Union leaders reported 'unabated determination to have nothing to do with the system'. Fights broke out between strikers and non-unionists, and the 'Daily Herald' reported:

'Non-union workers on the Bedaux system had police protection against crowds of strikers' (May 2, 1933).

At the same time, similar action was taken against the system in Germany, USA, Czechoslovakia and Belgium.

However, while some union officials in Britain came out against the system, and while the workers aimed in every case to throw out the system completely, the trade unions' leaders who had sold out the General Strike seven or eight years previously were not the men to fight the employers now.

In almost all cases where action was taken against Bedaux these union leaders negotiated agreements whereby the system would be introduced but 'at special bonus rates of pay' and under strict union examination'.

The Trades Union Congress produced a report showing the physically and psychologically harmful effects of the scheme, and that it would inevitably result in sackings. The report ended by agreeing with the introduction of the scheme 'so long as full consultation occurs'.

Attacking the role of the TUC, the paper of the Communist Party, 'Daily Worker' of December 23, 1931, said:

'The TUC agrees with all forms of rationalization. They believe in all kinds of speed-up. The trades union officials are the same in every capitalist country, kidding the workers to adopt such systems in order to compete with the workers of other countries, and as a consequence we find the army of unemployed rising higher every week.'

They went on to describe the Bedaux system as 'one of the most devilish systems ever invented. It is known in the mass production shops of Germany as "Bedaux Hell!"'

But the Communist Party held a heavy responsibility for the 1926 defeat of the General Strike, through its policy of telling the workers to support the 'left' trade union leaders.

Now (from 1929 on) in the period of its 'left turn' the Labour Party and trade unions became groups of 'social fascists' so that no united movement against the attack of the employers, of which Bedaux was a part, could be built.

The Stalinists could continue to make statements like that of January 13, 1932: 'What the bosses and the Labour leaders hail as scientific progress, is merely the intensified sweating of the working class. No Bedaux! is the slogan of the Wolsey girls, and their fight must be backed by all workers who are up against rationalization in one form or another.'

However, they conducted no political fight against the Labour leaders. Like the work-study experts, the Communist Party now prefers to forget its previous history.

Today the CP has supported 'productivity' schemes such as Measured-Day Work and has smoothed the way for the introduction of time-and-motion study into factories.

As the working class fights back today against the Labour leaders who encourage the growth of monopoly, rational-

ization and speed-up, it must learn from the history of the previous struggles against the employers' demands for higher and higher profits.

In September of the same year, the Windsors went to stay with the Bedauxs at their shooting lodge in Hungary and it was from here that Charles Bedaux personally arranged for the Windsors to make a tour of Nazi Germany.

The Windsors claimed later that Bedaux had said that the visit would be private, and they would simply meet certain German industrialists who were among his friends.

#### Heil, Edward!

However, on their arrival at Berlin, on October 11, 1937, they were met by leading Nazi Party members, and, according to the 'Illustrated London News', the Duke was greeted by crowds shouting 'Heil, Edward!' and 'Windsor!' 'Windsor!'

They were taken on a conducted tour of the mines, housing estates, chemical works and factories by Dr Robert Ley, head of the Nazi National Labour Front, the man who had directed the ruthless destruction of the German trade unions.

The Duke was also shown over a secret aircraft production works that no visitor had been allowed into before.

During their stay, the Windsors were entertained by Krupp, Goering, Hess and Hitler.

It was during this tour that the Duke had a private discussion with Hitler, described by the Duchess in her memoirs some years later as follows:

'On the way back to

Munich, when we were momentarily alone, I asked David [the Duke] whether he had had an interesting talk with Hitler. "Yes, very," he answered, rifling through the pages of a magazine.

"Did you get into international politics?" I asked, curiously.

"Now, darling," he protested. "You know my rule about politics. I'd certainly never allow myself to get into a political discussion with him!"

"You were with him one hour. What did you talk about?"

"He did most of the talking."

"Well, what did he talk about?"

"Oh, the usual stuff. What he is trying to do for Germany and to combat Bolshevism."

"What did he say about Bolshevism?"

"He's against it."

'And that was all I ever did get out of David about his meeting with Adolf Hitler.'

Bedaux attempted to follow up this 'success' by arranging a similar tour of the United States for the Windsors.

This visit was opposed by thousands of American workers through their unions, particularly the Baltimore Federation of Labour, on the basis that Bedaux, already notorious in the USA for his pernicious systems of exploitation of the workers, had been the Nazi's agent behind the Windsors' German trip, under the auspices of Ley, and was now attempting to extend even further his openly fascist sympathies in the USA.

As the time of the visit approached, the storm of protest increased. Thousands of United States workers prepared to meet the Windsors and Bedaux at the pierhead with anti-fascist banners placards and slogans as they arrived.

Nationwide demonstrations

were planned. Automobile workers at Detroit who had been on strike a year earlier against Bedaux's system of speed-up were preparing strikes and demonstrations against the Windsors' visit there.

Textile workers also planned similar action. Bedaux eventually withdrew as sponsor of the visit and finally the Windsors cancelled the trip altogether.

#### Corporate state

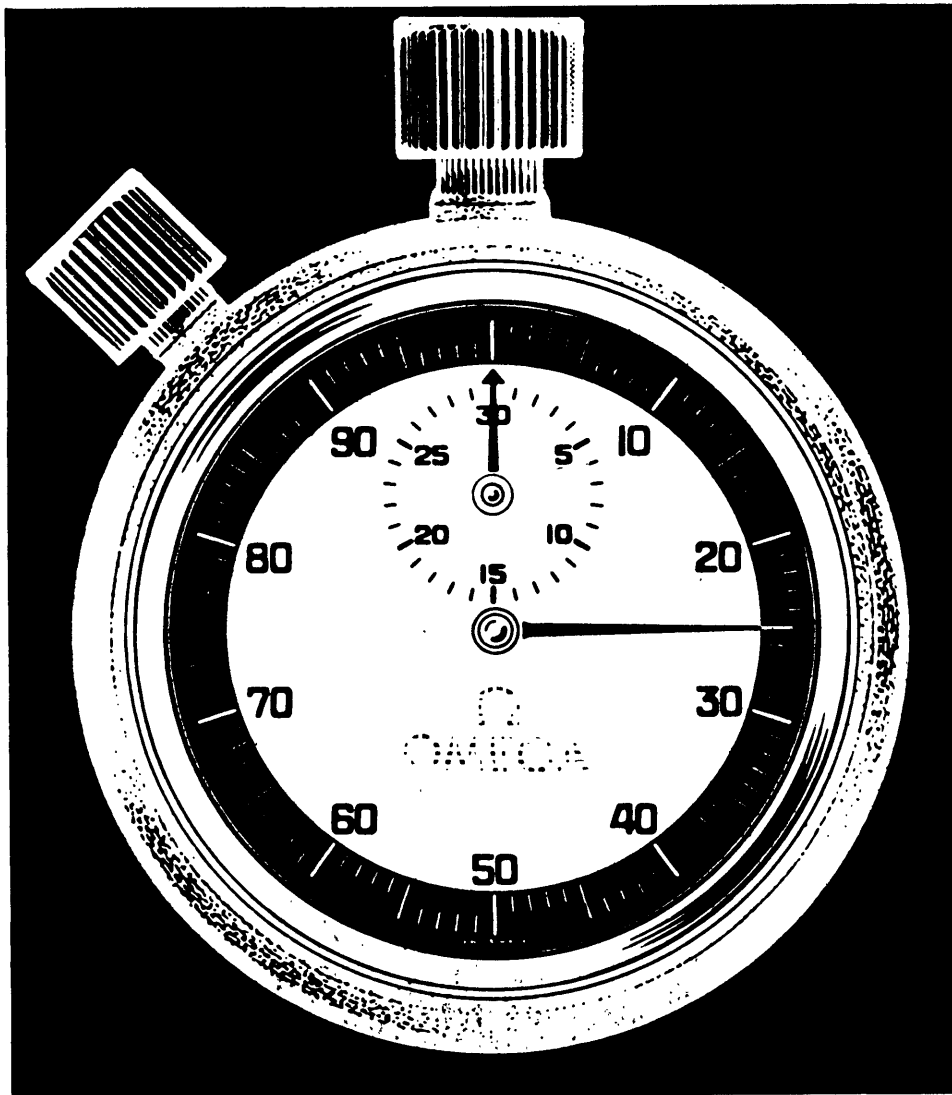
The methods of time-and-motion study are not far removed from the methods of the corporate state and the kind of dictatorship towards which sections of the employing class in Britain are now looking as a solution to their economic problems.

Bedaux himself was looking in this direction in the late 1930s. At that time he was a friend of the present Duke of Windsor.

In fact, in 1937, following his abdication, the Duke of Windsor married the Duchess, who was then Mrs Simpson, at Bedaux's own country mansion, the Chateau de Candé, near Tours, France, where Mrs Simpson had already been living for some months as the Bedaux's guest.

After becoming friendly with Schacht, the president of the German Reichsbank, and Ribbentrop, German Ambassador to London, Bedaux resigned from British Bedaux Ltd. in 1937 and went to live in Germany.

Following the surrender of the French Army during the war, he acted as intermediary between the Nazis and Vichy.



# A HISTORY OF Time & Motion STUDY

logy, sociology, and economics departments contribute books, pamphlets and articles to the department of scientific and industrial research and other government agencies for publication.

Warwick university, for example, is closely associated with big business interests in the Midlands, as was revealed after an occupation of the registrars office by students.

According to 'The Times', the university

'... set out to introduce new university courses tailored to the needs of modern business generally and of specific industries in particular.'

The university's ruling council includes directors of Hawker-Siddeley, Courtauld's, Rootes, Jaguars, British-Leyland, Rugby Cement, Barclays Bank and J. R. Mead, described as a director of 42 Midlands companies, ('Sunday Times', February 22, 1970.)

Its professor of labour relations, Hugh Clegg, has been a member of the Prices and Incomes Board (PIB), the Royal Commission on Trade Unions, as well as being on the original Devlin committee. He has also been proposed as head of a new government-backed research unit which will be located at Warwick and which will aim:

'to encourage the development of long-term and fundamental research in industrial relations; and to improve the quality of industrial relations decisions by government, employers and trade unions.'

Many of these experts also take part in courts of inquiry during disputes and are leading members of bodies which examine and report on productivity deals.

These people are described as being 'impartial' or 'neutral' as far as industrial disputes are concerned and so are said to be capable of an unbiased decision.

#### Manpower requirements

Another body aimed at helping managements 'to forecast and plan long-term manpower requirements' is the Institute of Manpower Studies.

Based jointly at Sussex University and the London School of Economics its setting up was enthusiastically backed by 20-of-Britain's-biggest-companies, including ICI, Shell, BP, and BSC.

The link-up between government, employers, university experts and trade union leaders can be clearly seen from the list of its joint vice-presidents. They are: Sir Peter Allen, chairman of ICI; Sir Denis Barnes, official head of ment and Productivity; Dr F. S. Dainton, vice-chancellor of Nottingham University; and Victor Feather, TUC general secretary.

One of the most recent and use of work study took place in the period 1965-1970 at the Fairfield's shipyard, Clydeside.

To the Labour government and to a bunch of closely associated millionaires and Tory business tycoons, the chance to 'save' the bankrupt yard came as a golden opportunity to set up an experiment involving all the latest developments in the intensification of labour.

After money had been paid out by government, millionaires and unions to keep the yard open, 130 work-study personnel were shipped in to apply work measurement, job evaluation, O&M, and Measured-Day Work to the 3,000 workers involved.

Mass publicity was given to the scheme with Labour, Conservative, Scottish Nationalist and Communist Party parliamentary candidates contributions to the specially set-up house journal, the 'Fairfields News'.

Even Sean Connery of James Bond fame went along to make a promotion film.

Workers were flown down to the Electrical Trades Union Training College, presided over by education officer J. Hasston, for courses on productivity techniques.

However, it was not 'communications' and 'good labour relations' which pushed the scheme along, but the policy of the yard's chairman of directors, Iain Stewart, who, according to the book subsequently published on the scheme:

'... expressly made no attempt to obtain orders until the yard has been totally and tightly re-organized for he wanted to use the precipice of unemployment to keep the men on the narrow path he needed them to follow.'

'(Whatever happened at Fairfield's, S. Paulden & B. Hawkins.)

The book explains further: 'The men were over a barrel' Stewart is not afraid to confess "and I intended to keep them there until they understood our new techniques and trusted them and until the yard was running as I wanted it to run".'

And what was achieved by

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the work-study team which cost the firm a quarter of a million pounds in wages alone for a year?

'Systematically the labour force was cut down in the first six months by about 750 men.'

An even more recent development has been the use of television to promote aspects of productivity working.

The series 'Representing the Union', jointly run by the trade unions and the BBC, set out to prove that workers unite with the employers in making capitalism work, which at shop-floor level of course means acceptance of work study, job evaluation and Measured-Day Work.

Finally, to bring us fully up-to-date it is necessary to look at the business, manage-

ment to make the promises about no redundancy, higher pay, etc., which can always be denied once the consultants have left on the basis that they were not part of of the company and so were not qualified to make such promises anyway.

Sometimes, too, disputes which break out over a scheme are blamed on the inefficiency of the efficiency consultants the company saying that eventually its own work-study department will put things right.

Work-study consultants are paid extremely well. An assistant can get anything up to £2,000 a year while senior men—they call them engineers—may get as much as £5,000.

Workers facing continual hounding to increase times, often from people who haven't a clue about the work that is being done, are struck by the large increases in staff and by the hundreds of thousands of pounds paid out in salaries when these schemes are operated.

We must also add that consultants, like capitalism itself, are international.

The European Work-Study

Federation's 7th conference was held in 1968.

Present were 200 delegates representing 16 countries, and plans were laid for a World Congress on Productivity Science sometime in the future.

The Methods Time Measured Association of Great Britain was formed in 1963 to promote the use of MTM in Britain.

With a membership of 1,400 it claims that more and more managements are becoming interested in its methods, particularly since MTM-2 was invented in 1965.

At the moment there are MTM Associations in France, USA, UK, Germany, Holland, Japan, Norway, Sweden and Italy, all under the guidance of an international directorate.

The associations run courses and examinations and hand out certificates to those that pass.

It is no surprise that world capitalism, in its crisis and decay, should seek to disseminate on a world-wide scale all its most vicious and destructive methods of sweating, disciplining, and controlling the working class.

BY A GUEST REVIEWER

tv column

LIKE THE proverbial dog returning to its vomit, the British ruling class cannot avoid returning to the question of Kim Philby, the Soviet spy who became head of anti-Soviet espionage in MI6.

The implications of Kim Philby's story and of the revelations that were made about the operations of British and US intelligence agencies at the time of his defection to the USSR in 1963 are too disastrous to be simply forgotten, so they have to be distorted.

Thus distortedly but unmistakably the traits of capitalist society in an advanced state of decay find themselves reflected in the mass media that the capitalists themselves control.

Philby the son of an upper middle-class family with a tradition of mild revolt and pronounced eccentricity, was a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, at the time of the great depression that followed the 1929 Wall St crash.

The middle class was thrown into turmoil by these events, and in many instances turned towards a socialist solution to the deep crisis in the capitalist system.

Philby: Glossing over the implications



Kim PHILBY

of the war, even earning a good deal of respect from the US spies he came into contact with.

It is a real commentary on the state the British ruling class had reached that it took a Soviet spy to inject some order into the operations of MI6.

From the extensive testimony of the historian, Hugh Trevor Roper, it is clear that the main concern of SIS soon shifted from the war against Germany to preparations to do battle with the Soviet Union.

A CIA man, Miles Copeland, who also appeared in the programme, made a similar point when he said:

'We were chasing after Communists during the war when everybody thought we were chasing after Nazis.'

With the Normandy landings of 1944, the SIS began to group together the various departments concerned with the combating of Communism and the subversion of workers' states.

With the unerring instinct of true officers and gentlemen they chose exactly the right man to head the new section — Kim Philby.

The most important action that this section undertook in the years following the war was a campaign to start a civil war in

Albania to topple the young Communist state.

To this end Philby was set to work recruiting emigré Albanian royalists to train as guerrilla fighters who would then be parachuted into the country to start an uprising. This scheme had the blessing of the then Labour Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin.

Indeed, by 1949 it appears that the CIA had also become interested in the Albanian venture.

The combined operation was now on a much larger scale, and joint command of it was placed in the hands of — Kim Philby.

The allied governments watched with dismay as their guerrilla squads were picked up one by one as they tried to enter the country.

In the final big drop the whole group of infiltrators was surrounded as it parachuted down and massacred to the last man.

Philby's cover was effectively blown in the early 1950s by the efforts of the FBI to identify a source of leaks from the British embassy in Washington.

They successfully tracked down the source, who was McLean, Philby's fellow agent.



Kim PHILBY

and to undertake the murderous adventure in Albania; the interconnectedness of all the organs of class rule, of the secret services with the politicians, whether Conservative or like Bevin, Labour; the role of the media of communication under capitalism, in this case 'The Times' which was shown by the Philby case to be a regular recruiting ground for SIS in the pre-war period at least.

But the BBC too plays its part in this.

It is part of the capitalist state. It must therefore try to gloss over the things that really emerge from the Philby story and direct our attention instead to some metaphysical manderings from Hugh Trevor Roper concerning the personal and emotional poverty of the individual spy's existence.

The saddest thing about Philby for Trevor Roper was not that, against his foil, we see the real dirty mess that the British ruling class is, but the total absence of any genuine human contact.

Philby's story, despite his intellectual courage in breaking from a fetishistic and chauvinistic middle-class loyalty to the capi-

alist state is indeed a sad one, and in the footage of him that his son has managed to bring recently out of the Soviet Union we see a sad and tired man.

After all, he broke free, as he saw it, from the limitations of his own upper middle-class background into the service of Communism only to find himself a hireling of Stalinism.

Generation

This was, after all, the fate of a whole generation of intellectuals who made the first faltering steps away from middle-class radicalism only to find in Stalinism, whether they took it or left it, something that reinforced all their worst weaknesses and formed a barrier to further progress.

Not only Philby, but also Steinbeck and Brecht belonged to this generation. It is now mostly dead, or crushed and defeated.

To clear out the corrupt and moribund, although still vicious and violent capitalist state and to come to a reckoning with Stalinism is the task of a new generation.

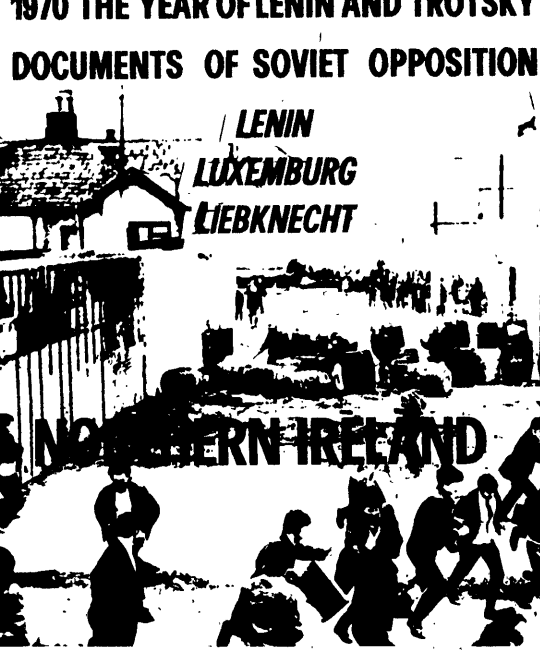


Duke of Windsor

IMPORTANT READING

Fourth International

1970 THE YEAR OF LENIN AND TROTSKY DOCUMENTS OF SOVIET OPPOSITION



LENIN LUXEMBURG LIEBKNECHT

BERN-IRELAND

ment and work-study consultants' firms which tout in ever-increasing numbers for contracts to introduce the latest time-and-motion methods into one firm or another.

One of the major effects of the development of industry-wide use of productivity deals has been the huge growth in size and numbers of these organizations.

The largest management consultant firm in the world is the USA's Booz, Allen and Hamilton, with McKinsey not far behind.

In 1968 management consultants' fees earned in the UK and Eire totalled £19 million, an increase of 22 per cent on the previous year.

A further huge expansion of business is expected on the basis of the Board of Trade's scheme to encourage small firms to hire consultants by paying up to 50 per cent of their costs.

Consultant firms are hired by companies to introduce work study, O&M etc., to encourage more efficient management i.e. managers that are able to keep the workers on the run all the time, and to lay the basis for a permanent work-study department.

Another use that companies find for consultant is to get

BBC 1 TV REGIONAL BBC BBC 2 ITV REGIONAL ITV. Includes TV listings for various channels and regions.

Explains

This documentary explains that Philby left university in 1933, the year of Hitler's accession to power in Germany, and that the experience that determined him to struggle consistently for what he considered to be Communism was the brutal massacre of the Austrian workers' movement by Dollfuss in 1934.

He was at that point enrolled by Soviet intelligence as an agent whose task was a long-term penetration of the British Secret Service alongside his two fellow students, Burgess and McLean.

He immediately set about establishing his credentials as a loyal British spy. A first and necessary step was apparently to get a job as a reporter for 'The Times'.

He then qualified himself politically for the job by joining the fascist 'Anglo-German Fellowship' and by joining Franco's Headquarters staff as a sympathetic journalist during the Spanish Civil War.

He was wounded and decorated by Franco for his bravery.

With such outstanding qualifications, Philby was recruited with open arms by the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) at the outbreak of the 'war against fascism'. Clearly, here was a man admirably prepared to take up the fight.

Indeed Philby, the Soviet-trained spy, turned out to be extremely good at sorting out the chaos that reigned in Allied intelligence during the early part

'Bruce Page & others: 'Philby, The Spy Who Betrayed a Generation', pp. 140-143.

Escape

Although McLean and the other member of the trio, Burgess, managed to escape to the continent, because the British middle-class tradition of the long week-end made it socially impermissible to arrest them on a Friday evening, Philby was inevitably implicated.

Even then the old school tie effectively saved Philby, until a decade later a number of defections by important Soviet agents placed into the hands of British intelligence, if it is permissible to use the word in this connection, enough evidence to arrest him.

By that time, however, he had already worked out his escape route, and he disappeared into the USSR.

Through the career of Kim Philby up to date we gain a rare insight into the nature and workings of the British, and to a large extent of the US ruling class in the century of imperialist decay.

It is all there: the greed for profit and the hatred of the working class that led the SIS, as an organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie, to flirt with fascism

Dockers' wives answer press baron

EVERY MAJOR strike sets Fleet St and the telly-men on the hunt for strikers' wives who oppose the workers' action.

It is both characteristic of dockland and a sign of the times that the press barons' news-hawks were unable to find one statement on these lines in any port in the country.

Dockers' wives interviewed on TV all spoke up firmly for the strike—no doubt to the disappointment of the interviewers. But Fleet St has to do its job somehow.

So the 'Express' last week dug up a Mrs Burrell, a '141-stone former WAAF physical fitness instructor'. This lady was organising housewives 'all over the country' into an army to unload perishable cargoes.

'I believe trade unions must be disciplined,' she said, agreeing to the 'Express'. 'They are getting out of hand.'

Dockers lobbying the Transport House docks delegate conference last Wednesday had several things to say about Mrs Burrell, most of which cannot be reported here. One Liverpool man said:

'As for this woman on Merseyside who says she is going to unload ships, we've got 1,000 dockers' wives up there who'll be ready for her if she shows her face near the docks. The Tories and the employers can't kid dockers' wives any more with their television and press propaganda.'

THE 'Daily Telegraph' Colour Magazine on July 24 managed to cover several pages with a feature by Dan Yergin called 'Beyond the left, further than the right'.

This pot-boiling compendium tried to mix up various 'left' groups with such organizations as the National Front.

When Yergin approached the Socialist Labour League for material several months back, we refused to co-operate. We have some experience of the kind of publicity capitalist papers seek to give revolutionaries.

But, as always, the state capitalist 'International Socialist' group could not resist the lure of Fleet St's bright lights. The result was an interview with Paul Foot, one of the editors of

'Private Eye', and a leading IS member.

Yergin says he met Foot in the small hours.

'Only late at night can one weave such tapestries,' says the 'Telegraph' articles. Foot is quoted as saying:

'I do question the possibility of a revolution happening. I've never been very sure that a revolution would happen...'

'People say to me: "Look here, it's absolutely out of the question, this revolution, what are you doing, mucking about when you could do far more useful things?" But even in this miserable capitalist system, it's the revolutionaries—not the reformer who fears to push too hard—who gets genuine reforms. I'm convinced of that.'

Just to check, Workers Press phoned Foot.



'Morning Star' and the Faker's Fakir

LAST Thursday's 'Morning Star' devoted a good chunk of page 5 to a picture of Gora, described as 'India's saintly atheist'.

It might seem surprising for the 'Star' to have anything to do with an unbeliever, but this one was interviewed in Canon Collins' sitting room, so that's all right.

Gora's atheism becomes even clearer when we read his statement: 'The slavish subsmissiveness of the many provides a handle for

the active few to exploit their fellow men, indeed it is the slave who makes a tyrant out of his brother.'

So his doctrine of 'aggressive humanism' is the direct opposite of Marxism.

What Marx saw religious belief as rooted in conditions of exploitation and oppression, Gora says it is the other way round.

Marx's conception leads from the need to revolutionize conditions in which it develops.

Gora implies that the bosses are not to blame for exploiting you—it's your own fault!

The 'Star' tells us that Gora

visited both Karl Marx's grave and the house where Gandhi lived in 1931. The 'Star' reports:

'Both men, he says were great humanists, although he regrets that Marxism has had recourse to "political dictatorship" for achieving economic equality and that Gandhians have stressed the religious aspects of Gandhi's philosophy while ignoring its revolutionary aspects.'

Any admirer of Gandhi, whose pacifism enabled British imperialism to hold back the Indian national movement for decades and laid the basis for the Indian capitalist state of today, is a friend of theirs.

FOOT IN THE MOUTH

Press has every right to criticize me over it.

We have no intention of 'criticizing' Foot. He is no naive lad making a 'mistake', but an experienced journalist, fast being groomed as a TV 'personality'.

When Foot was preparing his book on Enoch Powell, he arranged an interview with his subject.

Last November, Workers Press asked him: Do you not think that an interview between you and Powell will serve to whitewash a man whose racism is designed to split the working class?

So he can hardly be surprised when a Tory paper uses their interview with him to print stuff 'valuable' for the ruling class.

Foot's words can be taken to reflect the real thinking of IS and similar circles.

For them, 'revolution' is an exotic dream, to be played with for kicks in one's youth—especially late at night.

Reforms are the 'useful' reality, which might possibly justify the 'revolutionary' talk.

It is no accident, therefore, that Foot risks being used in an article aiming to discredit revolutionary politics, for the sake of a bit of publicity.

His eagerness to be duped in this way is a direct result of his middle-class scepticism about the ability of the working class to take power, in a period when it must prepare to do just that.



Paul FOOT



# Transport union backs

## TWO WIDE-RANGING productivity systems—the 1968 engineering package deal and the Devlin docks 'modernization' scheme—have, perhaps, done more than anything else to explode the militant reputations of the 'left-wing union leaders.

But hostility to the Transport and General Workers' leadership's haste to shelve the £20 basic-rate struggle in favour of Lord Pearson's recommendation to proceed with Devlin Phase Two should not be allowed to obscure what has been going on in other industries.

Transport, engineering, steel and shipbuilding are all sectors where manning levels are continuously being cut while production rises sharply.

This pamphlet—described as 'points to consider when making or examining productivity proposals'—shows that the union leaders have no perspective for fighting these employing-class speed-up plans. The T&GWU leadership will know the history and scope of these systems, but the pamphlet avoids all analysis of how and why they are being put into operation now. Instead, it explains:

### 'Gains'

'Productivity bargaining should never be assumed to be selling out, but should result in concrete gains for workers in such matters as shop stewards' facilities, paid meeting arrangements, shorter hours, shop-floor control, improved organization, improved conditions, extension of the field of mutual agreement, more satisfying and less arduous work, increased job security, controls on safety, discipline, and transfers, increased leisure, increasing bargaining rights (possibly even on investment and marketing), as well as just earnings increases.'

This statement could well have been lifted from any company hand-out to its workers.

These are not advantages to workers at all, but essential changes that the employers

# productivity bargaining

'Plant-Level Bargaining.' A T&GWU pamphlet reviewed by Bernard Franks.

must bring about if they are to streamline production.

In fact the pamphlet actually distorts some aspects of 'productivity' methods in order to strengthen its support.

For example, it is claimed: 'Generally speaking, method study is very much in the interests of trades unionists, both as workers and consumers and it is regretted the management often neglects this side of work study in favour of the work measurement side.'

### Analysis

Plans for automation and massive reductions in the numbers of jobs are always based on prior method-study analysis.

'Work-measurement'—time study—comes later, to speed up the remaining workers once production has been rationalized.

There are management consultants specializing in this type of examination, like McKinsey & Co., which prepared a report on the British dock system and concluded that 90 per cent of the exist-

ing dock labour force could eventually be dispensed with.

The few advantages that method study can bring are usually introduced first to confirm the employers' claim that the new scheme will benefit the workers.

Very often these are minor improvements recommended for years, but ignored by the management.

In the same way, predetermined motion-time systems (MTM, PSD, etc.), which the T&GWU pamphlet initially admits to be 'one of the most dangerous and misunderstood developments in work measurement', is finally white-washed and pronounced open to negotiation—'provided full mutuality is maintained there is no reason to reject PMTS'.

How full mutuality—mutual agreement between employers and unions—can be achieved on a system which, by definition is predetermined by management, is not explained.

But with this question of 'mutuality' the policies of class collaboration of the Institute of Workers' Control and so-called International Socialists now come into their own.

including redundancy, negotiable is a new and tremendous step forward for many employers.

This is, of course, why many employers themselves advocate 'mutual agreement' and in some cases even go so far as to recommend that the workers' representatives should be in a minority on the job-evaluation committees.

With the cheapening of many aspects of automation and computers due to their being mass produced and to additional scientific discoveries which simplify these systems, more and more industries are turning to such methods.

## CBI

● FROM PAGE ONE of trade unions and employers' associations.

A Registrar of Trade Unions would oversee union rules to: ● MAKE SURE that only union executives have powers to call strike action, and he would

● DE-REGISTER unions that fail to discipline unofficial strikers.

As the 'Sunday Telegraph' commented editorially three days ago, Lord Denning's judgement on the closed shop—'the courts of this country will not allow so great a power to be exercised arbitrarily or capriciously... the law has means at its disposal'—gives both the government and the trade union leaders much food for thought.

It also opened the door to the legal operation of non-union pirate aircraft-maintenance and aircraft-catering companies to whom more and more work is being subcontracted.

It was the efforts of such companies to establish themselves that led in 1969 to the airport workers' demand for complete nationalization.

The Labour government, let it be said, did nothing to prevent the merger of BUA and Caledonian Airways.

The new weapon the Tories possess is the spectre of mass unemployment and the anti-union legislation which it hopes to use against airport militants.

Having voted for the emergency powers during the dock strike, there is every reason to say that the Labourites will do nothing to oppose the transfer of the most lucrative routes to the new 'second-force' airline.

They are aided in this by the refusal of the trade union leaders to put up any kind of effective opposition to Tory plans in the docks, railways or anywhere else.

The demand for a 'public inquiry' by some leaders is worse than useless since the present situation was created by a previous 'inquiry'.

## Brewery drivers' strike spreads

TRANSFER drivers handling all out-of-London deliveries for Whitbread's brewery yesterday joined the unofficial dispute of drivers and mates—'trouncers'—at the firm's five city depots.

They are refusing to negotiate separately with the management.

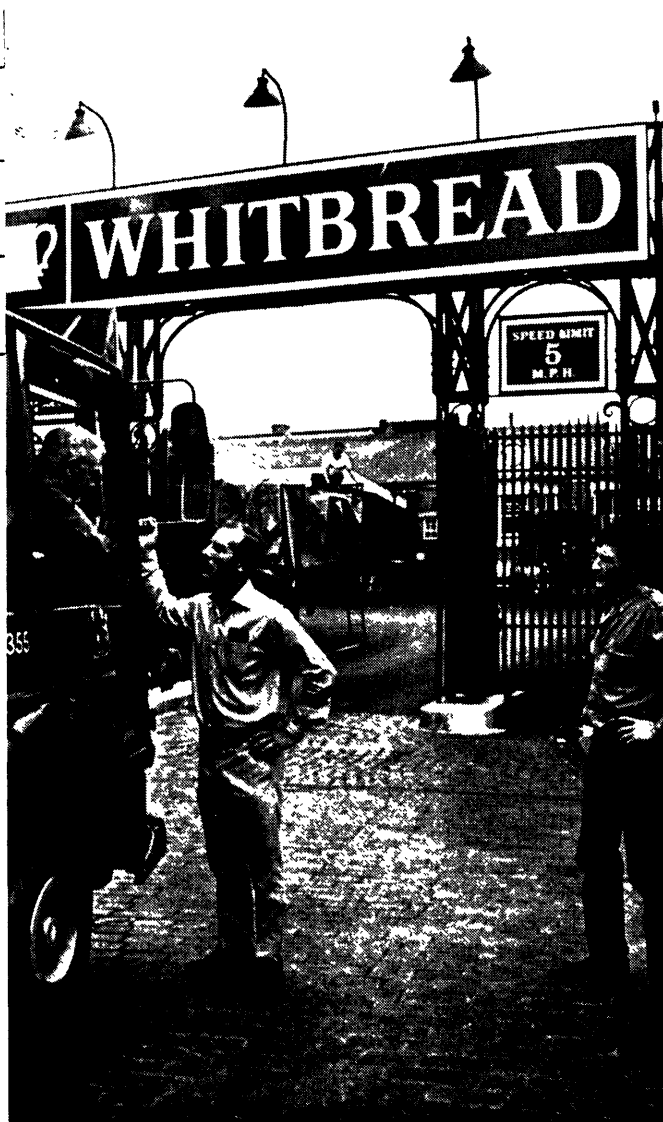
The dispute is over implementation in the transport section of a graded wage-structure scheme already in operation amongst inside workers.

Strikers claim they were led to believe the management were prepared to incorporate the transport section—raising wages from £25.5s-£27 to £27.30—but have now been told they will have to grant big productivity concessions.

These would include shift-work, staggered starting-times, shorter turn-round, two days' notice of refusal to work overtime with redundancies in four depots and the complete closure of the fifth—at Stoke Newington.

Citywide stewards were yesterday waiting for clarification of the overall position in the dispute from Transport and General Workers' district officer Bob Gibson.

● See late news.



## Arab summit

● FROM PAGE ONE

and Iraqi opposition to the negotiations and that of the Syrians.

While the latter have declared their rejection of the Rogers proposals, they have conspicuously refrained from criticizing Nasser's acceptance, and they are attending the Tripoli talks.

However, it is also noticeable that the largest of the Arab guerrilla organizations, Al-Fatah, is also sending representatives to Tripoli.

While its leader Yasser Arafat continues to make speeches denouncing the American plan, he never refers to Nasser's agreement to it.

## Tories looting

● FROM PAGE ONE

private airline which would compete with the state airlines on internal and international routes.

### Money control

It went on to call for an Air Holdings Board which would own and concentrate the entire BOAC and BEA capital and effectively deprive the managements of these state undertakings from taking any independent decisions on financial or policy matters.

This report was a concerted attack on the principle of nationalization and the wages and conditions of the workers in the civil air transport industry on behalf of the private monopolies.

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### Leadership

No amount of trade union militancy and Socialist shop steward rhetoric will stop the Tory conspiracy in the airports either.

Airport workers who seriously study the last two weeks' events on the docks must draw the unavoidable conclusion: the creation of a new leadership based on the policies of the All Trades Unions Alliance who will not compromise with the right wing of the Tories on basic principles.

We urge all airport workers to unite and fight the reactionary plans of the Tories. Force the Tories to resign!

Implication

Which implies that there are other Tories who do not envisage such a course.

British Communist Party secretary John Gollan may have been forced by the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia to oppose verbally this aspect of Soviet policy.

But on the need to collaborate with the Tories under the guise of a search for their mythical 'progressive' wing, British, Czech and Moscow Stalinists are all united.

This has been proved by their reactions to the recent dock strike.

## Prague looks for 'progressive' Tories

● FROM PAGE ONE

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## Tories

TAKING its cue from Moscow, Czech Radio has attempted to present the British dock strike as a defeat for the employers.

Broadcasting after the delegate conference had recommended a return to work on the basis of the Pearson inquiry findings, Bratislava Radio claimed:

'The British dockers' victory will encourage other categories of workers to enforce their justified wage demands by strikes.'

The broadcast—again like Moscow Radio—peddled the classical Stalinist line that the Tory Party has a 'progressive' wing that under pressure from the working class can stand up to the die-hards and the employers.'

The Conservative government had not bowed to pressure from some employers who had wanted troops to be sent to the ports. But a strike wave in the autumn could bring a new trial of strength and there were strong forces in the Conservative Party bent on suppressing the workers' wage demands even at the price of drastic terror.'

Following the collapse of the left-wing coup in 1965, Indonesia has been ruled by a fully-blown military dictatorship, a regime which has murdered at least 500,000 members and supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party.

There is therefore no 'legitimate means' for expressing opposition to the government.

Student unrest must be particularly disturbing for Suharto in that the students provided thousands of volunteers for his anti-communist pogrom in the early period of his rule.

They were mobilized partly on slogans aimed against the corruption of the Stalinist-backed Sukarno regime.

Press on

Little or nothing has been done to end government and bureaucratic graft under Suharto—so the students press on with the campaign.

And in the countryside, there are reports that communist-led guerrilla groups are reviving.

Government statements reveal they are winning support in the poverty-stricken Java villages.

So, despite military and economic aid from both the imperialist powers—including

### Bristol busmen still out

BUS services were stopped for the second day running in Bristol yesterday because of the unofficial strike by the city's 1,400 busmen.

The crews are fighting the management's attempts to bring in a productivity deal which they say has not been agreed.

Opposition to speed-up has been heightened by the introduction of one-man buses on some routes and the expected one-man-operated double-deckers in the near future.

# Silence by Palestine solidarity group

AS IMPERIALISM moves to impose a settlement on the Middle East which would permanently deprive the Palestine people of their land, the Palestine Solidarity Campaign has been conspicuous by its silence.

The Campaign was formed in May 1969.

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

It brought together some Arab student organizations in London and a number of groups formerly associated with the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

The protest experts turned their attention to the Arab guerrilla movement as their Vietnam campaign faded away.

At an inaugural conference the 'state capitalist' International Socialism group was represented, along with the International Marxist Group of Tariq Ali, the 'New Left Review', 'Black Dwarf' and others of the same kind.

A problem at once presented itself, which is linked with the present inactivity of the PSC: should anything be said about the role of the Soviet Union in relation to the liberation of Palestine?

Just as at the formation of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee in 1966, the issue of Stalinism was central to the Campaign.

The advocates of 'single issue' politics found a compromise: the founding statement rejected the United Nations resolution of November 1967—but refrained from mentioning that the Stalinists were among its supporters.

### ACCEPTED

This resolution forms the basis of the Rogers plan, now accepted by both Nasser and the Israeli government.

On this unprincipled foundation, the Campaign proceeded to organize a few meetings and demonstrations from its headquarters in Mayfair.

This luxurious address is explained by the fact that it houses the General Union of Arab Students—and belongs to the Cultural Attaché of the United Arab Republic [i.e. Egypt].

As recently as May 17 this year, the Palestine Solidarity Campaign was alive and living in Mayfair, when it held a demonstration 'in support of the Palestine freedom fighters'.

Since then, nothing has been heard of it.

While it made ringing declarations about the revolutionary struggle against Zionism, PSC, by its very nature as a conglomeration of disparate political tendencies, could not face the major questions of the Arab revolution.

It proclaimed its support for 'the activities of the Palestine Liberation fighters and the heroic civilian resistance in the occupied territories—but it was incapable of warning against the preparations of Stalinism and Nasserism to betray those fighters.

Even more closely than in Vietnam, solidarity with the Arab revolution is inseparable from the struggle for political principles.

PSC-type protest campaigns can only act to cover up the treachery of the various agencies of imperialism.

They are really founded on the attempt to put pressure on imperialism, under the guise of 'world opinion', not to overthrow it by the independent mobilization of the working class under Marxist leadership.

With the sharpening of the revolutionary crisis throughout the world, those tendencies that went in for protests subsidized by nationalist governments and Stalinist bureaucrats can demonstrate only one thing: their own bankruptcy.

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## Nerve gas dumping postponed

PENTAGON plans to dump 3,000 tons of nerve gas into the Atlantic, only 33 miles north of Nassau in the Bahamas have been postponed until next Monday because of protests over possible dangers.

Congressional hearings have begun into the US Army's proposals which have caused alarm, particularly along the American East coast.

Army officials quoted Dr Donald Pritchard of John Hopkins University as saying that unless the containers were dumped in the near future there was a danger of 12,500 nerve gas rockets exploding at their present storage sites at Alabama and Kentucky.

In 1968, 6,000 sheep died in Utah when less than ten litres of gas were released.

The Bahamian government is demanding that there should be no dumping until verified as safe by an international team of scientists.

## WEATHER

Warm with sunny spells, but some scattered thundery outbreaks, chiefly in the South. Very warm in all areas, ranging from a Max 23C (73F) in the North to a Max 26C (79F) in the South.

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**LATE NEWS**

**BUA-CALEDONIAN TALKS TOMORROW**  
(See page one story)

Meetings between the owners of British United Airways and representatives of Caledonian Airways are to start tomorrow.

The talks follow government approval of a merger between BUA and Caledonian to form a 'second-force' independent airline. No statements will be made on the progress of the talks until a conclusion can be indicated, a Caledonian spokesman said yesterday.

**WHITBREAD MEN STAY OUT**  
(See this page, col 5)

Delivery drivers at Whitbread's Luton brewery yesterday rejected a shop stewards' recommendation to return to work. A mass meeting of the 140 Luton men voted to stay

Talks were taking place yesterday afternoon between the union and management at Whitbread's London headquarters.

**MEIR SPEECH**  
(See this page, col 9)

Assurances from Washington on the strengthening of Israel's defences had enabled her government to accept the US 'peace' plan, said Golda Meir in her Knesset speech yesterday.

The group, comprising members of local councils, three MPs, GLC members, and representatives of local industry and trade unions, has commissioned a £6,000 survey by professional researchers to interview a sample of workers affected by redundancy and to 'pressure' the Greater London Council into reversing the process of encouraging industry to move out of the London area.

The interim report says that redundant workers took other jobs at far lower rates of pay and 'suffered the humiliation of not being able to follow their skilled trades'. In many cases they faced long journeys to new jobs and were forced to establish an entirely new way of life.

Several men chose to become redundant rather than move out and one was so depressed that he killed himself.

The group's report throws some light on the devastation of the S London area, but its

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## Utopian probe into S. London jobs loss

AN INTERIM report from the SE London Industrial Consultative Group reveals that 20,000 workers have so far been made redundant by closures in the area.

This follows recent reports that in the Wandsworth area alone this year's redundancy figures up to April had already surpassed last year's total and were expected to double it by the end of 1970.

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hopes that the Tory GLC and even the Tory government will intervene with grants to encourage 'the introduction of new industry in suitable cases' is completely Utopian.

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

## Dangers in Vietnam 'coalition' plan

THE FULL text of the recent statement by the N Vietnamese delegation at the Paris peace talks reveals serious dangers for the struggle against imperialism in Indo-China.

While denouncing Nixon for his refusal to withdraw US troops from the South, the statement leaves a loophole for the establishment of a government still partially under the influence of US imperialism.

... he [Nixon] opposes at all costs the setting up of a broad provisional coalition government in S Vietnam including representatives of various political tendencies and personalities

standing for peace, independence and neutrality . . .

It is well-known that within the Saigon regime there are elements favourable to such a deal, and that the NLF and Hanoi would not object to certain Saigon leaders entering a coalition under the guise of a newly-adopted 'neutralist' label.

It is also beyond dispute that Soviet pressure is largely responsible for this

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT