

## What we think

### The sack for m'Lud Alf?

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That is, unless he agrees explicitly to hive off the non-mining, yet lucrative, subsidiaries of the National Coal Board.

Despite the fact that he was originally appointed by the Tories and that he loyally and submissively carried out his orders to run down the industry and increase productivity to unprecedented heights, and despite his vicious witch-hunting attacks on the miners, not even Lord Robens' corporatist ambitions could keep pace with Heath's counter-revolutionary schemes.

As Mr Victor Keegan of 'The Guardian' commented:

'Increasingly he was becoming isolated as he tried not for the first time, to walk several tight-ropes at the same time. He had to ensure that the industry did not price itself out of a competitive future by conceding too high [sic] a wage increase, while at the same time trying to recompense the miners for their big contributions to productivity and keep in with the government during negotiations over his own future.' (January 4, 1971.)

This assessment of Robens' dilemma—and there is little reason to doubt it—makes nonsense of Mr Michael Foot's plea for the coal Lord.

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The central objective of Tory

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# Mass rally: Alexandra Palace Feb 14

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Campaign teams of Young Socialists are now working full-time in the major industrial areas to win support for the Alexandra Palace rally.

And exciting plans for a varied programme of speeches and entertainments at the rally are already nearing completion.

The rally is the biggest and most important political event ever organized by the Trotskyist movement in Britain.

It must become a focus for the rising tide of working-class anger against Toryism, which threatens to burst the limits into which reformism and Stalinism are trying to confine it.

The working-class movement is reflected in the tremendous turnout on December 8, the big march and strike on New Year's Day in Birmingham, and the weekend decision of the cinema and television technicians' union (ACTT) to call its members out on strike on January 12.

### Hatred

Six months of Tory rule have made Heath's government the most unpopular in post-war history.

Hatred for Toryism is fuelled by rising living costs, the housing crisis, health and social service cuts and the decimation of nationalized industry.

Over everything looms the threat of the Industrial Relations Bill, now well on the way to the statute book.

Heath and his Ministers are systematically and cold-bloodedly hacking to pieces the rights and standards workers have won in many decades of struggle.

No section of workers is left untouched by these attacks.

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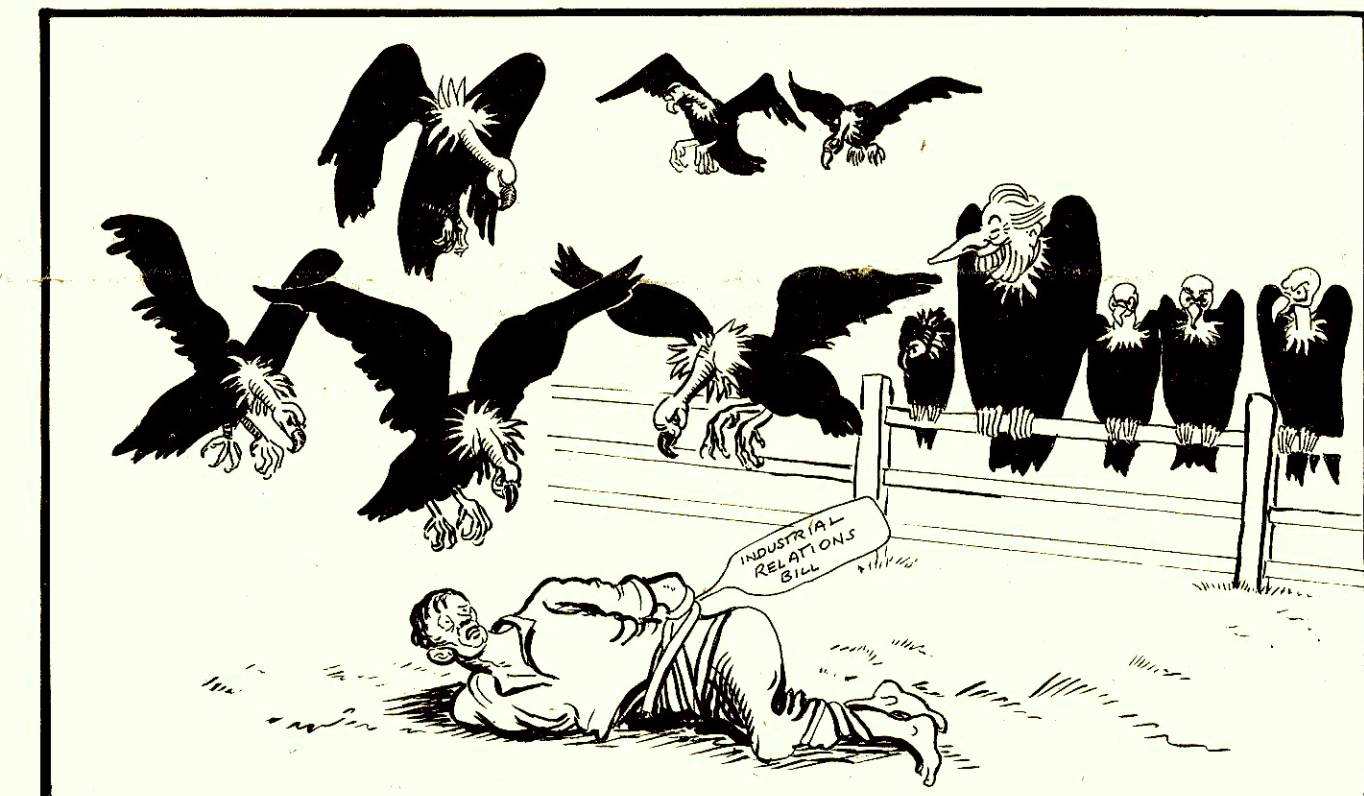
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Housewives and women workers, hammered by rising prices, rents and fares, are daily reminded what Toryism means for working-class families.

Old-age pensioners, hardest-hit of all, must be drawn into this movement as well.

Alexandra Palace can and will rally all these sections in a united fight to force the Tory government to resign.

This is now the most important task in front of the working-class movement. Every day this government



remains in office it takes a step closer to dictatorship.

There is not the slightest doubt that the working class is willing to fight the Tory threat.

They are joined by large sections of the middle class, as is demonstrated by the support for strike action against the Tories within unions like Actors' Equity.

The chief obstacle to the fight against the Tories is the continued retreat of the Labour and trade union leaders.

These people are by now thoroughly frightened of a fight with the Tories, and are running away as fast as they can. They must be forced to turn and fight—or step down and make way for leaders who will fight.

Alexandra Palace will be a landmark in the struggle against this class-compromise leadership, and against the Stalinists and revisionists who have taken on the job of professional 'left' apologists for reformist treachery.

We appeal to all Workers Press readers to attend this vitally important rally, fight for it among your workmates and friends and make February 14 the red-letter day for the revolutionary party in Britain and internationally.

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BY DAVID MAUDE

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'There used to be a reasonable atmosphere in the factory,' they say, 'but now the tempo is so great and so continuous that this is all anyone can think about.'

These arguments are effectively knocked on the head by their interview with Ryton joint shop stewards' chairman Ken Walton, National Union of Vehicle Builders' deputy senior Albert de Walle and trim-shop steward Jim Bowen.

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Ford's not only get greater intensity of labour, but by means of complete mobility of labour between different departments and different grades are able to turn men into 'shuttlecocks between jobs'.

Consistent

'The branch first took the question of MDW seriously in 1967,' the Oxford stewards point out.

It has consistently campaigned against Measured-Day Work ever since.

By September of last year, engineering package deal was signed, it published a leaflet warning that this was a preparation for MDW.

Then in July 1969 the branch made the point that the company was hoping to take advantage of deflationary measures and the possibility of short-time working 'to move in with MDW at a time when it is most difficult for us to resist'.

By September of last year, stewards were stressing that the company hoped to create a Ford-style integrated plant with its new South-side development... and impose Ford-style conditions.

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STRIKING turbine-blade polishers from Rolls-Royce's Derby factories yesterday lobbied union officials meeting to discuss labour relations in the firm's aero-engine division.

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WE FINISHED 1970 in a magnificent way. In the midst of the Christmas season we raised almost £175 over the target for December's £1,250 Fund and also completed the £2,000 Special Fund.

This Special fund will be used for our new wrapping machine which was urgently needed to cope with the increase of thousands of subscribers to the Workers Press.

It was a tremendous year. A letter from a reader en-

closing a £25 cheque to start the January fund, states the record of the Workers Press:

'I must say your daily achievement is magnificent. You have underlined the betrayals the miners have experienced and have shown the purpose of the capitalist press in attacking the power workers was so that backward workers will support anti-strike legislation. The work to draft the Charter of Basic Rights and make it a platform towards a political strike to remove the Tory government and the demand for a revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party, will contribute to make 1971 a year when you will expand the paper as it deserves and you will certainly be supported in this essential task.'

We promise you that in 1971 we will face up to these greater tasks and responsibilities.

This paper will lead its biggest campaign yet to make the Tory government resign.

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The men are also campaigning for a works' committee on which all unions are properly represented.

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present works committee at Derby had no polisher members and was allowing strikers' work to go out to subcontractors.

'Polishers' work was also being done inside the Derby plants, he alleged.

MONEY

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Welders at the Derby Rolls-Royce plants are involved in a similar dispute and may take strike action next week.

## 50s repair charge angers gasmen

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The charge was agreed between the Board and the North Thames Gas Consultative Council in November and it came into effect yesterday.

First item

Consumers will have to pay £2 10s on the first item repaired or installed and an extra £2 on any further item.

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The consumer, will, of course, have to pay for any labour and material costs over and above the minimum charge.

North Thames Gas is the only board so far to operate the minimum charge and it comes on top of 3d-per-therm increase introduced yesterday.

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BY STEPHEN JOHNS

Though there was no fixed agenda for the talks I understand that representatives of the 15 unions in the pay dispute were looking for an improvement on the 4½ per cent pay rise offered. But there was none.

Immediately before the meeting at BOAC headquarters in Victoria, John Cousins, national organizer of the Transport and General Workers' Union said that he would not like to reveal at this stage the figure that would satisfy the unions.

The decision to begin talks had been a 'collective' one Mr Cousins said.

'The work-to-rule has been

in operation for three-and-a-half weeks now and we felt that some discussion would be useful at this stage. But the talks will be very tentative and we want to take them very quietly,' he added.

'The unions did not feel bitter about the threats of redundancy by BOAC and BEA if normal work was not resumed, but they were 'very foolish and a very bad thing for the industry,' said Mr Cousins.

He believed that the government was behind the tough line taken by the two airlines.

'It is no secret that the chairman of the airlines have been at the Department of Employment recently and no doubt the Minister told them the facts of life when he saw them.'

'The attitudes expressed by the chairman are only an extension of the government's desire to nobble all the public industries. I take them seriously as I take everything employers say seriously,' he said.

Unions so far have named no figure that would end the work-to-rule, though it is understood that the increase they want for their members is around 7 per cent.

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that leads the  
fight against the  
Tory government

PRICE 6d (21p)

THE DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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## Peking extends hand to S. America

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

CHILE is likely to announce its recognition of the Peking regime early this week, Kyodo news agency reported yesterday from Tokyo.

Quoting Japanese government sources, it said negotiations to restore normal relations between Chile and China have been going on in

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# EARLY YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

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THE LETTERS and documents published in this volume and the three others which are to follow it will be of great value to all students of the early history of the Third International and the Communist Parties of the so-called 'Latin countries'.

Much vital historical evidence is locked away in Moscow, if not actually destroyed.

Few of the participants have been able to tell their own stories and those that do exist tend to be one-sided. Many of them were murdered by Stalin in the 1930s and those who remained faithful to Stalinism to the end have kept their mouths shut.

Humbert-Droz's fate was exceptional and his documents have been preserved and are now published by the Amsterdam Institute of Social History.

to intervene in the internal life of the Communist Parties.

The duties which he undertook involved Humbert-Droz in a mass of correspondence with the Comintern, with the parties and with individuals. In most cases, for purposes of reference and to check on any dispute which might arise, he sent copies for safe keeping to his mother in a small Swiss village.

His career is less important than the documents which he preserved and has now been able to publish. In a preface dated 1966 he does, however, try to justify his position.

disgrace in 1929, a subsequent rehabilitation, another condemnation following criticism of the Stalinist policy in Germany in 1932, and a further rehabilitation after the Seventh World Congress, from serving as secretary of a Stalinist Party until 1941.

In fact, Humbert-Droz later returned to a reformist position. In the preface to an earlier book in which some of these documents were printed, 'L'Oeil de Moscou a Paris' (1964), he writes as though the formation of the Third International and the split from the reformists was 'useless' and 'harmful'. This

bert-Droz's work in the French Communist Party in 1921-1923 covered in this volume.

He arrived in Paris to deal with a serious crisis. Under Frossard the Party was stagnating and declining, turned in upon itself and torn by bitter factional infighting.

There were at least five major factions from a right wing which hankered after reunification with their old colleagues of the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O., described as the 'dissidents') to an 'extreme left' close to anarchism.

The bulk of the party followed the centre represented by Frossard and Cachin. Humbert-Droz's

the Russian Party and made the main reports on the French Party at meetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to whom Humbert-Droz was responsible.

While being suitably severe in his criticism of Cachin's weak direction of 'L'Humanité', Humbert-Droz appears to have conserved some illusions in Frossard throughout 1922. He had to watch while the relations between the left and the centre continued to deteriorate.

Souvarine and Treint went all out for a victory of their faction. Frossard continued to temporize, and announced in August

schoolteacher and an army captain. Both were regarded with suspicion by worker-members and trade unionists like Rosmer. The French Party seemed headed towards its Livorno, yet a Livorno was by no means desirable in the French situation. It would have meant that a large part, perhaps the majority, of the Party would have left the Third International.

At the Paris Congress in October, the split was indeed averted, but only by the centre re-asserting its strength, despite the moral support which Humbert-Droz, and the other Comintern representative, Manoulsky, had given to the left. The crisis in the French Party thus continued: it became still more openly opposed to the International which was finally obliged to intervene.

The French question was one of the most important items before the Fourth Congress of

# BOOKS

by Tom Kemp

improved by the determination which the Comintern, largely inspired by Trotsky, had shown in dealing with the French crisis. He gives many interesting details about the internal situation.

Cachin who, to stay at 'L'Humanité' had accepted the International's decision, came into collision with Frossard. The left itself was divided. The right was all but eliminated in a series of expulsions.

Changes were made in the editorial staff of 'L'Humanité' in accordance with the International's decisions. The resistance of the centre to these changes was partly broken.

For Frossard they brought to a head a growing resistance to the demands of the International. On January 1, 1923, he sent his resignation to the leading Party committee.

Humbert-Droz suggests that Frossard, who had not gone to Moscow, had been influenced in his decision by reading Trotsky's speech at the Fourth Congress which he had taken as an ultimatum for his removal. The immediate background was provided, however, by the disputes over the control and policy of 'L'Humanité' (and by Cachin's 'loyal' to the International).

Frossard's resignation could not solve the Party's problems and intensified them in the short-run. Together with the decisions of the Fourth Congress, it did a great deal to clear the air. The basis was being laid for a real section of the Communist International in France.

In the first months of 1923, after Humbert-Droz's return, the old factions tended to break up, but their place was taken by personal cliques which engaged in acrimonious disputes.

The Party declined in numerical strength and in some federations the supporters of Frossard (who formed a short-lived Com-

munist Unity Party) had the majority.

Party organization was weak and Humbert-Droz reported to the Comintern Executive Committee that it displayed 'a complete lack of political perspective'. The time of the Political Bureau was fixed up with administrative details and it seldom discussed the political situation in France or internationally.

Little was done in the way of propaganda and recruitment. The political line of 'L'Humanité' was fixed by its editors without reference to the Party and they became, in effect, a second Party leadership.

Despite these continuing negative features there were some signs that Party members, especially the Young Communists' leaders, had grasped the lessons of the crisis and were prepared to make the changes demanded by the International.

## Thrust

Before they could be put in hand and a decisive alteration made in the Party's style of work the whole International movement was thrust into the crisis which followed Lenin's death and opened the way for the Stalinist degeneration.

Humbert-Droz's archives make it possible to follow the history of the French and other parties, as well as the International as a whole, from the inside.

Making allowance for the short-comings in his own position, they provide an invaluable insight into the problems of building revolutionary parties in the advanced European countries at this time and therefore have considerable relevance today.

It remains to be seen what light Humbert-Droz's documents will throw on Stalin's rise to power and on the degeneration of the Communist International which took place in the 1920s.

## 'ORIGINES ET DEBUTS DES PARTIS COMMUNISTES DES PAYS LATINS'

Vol. 1 of the Archives of Jules Humbert-Droz.

Edited and annotated by Siegfried Bahne. Published by the Institute for Social History, Amsterdam by D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Holland, 1970.



TOGLIATTI

Entering the service of the Comintern in 1921, his break with Stalinism came 20 years later in the safe haven of Switzerland, where he was Communist Party secretary.

His archives are presented with ample annotations in French and with each item given in the original language. At least a selection could be usefully published in English.

Humbert-Droz came from a family of Swiss watchmakers.

Trained for the Protestant clergy he was, for a short time, pastor of the French church in Bayswater.

He had already joined the Swiss Socialist Party in 1911 at the age of 20 and during the First World War took up a pacifist position and was imprisoned.

In 1916 he broke with the Church and from 1919 he published a journal called 'Le Phare', which became the official organ of the Third International in Switzerland.

He took part in the Second Congress of the Comintern and in 1921 became one of the Executive Committee secretaries with responsibility for the 'Latin countries'.

Between 1922 and 1925 he lived illegally in France, Italy and Spain as Comintern agent entrusted with considerable powers

As he points out, in the critical period which followed the death of Lenin: 'Most of the best collaborators of Lenin who had passed years in emigration and who knew the international workers' movement from having been active in its different foreign socialist sections joined the opposition of Trotsky-Zinoviev...'

Not Humbert-Droz, who was a Bukharin supporter and continued to serve the Comintern through the 1920s.

This volume only comes down to the middle of 1930. Later volumes will include his correspondence with Togliatti, Thorez and others who, he says, asked him for information about the internal disputes which was otherwise kept from them.

## Vexations

Despite the vexations to which Humbert-Droz says the representatives of the foreign parties in Moscow were subject by Stalin—they were not allowed to use the special shops for foreigners and received low priority ration cards—he soldiered on until Bukharin was disgraced.

Presumably to shield himself from criticism he claims to have remained on friendly terms with a number of Trotskyists and to have corresponded with them in exile.

These letters, he says, 'will show that I did not consider the Trotskyists as counter-revolutionaries and that I was a supporter of a dialogue and a discussion with them, and not of the repressive measures taken by Stalin'.

However, that did not prevent Humbert-Droz, despite his own

was certainly not his position at the time.

On the whole Humbert-Droz carried out his duties loyally and with apparent conviction. He was thoroughly familiar with the situation in the W European parties, especially the French, from the day-to-day contact which he had with their leaders, journalists and militants.

The letters and personal reports he sent to Moscow reveal the true position in these parties much better than the published documents and press articles can do.

As he put it in the earlier preface: 'The documents from the archives permit the respective positions of the founders and first leaders of the French Communist Party, their political intentions and their personal role to be understood better. It will be seen that it was relatively easy to unite on the text of a resolution or on the draft of a thesis, but that the division of functions and tasks could call everything into question again and that the struggle for power inside the party often played a more important role than action against the bourgeoisie'.

The first volume of the Archives is, in fact, largely taken up with the situation inside the French party leading up to the resignation of Frossard, who had become its secretary at the Congress of Tours when the majority of the Socialist Party voted to affiliate to the Third International.

## Documents

There are, however, a few documents concerning the situation in Spain, Belgium and Luxembourg and the effect of the Livorno Congress in Italy.

At the latter a split had taken place which resulted in the majority centre wing led by Serrati leaving the International.

This greatly reduced the strength of the Italian section in which the majority was held by the ultra-left, 'abstentionist' wing influenced by Bordiga.

A major concern of the International was to prevent a Livorno-type split—too far to the left—taking place in France.

As Trotsky was to put it in the introduction to his book on the Communist movement in France published in 1923:

'From 1921 and the first part of 1922, the Frossard group gave good reasons for its breaking with it. But, at that time, the split would not have been understood by the great majority of the members of the Party, the new scission would have taken place by chance and the International would have been landed with a heterogeneous left group, itself in need of an internal clean up.'

It was necessary therefore, in the first place, to give to the left elements time to grasp clearly their task, to acquire ideological cohesion, to draw around themselves a large number of Party members—and it was only after this ideological, critical and educative work of the International, that big, energetic, organizational measures of a 'surgical' character could be carried out.'

This was the setting for Hum-

task was to work with the left faction, the one most loyal to the International, and to win over as many as possible of the supporters of the centre.

As Humbert-Droz was to note in a number of his reports, the left was small, politically divided, had few links with the working class and little standing in the Party.

## Refute

Souvarine complained to the Presidium of the International that he passed over the left and preferred to take counsel with the centre (i.e. the Frossard group).

Humbert-Droz wrote round to a number of left faction members asking them to refute this allegation. On the whole he seems to have had most confidence in the trade unionists, of whom Rosmer was the best representative.



THOREZ

The real question was how Humbert-Droz himself interpreted and carried out the recommendations of the Executive Committee. His own word is hardly good enough to settle the question one way or another.

Through most of 1922 he was convinced, or at least so he wrote in his reports, that Frossard, despite his faults, could be won to accept the need for a bloc of the centre and the left. However, Frossard did not understand and refused to apply correctly the united front tactic put forward by the Comintern.

Humbert-Droz's reports in 1922 should be compared with Trotsky's speeches and writings relating to the French Communist Party which appear in 'The First Five Years of the Communist International' and 'Le Mouvement Communiste en France' edited by Pierre Broué.

All his reports went, of course, to Trotsky who was responsible for matters concerning the Communist Parties of the 'Latin countries' in the Political Bureau of

that he would not continue as secretary after the next Congress.

Humbert-Droz reported: 'Many communist workers are disgusted by the tone of the polemics and the struggle of tendencies; they have no confidence in the men of the centre who have abandoned the Party to itself, nor in the left, who they reproach with not knowing the working class and speaking to workers from on high.'

'Even in the left, some comrades are disgusted and repelled by the haughty character of Souvarine!'

By September, 1922, Humbert-Droz had become increasingly pessimistic and suggested that it was time for the Executive to intervene.

But it was difficult to see a solution in practice to the crisis of leadership and decision in the French Party which still conserved all the bad old habits and traditions of the S.F.I.O.

In December, 1922, Humbert-Droz re-entered France illegally, to find the situation somewhat



BUKHARIN

the Communist International in November, 1922, at which Trotsky delivered the principal report on the French Party.

The debates in Moscow had revealed that a number of prominent Party leaders were Freemasons or members of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, including Cachin, Sellier, Ker and Frossard. Amongst the decisions taken by the Fourth Congress to resolve the crisis in the French Party was the complete incompatibility between Party membership and freemasonry.

In December, 1922, Humbert-Droz re-entered France illegally, to find the situation somewhat



THE SOCIALIST PARTY (SFIO) DELEGATION IN RUSSIA, JUNE 1920. CACHIN, BETWEEN FROSSARD AND ZINOVIEV, BEING GREETED BY RUSSIAN OFFICIAL

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BOOK THIS DATE NOW!

### BBC 1

12.55 p.m. Fo a Fe. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45 News, weather. 3.45 Nurses training. 4.20 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal magic. 5.20 Dastardly and Muttley. 5.40 Seeing stars. 5.44 Magic roundabout. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 QUIZBALL.

7.05 Z CARS. 'Prevention'. Part two.

7.30 THE LAUGH PARADE. 'Laughter in Paradise'.

9.00 THE NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

9.20 INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS.

10.10 MONTY PYTHON'S FLYING CIRCUS.

10.40 24 HOURS.

11.15 A MUSLIM LOOKS AT THE NEW YEAR.

11.20 MEDICINE TODAY.

11.50 Weather.

### REGIONAL ITV

All regions as above except:

Midlands: 10.10-10.40 Contact: Car Crisis. 11.50 News, weather.

E Anglia, North, NW, Cumberland and Westmorland, SW. West: 11.50 News, weather.

Wales: 5.20-5.44 Teletel. 6.45-7.05 Heddidi. 10.10-10.40 This world of Wales. 11.50 News, weather.

### BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 1.15-1.45 p.m. Medicine today.

6.30 MONKEYS WITHOUT TAILS.

7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.

8.00 INTERNATIONAL GOLF.

8.50 COLLECTOR'S WORLD.

9.20 FILM: 'THAT TOUCH OF MINK'. Cary Grant and Doris Day.

10.55 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

11.00 TEST CRICKET FROM AUSTRALIA.

11.30 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

### ITV

2.45 p.m. Film: 'Number Six'. 3.45 Robin Hood. 4.15 Magic ball. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 Showtime. 5.15 Magpie. 5.45 News.

5.55 TODAY.

6.25 GHOST AND MRS MUIR.

6.55 NEVER MIND THE QUALITY, FEEL THE WIDTH. 'A Question of Polity'.

7.25 FILM: 'MURDER MOST FOUL'. Margaret Rutherford and Ron Moody. Agatha Christie's self-appointed lady sleuth rides again.

9.00 NOW OR NEVER.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 PLAYHOUSE. 'The Waters of Babylon'.

11.30 LIVING WRITERS. Esther Rantzen talks to Dennis Wheatley.

12.00 midnight SHARE THE SECRETS OF MY SONG.

### REGIONAL BBC

CHANNEL: 3.55 Enchanted house. 4.05 Puffin. 4.25 Moment of truth. 4.50 London. 5.55 News, weather. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Beautiful Blonde from Bashful Bend'. Betty Grable. 8.30 London. 11.27 Gazette. 11.32 News, weather.

Diary. 6.30 Horoscope. 11.31 News. 11.35 Faith for life. 11.40 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 3.25 Horoscope. 3.30 Women today. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.12 Enchanted house. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Never mind the quality, feel the width. 7.15 Film: 'Lady in the Lake'. 9.00 London. 11.30 News. 11.40 Farm progress. 11.50 Weather. It's all yours.

ATV MIDLANDS: 2.40 Granny gets the point. 3.10 Houseparty. 3.20 Horoscope. 3.25 Women today. 4.00 Peyton Place. 4.30 Popeye. 4.35 Origami. 4.50 Flaxton boys. 5.15 London. 6.00 ATV Today. 6.30 News. 6.35 News. 7.00 Film: 'A Bullet for Joey'. Edward G. Robinson. George Raft. 8.30 London. 11.30 Music room, weather.

ULSTER: 4.25 Romper room. 4.45 Today. 4.50 Lovable Bubbly. 4.50 Report. 6.30 Cartoon. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.50 Film: 'It's Never too Late'. 8.30 London. 11.30 By the way. 12.00 Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 4.00 Houseparty. 4.10 Wind in the Willows. 4.25 Matinee. 4.50 London. 5.55 Calendar. 6.30 Nanny and the Professor. 7.00 Film: 'The Ballad of Andy Crocker'. Problems of returning Vietnam servicemen. 8.30 Never mind the quality, feel the width. 9.00 London. 11.30 Toolbox. 11.55 Weather.

GRANADA: 4.05 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Magic ball. 4.50 London. 6.01 Newsday. Police file. 6.20 Everest. Hill-billies. 6.45 Film: 'First Men on the Moon'. 8.30 News. 11.30 Four just men. 12 midnight Weather.

TYNE TEES: 4.00 News. 4.05 Women Today. 4.35 Lovable Bubbly. 4.50 London. 6.00 Today at Six. 6.25 Where the jobs are. 6.30 Film: 'One of Our Aircraft is Missing'. 8.30 News. 11.30 News. 11.45 Popular negatives.

BORDER: 4.00 News. 4.07 Survival. 4.35 Origami. 4.50 London. 5.55 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Great Manbury'. Wild Bill Doolin, cowboy turned desperado, disperses his outlaw band when US Marshals start to close in. 8.25 Never mind the quality, feel the width. 9.00 London. 11.30 Granny gets the point. 11.55 News, weather.

SCOTTISH: 4.00 Dateline. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Film: 'Odongo'. 8.30 London. 11.30 Late call.

IF ANYONE ever asks you 'What was happening in Toronto in August and September 1968?' and you're stuck for an answer, you can always say, 'Well, they were shooting a "Married Couple"', and wait for the laughs.

It's what I suppose could be described as an experimental piece of film making, or, to use the words of the director, 'an actuality drama'.

It works on the assumption that if you take a camera, lights and sound recording equipment into someone's home for two months and shoot the action you end up with a film.

The result is now showing at the Paris-Pullman, Drayton Gardens.

According to the press handout, the director, Alan King, and his crew spent ten weeks in the home of Billy Edwards, a 42-year-old Canadian advertising executive and Antoinette, his 30-year-old wife, their three-year-old son Bogart and their dog Merton.

The couple had been married for six years and the structure of the film is the disintegration of their marriage. This is presumably what is meant by 'actuality'.

**'Discreet'**

In the process of making the film we are told the crew never mixed with the family, but merely recorded their relationship discreetly as it were from the side lines.

One thing to know about a film crew and their equipment is that their presence is rarely discreet. A cameraman with an Arriflex on his shoulder, moving about the room, changing lenses, reloading film, is not easily assimilated into the everyday life of a normal drawing room, any more than the lights, microphones and recording equipment.

However small the crew, they constitute a minor invasion.

To say, therefore, that they do not mix with the family is to deny the family's consciousness of their presence, for the relationship between camera and subject is a two-way process.

If a camera is concealed and the subject is totally unaware of its presence you get a version of actuality.

Once the consciousness of a camera enters you get a version of that consciousness.

**No role**

In a feature film, the director interposes himself, directs his actors, draws a performance out of them, stresses what he wants to stress and uses the self-conscious skills of the performer, but in 'Married Couple' he can play no such role for he is the slave to actuality. If he is engineering situations, then of course there is no 'actuality'.

So what you end up with is a family colluding with the film-maker in demonstrating their self-conscious idea of their own relationship, which is, of necessity, false.

Rather than play out the actuality of their relationships, they transform themselves into actors playing themselves, and bad ones at that.

They ham about, provoke each other, move from row to row. That may well be the content of their marriage, but the film form falsifies it. Paradoxically they are more concerned with being 'actors'.

**Borne out**

In fact the story of the way this film was made bares this out.

The director found a couple who had just broken up. They came back together to make the film and in the making of it more or less returned to each other, only with one significant change. They now saw themselves as movie stars.

In watching the film you feel you know less about them at the end than when it started, and furthermore you don't care. It's one dull repetitive note and level that their performance set.

There are no insights offered into their relationship, or any psychological understanding of why they act in the way that they do. Only at one point in the film does something emerge with a spontaneous edge that hints at the real nature of their conflict in marriage.

**Car row**

That is when they are having a row about the car.

He wants it to drive to work and she wants it for the rest of the day.

She therefore has to drive him to work and this she considers an inconvenience, especially since he won't get up in the morning and makes her late for her own appointment.

From this the argument spirals out into all kinds of resentments that do expose the



Billy and Antoinette Edwards

**REALER THAN REAL FILMS**

REVIEWED BY BRIAN MOORE



raw nerve ends of their relationship.

He asserts his role of breadwinner and provider and therefore his needs must have priority; she screams back that he treats her as a slave.

It is the only moment when the film has a life of its own and raises itself above the limitations of their self-conscious performances. But it is a small compensation for the tediousness of the whole production.

It amounts to merely a random selection of theatrical impressions. It takes the surface at face value and leaves it at that.

Where a real work of the imagination offers insights into reality, it tries to discover the essence of experience and to deepen the understanding either emotionally, or socially, or psychologically or all of these.

**Catalogue**

It heightens our comprehension of life.

Merely reproducing experience is not an understanding of it. A catalogue of events is merely a catalogue of events, unless the interconnections and interrelations of these events are fought for and understood in a conscious way. That's what determines equally a work of art.

For a 'Married Couple' to masquerade as actuality is the worst kind of fraudulence.

It says these are real people, therefore it must be real. For a marriage to be breaking up bringing with it all the tensions, guilts, pain and anxiety, the least you could have expected was for one of the partners to turn to the screen and say, 'Get that goddam camera out of here'.

**behind THE NEWS**

**Few admirers**

DESPITE their attacks on the Gierk leadership, Albania Radio's broadcasts to Poland are not likely to arouse much enthusiasm amongst the working class there.

The central theme of the Albanian regime is that life under Stalin was much happier.

'During Stalin's lifetime, this great Marxist-Leninist, there was not violated the sovereignty and there was not attacked with tanks any socialist country, the police did not shoot workers in any country as the Khrushchevians, the Gomulka clique and others, did and are doing.'

**Agreement**

In fact on one issue, Khrushchev's Soviet successors and the Albanian regime are in complete agreement—hatred for the anti-Stalinist opposition in the Soviet Union:

'Khrushchev and his friends accused Stalin of having been merciless. But towards whom? He had been merciless towards the enemies of the people, traitors and renegades, spies and

agents of imperialism... But all these "rehabilitated" [after Stalin's death] such as Gomulka in Poland, Husak and Smrkovsky in Czechoslovakia, Solzhenitsyn in the Soviet Union, etc., are showing themselves now as frenzied enemies of communism and revolution.'

Lumped together here, in a typical Stalinist 'amalgam', are victims of Stalinist justice who later capitulated to serve the bureaucracy, and one of its most courageous and outspoken opponents.

The Albanian brand of Stalinist fundamentalism defies analysis. It perhaps can be best likened to a sun-worshipper attacking a Jesuit for selling out to new-fangled monotheism.

Poland's workers have no intention of returning to the grim days of Stalin's barbaric rule.

They remember that it was Stalin who wound up the Polish Communist Party in 1938 and had its exiled leaders murdered in Moscow!

They also remember with equal bitterness how Stalin joined with Hitler to partition Poland at the start of the Second World War.

Stalin undoubtedly has his admirers in Poland. But they are only to be found in the bureaucracy.

**'A MARRIED COUPLE'**  
 directed by Alan King  
 Showing at the PARIS-PULLMAN LONDON

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# Polish workers not fooled by Gierek

THE POLISH working class, despite the savage repressions of the bureaucracy against its December strikes and demonstrations, has not been cowed by the new Gierek leadership.

This is evident from weekend statements by the Party press. 'Polityka' no longer refers to 'hooligans' and 'anti-socialist elements'.

The workers, youth, housewives and even children murdered by the regime's militia and tanks have now become martyrs! We owe it to the memory of those fallen in the streets of coastal towns that such mechanisms are set up and consolidated that would eliminate the possibility of conflicts arising between the authority and the masses that would exclude the possibility of atrophy of the link between the working class and the Party.

Just over 14 years ago, the recently-ousted Party leader Gomulka used almost these exact words to describe the killing of strikers in Poznan, and the lessons that the Party leadership had to draw from them.

## Standing

The vital difference is that in 1956, Gomulka (a former victim of Stalinist repression himself) had some standing in the working class as a 'liberal' opponent of the 'hard-line' leadership responsible for the Poznan massacres.

The Gierek-Moczar team has always been at Gomulka's elbow, urging him to take ever more ruthless action against opponents of the regime. Now it not only admits that 'mistakes' have been made, but even suggests that those who took up arms against the regime were justified.

Gierek and Moczar have not changed. What is new is the long concealed, but now dramatically revealed, fighting spirit and confidence of the Polish working class.

Faced with this immense force on the march for political rights and decent living conditions, the bureaucracy is driven into crisis.

It ditches its old leaders and indulges in the most frenzied demagoguery to hold the workers' offensive back. Said Sir John: 'We need to have units of a size which can compete with the sort of challenges we are likely to meet in the Common Market and we must get in gear right away'.

## Classical

This is classical Stalinist strategy, which trade unionists in Britain have experienced recently in the miners' strike and now the fight against the Tory anti-union laws.

First, try to block the movement. Then, when this becomes impossible, attempt to take it over—only to behead it at the decisive moment.

The new Stalinist leaders in Poland, who for years enjoyed all the privileges and shared in all the decisions of the Gomulka group, are now posing as life-long enemies of bureaucracy.

This, and this alone, explains the apparent frankness of 'Polityka', which admits: 'An important part of the working class protested... The scope of the demonstration excludes the suggestion that their reasons might be sought in a single region of the country or a single production branch.'

## Crisis

In other words—and this the Stalinists can no longer conceal—it is a crisis of the entire bureaucracy, in which the working class is becoming the decisive, revolutionary force. The Gierek leadership is already mobilising the forces of counter-revolution—the armed forces, the church and W German imperialism (not to speak of its supporters in the Kremlin)—for future action against the working class.

It will not be bought off with cheap promises and a miserly pittance for the millions of Poland's poor. The prime task before the Polish working class is the same that faces workers everywhere—the construction of revolutionary leadership and the struggle for a socialist united states of Europe. See tomorrow's Workers Press for the first of two articles analysing the Polish events.



Gierek seen on a tour of Silesian tin mines.

## Jarring talks soon?

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

UNITED NATIONS Secretary General U Thant reports to the UN Security Council today on progress towards an agreement between Israeli and Arab leaders.

His statement is expected to announce the resumption of indirect talks between Israel, Jordan and Egypt first initiated last summer under the auspices of Sweden's Moscow ambassador, Dr Gunnar Jarring.

## Wheels

And while Egypt's Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad talked with his Tory opposite number Alec Douglas Home in London, Israel's UN delegate flew to New York to meet Dr Jarring.

All the diplomatic wheels have been set in motion. The main problem for imperialism—the crushing of the Palestine liberation movement—remains.

# CP executive must speak up on Devey affair

COMMUNIST PARTY industrial organizer Bert Ramelson must speak out on the £3,000 strike pay-off at Sheffield's Batchelor's Foods plant.

## Seattle 7 spirited away for 'contempt'

SIX young men and a girl from Seattle, Washington, are serving jail sentences for contempt of court after a farcical frame-up trial was abruptly brought to a close.

The seven—members of the Weathermen faction of Students for a Democratic Society—were charged with crossing state lines and conspiring to incite a riot.

Indictments in the case were personally announced by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, a notorious and fanatical anti-communist.

The trial itself was held in Tacoma, a small town near Seattle, to ensure a prejudiced jury.

## 'Star' witness

But even the Tacoma jury seemed likely to fling the case out after the FBI produced its star witness, a 33-year-old drug addict called Horace Parker.

Parker was paid £50 a week to infiltrate the Weathermen, and the FBI gave him generous expenses and free supplies of drugs.

He did his best to entrap the seven in illegal acts, supplying explosives to them and giving shooting lessons. None of the accused, how-

ever, did commit illegal acts, and they were not even present at the riot they are alleged to have conspired to incite.

Seeing the prosecution case crumbling, the judge jailed the seven for contempt after they had refused to enter the courtroom while their friends were kept out.

Five are serving one year and the other two six months. Their lawyer does not even know where they are, as they have been spirited away to separate jails on the US West coast.

## Retrial

When they emerge from prison the seven will face retrial on the conspiracy charge.

The background to this ferociously repressive trial is the high unemployment in Seattle, a centre for the crisis-hit aerospace industry.

Resolutions hostile to the terms of the settlement have poured in to the executive of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers in advance of its meeting today.

If the matter comes up for discussion at this meeting, the union may issue a directive ordering full-time officials not to agree to settlements of this kind in future without reference to the executive.

Yet it is now almost three weeks since Batchelor's convenor Terry Devey resigned his job and received the £3,000 from Batchelor's, and not a word has been said by the Communist Party executive.

And since the 'Morning Star' reported the CP Yorkshire district committee's resolution criticizing the settlement, there has been silence from that quarter also.

## PERTINENT

Engineers who have condemned the selling of Devey's job will be asking some very pertinent questions about this reticence on the part of the Stalinists since both Devey and AEF district secretary George Caborn were well-known CP members at the time of the settlement.

The Sheffield AEF district committee is dominated by CP members? Do the Stalinists consider that an issue of national importance to the AEF is simply a Yorkshire matter as far they are concerned?

If the Batchelor's settlement was 'a retreat before the same forces which are behind the Industrial Relations Bill' as the CP Yorkshire district committee said it was, is Ramelson not obliged to make clear his role in this very important dispute?

Party members must demand that when their executive meets this coming weekend—to discuss 'the CP and the labour movement'—the Devey affair must be first on the agenda.

## EXPOSED

Unless this is done, the CP's campaign against the Industrial Relations Bill will be exposed to be exactly what Workers Press has insisted it was from the beginning—a worthless protest which actually accepts the legislation before it is enacted.

## Powermen want conference

BY A CORRESPONDENT REPRESENTATIVES of 12,000 London powerworkers called yesterday for a delegate conference of all major power unions before any settlement of their £5 pay claim is reached.

And they warned that if no satisfactory settlement is reached, they are ready to reimpose their work-to-rule in support of the claim.

On January 18 the claim goes before a court of inquiry agreed by union leaders under pressure from the Tory government.

Yesterday's meeting of the Transport and General Workers' Union and engineering trade group also voiced its concern over Tory government influence on the inquiry's terms of reference and attacked the government's 'apparent intention to inject crude incomes policy considerations into the evidence before the court'.

The trade group put the record straight about the virulent press and television criticisms during their work-to-rule.

Not a single case has come to light in the London area of powerworkers refusing to alleviate suffering during the work-to-rule and the union's instructions covering hospitals and similar institutions were loyally followed by the men, the committee said.

## Box girder bridge inquiry

A COMMITTEE to look into the design and construction of box girder bridges has been set up by the Department of Environment.

This follows the collapse of the Milford Haven bridge in June and the Yarra bridge in Melbourne last October.

## Designers

Both were being built using the prefabricated steel box method. Two other schemes at

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM: Wednesday January 6, 8 p.m. The Drovers' Arms, Bradford St., Digbeth. Fight for the Charter of Basic Rights.

SHEFFIELD: Thursday January 7, 8 p.m. Hare and Hounds, Quarry St., Batchelor's and the Square of the AEF in Sheffield.

LUTON: Tuesday, January 12, 8 p.m. AEU House, 36 Dunstable Rd., A General Strike to force the Tories to resign.

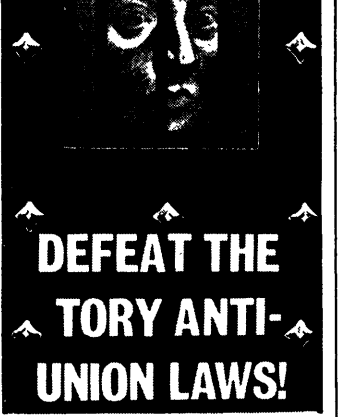
## Miners and the Charter of Basic Rights

ASTLEFORD: Saturday, January 9, 2 noon. Ship Inn. Speaker: Sid Linchcliffe (Glasshoughton Colliery).

BENTLEY: Sunday, January 10, 12 noon. By Horse Inn. Speaker: Frank McCabe (Brodsworth Colliery).

OLLERTON: Saturday, January 16, 2 noon. Ship Inn. Speaker: Ecklarker (Ollerton Colliery).

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## BRIEFLY

FOLLOWING the Polish-German agreement on the Oder-Neisse border between the two countries, the Vatican appears to be falling in line. A footnote explaining the Vatican's refusal to recognize certain former German dioceses as part of Poland has been omitted from the 1971 Vatican Year Book.

TURKISH President Cevdet Sunay is holding high-level talks today on the issue of student unrest.

Eighteen deaths, apart from many woundings and kidnappings, have taken place on campuses over the last two years where there have been boycotts and occupation of buildings. Legislation is being prepared to suspend or expel university militants and all forms of boycott, occupation, slogan-writing and unauthorized demonstrations would be banned.

present under way using the same system as the Erskine bridge in Scotland and the Avonmouth bridge.

All four structures were designed by the London firm Freeman Fox and Partners.

In Australia, the Royal Commission looking into the Yarra collapse has been adjourned until February 3.

Already 33 witnesses have given half a million words in evidence.

According to 'Construction News', the Commission has heard of bolts being pulled out, plates buckling, disputes over responsibility, and concrete blocks being used to correct distortion in the span.

The Commission has adjourned to enable workers injured in the collapse to recover sufficiently to attend and give evidence.

policy was summed up by Lord Eden very cogently:

'By and large, the public sector should be concerned primarily with those activities which cannot sensibly [read profitably] be done by the private sector.'

The running down of the state sector does not in any sense mean that new independent enterprises will be allowed to start up on the ruins of state industry.

On the contrary, the Tories are determined to carry through this rationalization in the interests of state monopoly capitalism.

Said Sir John: 'We need to have units of a size which can compete with the sort of challenges we are likely to meet in the Common Market and we must get in gear right away'.

In other words, the creation of massive monopolies completely under the control of big business in which there will be no place for the paternalism and tight-rope walking of Lord Robens.

This programme is inseparably connected with the anti-union laws and the measures to keep down wages in Britain.

It is the road to police dictatorship. The naked domination of monopolies in Britain.

No 'left' waiting for Lord Robens, but conscious preparation of the working class for a General Strike called by the TUC until the Tories resign and are replaced by a socialist Labour government—that must be our outlook for 1971!

## JUST under one third of all men aged 35 to 64 who died in 1968 were cigarette smokers who died prematurely, according to the Royal College of Physicians latest report on smoking.

A 21-YEAR-OLD Jewish student from Riga University has been sentenced to 18 months in prison by a Soviet court for burning the national flag.

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## NLF press on

LIBERATION forces in Cambodia are continuing their offensive against pro-US troops around Phnom Penh.

All attempts to re-open the strategic US-built 'Highway Four' linking the capital with the deep-water port of Kompong Som have failed.

Fighting was also reported yesterday on 'Highway Seven', which runs between Phnom Penh and Cambodia's third city, Kompong Cham.

Guerrillas are pinning down a large force where the highway crosses the Mekong River 30 miles North of the capital.

## Chrysler stewards warn about MDW

FROM PAGE ONE minutes' work at full effort in every hour.

Constant pressure is kept up by the management to reach what they describe as 100 per cent effort the whole time.

The line dictates everything, the Coventry stewards told the Oxford men.

'For breakdowns there is a fantastic system. Maintenance can be at any breakdown within two minutes, anywhere in the factory.'

'When there is a breakdown the nearest chargehand presses a button, klaxons sound to clear the gangways and the maintenance emergency truck goes at 20 miles per hour through the shop with klaxons and lights—like a fire brigade.'

They added ironically: 'We did get a compromise on this—they agreed that the truck would go slower on the way back.'

A cautionary tale is told by the Coventry stewards about the way the company introduced MDW in their factory.

Offer After creating the conditions for a strike just before the holidays, the general manager moved in with an increased offer and promises that everything in the deal would be negotiable.

After a year and a half of MDW, they say they have 'learned a hard lesson. 'We wouldn't wish MDW on our worst enemy!'

SW Scotland, N Ireland, Wales and W England will be cloudy or dull, with rain at times, but with some sleet or snow on high ground at first.

W Scotland will be cloudy but dry at first, with rain spreading N later in the day.

NE Scotland will have sleet or snow showers and clear or sunny intervals.

SE Scotland and NE England will start dry, but increasing cloud will bring occasional snow by evening.

Central and S England will have freezing fog at first, clearing during the morning, but remaining cloudy with snow spreading E.

E Anglia and SE England will remain mostly dry, but with widespread freezing fog.

It will continue to be cold or very cold in the E, but become milder, with near normal temperatures in the W.

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Cold, with some snow in N and E at first. Otherwise, changeable, with rain at times in most places, and becoming milder.

## WEATHER

Consumers of 11 of the country's 12 gas boards will face rises in gas prices of between 6 to 10 per cent in the next few days.

This is because the industry in general is not making the 7 per cent return on its sales demanded by the government, despite record sales in 1969-1970.

The North Thames Gas Board, for example, made £2,500,000 profit in the year ended April 1970 but this represented a return of only 4 per cent.

## More OMO double-deckers introduced

MORE of London's one-man operated double-decker buses have now gone into service.

London Transport plans to change its 5,500 buses to the single-manning system at the rate of 500 conversions a year. The latest routes to get the new buses are the 95, from Tooting to Cannon Street, and the 220 (Tooting to Harlesden). The effect of these buses on

jobs was outlined in London Transport chairman Mr Richard Way's letter to 'The Times' last September. The introduction of one-man operation combined with productivity measures would, he said, 'reduce our dependence on large numbers of staff.'

# Food and pay deteriorate

SOARING PRICES and the attack on living standards are main issues in two reports published today.

The annual report of the National Food Survey Committee shows clearly the dangers of continued rampant inflation.

In 1969, the proportion of household spending on food continued to fall from 24.3 per cent to 23.5 per cent.

Despite this, average food costs per person went up by 2s 1d a week.

Most of the increases went on basic foodstuffs—milk, meat, eggs, potatoes and other vegetables, fruit, bread and cereals.

In addition, the average energy and nutritional value of the food eaten fell to 7,560 calories a day for each person—only 8 per cent above the level recommended by the Department of Health and Social Security.

Snacks As this is an average value, it indicates that many workers will be consuming far less than this amount.

In particular, the issue of the nutritional content of food is an important one for the working class. The increase of shift working and speed-up has meant that in many cases cooked meals are replaced by a number of snacks during the day, involving packaged foods over which there is no control by the government of nutritional standards.

In general, the only exceptions are bread, flour and margarine.

Further blow The reports cover 1969 and the increasing rate of inflation over the past year has undoubtedly exacerbated this situation.

The attacks of the Tories on the social services will mean a further blow to working-class health standards.

The government and the employers are, of course, well aware of this situation, but are hell-bent in turning the screws even tighter.

The Institute of Directors' new booklet 'Inflation for Ever?' launches yet another attack on organized labour and calls on government and industry to resist workers' struggles to maintain their living standards.

The booklet—sent out to 44,000 directors—says that 'inflation psychology' stems

## All-round Tory attack on living standards

From the power of organized labour and from the use of official and unofficial strikes to force wages up. This is a constant risk in a country committed to full employment.

After shedding a few crocodile tears over 'people who live on fixed incomes, such as pensions', the Institute proposes that the Tories tackle inflation by fiscal policy, monetary policy and incomes policy.

Which of the three medicines the Institute considers most potent is soon made clear.

Businessmen are urged to bear in mind their responsibilities to society at large if 'excessive wage demands are presented'.

However, it appears that 'society at large' is rather select. In most wage deals, directors are advised that 'the aim of a board should be the decision which makes economic sense for the company'. (Our emphasis.)

Thus it is the working class that is to be made to pay for capitalist crisis and inflation while the employers and their government divide up the loot.

Deterioration of health, unemployment, speed-up, this is the aim of the Tories in driving the Industrial Relations Bill through parliament.

Anti-union legislation is the Tory key to pushing the working class back to the 1930s and beyond.

The balance of power has moved too far in favour of employees.

'This trend is in part due to the increasing labour intensity of industry and decreasing hardship for those who withdraw their labour.'

He attacked as 'stupid and mischievous' the notion that the Industrial Relations Bill and the tougher attitude of employers were directed at anyone but 'those who wished to make trouble for trouble's sake'.

Referring to last year's wages offensive, he said 'there was evidence of communist and other outside forces at work, trying to stir up trouble.'

'They are as little concerned for the long-term well-being of the people whom they claim to represent as they are for the country which gives them shelter and freedom to agitate.'

# Elements of Marxism

Lecture by G. Healy, National secretary of the Socialist Labour League

ACTON: The Albion, Churchfield Rd, W3. (Opposite Acton Central Stn.) 8 p.m. Thursday, January 7.