

# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 203 16 JANUARY 1971 6d (2½p)

## Countrywide protests over Tory Bill—but **THE FIGHT MUST GO ON**

TUESDAY 12 JANUARY was an impressive day of militant protest against the Tory government's anti-union Bill. Throughout the country hundreds of thousands of workers took part in half or one day strikes, held meetings that spilled over into working hours and joined in big demonstrations.

There were fewer workers on strike than on 8 December but the total numbers taking part in some form of protest were far greater. And our reporters throughout the country have said, with few exceptions, that the mood of determination to kill the Bill was keener than ever.

At meeting after meeting, demands for an all-out campaign against the government were supported enthusiastically. There was widespread backing for the TUC to call a general strike to smash the legislation and for declarations from union leaders that they would refuse to co-operate with the laws if they reach the statute book.

The main industries hit by action on Tuesday were cars, engineering and docks. Most impressive was the turn-out in areas that had seen a poor response on 8 December. More than 40,000 went on strike in Coventry for the whole day or the afternoon. A 15,000-strong demonstration flooded into the city centre for a meeting.

### Merside set pace

In Oxford all the car plants were closed for the day, along with several other factories. 2000 marched in the biggest demonstration seen in the city since the 1930s.

Merseyside again set the pace. 50,000 went on strike, including almost the entire dock labour force. A march through Liverpool was even more militant than 8 December. In Manchester 2000 marched to a rally and shouted down TUC General Council member Alfred Allen when he spoke against strike action to stop the Bill.

12 January also marked the growing disenchantment with the 'official' leaders of the trade union and labour movement. Both Vic Feather and Harold Wilson had rough passages at the Albert Hall rally (report: page 8) and in many areas there were demands for the TUC to stop pussyfooting and to take decisive action — as far as a general strike if necessary — to kill the legislation.

There is a great deal of work still to be done. Tuesday's action was magnificent but millions of trade unionists are still unaware of the grave dangers contained in the Tory Bill. The TUC will stage another rally in February — and that will end their 'campaign'.

The responsibility for leading the fight against the government and its big business backers rests with the rank and file. Many union leaders secretly welcome many of the clauses of the Bill that seek to break the power of shop stewards and shop floor militants.

### Key to success

The TUC can only be forced to take really decisive action if hundreds of thousands more workers can be mobilised.

The key to success is the building of Councils of Action in every area that will link up factories and workplaces and rouse workers to the implications of the Bill through meetings and mass leafletings. The Councils must link up nationally and fight through the trade unions for a declaration by all union leaders that they will:

- Refuse to register with the new Registrar of Trade Unions.
- Refuse any jobs on industrial courts or tribunals.
- Refuse to accept 'cooling-off' periods or government-imposed strike ballots.
- Defend the closed shop.
- Defend the right to hold sympathy strikes and to 'black' goods from factories in dispute.
- Declare all strikes official.

Such a policy would force the government to think again about daring to implement the laws. Backed by a call for a general strike, such a campaign could wreck the Bill before it passes through parliament.



On the march against the Bill: trade unionists on their way to the Albert Hall. (Picture: Jeff Pick)

## Carr bomb scare

WE DO NOT know who put a bomb outside Robert Carr's house. It may have been someone driven to desperate measures by the trend of government policy, or someone trying to discredit the movement against the anti-union laws.

In either case, such action is of no help to that struggle.

Not that we hold any brief for Carr. Unlike many hypocrites in the labour movement, we find it hard to feel any concern about the welfare of members of a government that is prepared without qualm to order the use of guns against demonstrators in Northern Ireland, to dispatch RAF planes to bomb villages in Dhofar in the Persian gulf, or to plan to imprison trade unionists in this country.

But physical attacks on individuals will

never destroy the system that produces such callous men. Others will always replace them.

Only united mass action by the whole working class can defeat the forces that stand behind the Tory government and their measures.

### Menace

Individual acts of terror are a menace to the building of such a movement. They detract attention from the opposition which millions of ordinary workers have shown to the anti-union laws and welfare cuts.

They make it easier for the press to evade the real issues involved. That is why no one who is genuinely on the left can support them.

## Rudi Dutschke protest march

Sunday 17 January

Speakers Corner 2pm  
March to Trafalgar Square  
via Home Office

Speakers:  
PAUL FOOT (IS)  
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**The paper that fights anti-union laws**



# Socialist Worker

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## Dutschke and 'divide and rule' politics

AT FIRST SIGHT the government's behaviour over the Rudi Dutschke affair has been ridiculous, even by its own standards. The sum total of the charges against Dutschke was that he refused an invitation to join the editorial board of Black Dwarf, that he spoke to a Persian student, that he failed to meet striking steelworkers in South Wales, and that he was a spectator at a couple of sessions of International Socialists' conferences. For such 'threats to national security' he is to be thrown out of the country.

Yet ministers are not quite as boneheaded as they may seem. The expulsion of Dutschke makes sense for them, not because of any particular threat he poses, but as a weapon in a total ideological offensive.

### Real issues

The government is involved in a long-drawn-out struggle to weaken the ability of workers to keep pace with inflation. Anti-union laws, welfare cuts and attempts to defeat key groups of workers are part of this strategy.

But such measures can only be successful if the ruling class can confuse millions of people about the real issues at stake. It has to prove to them that it is not the government but strange, foreign, subversive influences that are responsible for rising prices.

The action against Dutschke is linked to the ranting about 'communists', 'disrupters' and 'Chinese gold' during the miners' strike and the hysterical headlines about 'murderers' during the power workers' work-to-rule. It is part of the overall attempt to cast the blame on anyone — immigrants, 'anarchists', shop stewards. The real culprits for the present state of the economy are the ruling class.

### Refused entry

Some Labour Party leaders and some sections of the press have seen the action against Dutschke as a break with Britain's 'liberal and democratic' traditions. But for the ruling class such 'traditions' were always broken when necessary. They were never of much account when it was a question of dealing with militant trade unionists, from the transportation of the Tolpuddle Martyrs in the early 19th century to the imprisonment of the entire Communist Party leadership in the months before the General Strike.

Such 'traditions' did not prevent Jews trying to escape from Hitler's Germany in the 1930s being refused entry to this country, although the only alternative for them were the concentration camps. Such traditions have not prevented Labour and Tory governments making colour a criterion for acceptability by immigration officers.

The fact is that the real 'liberal and democratic traditions' of this country were always the product of intense struggles by working people. The ruling class has tolerated such gains during periods of stability and profitability for capitalism. But it has tried to whittle them down during periods of class struggle and difficulty.

Persecution, hysteria, McCarthyism and racialism are weapons capitalism needs in order to divide and confuse its opponents. It is not surprising that the left wing in the working-class movement, in particular revolutionary socialists, find themselves the only consistent defenders of such liberal and democratic rights.

## THE TUC AND HOW NOT TO FIGHT THE TORIES

TUC leaders have presented their own 'plan' to beat inflation. They call on the government to agree with them a given level of wage rises (say 4 per cent above the level of price rises) and then to allow 'economic expansion' to cover the cost of these rises.

The trouble with the TUC proposals is that they won't work. They ignore the realities of British capitalism. It is not ignorance or a lack of understanding that have caused successive governments to try to hold down wages while prices have risen. The problem is far more fundamental.

Every time governments have allowed the economy to grow at full speed, imports have shot up. This, added to the massive sums which big business sends abroad every year as investment overseas, has created a balance of payments crisis. Governments, Labour or Tory, have only been able to end this by stopping growth of industry, creating unemployment, and trying to hold down wages.

The result is the famous 'stop-go' cycle, which in recent years has been more like 'stop-stop'.

### More difficult

There are only two ways out of this vicious circle. The Tories' method is simple. It is to make it more difficult for workers to defend their conditions and keep up with rising prices.

The other method would involve a real attack on the power of the capitalist class. They would have to be prevented physically from moving 'their' money abroad in search of bigger profits. But this would not be possible unless their control over such money, and the economic power from which it is derived, were removed.

In other words, the organised working class would have to pit its whole strength against the capitalist class and end the present system for ever.

The TUC leaders shudder at any such suggestion. That is why their policy is about as realistic as hoping to find cheese on the moon.

# Eye-witness report of the Basque General Strike MASS UPRISING SHAKES FRANCO

MASSIVE and total support for a general strike throughout the Basque provinces marked the opening day of the trial of the Basque prisoners at Burgos last month.

The call for the strike came from all nationalist groups, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and their unofficial trade union — the UGT — and the AST, Solidarity of Basque Workers.

The ferment caused by the trial of the ETA militants began with an open letter from the Basque Bishops, read in all the churches of the two Basque provinces, Guipuzcoa and Vizcaya.

The bishops appealed to the government to give the accused a civil trial 'which would permit a better defence'. They condemned all kinds of violence, institutional, subversive and repressive, and asked the faithful to pray for a church 'poor and conscious of its mission to serve, without seeking power or alliances with those in power.'

### 'DISGUSTING'

The significance of this statement was the church's complete dissociation from the Franco government.

The letter was printed in the local press with two replies: one from the Ministry of Justice and another from a brotherhood of priests founded in 1968 'for the defence of the church in its present crisis'. Both replies thought it disgusting that the bishops should suggest that military tribunals are unfair and that the violence of the authorities could be in any way sinful.

This open controversy helped to publicise the political implications of the trial.

The unity of all political groups contributed to the success of the strike on 3 December. Protest against the Burgos trial was seen as opposition to the government, rather than just support for Basque nationalism. The large population of immigrant workers supported the action enthusiastically.

As factories stopped in the towns and villages, the workers went round other workplaces encouraging people to come out until no one was working. Shops and even bars and cafes were shut.

### BARRICADES

The police were not prepared for this massive demonstration of solidarity, but they soon got ready to disperse the crowds. In Renteria, near San Sebastian, trees were cut down to make barricades to prevent the arrival of police reinforcements from the town.

In San Sebastian itself police jeeps were kept out of the centre by barricades of cars parked across the street.

In Eibar, an industrial town with 40,000 inhabitants, a 21 year old



FRANCO: not even God on his side

youth, Roberto Lopez, was shot by a civil guard during a demonstration and died in hospital. The whole town was at his burial, among them 300 men carrying rifles in open defiance of the police.

Eibar is an arms manufacturing town. The situation in the Basque country was so tense that an insurrection seemed possible.

Demonstrations continued during the trial and small groups of young people were active day and night breaking the windows of banks, painting slogans or causing traffic jams to stage small demonstrations in safety.

To crush all these activities and to help in their search for the kidnapers of the German consul, the authorities imposed a State of Emergency on the Basque province of Guipuzcoa and drafted in vast quantities of armed and plain clothes police from all over Spain.

People could be arrested without being charged and kept under police interrogation indefinitely. Homes could be searched without a warrant.

So numerous were the arrests, which covered the whole political spectrum and included many non-political people, that the bull ring had to be used to keep the prisoners in. The Communist Party and working class militants generally were the hardest hit.

This shows that the government is more sensitive to working-class political organisations than to nationalist ones. 40 bank employees demonstrating inside their offices were arrested and questioned until a handful of politically committed 'leaders' were picked out for further questioning which in Spain is not a very gentle affair.

The fines imposed were enormous. Rumour has it that this was to cover the costs of the police in the area.

The many arrests and the presence of armed police in the streets and police informers everywhere created tremendous tension and fear and led

to many nervous breakdowns.

A printworker, for instance, who was arrested in a demonstration in San Sebastian, held for two days and then given a £150 fine committed suicide a few days after being released, though his workmates supported him and raised the money for his fine.

### BANNED

Reliable information was very difficult to obtain. Foreign newspapers were banned and nothing was known about support from other parts of Spain. People watched French TV, but the authorities jammed the sound. The Communist Party's radio, broadcasting from Rumania, had unusually accurate and detailed reports, which suggests their growing influence in the Basque country.

When the death sentences were announced people were filled with a horrible feeling of hopelessness. There were some spontaneous strikes and demonstrations but people just did not know what more they could do.

The town of Guipuzcoa was showered with anonymously-distributed Falange leaflets which put a crazy fascist line demanding the eradication of the marxist cancer in the government!

### CELEBRATE

The extreme right was frantically active while the question of a pardon was in balance. Army officers in San Sebastian were heard talking about 'shooting the bastards down like we did in 1939'.

On 30 December, when Franco announced the lifting of the death sentences, the bars of San Sebastian were filled with celebrating crowds.

But the events of December 1970 have had a lasting impact. Many people have become politically aware and have helped to unite the opposition groups and shown the deep divisions in the ruling class.

## No 'back-peddalling' in Scotland

AS MEMBERS of the International Socialists and trade union and shop floor delegates to the Paisley and Glasgow Liaison Committees for the Defence of Trade Unions, we were very surprised to read your interpretation of the situation concerning 12 January in the West of Scotland.

In your article 'Back-Peddalling on 12 January' (2 January) you write that the Liaison Committees are 'Communist Party-backed'. Certainly some of the stewards and union officials who attend Liaison Committee meetings are members of the CP.

Others, like ourselves, have different political persuasions. Probably the majority belong to no Party at all.

Your linking the committees to one particular party serves only those seeking to obstruct the building of representative local rank-and-file committees.

You also accuse the West of Scotland

Liaison Committee of 'back-peddalling'. Surely you've got your sights wrong. It is the TUC that has refused to lead the workers into battle on 12 January.

The shop stewards who back the Liaison Committee were left in the odious position of trying to persuade the workers who came out in their tens of thousands on 8 December to associate themselves with 'official' action in which no one had any faith.

### Half-day strike

In these circumstances the Glasgow Committee's decision to call for an afternoon demonstration and half-day strike is certainly not 'back-peddalling'. Nor is the Paisley Committee's decision to call for morning meetings in working hours (leaving open the question of a half-day strike) at which resolutions will be moved calling on the TUC to launch industrial action culminating, if necessary, in a General Strike.

Finally we must disagree with the distinction you appear to make between the Liaison Committees and 'genuine Councils of Action'. In the West of Scotland the Liaison Committees are by no means perfect.

In particular the shop stewards who attend haven't as yet elected the Committee's officers. Too many union officials seem to have automatically assumed office. We are trying to make them more democratic.

But they are still genuine action Committees representing much of local industry. It is perhaps for this reason they didn't even bother with a suggestion you put forward — that strong factories should elect delegations to travel to London to lobby the TUC on 12 January.

If that is 'forward-peddalling' we prefer to bicycle our way — 'lobbying' the lads at home first. — Peter Bain, George Kelly, Glasgow.



# 'Robbing the state firms would hit at

# workers' pay and militancy'

THE TORY GOVERNMENT'S plans to sell off the profitable parts of certain nationalised industries to private enterprise has raised important issues for socialists and trade unionists.

I asked Jim Higgins, who has worked as a Post Office Engineer for 24 years, how he sees the possible de-nationalisation of certain industries in the context of a general attack on workers, the attitudes socialists should take and the future for these industries.

'The Tories are attacking on plainly ideological grounds,' said Jim Higgins, 'certainly not on the grounds of economic efficiency and the best possible use of resources.'

'It is perfectly clear,' he went on, 'that certain basic industries even under capitalism are best run on a nationalised system. However, in order to satisfy the lower middle-class base of the Conservative Party and to give in to the right-wing Powellite elements, certain profitable parts of these industries will be sold off.'

'Conditions of workers in nationalised industries at present are directly related to the profitability of those industries. Poor pay and good conditions are the general format in the industries as a whole. Pay has generally lagged behind that of the mass production industries.'

'Conditions, at least in the older nationalised industries, have been considerably better than those in outside industries on questions of holidays, sick pay, job security. Certainly the Post Office has given a far greater security to its workers. Questions of redundancy which have loomed so large in other industries have not been a factor of concern for workers in the Post Office since the early 1930s.'

'But on the railways, in the mines and other declining nationalised industries, workers have experienced massive redundancies since the Second World War. Pay and conditions are not nearly good enough, but the rate of run down would have certainly been far greater, and conditions much worse if the industries had not been nationalised.'

'The mine owners and the railway proprietors were among the most vicious and reactionary employers in the history of British capitalism. Workers in these industries would be certainly among those who would defend the nationalised status of their industry precisely because of the terrible lessons of the past.'

## Defeat for workers

'I think that because pay and conditions are so closely related to the profitability of the nationalised industries, if de-nationalisation took place conditions would immediately worsen even with militancy, and in fact militancy would decline.'

'It would be seen as a defeat for the workers if the profitable part were sold off and would effectively strengthen the right wing in the unions of the nationalised industries.'

'I don't believe that there has been a conspiracy which ties this programme of hiving-off with the Tories' anti-trade union campaign. I don't think it's an attempt to turn the clock back a hundred years, nor do I think it is the first step on the road to fascism.'

'Capitalism has not finished with the trade unions. It is really an attempt to alter the rules slightly to give the ruling class an advantage in the game they have been playing for over a century.'



POEU members demonstrating at the time of Lord Hall's sacking

'I think it would be a mistake to link the two policies together in the sense that there is a direct intention by the ruling class, represented by the Tories, to have a clearly worked out offensive against the trade unions. De-nationalisation, I believe, is a concession to the shopkeeper element, the small man who is an effective force in the Powellite wing of the Tory Party.'

'The objective issues of British capitalism are not being served by the de-national-

isation issue or by the anti-trade union legislation. While all these things are connected because it is the same government operating them, I believe the Tories are attempting to make much clearer and more punitive the measures against the working class that were started by the Labour government.'

'It has been the traditional line of many socialists in the past that nationalisation is a good thing. This stems from all sorts of

Ginny West talks to Jim Higgins, executive member of the Post Office Engineering Union



JIM HIGGINS: need for a union alliance to fight the Tory attack

mistaken conclusions about Russia and the class nature of the state there - that nationalisation by some mystic quality holds a special meaning for socialists and must be defended at all costs. This attitude requires re-examination now.

'It's quite clear that the relationship between the workers and the employers in this country, as in Russia or any other of the so-called socialist countries, is one between worker and employer.'

'It is also true, however, that the nature of capitalism today and the extent to which the state enters into things, the impersonality of the relationships there, and the importance of the nationalised industries to the economy as a whole, mean that workers do in fact prefer the job situation in the nationalised industries.'

## Sparked off action

'The first rumblings in the press over the possibility of de-nationalisation began with the sacking of Lord Hall, chairman of the Post Office.'

'One thing that should be made clear about this is that Lord Hall's sacking had little to do with the actions of the Post Office workers. His sacking merely sparked off the action.'

'Lord Hall to most workers was an unknown figure. They don't care much about him, and he certainly isn't going to do badly in his state of redundancy.'

'This was seen as the first step in the attack on the Post Office. Lord Hall on

many occasions said that de-nationalisation would take place over his dead body.'

'The workers who took action were just trying to make certain that even if it was going to be Lord Hall's dead body, it wouldn't be theirs.'

'The Post Office Engineering Union, like a lot of other unions in the nationalised industries, has a tradition of low militancy. It is difficult to conceive of the existing leadership in the POEU initiating any meaningful campaign against hiving off parts of the nationalised industries.'

'It is certainly true that they would want assistance from other unions if there was a direct attack on the Post Office.'

'The militants in the POEU, the union of Post Office Workers and the miners' and railwaymen's unions ought to be putting forward a programme of joint action along the lines of a Nationalised Industries Alliance which would be prepared to defend any attacks on any one sector.'

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## HOW THE TORY UNION LAWS WOULD HIT YOU

# HIGH COST OF A WALK OUT

by JOHN THORPE

THREE or four months ago, it chanced that I was the only senior representative of the National Union of Journalists available in the whole of a large magazine division. Nobody else would be available for a week - and there was an urgent case to take up.

An assistant editor, against whom no complaint - either professional or personal - had been made, was summoned to the publisher's office. There he was told that the management had decided to appoint a deputy editor, who would carry out the duties that he himself had done (to the complete satisfaction of his editor) for the past nine years.

He was, of course, at liberty to apply for the post (Why not? It was his own!) but there was a clear implication that if he did so he would not get it. And the change was to take place forthwith.

The change did not take place - because I in turn had a few words to

say. The management were told, politely but emphatically, that the NUJ did not permit its members to be invited to apply for their own jobs, and that as their nominee walked in through one door the entire group concerned would walk out through the other.

A natural-enough stance for a union officer - yet under the terms of the Industrial Relations Bill it is one whose adoption would have cost me dearly.

You will look in vain through the Bill's 150 clauses and eight schedules for any explicit statement of its effect on the individual union member. What is intended has to be deduced from what is not stated.

And the only deductions that can be made show that this Bill is the most serious and savage attack upon

the rights of the individual that has been made in this country in the past 30 years.

Assume that my exercise in member protection had taken place after this Bill became an Act. Under Section 85 (1), I should have become a person who had induced, or threatened to induce, another party to a contract to break it.

I could claim no protection under Section 85 (1,b) - doing so 'within the scope of his authority on behalf of a trade union' - since the Rules of the NUJ make it clear that only the National Executive Council can order a withdrawal of labour. I would therefore have become liable to an action for my 'unfair industrial practice'.

Such an action would be a civil one in the Industrial Court. No fines.

No jail sentence. No, this merciful Bill merely requires that I should be sentenced to pay compensation.

But what is compensation? It is defined in Section 102 (2) as 'the loss sustained by the aggrieved party ... shall be taken to include:

'(a) any expenses reasonably incurred by him in consequence of the matters to which the complaint relates, and (b) loss of any benefit which he might reasonably be expected to have had but for those matters.'

Lucky me! I would have escaped with nothing worse than paying my own legal costs; the management's legal costs; and probably (as one found guilty of an 'unfair industrial action') losing my job as well.

But just suppose that our members in the Group actually had walked out. What then?

Look again at Section 102 (2,b). 'Loss of any benefit ...' is what it says and there is no reason to suppose that what is said in an Act of Par-

liament is not also meant. In that case besides all the legal costs I would have had to bear, personally, the employer's entire loss.

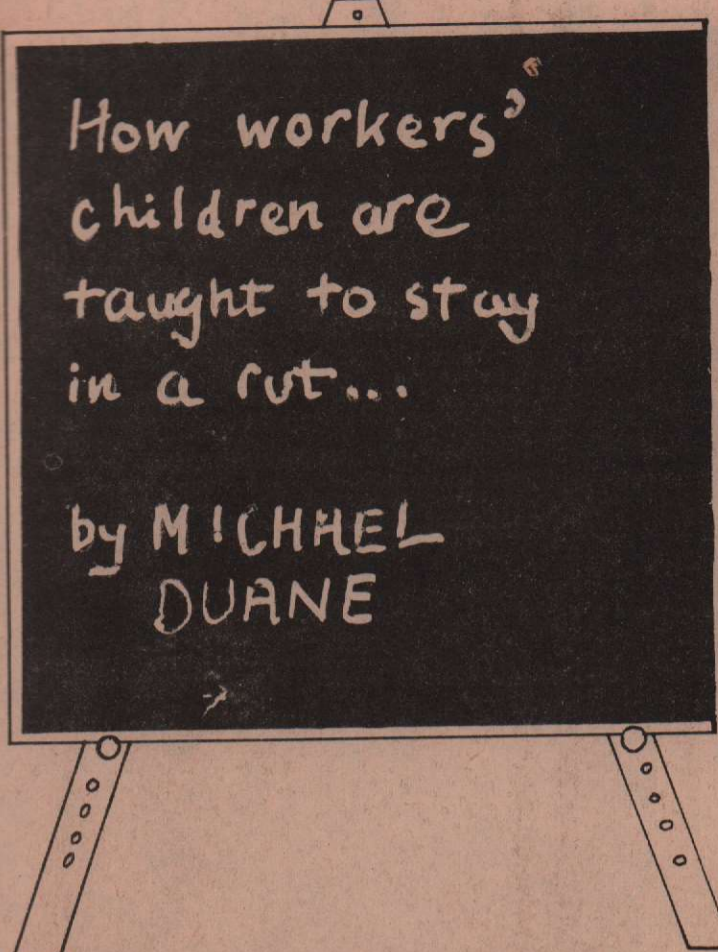
Had that run to several editions of magazines cancelled, or penalty payments to printers because pages were late, or any of the obvious heads of loss possible when a stoppage occurs, I could have been saddled with a civil debt upwards of £10,000.

In addition, I could have been dismissed - so losing not just my job, but my prospects and pension rights as well.

And since I had been dismissed for what a Court had said was industrial misconduct I would (as at present) have forfeited my claim to unemployment benefit into the bargain.

John Thorpe represents the Magazine and Book branch on the NUJ's executive council. The article is reprinted with the editor's permission from the January issue of the union's paper, Journalist.





# 'You don't need graduates to teach stupid brats

MICHAEL DUANE is the former headmaster of Risinghill School in Islington, North London. An hysterical campaign whipped up by educational reactionaries forced the authorities to 'reorganise' the comprehensive, where corporal punishment was banned and all decisions were taken democratically by staff and pupils. Michael Duane now lectures in education.

EVERY COUNTRY TEACHES its children what the ruling class of that country decides they should know. So they teach them the knowledge and the skills necessary for their work when they become adults.

If they are the children of the working class, they also teach them in such a way that they won't want to ask too many questions, won't become interested in political and social questions, won't imagine that they could be bright enough themselves to run the country for the benefit of everyone rather than just for the middle class, which contains most of the shareholders and the bosses.

The people of this country fall into two main sections (Disraeli called them 'nations'): one section is made up of the owners of money and property, along with their professional and semi-professional helpers (bankers, civil servants, doctors, architects, managers, etc) who control the running of a very complicated industrialised country through parliament, local government, the press, the law and the police.

The other section is made up of those workers whose jobs consist mainly in doing exactly what they are told or trained to do, without too much 'old buck'.

### Political guff

The school system corresponds exactly to these social divisions. Public schools (private and paid for by the parents) educate the children of the very wealthy and the upper professional and managerial group - just 5 per cent of all secondary school pupils.

State (or local authority) grammar schools and the top streams of the so-called 'comprehensives' take the children of the middle middle-class, lower professional people such as teachers, small businessmen, local government officials and other non-manual workers - 20 per cent in all.

The remaining three-quarters of our children, the workers' children, are 'educated' in secondary modern and comprehensive schools.

The differences between these different types of school are not imaginary. We have been so misled by political guff about 'equal educational opportunity for all children' that some people, especially in the lower ranks of the middle class, actually believe that all children, however poor their homes, have an equal chance to become a doctor or a lawyer, or to earn £50 a week.

### The mystery

In fact these schools are very different in ways that can be easily measured. For example, public schools have one teacher for every 11 children, grammar schools have one for every 15 and secondary moderns have one for every 22 children.

Which child has the best chance of being given individual attention and help when needed?

Public school and grammar children start school at the age of 3 and rarely leave school before they are 18. Most of them go on, if not to the university, then to some form of further education.

Secondary modern children start school at 5 and leave at 15,

## -a noble lord said

so, if we include further education they get barely half the number of years of education that middle class children get.

As John Vaizey, the economist, has said: 'It takes exactly twice as much to educate the average grammar school child as to educate the average secondary modern school child'.

Now in the past the mystery has been: 'How is it possible to go on preventing standards of living rising for the working class as for the middle class? How is it that the vast majority of really well-



MICHAEL DUANE

paid jobs are taken over by the children of the wealthy? How is it that, in an age of 'equal educational opportunity', so very few bright working-class kids get to the real top, especially when for every one middle-class child there are three working-class children?

The answer lies not only in the poorer material circumstances, lower pay, more crowded homes and poorer education of working-class parents, but in the way they bring up their children and in the way the 11+ (and the other more subtle tests that have replaced the formal 11+ in areas with comprehensive schools) is used to sift out middle-class children for grammar schools, and for the kind of education that prepares for middle-class jobs.

The central job of the middle class is the job of organising and controlling Britain's very complicated mass production system. Control is done through various forms of language - words, mathematics, scientific formulas, blue-prints and so on, through which the managers and property owners make

Down-at-heel school. Television: from 1978

their plans know goods and service. Therefore high level these various middle-class jobs. But the children class, since they families using wage and having familiar with where the parents been well-educated can answer the tions accurately up with a head's (itself designed middle-class for they score over got only 3/4 year on average poorly qualified homework.

Cond With such a can these parents' question them a 'similar world? Besides, m are careful to their children's life (ie becoming tists or managers at school and levels. Their children conditioned to petitive and scramble for the Workers' 10 from the family cent of unskilled workers, see move from o without the n levels and, th are today, the that someone has to empty the streets cl paraffin - a services but Richard Titmu only a few sh ence level. 'Earn over postman!' sh the GPO vans a week for a gence, good guts, especial

## what we stand for



THE International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

We believe in independent working-class action, that we must overthrow capitalism and not tinker with reforms to patch it up.

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow.

To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in rank and file control of the trade unions and the

regular election of all full-time officials.

We are firmly opposed to secret negotiations and believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

We are for 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

We are against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

We are against productivity deals and job evaluation and are for militant trade union unity and joint shop stewards committees both in the plant and on a combine basis.

We support all demands for equal pay and for a better deal for young workers.

We believe that there should be a minimum wage of at least £25 per week.

We are opposed to unemployment, redundancy and lay offs and support the demand of five days' work or five days' pay.

We support all workers in struggle and seek to build militant groups within industry.

We are opposed to racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

We are opposed to any immigration restrictions and fully support the right of black people to self-defence.

We are opposed to all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We are opposed to secret diplomacy. Neither Washington nor Moscow but international socialism.

We are opposed to all forms of imperialism and unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.

We are for the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers' control.

We are for the introduction of a democratic planned economy in which resources can be devoted to social need.

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time.

Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of men's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. Over a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it'. If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us

### THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

- SCOTLAND**  
Aberdeen/Oydebank/Dundee/Edinburgh/Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling/Inverness
- NORTH EAST**  
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Teesside (Middlesbrough and Redcar)
- NORTH**  
Barnsley/Bradford/Derby/Doncaster/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds/York/Selby/Sheffield
- NORTH WEST**  
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham

- Bolton//Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/Potteries
- MIDLANDS**  
Birmingham/Coventry/Northampton/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham
- WALES and SOUTH WEST**  
Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/Swansea/Plymouth
- SOUTH**  
Ashford/Brighton/Crawley/Folkestone/Portsmouth/Southampton

- EAST**  
Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester
- GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES**  
Acton/Angel/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/Fulham/Greenford/Harrow/Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Reading/Richmond/Stoke Newington/Slough/South Ealing/Tottenham/Walthamstow/Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria

## JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Name .....

Address .....

Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



# RUTHLESS SABOTAGE THAT DIVIDED EUROPE'S UNIONS

First of two articles by IAN BIRCHALL



...for workers' children (above), privileged seclusion for the rich (Pictures courtesy London Weekend  
tickets and Spades and Handgrenades')

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tain one of the most vital services in the country.  
But these workers don't have the knowledge and they haven't been taught to be pushful and greedy - social solidarity and neighbourly support is the way the lowest paid workers have survived at all.  
So they are not much of a threat to the upper classes except when, in despair of getting anything at all through the use of reason, they strike for better pay.  
The owners of property - who also govern us and employ us and take our rent and sell us our food - keep the mass of workers at less than £26 a week. More than half of those they keep at less than £17

**Newly minted**  
Only today I found that one of my students - an intelligent working class woman training to become a teacher - lives with her husband and three children on £14 a week.  
Three days ago I happened to meet on Winchester station a noble lord - recently minted - whom I had known in the army. In talking about my work I happened to mention the shortage of well-qualified teachers in secondary modern schools.

'But surely you don't need graduates to teach stupid brats?' was his aristocratic reply!  
Had the train not whisked him off to his comfortable club in the House of Lords with £6 a day or more allowance for his trouble I might have asked him how his Christian conscience allowed him to demand the best possible education at Eton for his own son, and at the same time to be satisfied that his gardener's child was taught in an overcrowded secondary modern with poorly qualified teachers.  
Small wonder that such teachers, inadequately trained and without any real means of interesting their large classes, resort to the cane in a desperate attempt to quell the disorder that inevitably springs from boredom.  
Small wonder that workers, chained in a vicious circle of low pay, poor education, large families and monotonous jobs, live on a hand-to-mouth basis and have not the time, the energy, the means or the desire to better themselves.  
Who can be surprised that so many of them are deeply apathetic towards the possibility of their ever being able to change their situation or their destiny?

FACED with the Common Market and the growth of international firms, British workers are forced increasingly to think of co-operation with trade unionists on the Continent.  
One enormous obstacle is the political and religious divisions in the European unions.  
But it is important to remember that these divisions are not just a minor quirk of our hot-headed Continental brothers. The major splits in Europe's unions resulted from ruthless sabotage by those whose interests were not those of the working class.  
By 1947, the wartime friendship between Russia and the West was turning sour. On both sides of the newly invented Iron Curtain the phrases and gestures of the Cold War began to appear.

## DETERMINED

One of the chosen battle grounds was Western Europe. After the Second World War, many politicians, liberal as well as socialist, had hoped to see Western Europe remain neutral, lining up with neither Washington nor Moscow.  
But this was not to be. The United States was determined to keep Western Europe in its sphere of political and economic influence.  
To the anti-Communist fanatics in Washington, the mass Communist parties that had emerged from the anti-fascist Resistance movements in France and Italy seemed a threat that must be stopped.

The fact that in 1944-45 these same Communist parties had disarmed their own members in the Resistance, discouraged strikes and participated in 'national reconstruction' was disregarded.  
To the poverty-stricken countries of Europe, the US now made a gesture of charity - Marshall Aid.  
But it was aid at a price - and the price was the disarming of the European working class. The Communist ministers who had sat loyally in the French and Italian cabinets were removed.  
The Communist leaders had enjoyed their spell of participation in power. They had relished the image of respectability and moderation.

## DISCONTENT

It seems clear that they hoped for a return to government in the near future. But if they were to be taken seriously, a show of force was called for.  
There were strikes in France, massive demonstrations in Italy - actions justified by deep working-class discontent, but which the communist leaders had not prepared adequately and for which they had no perspectives to offer. In the collision between bosses and bureaucrats, European trade unionism was torn in pieces.  
France had had a long history of divided trade unionism.  
In 1921, the minority of the CGT (General Confederation of Labour) had split, largely under the influence of the newly-founded Communist Party. The two sections were reunited in 1935.



A united trade union march in Paris in 1967 against government economic policy

1919 saw the creation of the CFTC (French Confederation of Christian Workers). This was founded by 'left' Catholics, in opposition to forces in the Church hostile to any kind of trade unionism.  
But in France, where anti-clericalism has deep roots, it strengthened the tradition that a man's union membership was determined by his religious and political beliefs.

Nonetheless, it might have been hoped that the experience of the war-time Resistance would allow greater unity at union level.  
In 1944 a united CGT was established, and while the CFTC refused to merge, it co-operated closely. If Communists had a majority in the new CGT, this reflected their great electoral strength and their membership of more than 800,000 just after the war.  
However, an anti-Communist tendency (FO - Workers' Force) existed within the CGT, and by 1947 its hostility to the Communists in the leadership became acute. The split came in late 1947, following a wave of strikes and the Communist campaign against Marshall Aid.  
It was certainly true that the CGT was not a model of democracy, true also that the loyalty of some of its leaders seemed to be to Russian foreign policy rather than to French workers' interests.  
Above all, the Communists in

the CGT had not carried out the necessary political preparation. Until early 1947 the Communists were opposing strikes, calling on workers to make every effort in the national interest.  
If the sudden about-turn to militancy was partly a response to pressure from militant workers, it nonetheless seemed suspect in the eyes of many others.  
But all this is no reason to see the FO split as anything other than a pro-American and pro-boss manoeuvre that weakened the working class.

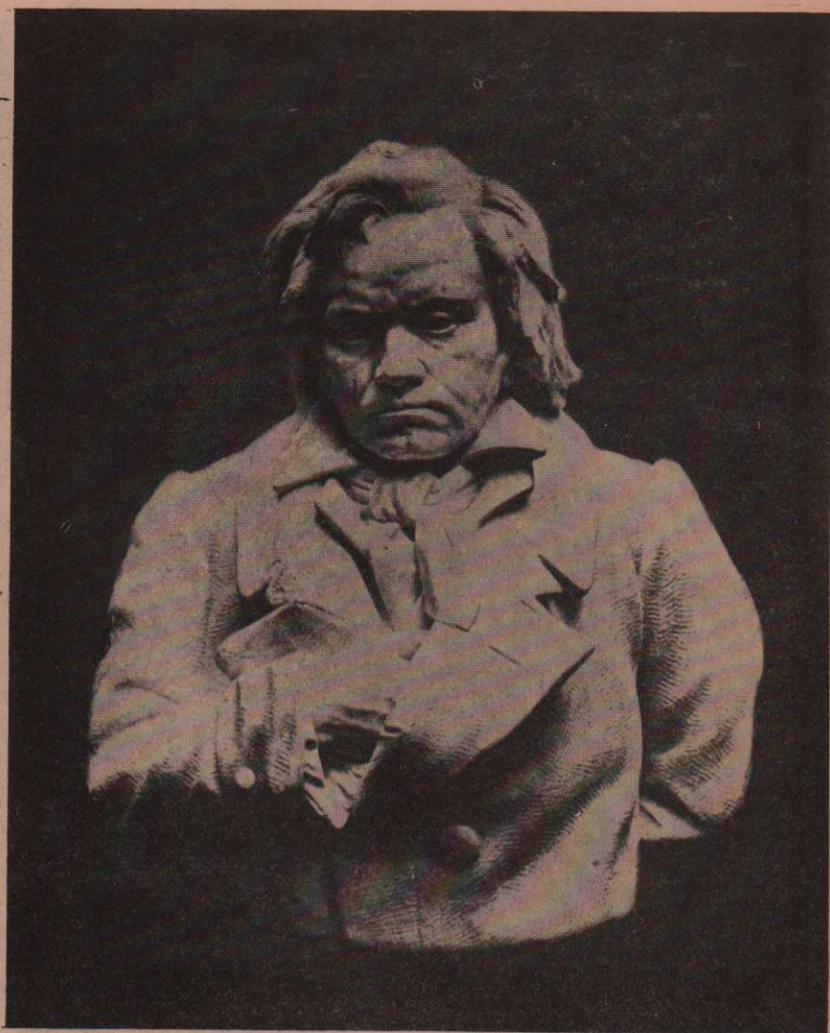
## FINANCE

There seems no doubt now that the FO was financed by the American trade unions and that the American unions in turn drew on CIA finance.  
Thomas Braden, formerly of the CIA, quoted in 1967, a figure of two million dollars a year as subsidies to anti-Communist unions in France and Italy.  
FO earned their keep by helping bale out French capitalism from its economic difficulties. In 1948 they joined with other non-Communist unions in launching a campaign against rising prices.  
This was clearly a diversion from the CGT's campaign for higher wages, switching the ground from trade union struggle to lobbying of the government.



# Beethoven —magnificent revolutionary

Sabby Sagall reviews the work of the great composer born 200 years ago



BEETHOVEN: his music broke through all bounds of traditional rules and conventions

Last month was the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ludwig Van Beethoven. He was born in Bonn in Germany in 1770 of a musical family, his grandfather having been musical director in the court of the Elector of Cologne.

On his father's side, he was descended from Flemish rural artisans.

Beethoven revealed his musical gifts early in life, and at the age of 22 he moved to Vienna, the musical centre of the world.

In the capital of the Hapsburg empire, a powerful aristocracy still flourished. Many wealthy nobles maintained their own private orchestras and patronised the arts.

## Framework

In the midst of one of the most reactionary states in Europe, Viennese upper-class society provided a framework in which some of the greatest composers were able to develop.

Beethoven was assured financial security by members of the aristocracy who recognised and fostered his genius. Throughout his life in Vienna, Beethoven seems to have maintained a love-hate relationship

with the Hapsburg aristocracy.

On the one hand, he was materially dependent on them and grateful for their appreciation and support. On the other hand, he himself had strong republican and liberal sentiments.

He once referred to his benefactors as a 'princely rabble'.

Beethoven dedicated his 'Eroica' symphony to Napoleon in the belief that he was a great liberator of mankind.

But soon after, in May 1804, on hearing that Napoleon had declared himself Emperor, Beethoven angrily tore off the title-page bearing the dedication and said: 'Now he too will trample on all the rights of man and indulge only his ambition.'

*Beethoven was not afraid to go about openly proclaiming revolt, and was clearly inspired by the democratic, egalitarian ideals of the French revolution.*

To maintain such attitudes in the face of a society dominated by aristocratic privilege was evidence of an outstandingly independent personality.

Beethoven's unique strength of character was also revealed in the way he overcame the worst possible affliction for a man of music — deafness which first became apparent in 1798 and was total by 1802. There is no-

thing in the history of art comparable to Beethoven's misfortune.

Beethoven was near to despair and contemplated suicide. It is a reflection of his genius and willpower that during this period of intensifying deafness he developed new powers as a composer.

His music acquired a new creative dimension, new emotional depth, a fresh range of vision and unparalleled dramatic power.

Beethoven's music broke through all bounds of traditional rules and conventions. It created its own artistic forms, unlike anything that had been heard before.

## Brotherhood

Beethoven's music was revolutionary, the product of a revolutionary age.

*Once Beethoven had achieved maturity, a constant theme in his music was man's search for freedom and brotherhood. His only opera 'Fidelio' expresses the idea that injustice can be overcome by human action which is determined because it is based on a belief in man, his potentiality, and the sanctity of life.*

His last symphony, the Ninth or Choral, contains lyrics from Schiller's 'Ode to Joy'. It expresses the deep

joy men feel in the experience of brotherhood that unites all humble creatures fighting for a common victory.

Again, the funeral marches in the 'Eroica' and Seventh symphonies reveal a type of mourning that expresses more than an individual's loss of a beloved person.

Expressed in these works is the mourning men feel at the loss of their humanity at the hands of an oppressive society. These works are therefore charged with revolutionary emotion, the desire of men to liberate themselves from the crushing yoke of a tyranny that imposes itself on all aspects of life.

In Beethoven's late chamber music he expresses feelings of individual loneliness and the struggle to overcome such isolation. This isolation is

that created by the new urban, industrial life produced by capitalist society.

## 'Superhuman'

The Russian writer Gorky described Lenin's reaction on listening to Beethoven's 'Appassionata' Sonata: 'The Appassionata is the most beautiful thing I know; I could listen to it every day. What wonderful, almost superhuman music! I always think with pride — perhaps it is naive of me — what marvellous things human beings can do.'

Beethoven's music was inspired by the struggles of the urban masses: its power and emotion can inspire in turn those engaged in revolutionary struggle for a world based on human values.

## THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



## Ideas: how the ruling class keeps its grip...

A FAMOUS nineteenth century hymn, 'All things bright and beautiful' which is still sung in schools contains the verse,

The rich man in his castle  
The poor man at his gate  
God gave each his station  
And ordered his estate.'

Not too many people believe in that kind of divine providence nowadays, at any rate not in the industrialised countries. And yet, in Britain in 1970, millions of working people voted for the Conservative Party.

Nor was this a freak result. In a country with universal suffrage, where 80 per cent of the working population consists of manual and routine white collar workers (1961 census), the Conservatives have been in power for 34 years out of the last 50.

The Conservative Party exists to protect and extend the interests of that 10 per cent of the population that owns 80 per cent of all private property. How is it possible for such a party to win elections?

The answer is clear enough at one level. Millions of people do not understand their own interests. They have a false picture of the society they live in.

What has to be explained is why this is so. The puzzle of the Tory working man is only a fraction of the problem. A larger section of the working class more or less regularly votes Labour and votes for a party that has proved, in practice, that it too is committed to the preservation of the capitalist system, to privilege and inequality. And though most people might not put it in those terms, they understand well enough that there is a fundamental

difference between the parties on this score.

This is not a new problem. Throughout history, societies have been run in the interests of the rich and the mass has been persuaded, in one way or another, to put up with this state of affairs for most of the time.

*Persuaded is the operative word. Ruling classes have always had soldiers and policemen, or their equivalent, at their disposal. Without them, that is without actual or potential violence, they could not rule at all. But, except at times of great crisis, violence is less important than persuasion.*

For a class society to exist, both rulers and ruled have to have fairly coherent world-views that justify the existing set-up or make it seem the only possible sort of arrangement. They have to have what Marx called ideologies.

## False light

An ideology is not just a wrong belief. It is a whole system of ideas which takes into account a good many facts but which shows the connection between those facts in a false light. Marx described ideology as 'false consciousness'.

It is impossible for a privileged class to hold down the mass of a population for long unless the various sections of that population have a false consciousness. Moreover, the rulers themselves need an ideology. Once they have lost their belief in their own unique fitness to rule they become mere gangsters — like the Batista clique in Cuba — and then they are well on the way to destruction.

*Until recently most ideologies have taken the form of religions. The various kinds of*

*Christianity are most familiar to us and it is convenient to look at Christianity in order to get an idea of the main features of ideology in general.*

First of all the facts and their interconnection. According to Genesis, 'God created man in his own image'. Man and God (in men's consciousness) were facts. The relationship between them however is inverted.

Man created God in his own image and naturally the conception of the deity changed as social conditions changed. In our Bibles he progresses from Jahweh, the bloodthirsty tribal superchief to Our Father, the omnipotent and benevolent ruler of Heaven and Earth — the idealised counterpart of the omnipotent and not-so-benevolent Roman Emperor.

The Emperor is remote and unapproachable. It is his local agents that have to be bribed or persuaded in matters of everyday concern. And so the Christian God is soon surrounded by a host of saints and martyrs who become the actual objects of prayer and devotion.

The whole conception is wrong of course, but it is not simply a fantasy. It corresponds, in a distorted way, to the real world that the religious lived in. It is also, like every long-lived ideology, a complicated and partly contradictory system accommodating many different strands of thought.

Marx is often quoted as saying 'Religion is the opium of the people'. What he actually said is rather more complex. 'Religion is the sign of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, the spirit of unspiritual conditions. It is the opium of the people.'

So we have, on the one hand, 'render unto

Caesar the things that are Caesar's' but, on the other hand 'lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt... Ye cannot serve God and mammon.'

We are told that 'my kingdom is not of this world' and at the same time 'And again, I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God'. The poor are urged to submit to the tribulations of this world but are promised — 'Blessed be ye poor' — ample compensation in the world to come.

## Slowly dying

*It is easy today, in a scientific world, to underestimate the power and resilience of religious ideology in the past. It provided an explanation of the workings of the universe, consolation for the masses of the people, justification for their rulers, entertainment, codes of conduct and an ultimate purpose in life. It has been slowly dying in the industrialised centres for a century and a half but is still far from extinct.*

Secular ideologies have largely replaced religion as the effective 'world view' in industrialised areas, even amongst many people with church affiliations. The most important of these — patriotism and 'democracy' are promoted by the mass media and the educational system.

Yet they are not simply systems of ideas produced by ruling class intellectuals for mass consumption. They create a real echo in the consciousness of working people because they incorporate some facts of everyday experience.



NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



## Those sexy Carry Ons are so prudish

THE two most popular films in 1969-70 were the latest in the never-ending series of 'Carry on' escapades.

The latest in the series, 'Carry on Loving' is no exception to the general diet of amused shock at the sexual act and anything remotely connected with it. This is the one subject of all the 'Carry on' films - sex, sex and more sex.

The cast is a collection of stereotypes that never fails to please. The preposterously overblown Hattie Jacques plays a she-vampire who successfully drives any thoughts of sex from the minds of even the most obsessed man.

Kenneth Williams is the perennial effeminate ('Ooh get away!') homosexual who always loses his trousers at some stage in the proceedings. The regulars are completed by Sidney James, who looks as if he's permanently suffering from the after-effects of a hangover and beating up, plus a variety of well-uplifted, full-breasted, dumb starlets.

### Usual targets

This collection of assorted freaks not only go through the usual stock of bums and knickers jokes but also succeed in involving everything from umbrellas to grapefruits in their sexual gymnastics. The targets of their humour are unfailingly the sexual failures and outcasts of society—the shy, the inadequate, the over-developed (and the under-developed) and homosexuals.

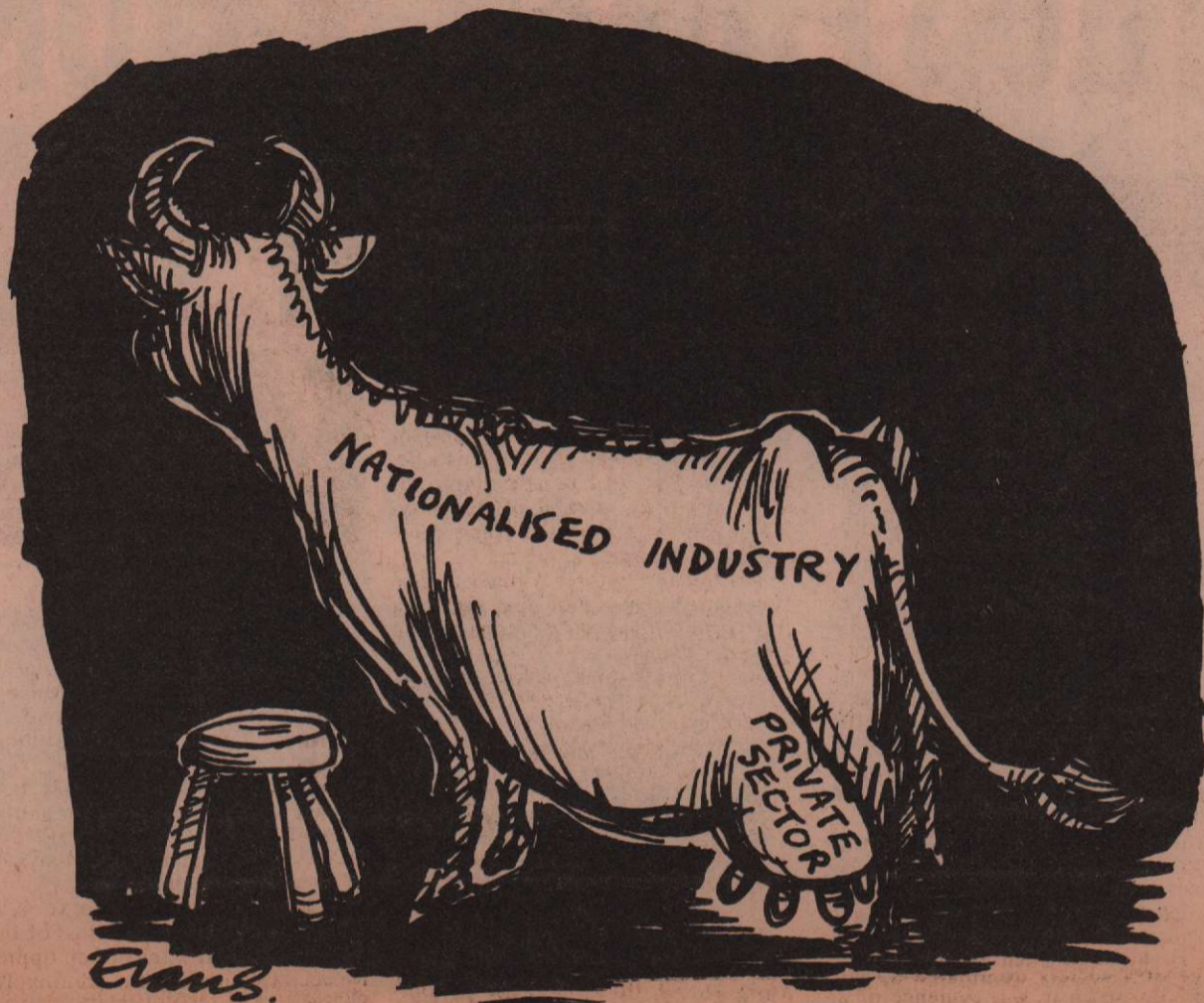
Most of this is done fairly gently and sometimes quite amusingly, but the overall effect is to reinforce prudish attitudes. The 'Carry On' films strip sex of all its complexity and diversity. Sex becomes trivial, dehumanised and essentially pointless.

No one actually ever has sex in the 'Carry On' films unless they are happily and boringly married couples. In this kind of sly, back-handed way, the ideas the film puts over effectively buttress morality, monogamy and Church marriage while at the same time we are allowed a furtive glimpse of a breast or two and a few laughs as well. Not as daring perhaps as 'Oh, Calcutta!' but cheaper and funnier.

These films tend to not only reinforce people's most reactionary attitudes both towards any kind of sexual deviant or physical misfit but towards human relationships as a whole. The characters only relate to one another either to make money or to sexually exploit one another.

And the last thing the film shows or advocates is the start, let alone the carrying on, of any actual loving!

**Martin Tomkinson**



# COTTONS COLUMN

PLESSEY Telecommunications have a fine safety record in their many factories. So good in fact that they won the British Safety Council awards two years running, 1968 and 1969.

Strange then that at a Sunderland court on 30 December, Plessey Telecommunications should plead guilty to using an overcrowded workroom at its Southwick factory and locking an access door.

Prosecuting, Graham Walker, of the factory inspectorate, stated that he had called the management's attention to this state of affairs two days earlier and nothing was done.

In a corridor behind a locked door were five cans of highly inflammable material. And it took five minutes to get hold of a key.

If there had been a fire in the room - and with access doors blocked - Plessey might well have been in for another trophy - second place to the fire in James Watt Street in Glasgow two years ago which killed 50 people.

*BOVIS, the family construction firm, of Sir Keith Joseph, the Tory Minister of Health, has some useful hints for handling shop stewards.*



BARBER: there's none so blind...

*These are doled out in secret at conferences for its executives organised jointly with the University of Manchester.*

*For instance, Bovis recommends special offices for the steward, admitting frankly that this is so he can be argued with away from his fellow workers.*

*And to make him feel a cut above the rest of the human race, you give him a telephone - tapped, of course.*

### Knees bend

THE CLOSING lines of the TUC petition to have the Tory anti-union Bill withdrawn - first signature from Lord Cooper - read as follows:

'Wherefore your petitioners pray that the Industrial Relations Bill should be withdrawn. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray etc.'

Now this is hardly fighting talk, as some members of the General Council realise. But this time, the Lefts have taken a significant militant step beyond suggestions of a letter to The Times, as was proposed at a meeting at the time of In Place of Strife.

They are not wholly convinced of

the merits of prayer so they had 'etc' tagged on at the end.

If God doesn't do the trick, hang on to your etceteras...

### Babbling Brookes

RAYMOND BROOKES, chairman and managing director of Guest Keen and Nettlefold, is one of the three 'impartial' members of the Court of Inquiry into the power workers' dispute.

Brookes, who receives a mere £36,000 a year from GKN, is also a member of the council of the Economic League, the extreme right-wing body that spies on militants and keeps files of their activities for affiliated firms.

### Say that again

AS THE Demon Barber said last year: 'The best preventive of excessive prices is free competition'. Now read on...

'Both ICI and BP Chemicals International have increased the price of certain grades of PVC by up to 3½ per cent. PVC is the most widely used plastic in terms of tonnage and its general price is now over £100 a ton.'

'The UK plastics division of BP Chemicals announced last night that the United Kingdom selling price of some grades had been raised by up to £3 10s a ton. Apparently ICI quietly implemented similar higher prices last month.'

'ICI and BP dominate Britain's PVC market with a 65 per cent and 30 per cent market share respectively. Last February both companies raised prices by 7 per cent and a similar increase was implemented a year earlier.' (The Times, 6 January)



OMNIBUS on BBC-1 on Sunday gave us a flat and disappointing documentary on George Orwell, one of the most stimulating and important political writers of the 20th century.

Called *The Road to the Left*, the programme set out to trace Orwell's political development in the crucial year of 1936 when he wrote that stunning if politically muddled book *The Road to Wigan Pier* about the conditions of workers and unemployed in the North of England.

From Wigan Pier, Orwell went to fight in Spain and was wounded in action against Franco as a militia man with the POUM, the anti-Stalinist socialist party. From that experience came another fine book called *Homage to Catalonia*.

Orwell, the Old Etonian and Burma policeman, emerged from 1936 a committed revolutionary and able to prepare to write two of the greatest satires of totalitarianism - *Animal Farm* and *1984*.

The programme was written and introduced by novelist Melvyn Bragg. He was dealing with exciting and momentous times but the programme was dull and pedestrian.

### Potential

So much time was spent on Orwell's trip to the North to collect material for *Wigan Pier* that we paid only a fleeting visit to Spain. Yet it was Orwell's time in Spain - his first-hand experience of the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinists, who attempted to wipe out the POUM and the Anarchists, plus the magnificent potential of the working class - that determined the direction and development of his politics.

Only American writer Norman Mailer had anything perceptive to say. He stressed Orwell's amazing foresight in 1984, his projection of a world divided into three constantly warring states, with today's enemies becoming tomorrow's allies.

In 1984 war is called 'peace' and conducted to use up the excess capacity of the system. Mailer pointed out the horrifying similarities with 1970 - America's 'peace mission' in Vietnam and the possibility of a US-Russia pact against China.

What a pity that publisher Frederick Warburg was allowed to go unchallenged with his repetition of that stale definition of both 1984 and *Animal Farm* as 'anti-Soviet' books. They were nothing as crude as that.

1984 in particular was a bringing together of all Orwell's experiences, from public school and British imperialism in Burma, right through the 1930s, the Second World War and its aftermath. It was an anti-totalitarian book - a vastly different thing to an anti-communist one.

### Unspeakable

EARLIER on Sunday, BBC-1 brought back the unspeakable Paul Temple. This must be the third or fourth attempt to re-vamp this pathetic programme - but still without success, if Sunday's instalment is anything to go by.

Paul Temple was a famous radio series that ran through the 1930s, 40s and 50s. If BBC-1 had played the telly version in period, with Temple as a tweedy, Oxford bags private detective, they could have effectively combined mystery and humour.

Instead we have a miserable attempt to make Temple and his dreadful wife up-to-date swingers, lumbered with bad scripts, shoddy acting and amateurish production. How did this abortion ever get on to our screens - that's the most pressing mystery our hero should solve.

**David East**

## NOTICES

SOUTH LONDON IS branches: Roger Protz on 15 the Labour Party an alternative? Sunday 17 January 8pm William Morris Hall, Wimbledon Bdwj SW19.

ANTI-APARTHEID: meeting against arms to South Africa, Monday 18 January, 7.30pm, Central Hall, Westminster.

WALTHAM FOREST Council of Action mtg Wednesday 20 Jan. Spkrs: Bernadette Devlin MP, Vincent Flynn, general secretary SOGAT Div A and Eric Deakins MP. 8pm Gas Show

Rooms, Walthamstow High St E17. (nr Walthamstow Central station).

SOCIALIST MEDICAL Association: day school on the Social Causes and Consequences of Addiction. Sunday 28 March at NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, London WC1. Credentials from T C Thomas, 54 Finchley Court Ballards Lane, London N3.

NOTICES 1s a line (average 6 words per line). Cash with copy by Monday.



# Socialist Worker

## TUC rally: boos greet Wilson and Feather

TUC leaders showed how out of touch they were with the rank and file at the 'high point' of their campaign against the anti-union laws on Tuesday.

Harold Wilson was heckled repeatedly at the 6000-strong rally in London's Albert Hall. And Vic Feather was forced to abandon half his speech by the rising level of discontent from the audience.

Delegates to the rally were carefully selected by the TUC. Trade union officials were there in abundance.

Thousands of militants had no opportunity of attending. Nevertheless, the two main speakers had difficulty in getting a hearing.

### Longer memories

Wilson attempted just to blame the Tories for the laws. Many of his listeners, however, had longer memories. They recalled that Labour's policies while in office had prepared the way for the present attacks on the trade unions and the welfare state.

When Wilson said: 'It was not Donovan who fathered this Bill,' hecklers retorted: 'It was you.' And when he said that the Tories were trying to divert attention from their own broken promises by attacks on striking workers, the cry resounded round the hall of: 'That's what you did in the seamen's strike.'

A sizable section of the audience packed with union officials and Labour Party worthies could be expected to support Wilson. Only about a fifth of those present were really hostile.

But an attempt to give the Labour Party leader a standing ovation at the end of his speech failed. And many of those clapping did so without enthusiasm.

The performance of Vic Feather, the 'official leader' of the TUC, was pathetic.

### Calls for action

This was too much for the overstrained patience of the audience. Calls for action and for a general strike began to echo from one end of the massive hall to the other.

The most wholehearted supporters of the official line could hardly rouse themselves from the weariness with their leader to give him support.

Yet there was a willingness to fight against the Tory measures in the hall. This was shown by the response to the third speaker, the professor of industrial law, Bill Wedderburn.

He had things to say of interest about the laws. But he was also the only speaker to respond to the mood of his listeners.

He actually used the word 'socialism' and spoke of the need for 'industrial democracy' - although this should be introduced gradually. Such words were enough to rouse the whole gathering to enthusiastic applause.

It is a sad comment on both the TUC and the Labour Party that a professor of industrial relations can so easily put their avowed leaders in the shade.

## Journalists' leader is censured

NATIONAL UNION of Journalists' General Secretary Ken Morgan was roundly condemned for his conduct during the recent Fleet Street strikes by members of the Magazine and Book branch on Monday.

Mr Morgan paid a fleeting visit to the 100-plus meeting but did not stay to hear the censure motion because of 'another engagement'.

Moving the censure, Socialist Worker

Father of the Chapel Roger Protz said that the General Secretary's conduct in telling Mirror and Sun executives to bring out their papers and defy the strikers was 'a disgrace to decent trade unionism'. The censure was carried unanimously.

The militant mood of the branch - the union's biggest - was underlined by the unprecedented sight of Thomson's Publications FoC Laurie Flynn marching his chapel to the meeting to demand no com-

promise in the fight against anti-union laws.

The branch approved a motion for the annual conference from executive member John Thorpe demanding a policy of non-co-operation with the government until the Industrial Relations Bill is dropped or repealed. The motion calls on the NUJ to press the TUC for a policy that would include a refusal to register under the new laws and withdrawal of all union co-operation with government bodies.

# POST OFFICE WORKERS NEXT IN PAY FIRING LINE

by Dave Percival UPW

POST OFFICE WORKERS are next in the firing line. 230,000 members of the Union of Post Office Workers may be called out on strike next week if the employers had not improved on their 7 per cent pay offer by Friday.

The union has asked for 15 per cent more, with a £3 minimum increase for workers on the lowest grades. It is by far the most moderate pay demand of any under negotiation at present. UPW leaders have explained this by saying that the claim is a 'serious attempt' and they have no intention of accepting half a loaf.

The Post Office's derisory 7 per cent would only just cover price increases for 1970, without considering the inevitable rises in rent, health and welfare charges which the government has arranged for this year.

### LOSSES

The management claims that it will face enormous losses on the postal side if the 15 per cent demand was met. But a large part of the deficit will be caused by the £83m investment programme planned by the Post Office for sorting offices.

The intention behind this investment was made clear this week when the Managing Director of Posts said: 'Almost 75 per cent of the operating costs are for people. The best hope lies in sorting office mechanisation.'

In other words, the loss will be made through financing methods to cut wages.

This presentation of the situation ignores completely the £20m profit made by telephones and the fact that this has maintained profits in the whole industry.

### PARALYSE

Because of the weak tradition of trade unionism in the Post Office, the government hope to win a major victory. But a full scale strike would paralyse the communications on which big business relies to make its profits.

The UPW rank and file must ensure that the leadership do not collapse as soon as they have a real fight on their hands, as the last general secretary Ron Smith did before he became labour chief for the Steel Board.

The Post Office Management Staff's Association said this week that it would regard the use of troops to break a possible strike as 'severe provocation which could have dire consequences'.

## Waltham Forest Council of Action

No union laws!

Speakers:  
Bernadette Devlin MP  
Vincent Flynn, general secretary SOGAT division A  
Eric Deakins MP

Wednesday 20 January, 8pm  
Gas Show Rooms,  
Walthamstow High Street  
London E17.

## Hull dockers keep ban on 'black' glass

HULL:- All 3000 dockers walked out last Friday when port bosses tried to get them to load Pilkington glass.

The dockers had already made it clear that until the 200 sacked Pilkington workers are reinstated at St Helens, all Pilkington glass is blacked. That is why the walk-out took place when a Pilkington lorry, with six tons of glass bound for Copenhagen, appeared on the quayside.

A mass meeting on Saturday voted unanimously to continue the ban. Pilkington Rank and File Committee Chairman Gerry Caughey, told the meeting that the 200 workers sacked from Pilkington's last summer were unable to get jobs anywhere in the area.

But although dockers voted to continue blacking the glass, it is essential that other ports take up the struggle as well. On its own, the Hull blacking is little more than an inconvenience even though more than £1m worth of glass went through the port last year.

### Support

If other ports follow the lead given by Hull dockers there can be no 're-routing' by Pilkington.

Shop stewards at London's Royal group of Docks have told Walt Cunningham Chairman of the Hull Shop Stewards Committee, that they will support the ban.

Gerry Caughey, chairman of the Pilkington rank and file committee, said on Monday: 'This positive action by Hull dockers is a magnificent show of working-class solidarity. It proves that industrial action over principles is really on the agenda today.'

'And if Pilkington workers look round the country to the action taken elsewhere, they can throw off fears fostered by management. Support for us is the first step towards crushing anti-trade union legislation.'



Printworkers demonstrating outside the Albert Hall on Tuesday. Report: column one

## Dutschke: Tory action 'worthy of McCarthy' - IS statement

The International Socialists, named by the Immigration Appeals Tribunal as being linked with Rudi Dutschke, issued the following press statement by its executive committee on Wednesday:

IN THEIR VERDICT on the Dutschke case, the Immigration Appeals Tribunal expressed the view that Mr Dutschke had broken his undertaking not to take part in political activity during his stay in Britain. This view was based to some extent on Mr Dutschke's connection with members of the International Socialists.

From the outset, we regarded the 'no politics' conditions imposed upon Mr Dutschke as insulting and cowardly. Yet out of respect for the wishes of Mr and Mrs Dutschke, both of whom when they came to Britain were undergoing considerable mental and physical strain, we urged all our members on no account to involve Mr Dutschke in any of the organisation's political activities.

### Great interest

Throughout his stay our members scrupulously respected this appeal. Despite our great interest in Mr Dutschke's political ideas, at no time did he address a meeting of any of our branches, take part in any of our committees, write for any of our

journals or contribute to any of our propaganda.

It is true that he stayed in the same house as one of our members and was put up by another when he went on holiday by the sea. It is true that he attended two of our conferences as a non-participating observer.

### Secret police

It is a miserable comment on the attitudes of the Home Secretary and his tribunal that they translated these facts, obtained as they were through phone tapping, informers and secret police, into proof that Mr Dutschke had broken his undertaking.

The truth is that the Conservative government is engaged in a ferocious attack on trade unionists, the old, the sick and the unemployed and are on the lookout for suitable scapegoats. Rudi Dutschke is one such. They have used his case as an opportunity for whipping up xenophobic anti-socialist prejudice in a manner which would have been admired by the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

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