

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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New 'get tough' law in Ulster

LAST WEEKEND civil rights supporters throughout Northern Ireland demonstrated in defiance of the new Public Order Bill, the latest piece of repressive legislation in Britain's backyard police state.

In Derry, demonstrators clashed with British troops who were defending a meeting addressed by the right-wing extremist Ian Paisley.

The following article explaining the background to the new repression is from Free Citizen, weekly paper of Peoples Democracy, the revolutionary socialist organisation.

THE PUBLIC ORDER BILL is now law. It is a bad law.

Under the guise of banning counter-demonstrations and offensive weapons, it increases the notice necessary for marches and bans sit-downs and occupation of public buildings.

The aim of the Bill is to add another piece of coercion to the government's armoury of repressive legislation.

The Public Order Bill will hit at trade unionists, small farmers, tenants and any other group who have grievances in Northern Ireland. A couple of weeks ago, the Public Order Act was used to stop workers at the Lines factory in Castlereagh from protesting about pay-offs.

Militant action

It is no accident that the Bill is coming into law at a time when more pay-offs are threatened and when small farmers and tenants are talking of militant action.

The Unionist Party represents a small clique of landlords, speculators, and profiteers. They have squeezed the workers and small farmers of this area dry in their own interest for 50 years.

They have created massive unemployment, miserable slums and sectarian hatred. Having done their dirty work now they want to stop us protesting about it. We mustn't let them get away with it.

It is ironical to hear the Unionists talk about 'upholding the law'. This state was built in defiance of the law.

Sir Edward Carson, urging the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force said in Newry in 1913: 'I am told it will be illegal, of course it will, drilling is illegal...Don't be afraid of illegalities.'

Final decision

Once in power the Unionists made their own repressive laws. It's time we took a leaf out of Carson's book and broke their bloody laws.

The final decision on this Bill rested with the government of Northern Ireland. The Governor himself is only a puppet, so the decision was taken by Callaghan and Wilson.

Westminster has decided to support the cut-throat clique at Stormont. What else could we expect?

When we defy Stormont's laws we'll be defying Westminster as well. We'll be in a long and glorious tradition.

CENTRAX APPEAL

STRIKERS at the Centrax turbine factories in Newton Abbot, South Devon, who have been outside the gates for 3½ months, are facing severe financial difficulties.

The workers are demanding a substantial increase in their wages, at present as low as £12 a week for skilled engineers. They have linked up with the South-West campaign for a £17 10s minimum wage in the region.

Readers are urged to raise donations in their trade union branches, shop stewards committees, tenants organisations and political groups. Rush money to C Perry, 15 Church Road, Neyton Abbot, Devon.



Picture: Jeff Pick

Meeting protests at attacks on Panthers

SELMA JAMES, militant revolutionary socialist who is active in the black community in Britain, seen speaking last Friday at a meeting called in solidarity with the American Black Panthers who are being systematically massacred by police and troops.

Selma James spoke of her experiences during a recent trip to the USA where she spoke to many Panthers.

On the right is Keith Spencer, who spoke on behalf of the British Black Panthers and described the growing persecution here from the police and the courts.

The other main speaker was Chuck Leinenweber of the American International Socialists.

In the discussion that followed,

it was clear from the rather acrimonious exchanges that a great deal of groundwork has to be done to lay the basis for common action between black and white revolutionaries. But Chris Harman of the International Socialists, the meeting's sponsors, was warmly applauded when he declared that one of the most significant developments in recent years was the determination of black immigrants to organise and fight the system.

The task of British socialists, he stressed, was not to tell black people what to do but to intensify their own activity against capitalism and to seek united action with immigrant organisations whenever possible.

SOCIALISTS AND THE COMMON MARKET

Don't miss this important article next week

IS INDUSTRIAL LECTURES INTER-UNION DISPUTES Vincent Flynn(Sogat)

Sunday 15 February 7.30pm

6 Cottons Gardens London E2

Law and order - Tory threat to the Left

by the Editor

THE TORIES have declared that they will make 'law and order' an issue at the next general election.

Contained in that declaration is a threat to every 'minority group' in Britain - the scapegoats chosen by Labour and the Tories to take the blame for the chaos of the big business system that breeds unemployment, slums, poverty and the cancer of racialism.

The scapegoats are shop stewards in particular and trade unionists in general, along with black people, students, Welsh nationalists and the many thousands who take the only outlet available to them in our 'free' society by demonstrating against empty housing, the Vietnam war and apartheid in sport.

The law and order the Tories have in mind, of course, is the variety that protects the enormous wealth, property and privileges of the tiny minority who live off the labour of the working people.

The Tories have invented the issue to win votes from the middle class, the section of the voters that swings between the two major parties. Unorganised groups like small shopkeepers, frightened of big business and the working class, are a traditional breeding ground for reactionary ideas.

The Tories are cynically pandering to such groups in their battle for votes. There is little doubt that Labour will also jump onto the law and order bandwagon as the election grows nearer.

Smokescreen

The Tories have created a smokescreen for their real intentions by pretending that we are faced by a gigantic crime wave. But the crime rate in London, for example, is one-tenth that of New York, although we are now constantly told that Britain is becoming like America as far as crime is concerned.

But such nonsense, like the gibberish of the racials, can take hold of those people who feel crushed by society and hopeless in the face of the monopolies. Their frustrations - and those of the thugs in the police force - can be suitably worked off by systematic and legal attacks on militant trade unionists, demonstrators and immigrants.

The groundwork is already being carefully prepared. Last week, a group of young Welsh nationalists were given vicious jail sentences for 'contempt of court'.

They were given no right of trial or representation, yet the arrogant judge was applauded in parliament by a group of spineless Labour MPs, including Mr Alec Jones of the Rhondda. We hope that Mr Jones will be treated by Welsh voters with the contempt he deserves in the general election.

Activities of this kind are given substantial press and television coverage. There are more sinister police methods at use away from the public spotlight, particularly among the black community.

Last week five young black workers in Brixton, south London, were jailed for serious offences, although the discrepancies between

their evidence and that of the police should have given the magistrate some cause for doubt.

The case arose out of an incident in Brixton last November when a Nigerian diplomat parked his white Mercedes on a double-yellow line while he shopped. Two policemen accused him of stealing the car.

A large crowd, including many black people, gathered as the diplomat was taken to the police station. 40-50 more police arrived and began to disperse the crowd.

Five young people were arrested. They, and their witnesses, claimed that they were dragged indiscriminately from the crowd, abused in the most filthy racist terms by the police and savagely beaten.

Steven Johnson, warehouseman and Michael Scott, plumber's mate, were jailed for three months. Keith Burrell, trainee electrician, was sentenced to one month's imprisonment and Eulyss Headlam, apprentice engineer was sent to a detention centre for three months. Olive Morris, an editorial assistant, was given a three months suspended prison sentence.

Not produced

Johnson was arrested for shouting abuse at a white man, who was not produced in court. Burrell was arrested for obstructing Johnson's arrest.

The police said Headlam jumped onto an officer's back and pummelled him. Headlam denied this and said he ran off when the police arrived as he had to do shopping for his mother.

Olive Morris said she was grabbed from the crowd, thrown onto the floor of the police van, smashed in the face and told to 'Shut up, nigger'.

Scott had a row with a PC Castle when the crowd was being dispersed, but no action was taken against him. He went into a record shop, bought a record and came out to be confronted again by PC Castle.

The officer, Scott alleged, grabbed the youth's arm and brought his truncheon down on it. The arm was fractured in three places and Scott was taken to hospital, where he was arrested for possession of an offensive weapon.

Castle claimed that Scott had drawn a knife on him. The knife was not produced in court. An independent witness said he saw no knife.

Not one independent police witness was called.

Five defence witnesses, including two white girls and a Nigerian student who knew none of the accused personally, testified that the five had been plucked at random from the crowd.

In the face of such evidence, the magistrate did his duty - and sentenced the five young black people.

Is this, Messrs Heath, Hogg, Macleod and Maudling, the sort of law and order you wish to introduce on a wider scale?

If any readers think all this has nothing to do with them, let them think again. The police methods used today with such ferocity against black people and demonstrators can be used with equal severity against trade unionists tomorrow.

The working-class movement - black and white - must close ranks to resist this growing menace to our civil liberties.

Malaysia: police state Labour helped create

by Paul Foot

MR GEORGE BROWN, in his statement last November calling for support for the American troops in Vietnam despite the My Lai massacre, accurately declared that the British had been up to similar tricks in Malaya.

'We now have a free Malaya and a free Singapore,' said Mr Brown and this justified any British atrocities.

For the men in the British board-rooms who control £225m worth of Malayan rubber plantations, £150m of Malayan tin and other mining industries and £140m in the growing Malayan oil industry, this freedom is absolute.

The £80m with which the British balance of payments benefits by 'trade' with Malaysia and Singapore is not threatened by any decree of the governments there. On the other hand, for the growing opposition to the governments of both territories, there is no freedom at all.

The British re-occupied Malaya after the war to wrest power from the popular-front Malayan Peoples Anti-Japanese Army. The state of emergency set up by the post-war British Labour government gave them time to groom their own Malayan leaders among the reactionary Rahman-Kuan Lew clique, and to form the Alliance Party from three parties, the United Malay Nationalist Organisation, the Malayan Indian Congress and the Malayan Chinese Association, all of which use frankly racist propaganda to quell popular unrest against social conditions.

Resorts to racialism

The Alliance Party has been able to remain in power ever since then with timely resorts to racialism and 'emergency' legislation.

The Internal Security Act, 1960, as amended in 1964 and 1965 after the creation of Malaysia, and the preservation of public security ordinance, 1958, for instance, gave the governments of Malaya and Singapore the power to:

Detain without trial.

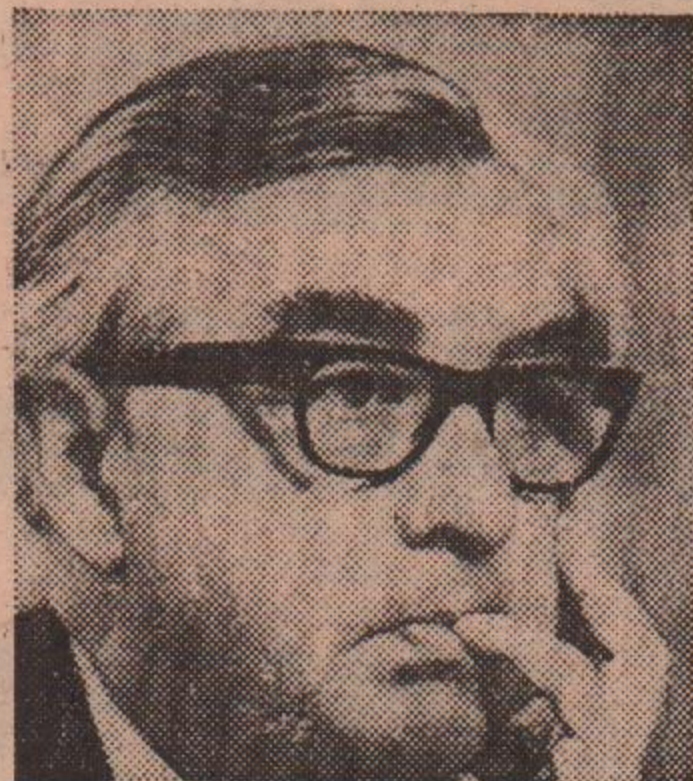
To prohibit the assembly of five or more persons without a government license.

To insist on permits for all publications and to ban publications at will.

To require through a 'certificate of suitability' that all students and postgraduates be screened and certified as 'fit' to be enrolled in institutions of higher learning.

In 1968, came the Labour Act which extended the hours of work from 42 to 44 without increase of pay. It provided for the dismissal and deportation of any worker who indulged in 'economic sabotage', among which was included incitement to strike.

Democratic elections were permitted by the Alliance Party as long as the Alliance Party won them. In the elections in May last year, the Alliance won only 49 per cent of the poll in East Malaysia and were



BROWN: platitudes

expected to suffer heavy losses in that region and thus lose the two-thirds parliamentary majority which it needs to alter the constitution in favour of more tyranny.

The government therefore suspended the elections in 37 constituencies in East Malaysia and, under the Emergency Ordinance of 1969, gave all power to the National Operations Council, an Alliance Party junta.

Parliament has been indefinitely suspended. All opposition party meetings and opposition publications are banned.

The amendments to the Labour laws passed last year ensure that all disputes regarding dismissals and recognition of unions will be decided solely by the Ministry of Labour.

Some 500 political prisoners have been interned in 'rehabilitation centres' (concentration camps). In Singapore trial by jury has been abolished.

For all this, the government has blamed the race riots in Kuala Lumpur during last May's elections.

What started the race riots is still not known, but a prominent part was played by the Pemuda Tahan Lasak youth organisation, whose formation was announced by the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, on 21 December 1969.

Its purpose, according to its newspaper, War of Nerves, is 'to kill the strength of opposition parties'. 'Intelligence work,' runs a significant passage, 'is not confined to observation and collecting data, but also physical damage or injury to opposition parties'.

Unemployed youth

This crudely fascist youth organisation is affiliated to UMNO, the main section of the Alliance Party, and its director is Senu Abdul Rahman, Malaysian Minister of Information. It has some 50,000 members, drawn mainly from unemployed youth.

Many of its best 'fighters' have been trained by British troops at the notorious school of Jungle Warfare at Kota Tinggi.

Not satisfied with banning elections, the Tunku's government is now threatening to ignore and

reverse those that have taken place.

At a 'goodwill tea party' last month, the Tunku hinted that his government might ban the Malayan Labour Party and the Party Rakyat, because their policies were 'similar to those of the Malayan Communist Party'.

'Since we have banned the MCP,' said the Tunku, 'logically, we can also ban the Party Rakyat and the Labour Party'. (Straits Times, 23 January).

The following day, the two elected members of the Pahang State Assembly who are members of the social democratic Party Rakyat, Dzulkifli Ismail and S Sivasubramaniam, were arrested and interned as political prisoners.

'They refused to accept the democracy which we practise,' explained the Tunku. 'They are against goodwill'.

The executive committee of the International Socialists have sent a telegram to the Malaysian Prime Minister protesting against the ban.

From Mr Brown and the British Labour Party, however, there has been nothing but platitudes about a free Malaya and a free Singapore.



The post-war Labour government sent troops to Malaya to safeguard big business interests. In this appalling picture taken in 1948, a British army sergeant holds the severed heads of two guerrilla fighters.

The threat of time study

TONY CLIFF's article (29 January) on time and motion study cannot be faulted in its general conclusions. Unfortunately, in his eagerness to reach these conclusions he makes a generalisation about time study that is a complete distortion of the picture - ie, that time study is sheer guesswork.

He appears to assume that all time study is carried out by 'outside' companies applying routine techniques to the problem. He has apparently overlooked the many companies which operate their own O & M/time study departments in association with their own cost departments.

If Cliff is only talking about the 'outside' companies then much of his generalisation is true, especially when applied to new layouts and operations. But let us look at what happens in companies with their own cost departments.

Such companies can and do build up job costs that allow the labour element of cost to be accurately analysed. Over a period of time 'averages' for the labour can be accurately established and broken down operation by operation.

For example, a production run of 10,000 involving x number of operations being a monthly repeat order will in five years produce approximately 60 'average' costs. From these you can arrive at an overall 'average' and very accurate individual item costs.

From here it is very simple to arrive at a time per unit that takes into account all the 'questions' that seem to worry Cliff (fast and slow workers, etc) because the take-off

point for a time study is an actual average cost.

And, of course, this is exactly how it is operated. In comes the time study man armed with an actual average cost together with maximum and minimum tolerance figures. This time study man is not the 'outside' company's alleged expert but is usually a member of an O & M department whose qualification for membership is ONC/HNC or equivalent, usually with two-three years actual bench experience.

Now this sort of lad is not easily fooled. He has the job experience, the theory and actual cost figures. Any time study that he produces is going to be pretty accurate and as such constitutes a very real threat to production workers.

I think all this really reinforces Cliff's arguments about how the drive for productivity via the time study man is aimed at squeezing more from workers. What I am concerned about is making sure that these methods are not underestimated and treated less seriously. - BILL BAYLISS, London E17.

Revolution on paper, but in practice, with the slogan 'All power to the soviets'. Hal Draper's conclusion from Marx's formulation of the dictatorship of the proletariat was: 'To say that the state is a rule or dictatorship of the proletariat is a social description, a statement of the class character of the political power. It is not a statement about the forms of the government machinery' (New Politics, Summer 1962).

For Marx, the Commune was 'a revolution not against this or that legitimate, constitutional, republican or imperialist form of state power. It was a revolution against the state itself, of this supernaturalist abortion of society, a resumption by the people for the people of its own social life' (Ralph Miliband, Marx and the State, Socialist Register 1965). - JOHN STRAUTHER, London N8.

'Malicious ignoramus'

YOUR LETTER COLUMN of 29 January has a letter by one J Lee who charges that Lenin's State and Revolution 'is a notorious distortion of Marx's views on the state,' and (among other gems) that according to Lenin "by 'dictatorship of the proletariat' Marx meant the ruthless government of a vanguard party."

In 'proof' of this nonsense, this J Lee refers your innocent readers to an article of mine, 'Marx and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat' in New Politics for Summer 1962, since it proves that Marx's idea was a socialist democracy.

The statement about Marx and my article is correct. But J Lee is a malicious ignoramus as far as Lenin's State and Revolution is concerned.

There is not a line in it which answers his description and its entire content is the reverse of his falsified description of it. Indeed, my own article could not have been written without Lenin's revival of the essence of Marx's theory of the state in that great work; and in every sense, my own article merely stands on the shoulders of Lenin's great contribution.

Lenin's State and Revolution is one of the historic statements of the great ideal of socialist democracy. Your readers should not fail to study it themselves. - HAL DRAPER, Albany, California, USA.

Letters to the editor must arrive first post Monday

Marx and the state

J LEE's letter (29 January) said that Lenin distorted Marx's view on the state and implied that Marx thought socialism could be won through the ballot box.

Marx and Engels wrote in the Communist Manifesto, as quoted by Lenin in State and Revolution: 'The proletariat establishes its rule by means of the violent overthrow of the capitalist class'. And Marx: 'The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes' (The Civil War in France).

Lenin writes: 'The (Paris) Commune was the form 'discovered at last' by the proletarian revolution, under which the economic liberation of labour can proceed. The Commune was the first attempt of a proletarian revolution to break up the bourgeois state and constitutes the political form 'discovered at last' which can and must take the place of the broken machine. We shall see below that the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, in different surroundings and under different circumstances, have been continuing the work of the Commune and have been confirming Marx's brilliant analysis of history.'

Lenin did not complete State and

Black groups— need for debate

AS ONE who has been engaged in anti-racist work for some years, I was very disturbed by the Black Panther Solidarity meeting held on 6 February.

Unfortunately there was no statement of the official International Socialist position. There appeared, however, to be a widespread view that we should give uncritical support to black organisations, and even an acceptance of the position held by some black comrades that white revolutionaries have no right to offer them criticism or advice.

We must, of course, reject the crude and abstract view which equates black self-organisation with white racism. Black-only organisations have a crucial role to play in raising the self-confidence and consciousness of black workers, in defending blacks from physical

attack and in fighting for specific rights for the black community.

But a black-only organisation can not be a substitute for a revolutionary organisation. We have not only the right but the duty to criticise these comrades on the political level.

Since we regard them as our brothers in the revolutionary movement, we must do them the compliment of taking their views seriously— by criticising them. We cannot remain silent in the face of arguments for black-sufficiency, defence of the reactionary regimes in China, and Cuba, etc.

In view of the confusion that seems to exist on this question, I hope Socialist Worker will initiate a full debate on the matter. - IAN H BIRCHALL, London N9. Socialist Worker will reply next week.

Socialist Worker

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

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

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

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

WHERE
WE
STAND

production.

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

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

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

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

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

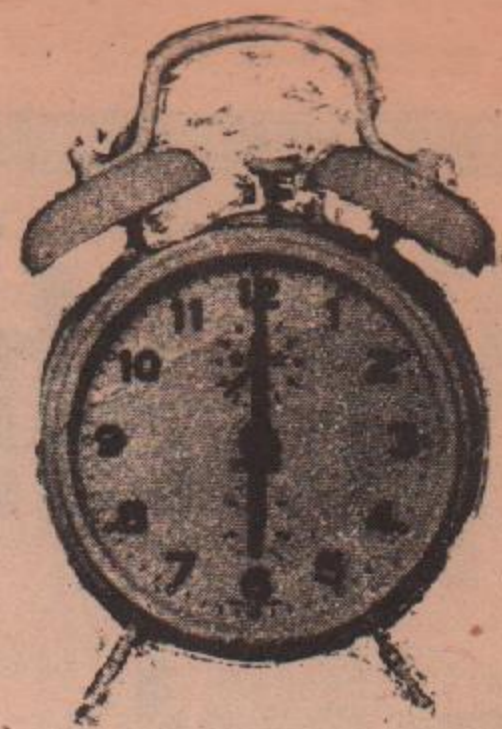
Opposition to all ruling-class policies and organisations. Workers' control over production and a workers' state.

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

Uncompromising opposition to all forms of racism and to all migration controls.

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

SHIFT WORK



by Tony Cliff

THE DRIVE by British big business to modernise and re-equip for the intense competition of the 1970s means a sustained attack on the organised labour movement through productivity bargaining.

The aim of productivity deals is to break the shop stewards' movement in order to force through speed-up and redundancy. The end result, the bosses hope, will be a smaller, more disciplined work force producing greater profits.

The growth of shift work has gone hand in hand with the spread of productivity agreements. Shift work splits up the work force and divides the militants who may find it impossible to meet together, especially where a three-shift system is in operation.

The system is also designed to squeeze the maximum amount of work and profit from the labour force.

There has always been some night work in society. Bakers and firemen have to work long hours or be on call during the night. But only a tiny proportion of people were involved until recent times.

The development of shift work as we know it today is part of the development of modern capitalism. Factory owners recognise that if they can keep their machinery working round the clock their profits will increase.

The more expensive the machinery, the greater is the urge of the employers to operate on a 24-hour basis.

In 1967, the then Minister of Labour, Ray Gunter, stated, 'The number of manual workers engaged on shift work has grown by more than half during the last decade.'

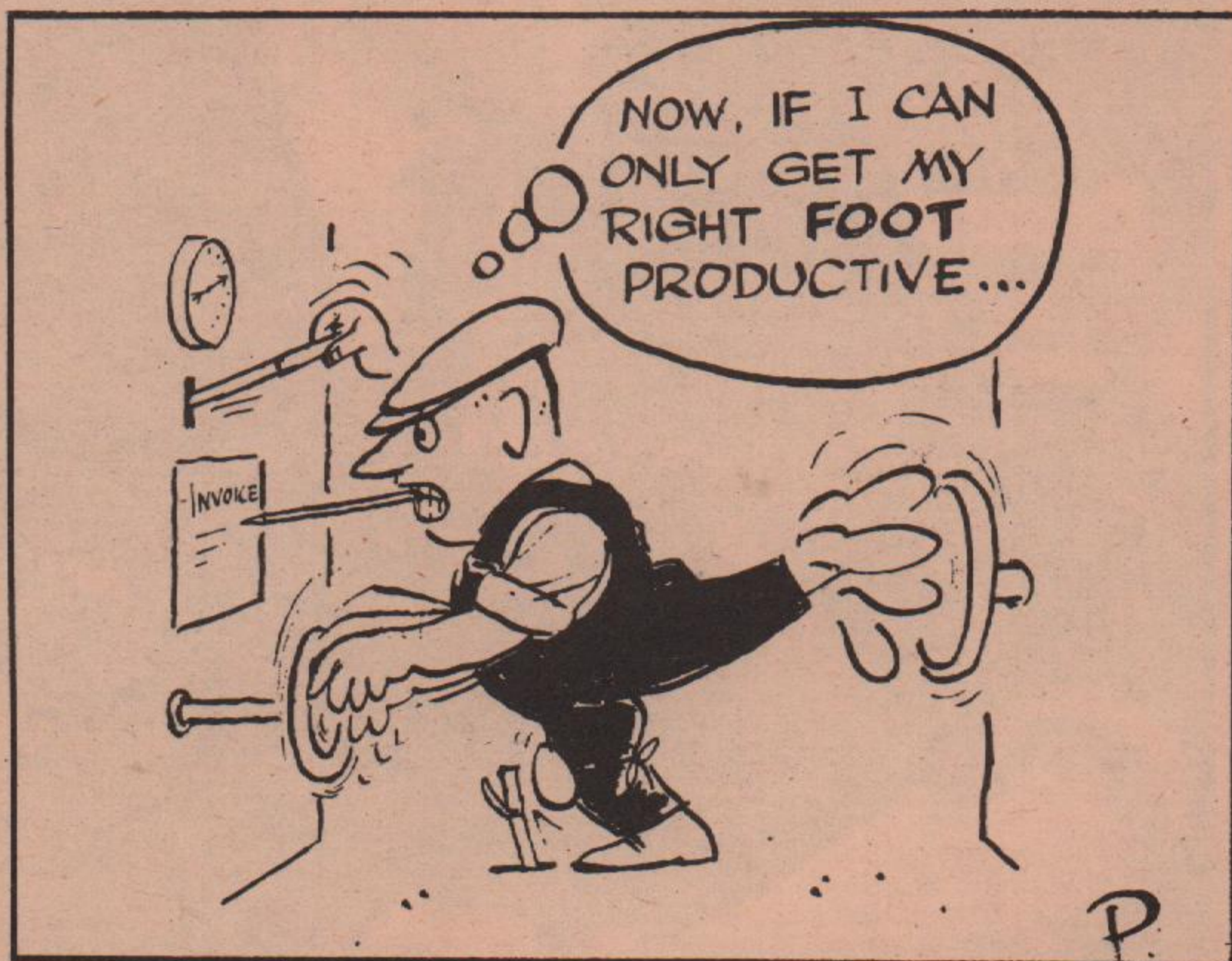
BURDENED

Since then, shift work has expanded — and not just in line with the spread of productivity agreements. The shifts themselves have become burdened with a far more onerous rostering system.

This is written into Pay and Efficiency agreements for railway workshops by the management who say that the revision of rostering arrangements is 'in order to produce a more effective balance between the availability of labour and the demand for it.'

Under present arrangements rosters can be agreed locally in which Saturday forms part of the guaranteed week. It is now agreed in principle, that Sunday can also, in certain circumstances, be rostered within the guaranteed week subject to local agreement.

When it comes to steel workers at Margam and Abbey, the management does not bother with niceties. The firm's Green Book has this to



say about day and shift working:

'All employees will work on days or shifts for short or long periods as required. It is the intention of management to work with a minimum of day and shift manning and also to work light on days or shifts as circumstances warrant.'

'Any day employee asked to cover a shift vacancy or work with a shift employee during part of his day will do so as part of his normal day hours.'

Even worse conditions were dictated to power supply workers: 'Four main types of stagger patterns were provided,' the Donovan Commission was told by the Electricity Council: '— staggered days, staggered hours, winter/summer stagger and work load stagger. Each stagger had its advantages to the boards in different conditions.'

'Maintenance men in power stations would work what we call a seven-day stagger; they would work five days in seven but the five days in the first week would be different from the five days in the second week and so on, so that you go five days round and a man is hitting a Saturday and hitting a Sunday on a regular rota, but these become a normal part of his duty in his service with us.'

'He is not there on a Saturday or Sunday doing voluntary overtime, he is there doing part of his normal job.'

The hours of work were also staggered. In the area boards, a PIB report said, 'the commonest patterns here are those involving staggered hours, which allow for the day to start as early as 6am or, with a much later start, finish as late as 8pm and, though usually involving five working days, permit four days of 10 hours each to be worked; but

patterns spreading five working days over 5½ or six days are also used quite frequently.'

'In the power stations, staggered hours are also used to some extent; but in the vast majority of power-stations day-workers now work a five-day week spread over seven days, which closely corresponds with the demands of modern plant that must be continuously manned and as far as possible serviced and overhauled at off-peak periods.'

The most appalling stagger is the winter/summer one. This allows management to cut the working week by as much as five hours a week in winter and 'transfer' the time to the summer period, without paying a penny for overtime.

Shift work has severe physical, psychological and socially damaging effects. Unfortunately, the effects are less obvious in the short run than the financial advantage of an extra few pounds to provide for wife and children — even though such increases are rapidly eaten away by rising prices.

STUDY

A book written by P E Mott and others, Shift Work, the social, psychological and physical consequences, published five years ago, made a special study of the subject:

It was 'found that day workers get an average of 7½ hours sleep per night, which is an hour more than the overall average of rotating shift workers. But when they are working the night segment of their shift, rotating workers average only 5½ hours of sleep.'

'The biggest problem for rotating shift workers occurs when they move from their turn on the day shift to the night shift.' One study reported that only 37 per cent of the workers adjust to the new sleeping times immediately, while 28 per cent of the workers said that they took four days or more to adjust to the night shift.

'Another study of operators in two different power plants in the United States found that only 31 per cent of the men working under an extended seven-day week rotation reported that they adjusted to their hardest shift change within a day or less. Even fewer, just 5 per cent of the men working a monthly rotation schedule, stated they could adjust to their hardest shift change in one day. Under the latter schedule, 70 per cent reported that their adjustment to the new schedule took four days or more.'

The quality of sleep is also affected. One study reported that even the sleep that these workers get is not so refreshing as sleeping at the normal time. 83 per cent of the rotators said that they felt most fatigued on the night shift and only 9 per cent felt fatigued most frequently on the day shift.'

Other physical processes besides sleep are adversely affected. For a start there is appetite. One study 'found that 20 per cent of the shift workers interviewed complained that shift work affected their eating habits adversely. Wyatt and Marriott (1953) report that 74 per cent of their respondents enjoyed eating most on the day shift; only 3 per cent of their sample said that they enjoyed their food most on the night shift.'

'A higher proportion of night and rotating shift workers reported that they were fatigued much of the time, that their appetites were dulled, and that they were constipated much of the time.'

'We also found that the preval-

ence of ulcers and rheumatoid arthritis was higher among workers who had relatively more difficulty adjusting their rhythmic functions.'

All studies into the subject agree that the weekly rotating shift system was even worse for the well-being of workers than the fixed-shift system. Mott reported:

'It was found that the higher the level of complaints, the more frequent and severe were upper respiratory infections and headaches. The prevalence of soaking sweats while sleeping, asthma and rectal diseases were also found to be higher among the high complaint group and among the rotators who adjust their time-oriented body functions less readily. Thus the higher the level of complaints about rhythmic functioning or the slower rate of adjustment of these functions the poorer the health of the worker.'

Another study, said Mott, 'done among German workers showed that the ulcer rate was eight times as high for the rotating shift workers as for the fixed shift group.'

DAMAGING

The psychological effect of shift work is very serious and again the rotating shift system is especially damaging.

'One of the most common spontaneous complaints about shift work is that it interferes with family life.' A study on German workers, for instance, showed that '74 per cent of the married men and 45 per cent of the single men who followed a shift schedule which included night work complained of disturbances in family life.'

'The most frequently mentioned difficulties in husband-wife relationships concern the absence of the worker from the home in the evening, sexual relations and difficulties encountered by the wife in carrying out her household duties.'

'Another area of family life that seems to be adversely affected by certain kinds of shift work is the father-child relationship... Shift work makes it difficult for the husband and father to spend sufficient time with his wife and children.'

Quite often shift work is imposed on workers by the job so that they have no choice. However, almost without exception, after a time most workers deeply dislike the system.

'Most of the European and American studies that have probed into the worker's feelings about shift work agree on one point: few workers like shift work, many dislike it strongly, and many others have learned only to live with it.' (Mott). 'The study of a population of German shift workers found that more than two-thirds of the workers expressed a negative attitude toward shift work.'

Many workers expected that after a time they will become adjusted to shift work. But research has shown this not to be the case.

'We had expected that, with the passage of time, the worker would become accustomed to his shift. It was most interesting to us that this was not the case. Regardless of his age or length of service on his shift he could still have difficulty adjusting his time-oriented body functions to his shift.' (Mott).

EXTENDED

The most scandalous example of shift work is found in the Fire Service.

In some cases the term productivity effort is being used simply to cover up for a very long work period. Measured Day Work, flexibility and work study could not be applied to the Fire Service — so what alternative is there for productivity-mongering but to press for a very extended duty period?

The ultimate form of this is Day Manning. This is the system many fire authorities are anxious to introduce wherever possible.

The idea is that men live in tied houses adjacent to the fire stations, usually at a cheap rent. While the basic working week of a fireman is 46 hours, with another 10 hours, usually of overtime, the fireman on Day Manning is on call 120 hours a week.

If there is a temporary shortage of men, a fireman on Day Manning is expected to cover the whole 168

hours of a week. He is paid the same rate as all firemen for 56 hours, which are apportioned to that part of the day when most fire calls are received.

For the other 64-112 hours a week, in which the day-man is on 'retained obligation' he gets an annual sum of £65, plus extra every time he attends a fire call.

If the men are needed for a fire they are called in from home by a siren before 11pm, or between 11pm and 7am, by bells in the house — one in the bedroom and one downstairs. The firemen have the absolute right to two periods of 24 hours off per week. Apart from that 48 hours they are obliged to go into the fire station every time the fire bells or siren sounds.

The system makes numerous encroachments into both the independence and privacy of the 'victim' and his family. For instance, the entire household may be woken when the bell sounds in the small hours, not a pleasant situation and particularly annoying when there is sickness in the home.

A fireman cannot take his family out at the weekends. He must wait at home in case the siren sounds.

A fireman cannot venture more than a few minutes from the fire station, except on rota days, and even rota days can be in jeopardy on some occasions.

A militant fireman told me: 'A good example of the all-embracing nature of the system occurred in Hertfordshire. Shortly after a fireman moved into his house at the Day Manning station, a social evening was arranged at the fire station. Our member chose not to go. The next day the officer in charge of the station called the man into his office and demanded to know why he had not attended the social the night before.'

'The fireman explained that he had decided not to go and that was all there was to it. The officer, however, had other ideas and informed our member that since the social had taken place during period of 'close availability' he had no option but to attend. Our member was also told that he was expected to join in the social life of the station...'

'It is a good illustration of the attitude adopted by the employers once they get as much of the system as they want.'

WINDFALL

To the fire authorities Day Manning is a financial windfall. The savings to the employers can be illustrated by comparing cost at Clacton Fire Station, where Essex County Council are trying to change over to Day Manning from the two-shift system.

The two-shift system requires 45 men, working the 56-hour week. In wages alone this would cost approximately £61,195. On Day Manning 21 men would be needed to cover the week. They are paid the same as the two-shift men for the 56 hours per week.

For the hours over that they would be 'retained' they receive an annual retaining fee of £65 plus hourly rates for each fire they attend — for the first hour of every fire they get 23s and 9s per hour thereafter. This would bring the wage bill to approximately £30,615.

In addition to this there is the initial expenditure of building the houses around the fire station, and then letting them to the fireman occupants at a 'cheap' rent — £90 per annum in Essex.

If one examines the situation more closely the county council would save national insurance, superannuation, uniforms and training. The station would be unoccupied for most of the time and this would save heating, etc. The county council estimated, in 1969, a net saving of £27,000 if the system were introduced at Clacton.

No wonder the PIB is in favour of Day Manning. It has stated, 'We recommend that the Fire Brigades Union should discuss with the employers the conditions under which an extension of the Day Manning system on a voluntary basis could be made more generally acceptable.'

The 24-hour day, 5-7 day working week which the fire authorities have achieved must surely serve as a shining example to other employers!

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by TONY CLIFF

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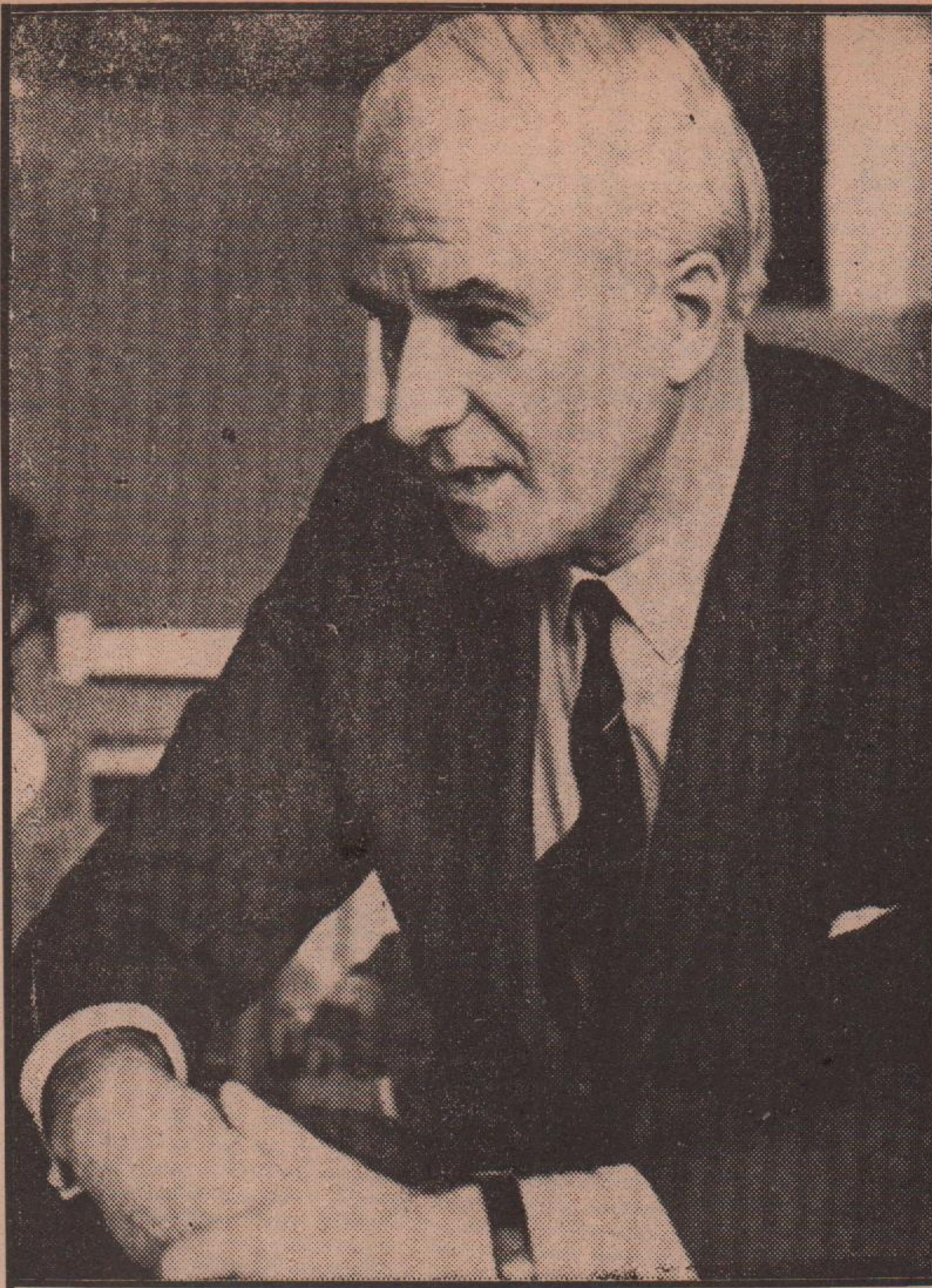
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'Cliff denies that productivity means speed-up, redundancy and loss of any control by shop stewards.'
Workers Press, 4 February.

Mr Short's school treat: meal prices up — with a means test

by Jim Kincaid



Edward Short: expects fall in numbers taking school meals

FOR THE SECOND TIME in only two years, the government is putting up the charge for school meals. From April 1970 parents will have to pay 1s 9d for each meal instead of the present 1s 6d.

When Harold Wilson became Prime Minister, the school meal cost 1s. As part of the post-devaluation attack on living standards, the charge went up to 1s 6d in 1968.

And after next April a family with three children taking school dinners will have to pay 26s 3d a week for the privilege.

These extra charges hit hard at a lot of pockets. Every year more wives are having to take jobs to help out the family budget.

In consequence, the numbers of children taking school dinners has been steadily rising, to a current level of two out of every three children at school.

The school meals service has a long history, dating back to 1906, and was one of the earliest elements of the modern welfare state to come into being.

Ever since compulsory education was first provided for working-class children in 1870, teachers had pointed out that hungry children can not learn very much. But it was the military authorities, not the teachers, who eventually compelled the government to feed the school children.

Menace

It all started with the Boer War when it was discovered during army recruitment from the working class that standards of health and fitness had seriously deteriorated. Special investigations carried out after the war, and stimulated by the rising menace of German imperialism, brought ample confirmation.

Three out of five of the young men brought up in the big cities were physically incapable of military service. Malnutrition at younger ages was clearly a major cause. Meals for school children — free of charge in cases of poverty — were promptly introduced.

In this period it was the rule that people who got poor relief from the state automatically lost their rights as citizens — for example the right to vote. But for free school meals a special exception was made and a new historical precedent was set.

So anxious had the ruling class become to see the children fed that the government decreed that children could have free dinners without their parents losing the right to vote.

Given its official objective, the scheme was remarkably successful. In World War 1, the generals had little trouble in finding an adequate supply of capable recruits for their armies.

The millions of British soldiers

who perished to no purpose on the battlefields of Europe died of enemy bullets for the most part, not because of undernourishment in childhood.

In this century there has been tremendous improvements in the health of children and adults. In this development, medical researchers have given a major role to the school meals service.

The school dinners may not always have been up to Fanny Craddock standard, but usually they have been nutritionally sound and have done us no end of good.

Times have changed, standards of living have risen and most homes can now manage a better diet than was possible for the mass of the population 70 years ago. But medical opinion remains as firm as ever in support of school meals.

Danger

Writing in The Medical Officer in January 1969, a social nutritionist, Dr G W Lynch of London University, suggested that economy measures at the expense of school children's diets could be extremely dangerous. Dr Lynch had found in a survey of 75 London school children that 57 had dinner at school but only 35 had a main meal in the evening.

The school meals service costs the state a lot of money, about £81 million in subsidies in the current year. But few doctors would claim to know of a better way of investing in general health standards.

The new 3d charge will save the government £11 millions a year. They have not explained what better use they have found for the money.

The danger is that every time school meal prices are put up, more

children who really need the extra food will not get it. The Minister of Education, Mr Short, says he expects that the extra 3d will result in a 5 per cent fall in the numbers of children taking meals.

He justifies the price increase by pointing out that parents can offer to undergo a means test and if they are found to be poor enough, their children will get free meals.

Before Labour took office in 1964 they campaigned vigorously against means tested welfare. Party spokesmen, from Wilson downwards, attacked means tests as degrading and also as inefficient, since many people in real need would rather go without than have a town hall bureaucrat investigate their income and expenditure.

In the past three or four years, Labour ministers have somewhat changed their tune. They have managed to convince themselves that cutbacks in health and welfare services are quite justified and do no damage — so long as someone defined by a test of means as in poverty can be exempted from paying the charge.

Thus prescription charges were reintroduced, dental charges raised, charges made in the family planning service, an increase in the price of welfare milk for expectant mothers and young children and the price of school meals almost doubled.

The whole approach is an attempt

by the government to provide welfare on the cheap, to find money for the social services without having to attack the privileged position of the rich.

In most cases, the income scales used to define need are completely miserable. For example, to get free school meals, in quite a few local authorities, a family with two children has to have an income of less than £12 14s a week. These scales will be lifted in April, but only by a few shillings.

No reader with children at school however, should be deterred from applying. Some local authorities are more generous. In practice, social security is run on a very haphazard basis.

Difference

The Tories always try to make out that there is a difference in status between those who pay and those who do not pay for a welfare service. There are two answers to this.

At one level, working people pay enough and more than enough for all the welfare they get. Under the present government, tax rates have risen much faster for people with below average incomes than for wealthier sections of the population.

A recent official report indicates for example that a married man with

two children and £11 a week loses 41 per cent of that income in taxation of various sorts. The welfare state decreasingly involves any transfer of income from the wealthy to the poor.

In any case everyone whose children get school meals is being subsidised out of taxation. At present, of the five million children taking school meals, about 500,000 get them free.

The average cost to the state of each meal is 2s 10d. So even when paying 1s 9d after April, parents will still be getting a subsidy of 1s 1d per meal.

In fact, the subsidy to parents who pay costs very much more than for those who do not pay. Only just over one fifth of the £81 million subsidy a year goes to finance completely free dinners.

It is much more the case that the parents of young children subsidise the parents of older children, since the latter will tend to eat more. Notice too that since on average middle-class children stay on for more years of schooling, they have the chance to get through a correspondingly larger number of subsidised dinners.

Worry

There are many families whose incomes qualify them for free school meals and who do not apply. The latest studies suggest there are about 70,000 children whose parents pay for meals, though family income is below the official subsistence level.

How many parents have not been told how to apply? In other cases parents may worry that their child may be at the receiving end of some snobbery unless they pay.

This is one subject on which the left should be prepared to apply pressure on local schools. A recent circular to schools from the Scottish Education Department threw light on some very nasty practices which may occasionally be met with south of the border as well.

'Free school dinner recipients should not be given tickets of a different colour. There should be no obvious discrimination between payers and non-payers when the tickets are issued. In no case should pupils receiving meals free be required to enter the dining room by an entrance other than that used by the paying pupils, or sit at different tables, or to receive different meals.'

Left-wing groups and parents associations need to look into procedures in local schools for collecting dinner money. Any system that allows the children to know which of them does not pay must be stopped.

Usually the teachers will see the point. If not, hell can be raised with the Local Education Authority.

But the basic slogan should remain — No Charges for Welfare Services. The school meals system illustrates very well the risks of discrimination and neglect of real need involved in the type of welfare state in which people are made to pay directly for services.

School meals should be free to all and the costs met by higher taxation of the higher income groups.

Inspiring, Zola story of mines struggle



BBC 2 deserve unstinted praise for their fine serialisation of **Germinal**, Emile Zola's novel of life in a mining community in Northern France in 1862.

Viewers who missed the serial or who cannot receive BBC 2 should bombard the corporation with demands that it be repeated as soon as possible on the main channel.

It would help to alleviate the rapidly declining standards of BBC 1, a decline underline by the third showing of The Forsyte Saga and the increasing use of abysmal colour movies that can be seen only in their true glory by the handful of BBC bureaucrats and rich trendies who own colour sets.

Filmed in now deserted coal areas of Durham and mercifully using a broad Midlands dialect instead of a broken French accent, the serial vividly brought to life Zola's picture of the terrible plight of the French colliers.

Zola claimed not to take sides in the desperate struggle between capital and labour. In notes for the novel he wrote:

'To get a broad effect I must have my two sides as clearly contrasted as possible and carried to the very extreme of intensity. So that I must start with all the woes and fatalities which weigh down on the miners. Facts, not emotional pleas.

'The miner must be crushed, starving, a victim of ignorance, suffering with his children in a hell on earth — but not persecuted, for the bosses are not deliberately vindictive — he is simply overwhelmed by the social situation as it exists.

'On the contrary, I must make the bosses humane so long as their direct interests are not threatened; no point in foolish tub-thumping. The

worker is the victim of the facts of existence — capital, competition, industrial crises...'

This dynamic attitude towards his novel lifts Zola out of the crude school of 'socialist realism' where the workers, in immaculate overalls that display their splendid muscles, overthrow the wicked capitalists in the march towards the rising sun of socialism.

By taking an apparently 'uncommitted' stance, Zola pays a far greater tribute to the workers than any Stalinist hack or conscience-ridden petty bourgeois who wishes to 'depict' working-class life.

Germinal is a monument to the workers' ability to rise above a system that continuously attempts to brutalise them and turn them into unthinking profit fodder. Even though the miners of Montsou are savagely defeated and driven back to work after their strike, they have shown for a flickering moment their revolutionary potential and shaken the whole system to its foundations.

And, of course, Zola fails in his attempt not to take sides. Perhaps the relentless eye of the television camera too heavily underscored his writing, but who could fail to loathe the mine owners in their flashy opulence, swilling rich food and wine as they callously starve their workers into submission? But Zola's determination to

stress that the bosses are not deliberately vindictive stands as a warning to those marxists who perhaps over-zealously lump all responsibilities for the conditions of the workers onto individual employers.

Just as much as the working class — but often more consciously — they are victims of an all-embracing system. Zola's method spotlights the essence of marxism, that you cannot know the working class until you know the capitalist class, opposing forces locked in continual struggle. You cannot overthrow the system until you have learnt the secrets of its working.

It is in this vital area — the need to seek fundamental changes in the system — that the book and its faithful television adaption fall down. And the weakness is derived from the central and ultimately unsatisfactory character of Etienne Lantier.

Like the leading character in the Italian film *The Organiser*, Etienne, full of burning idealism, arrives from nowhere at the small mining village.

He finds work in the pit and is appalled by the conditions of the workers, their below-starvation wages, the dreadful hovels in which they eke out their existence, the callous imposition of fines and alterations in the piece-rate that can plunge them even further into poverty.

Into this potentially explosive situation, Etienne brings socialist politics, albeit a vague and constantly changing form of socialism, ranging from outright revolution to timid reformism.

The message, perhaps not deliberate, is that the workers, by themselves, are incapable of action. Now while it is true that socialist ideas are mainly developed outside

the working class, such ideas would be useless without the ability of the workers to continually and spontaneously fight against the system.

The task of revolutionaries is not to crudely impose their ideas on the workers but to fuse socialist theory with the workers' struggles, enriching, developing and unifying both in the process.

Etienne remains, essentially, an elitist, a sort of early French Fabian determined to do something for the workers, aware of the need to change society, but ambivalent about the role of the workers in this process.

He makes tub-thumping speeches about the world revolution and the Socialist International but he fails, at the most basic level, to organise the workers as a political collective where the theories of socialism can be hammered out.

The absence of politics makes totally unbelievable the miners' adherence to the 'International' when addressed by a spokesman and their rapid turn-about and vilification of Etienne when the strike is crushed.

These are mistakes from which we can learn. They should not be allowed to detract from the overall achievement of the novel and David Turner's sensitive television version.

With a meticulous attention to detail in its setting, clothes and style and beautifully acted, with Rosemary Leach giving a moving portrayal of the stoical miner's wife, Maheude, **Germinal** is an inspiration to our movement and a glimpse of what can be achieved by television freed of pressure from timid civil servants and their ratings.

David East

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Castle's Bill ignores dead-end jobs that face majority of women workers

Equal pay: 'more than a promise of a dream...'

by Sheila Rowbotham

EQUAL PAY has raised all kinds of questions about the pay structure and the actual nature of the work women do. Many of the questions do not have answers yet because no one bothered to ask them before, but it is possible to trace the general pattern of pay and employment and foresee some probable dangers in the future.

More than a third of the labour force are women. Just over 50 per cent of these working women are married.

The rising proportion of married women working has been among the most noticeable changes in industry since the beginning of the century. This is partly due to earlier marriages and partly because there are now more men than women in the under forties age group.

It looks as if this trend is going to continue. The married woman worker will become a crucial element in the labour force as a whole and not simply a feature of particular areas.

Something like one in ten of these women get equal pay for equal work. They are among the more privileged, in the professions or in particular jobs where they fought and won it in the past, like bus conductresses.

Sometimes, where there is only a minority of women working — park gardeners for instance — they get treated as men and paid the same for convenience. There are cases, cigar-making for example, where

women had equal pay but, with expansion and mechanisation, they dropped behind and are now paid only a percentage of the men's rate.

In 1966 the woman's basic hourly rate was only about 75 per cent of the man's. A woman manual worker's average gross earnings were £9 19s for a 38.5 hour week. The man's were £20 5s for a 46.4 hour week.

Women administrative, technical and clerical workers were not much better off and the difference between their earnings and the men's was actually greater.

The cost of ending this discrimination has been estimated at between £600 and £1000 million. This is what employers owe women workers. Not only is pay low, but the majority of women are in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs.

Service industries

This is partly a question of the type of work women do. The decline of the traditional textile industry, which employed 72 per cent of all skilled women in 1911 has meant the proportion of skilled women has actually gone down. The growing new industries like metals, engineering and chemicals generally take on men in the skilled categories, not women.

Employment expansion for women has taken place in the service industries — in the administrative and welfare sections. Often these are small production units difficult to organise and with no tradition of union militancy.

In larger places like hospitals, workers are restricted by the effect on the patients. This means everyone stays badly paid and women

remain worse off. Even the women in charge of large kitchens and laundries get less than the men working under them.

Here again women are concentrated in the lower grades. They are virtually excluded from managerial, scientific and skilled technical work in non-manual occupations.

It's not just the kind of work women do — it's what the job is called. Women in engineering can actually work on the same machines as men on a different shift but be classed at a lower rate.

Draughtswomen get equal pay. But if you're a woman you are likely to be called a tracer and get lower pay unless the union is willing to fight your case.

Less formally, this happens to administrative and clerical workers. Women classed at a low grade because they do not have official educational qualifications are often found holding offices and departments together with a lot of unofficial responsibility.

Apprenticeship and the nature of training shows that the situation is not changing significantly. 40 per cent of all girl school leavers go into clerical work and few get any training at all.

Only a small percentage are apprenticed. The girl in a minority in a 'man's job' can find herself pushed into the background, clearing up or waiting on the men because she is not taken seriously.

Most apprenticeships are in hairdressing and even here, where there are relatively few men, the girl apprentices often get less than the boys. They also have to stay and sweep up after the boys have gone home in some hairdressing establishments.

Apart from making a few progressive snorts, the Industrial Training Boards have done very little for young girls starting work or married women trying to return. Even the re-training schemes that exist tend to train women not for skilled jobs in the expanding industries but for those occupations they have done traditionally, which are contracting in any case.

All these factors clearly reinforce one another. Low pay,



An equal pay rally in London last year

unskilled and monotonous jobs are synonymous with 'women's work'. This makes it appear natural for tasks to be defined differently when women do them and be paid at a lower rate.

Training opportunities reflect and perpetuate this situation. The devaluation of certain operations through the introduction of new machines and processes and the tendency for these to pass to groups of workers in a weak bargaining position has been a constant feature of capitalism.

Separate category

Women have been a prominent section of the underprivileged even within the working class. It is not surprising that employers want to keep women as a separate category of labour.

A woman doing a skilled job at unskilled rates can be subsidising her employer by as much as 50 per cent of the value of her work. By making a job 'woman's work', he can get more for much less.

All the nonsense about 'feminine', 'unfeminine', 'effeminate' helps in all this. It is funny how ideas change. In the 19th century, office work was considered most 'unfeminine'. As soon as the secretary got a machine — the typewriter — it was seen as less skilled, ie requiring a different type of skill, and became 'women's work'.

It is particularly important to understand both the economic and political realities of power behind the way tasks are divided in society and the way in which the boundaries of the area defined as 'wom-

en's work' have shifted, because automation is already beginning to affect these definitions.

Sometimes hopeful but rather naive people talk as though automation will inevitably mean that more women will pass over into skilled categories. This is part of the idea that capitalist society will sort itself out and everyone will be able to rise within the system.

It's an old rule that whoever has gets most and whatever you're strong enough to fight for, you're likely to get. It's all too likely to apply here.

Just as working-class boys are in danger of being at a disadvantage in the changing division of labour because of their general educational situation, working-class girls will find it even more difficult to make it into skilled and highly specialised technical work. Women could, in fact, be more securely contained in unskilled areas, becoming confined in an industrial class/sex ghetto.

The only way to prevent this is not to sit back and wait but to recognise the danger and fight it, educationally, industrially and politically.

As a woman member of DATA told the TUC in 1968: 'For too long the women workers of this country have been fobbed off by pious resolutions, cosy chats and cups of tea in the House of Commons. We want more than the promise of a dream.'

A Women's Weekend will be held at Ruskin College on 27, 28 February and 1 March. Details from Arielle Aberson, Ruskin College, Oxford.

Russell — the eagle

BERTRAND RUSSELL was, by temperament and, in the field of mathematics, by achievement, a revolutionary. He was also, for most of his life, a socialist. But it is quite clear that he was never a revolutionary socialist.

The extraordinary courage and strength of the political position he adopted in his last dozen years did not proceed from any general militant philosophy about capitalism or how to change it.

Russell became a man of the Left as the result of a mystical experience he underwent in 1901, when the sight of a friend's wife suffering the agonies of a painful illness caused him to reflect for the first time on the miseries of human existence. While remaining a convinced Liberal, he broke away from the conventional imperialism of his Edwardian circle of friends and resigned from the elite pro-imperialist clique of 'The Co-efficients'.

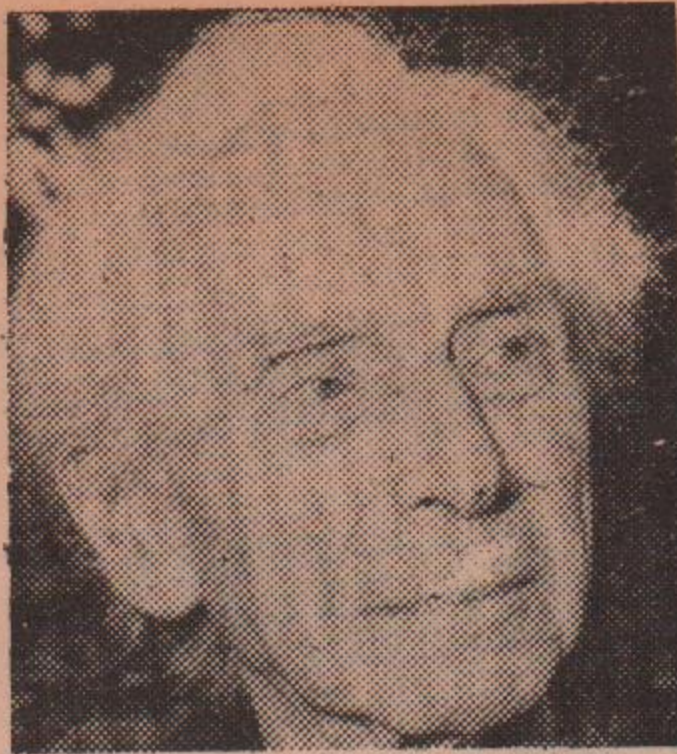
Following the war, he became a socialist as well as a pacifist. The essentials of his position at this time are argued in *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, which he published in 1920 after a visit he paid to Soviet Russia with a Labour Party delegation. While admiring the aims of the Russian Revolution, Russell feels that the certain destruction and bloodshed entailed by civil war are far too high a price to pay for the uncertain benefits of revolution.

He advocated a gradual approach to socialism through parliamentary elections and workers' co-operatives in industry.

Much of the rest of Russell's public life was spent in fighting moral causes (on education, sex and marriage) whose importance is easy to underestimate now in today's more open-minded climate. He remained a pacifist until the advent of Nazism convinced him otherwise.

He took no personal part in the class struggle; the battles of the working class seemed alien to him. During the early days of the Cold War, he even advocated the use of the United States' monopoly of the atomic bomb to force Russia to submit to a world authority.

Then came the astounding, golden years of Russell's campaigning life. The austere detachment and futuristic focus, which in previous decades had barred him from any grip upon on-going politics, suddenly became priceless assets. He pioneered the rejection of the power-crazed nuclear alliances of Washington and Moscow, and personally headed the first mass demonstration of organised civil disobedience that horrified the respectable leadership



of CND. How isolated, how rash Russell seemed to be when in 1965 he tore up his Labour Party card: yet here, as so often in these last years, he was the standard-bearer of a new consciousness.

The peak of Russell's prophetic militancy can perhaps be symbolised in the moment in 1966 when he went from the inauguration of the Vietnam solidarity movement straight down to the striking seamen's mass meeting in Trafalgar Square, giving a message of homage that linked the anti-imperialist struggle abroad with the class-war against Wilson at home.

But otherwise, he never drew the threads together. Militant demonstration alternated with telegrams, diplomacy to distinguished statesmen. He saw no inconsistency between his support for the NLF and his opposition to Mossadeq's nationalisation of Persian oil in 1951.

In his very last years he tended to shun support for street demonstrations as these became more militant, and the unseemly intrigues of certain sections of the Left for 'the Russell gold' were resolved in favour of expenditure on glossy publications rather than on public action.

Still, what a man; and what a vision. Constantly in Russell's writing we get the gleam of full human possibility, the affirmation that a sane society of warm, reasonable, co-operative relationships can be built.

'I see, in my mind's eye, a world of glory and joy, a world where minds expand, where hope remains undimmed, and where what is noble is no longer condemned as treachery to this or that paltry aim. All this can happen if we will let it happen.'

Bertrand Russell's life, a life of unflinching reason, is itself a vindication of this hope.

PETER SEDGWICK

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Preston Lancs
READING Alan Wild
Windsor House Upper Redlands Rd
Reading RG1 5JL Bucks
RICHMOND Nicky Landau
Flat 8 44 Church Rd
SELBY John Charlton
12 Thatch Close Selby Yorks
SHEFFIELD Rick Osborn
159a Rustlings Rd Sheffield S11 7AD
SOUTHAMPTON Nigel Curry
31 Heatherdene Road
STOCKPORT Geoff Hodgson
73a Forest Range M/C 19
STOKE NEWINGTON
Mike McGrath 28 Manor Road N16
SWANSEA Rose Bussey
11 Alexandra Terrace Brynhill
TESSIDE Phil Semp
72 Mersey Rd Redcar:
Rob Clay 33 Pasture Lane
Lazenby Teesside
TOTTENHAM Mel Norris
30 Buller Road N17
WANDSWORTH Mark Hutton
87 Broderick Road
Wandsworth Common SW17
WATFORD Paul Russell
61 Carpenders Avenue
Carpenders Park
WIGAN Ray Challinor
34 Whiteside Aye Hindley
YORK Bill Kaye -
20 Newton Terrace York
VICTORIA Tony Dunne
14 Carlisle Mansions
Carlisle Place SW1

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

Name _____

Address _____

Send to IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2.



Socialist Worker

TEACHERS' STRIKE: LEADERS DUCK CLASH WITH GOVERNMENT

by Duncan Hallas (NUT)

THE LATEST ACTION organised by the executive of the National Union of Teachers can not win the teachers' demands. The 'massive' extended area strikes announced with such enthusiasm by the executive boil down to one month or less in three areas - Birmingham, Southwark and Waltham Forest.

The whole action, billed as an escalation, involves hardly any more members than the previous eight-day strikes and will frighten no one. With more than 80 per cent of the membership in the balloted areas prepared to strike indefinitely, to call out less than 3 per cent can at best be described as inept, and at worst, a deliberate attempt to duck out of the confrontation with the government that realistic concentrated area strikes would involve.

This latest action, according to the executive, is the 'big one' - they have reached the end of their programme.

This is not the way to win the £135 claim. The executive know this as well as the members.

Have power

What excuse do they offer for this pathetic action? Is it the size of the strike fund? They have the power to increase the levy but they have chosen not to do so.

Their failure to bring it up to at least a day's pay a month is an indication of their unwillingness to organise a real fight. So is their refusal to call a national one-day strike of the entire membership.

This proposal - which has been repeatedly demanded by the London Associations and others and which would not cost the union a penny, is

an essential start to a real fight.

Barbara Castle is reported to have assured teachers' leaders that 'the sky was the limit' if only they accepted arbitration. But the sting is in the tail.

What the government wants, what big business wants, what the employers want is a 'restructured' salary scale that will give more allowances, bigger allowances and, of course, a permanently depressed basic scale.

Why? Because it is cheaper for them.

The teachers have made gains - from zero to £50, to £100-£60, to £100-£80. Simply and solely because the overwhelming majority of the members demonstrated their will to fight.

With real action, they can win much more. The fantastic vote for unlimited strike action in the balloted areas shows the way.

All associations should be pressed to demand:

1. The executive must meet again immediately to organise a massive increase in the numbers involved in area strikes.
2. The levy must be increased immediately to at least one day's pay a month.
3. All local associations should call a one-day strike to coincide with the start of the area strikes.
4. The union must approach other trade unions for help in financing the strike and for supporting action.
5. The Eastbourne conference must decide that in future actions, striking teachers will receive strike pay.
6. The union must insist that any discussions on pay structure concentrate entirely on the basic scale and the Eastbourne NUT conference must reject any proposals to increase differentials.

With these demands teachers can force the union executive to fight.



Teachers on the march: eager for extended strike action.

FRENCH CP CONGRESS PARODY OF DEMOCRACY

by Ian Birchall

THE DECISION of the French Communist Party to exclude Roger Garaudy from its Central Committee and Political Bureau has deeply moved the liberal press.

The congress was a parody of democracy. Even the Italian CP delegate was compelled to abridge his speech.

Garaudy is a victim of bureaucracy, but a very privileged victim: the first oppositionist to state his position in L'Humanite since the mid 1920s. Compare the treatment received by the oppositionist Communist students, or the 'leftist' who criticises the CP's line at the factory gate or in the union branch.

Garaudy, a member of the Central Committee since 1945, is a little late in discovering 'democracy'.

Alliance

His position is a logical development of the CP's line before May 1968. He stands for an alliance with middle-class voters, dialogue with Christians (ie Catholic voters), and independence from Russia (which he argues is essential to relations with the non-CP left).

Since May the party's situation has changed. The collapse of the non-CP left, the attempt by the gov-

ernment to isolate the party, the need to keep a grip on its working-class base, have led to a left-turn - industrial militancy, electoral abstention, pro-Russian rhetoric.

Garaudy's sole crime is to have spoken too freely, with some embarrassing remarks about Russian support for Greece and Spain.

It may suit the CP to let Garaudy appeal to liberals free from any official post. In the long term CP strategy remains participation in the government.

Garaudy's path is the only way towards this. The ruling class, who see the CP as their ultimate defence recognise this and offer Garaudy television coverage. Today's victim may make a come-back tomorrow. It would be nothing new in the world communist movement.

Squatters occupy empty house

LAST SATURDAY squatters in Cambridge occupied an empty house owned by the council. They have set up a shelter for alcoholics who have been sleeping in derelict houses since the recent closure of the local Simon Community, which looked after destitute people.

If the squatters are evicted they intend to take over other empty houses until the council is forced to provide a proper centre for alcoholics.

Money for bedding, clothes and food is urgently needed. Send donations to: Chris Stephenson, 643 Kings College, Cambridge.

Notices must be accompanied by cash - 1s a line, 7 words per line - and must arrive first post on Monday.

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Hooligans wreck Stock Exchange -no police action

by Fred Needle

ABOUT 2500 soccer hooligans, carefully disguised in pinstripe suits and bowler hats, completely disrupted the closing down ceremony of the old Stock Exchange in the City of London last Friday.

Cheerful London bobbies - who were completely fooled by the dress of the hooligans - stood smiling as telephones and light fittings were wrenched from the walls and carried away as trophies.

Some of the hooligans were not content with smashing chairs and unscrewing door knobs and turned their attention to breaking chunks off the marble pillars.

The final act of vandalism occurred when one fanatic set fire to a newspaper. A bonfire was built in the middle of the floor, where they all gathered round swilling champagne and singing their strange soccer songs.

The large number of Conservative MPs who were present seemed incapable of imposing law and order on the proceedings. By the time it became obvious that what the police had mistaken for a good-natured rag was in fact soccer vandalism at its worst, the hooligans had vanished in taxis and Rolls-Royces.

No arrests were made.

Gestetner workers fight bosses' bonus trickery

SW Reporter

GESTETNER WORKERS in Tottenham, North London, returned to work on Tuesday after their first united struggle in years.

They completely shut down the duplicator and office equipment plant last week because of management trickery in bringing in a bonus scheme based on work study. This had been agreed at plant level last September, unopposed by virtually all the stewards.

In return for bringing the scheme into the first five 'productive shops' management had agreed to pay a factory-average bonus to all the indirect or unmeasured shops by 1 January.

But with what they learnt about the splits and divisions between the shops through work study and the ease with which they pushed it through, the bosses decided to push

for even bigger concessions. Saying that a dispute in the die-casters over pay and conditions had held them up, the management won further gains and were allowed to hold up the full implementation of the bonus scheme for another three weeks.

But when the stores workers went on strike and the management started laying-off, Gestetner workers were not fooled a second time.

Fast rate

The stores workers had been working at a fast rate in order to feed the auto shop men who were getting the full bonus. The storesmen were getting only 50 per cent of the factory-average bonus.

When the bosses turned on the heat, the shop stewards backed the stores' demand for equal bonus. Next day, the workers voted two to

Guaranteed week call by Rootes stewards

by Steve Jefferys

LAST SATURDAY (7 February), 80 Rootes, Linwood shop stewards attended the first joint shop stewards' meeting since May 1967, when a resolution opposing Measured Day Working was passed unanimously.

But when it came to the crunch, only the Engineering Union went on strike against MDW. The 1968 productivity deal has not only worsened job conditions, but it has also split the unions inside the factory as well.

Shop stewards in different unions stopped meeting each other and for a time the convenors and their works committees did not meet either.

Over the last year these wounds have begun to heal despite continuous management attempts to keep them open. Finally, on 7 January the entire factory came out on a half-day stoppage in support of men who were refused payment when Arctic conditions inside the Press Shop made it impossible for them to work.

This first shot in the battle for the full guaranteed week at Rootes' factories pulled all the workers together. After a four-day strike and a fortnight's overtime ban, the Press Shop men were able to claim victory.

The company agreed to pay them four hours at the full rate and four hours at the fall-back rate - making up 80 per cent of a normal day's pay. This was the minimum that could be accepted.

Work together

The shop stewards are still pressing the company for an agreement on the full guaranteed week.

Last Saturday's meeting was very successful. It proved that the shop stewards could work together again.

This is particularly important this year as negotiations must start again shortly on wages and conditions. In order that real unity can be formed around a series of definite demands for the guaranteed week and parity with Ryton, shop-floor meetings should be held throughout the factory.

This unity will also have to be increasingly political. By the time the Linwood workers take on Rootes, the Labour government will be trying to win electoral advantage by clamping down on 'excessive' wage claims.

To fight them (or a Tory government if it is in power by then), Rootes workers will have to be ready to defend themselves against the propaganda of the 'national' interest.

The way to do this is to press for the victory of the workers' interests. A united body of shop stewards makes this more likely.

Civil rights supporter jailed

IAN PURDIE, 22 year-old film technician, was jailed for nine months at the Old Bailey on Tuesday. He was convicted of attempting to set fire to the Ulster Office in London during a civil rights march last August. Purdie recently appealed in Socialist Worker for any witnesses who might help clear him of the charge.

No reply

The Socialist Labour League has failed to reply to the request by the International Socialists for a public debate on productivity deals. The SLL say that they have not received the two letters sent to them. A third letter has now been sent - recorded delivery.

NOTICES

NORTH London Women's group Sun 15 Feb 8pm. 18 Dickinson Rd N8. Children welcome. W7 bus from Finsbury Park.

FULHAM IS 15 Feb 7.30pm T Cliff Permanent Revolution, Wetherby Arms, 500 Kings Rd. Buses 11,19 tube Fulham Broadway.

NEWCASTLE IS public mtg on Regional Unemployment and how to fight it at 8pm Sun 15 Feb at Bridge Hotel. Spkrs: Dave Peers plus local trade unionists.

SWANSEA IS: Discussion on Kronstadt, 7.30pm Red Cow 13 February.

IS and Northern Ireland - Debate between Sean Matgama and John Palmer. Tues 24 February 8pm Town Hall, Dyne Road NW6 (nr Kilburn tube) Admsn free.