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

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

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

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

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

Merseyside set pace

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

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

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

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

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

Key to success

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

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

- Refuse to register with the new Registrar of Trade Unions.
- Refuse any jobs on industrial courts or tribunals.
- Refuse to accept 'cooling-off' periods or government-imposed strike ballot.
- Declare all strikes official.

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

Carr bomb scare

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

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

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

But physical attacks on individuals will never destroy the system that produces such callous men. Others will always replace them.

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

Menace

Individual acts of terror are a menace to the building of such a movement. They distract attention from the opposition of ordinary workers and the social groups to the anti-union laws and welfare cuts.

They make it easier for the press to create the effect among its readers involved. That is why no one who is genuinely on the left can support them.

Rudi Dutschke protest march

Sunday 17 January
Speakers Corner 2pm
March to Trafalgar Square
via Home Office

Speakers:
PAUL FOOT (IS)
JUDITH HART MP
PAUL OESTREICHER

Organised by
Cambridge Students
Eye-witness report of the Basque General Strike

FRANCO: not even God on his side

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

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

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

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

People could be arrested without being charged and kept under police interrogation indefinitely. Homes could be searched without a warrant. No guarantees were there, which covered the whole political spectrum and included many non-political people. The last thing they had to do was to keep the prisoners in.

This is the government more sensitive to working-class police and industrialists. Forty bank employees demonstrating that their offices were arrested and questioned until a handful of policemen was added to the police squad. The arrested were picked out for further questioning. The police in Spain is very effective in doing so. The number of arrested was enormous.

Rumour has it that this was to cover the costs of the police in the area. The many arrests and the presence of armed police in the streets and police informers everywhere created tremendous tension and fear and led to many nervous breakdowns.

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

BANNED

Reliable information was very difficult to obtain. Foreign newspapers were banned from printing. There was no official radio or TV news, but the authorities jammed the sound. The Communist Party's radio, broadcast from Paris, was the only other means of obtaining news.

In the days before the sentences were announced people were filled with a terrible fear of the Basque police who were some spontaneous strikes and demonstrations but people just did not know what more they could do.

The town of Guipuzcoa was showed with an enormous distribution of Falange leaflets which put a cross fascist line demanding the eviction of the marxist cancer in the government.

CELEBRATE

The strike was formally active while the question of a pardon was in balance. Army officers in San Sebastian were heard talking about sending in the batards down like in 1933.

On 30 December, when Franco's State of Emergency was lifted, the sentences, the bars of San Sebastian were opened and with celebrating crowds.

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

"No back-pedalling in Scotland"

finally we must disagree with the distinction you appear to make between the Liaison Committee and 'genuinely Conservative Action'. In the West of Scotland the Liaison Committee are by no means perfect.

In particular the shop stewards who were based at nothing in the Union's offices. Too many union officials were in the Union. We are trying to make them more democratic.

But they are still genuine action Committee from Kinnoula of local industy. It is perhaps for this reason they didn't even refer to the Union's offices. Too many union officials were in the Union. We are trying to make them more democratic.

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'Rbbing the state firms would hit at workers' pay and militancy'

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

The Tory government's plans to sell off the profitable parts of some nationalised industries to private enterprise has raised important issues for the workers in those industries.

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

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

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

'Conditions, at least in the older nationalised industries, have been declining for the workers in industries like holidays, sick pay, job security. Certainly the Post Office has given the workers greater security in their jobs. Conditions in other industries have not been a factor of concern for workers in the Post Office since the early '70s.'

'But on the railways, in the mines and other declining nationalised industries, the government is now reducing their massive redundancy burdens since the Second World War. Pay and conditions are not merely good enough, but the rate of run down would have certainly been far greater, and conditions much worse if the industries had not been nationalised.'

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

Defeat for workers

'Think that because pay and conditions are so closely related to the profitability of the nationalised industries, if de-nationalisation took place conditions would immediately worsen everywhere in the industry, and in fact would decline. It would be seen as a defeat for the workers if the profitable part were sold off and would induce a complete loss of interest in the nationalised industries.'

'I don't believe that there has been a comparable social revolution of the people of having off with the Tories' anti-trade union campaign. But that's because it's an attempt to turn the clock back a hundred years, not because there isn't the same fascistic approach.'

'Nationalisation has not finished with the trade unions. It is an attempt to alter the face of the Labour Party and its unhealthy relation to the Tory Party.'

'The objective issues of British capitalism are not solved by the de-nationalisation issue or by the anti-trade union legislation. While all these things are connected because it is the same government operating them, I believe the Tories are attempting to make much more direct and more punitive the measures against the working class which is a result of the government's policies.'

'This was seen as the first step in the attack on the Post Office. Lord Hall on many occasions said that the nationalisation would take place over his dead body.'

'The workers who took action were just trying to make certain that even if it was going to be nationalised it would be the best.'

Jim Higgins, national official of the Post Office Engineering Union, like a lot of other union in the nationalised industries, has a tradition of low militancy. It is difficult to conceive of the existing leadership in the POE initiating any meaningful campaign against hiring off parts of nationalised industries.

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

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

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By JOHN THORPE

No illegal action. No, this is not mere Bill merely requires that I should be sentenced to pay compensation.

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

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

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

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

Look again at Section 102 (2b), 'Loss of any benefit...it's what it says and there is no reason to suppose that what is said in an Act of Parliament isn't also meant. In that case besides all the legal costs I would have had to bear personally, the employer's entire loss.

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

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

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

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

How the Tory union laws would hit you

HIGH COST OF A WALK OUT

by JOHN THORPE

THREE or four months ago, it came as a shock to me as sole representative of the National Union of Journalists available in the whole of a large multi-divisional district that there would be a period of time when it would have to be a walk-out by the NUJ in the whole of the district, and Campbell's, our headquarters.

An assistant editor, against whom no complaint—either professional or personal—had been made, was suspended on the grounds that he was a member of the NUJ. I was told that the management had decided to suspend him 'for reasons of company policy', which would carry out the duties that he had been asked to do, but not necessarily to the complete satisfaction of his editor.) for the past nine years.

He was, of course, at liberty to apply for the post (Why not? It was his own's but there was a clear implication that he did see why he should not get it. And the change was to take place forthwith.

The change did not take place - because I in turn had a few words to say. The management were told, politely but emphatically, that the NUJ would not permit its members to be invited to apply for its own posts, and that as its nominee walked in through one door the entire group concerned would walk out through another.

A natural-enough stance for a union officer - yet under the terms of the Industrial Relations Bill it is likely that any discrimination would have cost me dearly.

This point will be seen through in the Bill's 150 clauses, Britain to clear up the earlier states for any explicit statement of its effect on the individual union member. What is intended has to be deduced from the text of the Bill. And the only deductions that can be made show that this Bill is the most savage and savage attack upon the rights of the individual that has been made in this country in the past 30 years.

Assume that my experience in members' protection had taken place after this Bill became an Act. Under Section 85 (1), I should have become a person who had incurred, or threatened to induce, another party to a contract of employment.

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

No such action. No, this is not merely Bill merely requires that I should be sentenced to pay compensation.

But what is compensation? It is defined in Section 102 (2) as 'the loss sustained by the aggrieved party... shall be taken to include: (a) any expenses reasonably incurred by him in consequence of the matters to which the complaint relates, and (b) any loss which he might reasonably be expected to have had but for those matters."

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"You don't need graduation to teach it yourself..."

BY MICHAEL DUADE

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

If they are the children of the working class, they also teach them in such a way that they won't want to do too many questions, won't become interested in political or social questions, won't imagine that they could be bright enough to run the country for the benefit of every one of them, rather than for the middle class. This takes most of the shareholders and the bosses.

The people of this country fall into these two main sections (I don't call them 'nations'): one section is made up of the owners of the means of production and property, along with their personal advisors, sons and sons-in-law, maintenance men, industrial helpers (bankers, civil servants, doctors, railwaymen, workers, etc), managers who control the running of a very complicated industrial country through parliament, local government, the press, the law, the banks, transport, etc.

The other section is made up of the workers whose jobs are not mainly in doing exactly what they are told to do, but do so, without too much 'back talk'.

Political guru

The school system corresponds exactly to the social divisions Public schools (private and paid for by the people) educate children of the very wealthy and the upper professional and main administrators. Private schools - just as if all the state secondary schools.

The school is useful to the paramilitary and the middle class, to the semi-professionalism of the middle-class, and to the lower professional people, teachers, the postal service, the police and the local government office, and other public servants - 20 per cent in all.

Of course, at the official meetings of our parents, their children, the workers' children, are 'educated' in secondary modern and comprehensive schools.

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

The mystery

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

Which child has the best chance of being given individual attention and help in his work? Public school and grammar children start school at the age of 5, whereas the grammar starts school at the age of 15. Most of them go on, if not to the university, then to some form of further education.

SECONDARY MODERN children start school at 5 and leave at 13, so, if we include further education they get barely half the number of years of education that middle class children get.

All John Eveson, the economist, has to do is count 22 times twice as much to educate the average grammar/school child as to educate the average secondary modern school child.

Now in the past the mystery has been: 'How is it possible to go on increasing standards of living for the working class as for the middle class?' The answer is simply: In the last vest majority of really well-off families who own goods and services.

Therefore to achieve a good standard of middle-class job in the same class, since the families own the majority and have familiar with people, where the poor are been well-educated and are accepted with a broad social support (including (itself) children, middle-class children), until now it got only 3½ years and the middle-class families mostly of the poorest quality homes.

Core

With such a lot of our children's run them a night world. Besides, as far as the children's lives are going to be the same, we have to think of a world revolutionary socialist and independent of whether Moscow or London. To this end we have close contact with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in rank and file organisations and the trade unions. Our job is to make the maximum of force work as a world revolutionary socialist, to form an independent socialist international.

What we stand for

THE International Socialist is a democratic socialist on whose premises the World Socialist Party (WSP) was founded. Its programme has been adopted by working-class councils and workers' congresses that call for pay contributed to and work in one another. We believe in independent working-class action, that we must overthrow capitalism and not accept reforms with the words in the teeth of the capitalist system.

In Europe the Comintern Market has been formed for the sole purpose of redistributing the trade of the socialist states and the socialist system has been formed. In Europe the Comintern Market has been formed for the sole purpose of redistributing the trade and profits of these multiple socialist states.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by industrial and political and social workers. A single socialist state cannot survive. While there are only the industrial workers, who are the working masses. Other countries can only come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Moscow or London. To this end we have close contact with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world. We believe in rank and file organisations and the trade unions and in the regular election of all full-time officials.

We are firmly opposed to secret organisations and believe that all decisions should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings. We are for 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards. We are against state trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are official, unofficial or illegal.

We are against productivity deals and job evaluation and are for the principle of trade union joint shop stewards committees in the workplace.

We support all demands for equal pay and for a better deal for young workers. We believe that there should also be a minimum wage of at least £25 per week.

We are opposed to unemployment, redundancy and job cuts and support the demand of five days' work and not four days.

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

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

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

Michael Duaide is a former member of the World Socialist Party (WSP)

MICHAEL DUADE IS THE FORMER HEADMASTER OF RINGSTILL SCHOOL IN NOTTINGHAM. AN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL CAMPAIGN, WHICH IS SUPPORTED BY THE NATIONAL UNION OF WORKERS, WAS SET UP TO REPEAL THE LAWS AGAINST THE COMMEMORATION OF THE REVOLUTION, WHERE COMPETITIVE EVENTS AND STUDY SESSIONS WERE TAKEN DOWN BY THE MILITARY.

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RUTHLESS SABOTAGE THAT DIVIDED EUROPE'S UNIONS

First of two articles by IAN BIRCHALL

FACED with the Common Market and the growth of international firms, British workers are forced increasingly to think of co-operation with trade unionists on the Continent.

One enormous obstacle is the political and religious divisions in the European unions.

But it is important to remember that these divisions are not just a minor quirk of our home-saved Continental brothers. The major splits in Europe's unions resulted from ruthless sabotage by those whose interests were not those of the working class.

The cold-war friendship between Russia and the West was anything but warm. Both sides of the newly invented Iron Curtain the phoney peace of the Cold War began to appear.

DETERMINED

One of the chosen battle grounds was Western Europe. After the Second World War, many politicians, liberal as well as socialist, hoped the West European countries would remain neutral, linking up with neither Washington nor Moscow, and that was meant to be.

The United States was determined to keep Western Europe in its sphere of political and economic influence.

To the anti-Communist fanatics in Washington, the mass Communist parties that had emerged from the fascist Resistance movements in France and Italy seemed a threat that must be stopped.

The fact that in 1944-45 these same Resistance movements disarmed their own members in the Resistance, discouraged strikes and participation in national reconstruction was disregarded.

There were no similar demands on countries of Europe, the US now made a gesture of aid to the Western European working class. The Communist leaders who had sat loyally in the French and Italian cabinets were removed.

The Communist leaders enjoyed their share of political power. They had rejected the image of respectability and modernism.

DISCONTENT

It seems clear that they hoped for a return to government in the near future. But if the time to be taken seriously, a show of force was called for.

There were strikes in France, massive demonstrations in Italy. The UGC was turned out by deep and wide working class discontent, but which the Communist leaders had failed to regard adequately and for which they had no perspective to offer. The long tradition of strikes and protests over working conditions was in full swing.

France had had a long history of social discontent.

In 1921, the minority of the right-wing General Strike (Grève de L'Armée) had split, largely under the influence of the newly-founded Communist Party. The two sections were reunited in 1935.

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

1919 saw the creation of the CFETC (French Confederation of Christian Workers). This was founded by left Catholics, in opposition to forces in the church hostile to any kind of trade unionism.

But in France, where anticlericalism has deep roots, it strengthened the tradition that a man’s union membership was determined by his religious and political beliefs.

Nonetheless, it might have been hoped that the experience of the war-time Resistance would allow greater unity at union level.

In 1944 a united CFTC was established and, while the CFETC refused to merge, it co-operated closely. If Communists had a majority in the new CFTC, this reflected their great electoral strength and their membership of more than 800,000 just after the war.

However, an anti-Communist tendency (FO-Workers’ Force) existed within the CFTC, and by 1947 its hostility to the Communists in the leadership became acute. The split came in late 1947, following a wave of strikes and the Communist campaign against Marie-Stratila.

It was certainly true that the CFTC was not a model of democracy. The loyalty of some of its leaders seemed to be to Russian foreign policy rather than to French workers’ interests.

Above all, the Communists in the CGT had not carried out the necessary political preparation.

Until early 1947 the Communists were opposing strikes, calling on workers to make every effort in the national interest.

If the sudden about-turn to militancy was partly a response to pressure to preserve from militant workers, it nonetheless seemed suspect in the eyes of many others.

But all this is no reason to see the FO split as anything other than a pro-American and pro-bourgeois manoeuvre that weakened the working class.

FINANCE

There seems no doubt now that the FO was financed by the American trade unions and that the American unions in turn drew on CIA finance.

Thomas Braden, formerly of the CIA, quoted in 1967, a figure of two million dollars a year as subsidy from the American Communist unions in France and Italy.

FO earned its keep by helping maintain social capitalism from its economic difficulties. In 1948 they joined with other non-Communist unions in launching a campaign against rising prices.

This was clearly a diversion from the CGT’s campaign for higher wages, switching the ground from trade union struggle to lobbying of the government.
Beethoven: magnificent revolutionary

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

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

On his father's side, he was descended from Flemish and Italian artists.

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

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

Framework

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

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

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

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

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

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

Beethoven was not invited to go about openly promoting revolt, and was clearly inspired by the democratic, egalitarian ideals of the French Revolution.

To maintain such attitudes in the face of a society dominated by aristocratic principles, was an outstandingly independent position.

Beethoven's unique strength of character was also revealed in the way he overcame the worst possible affliction — a man of music — deafness, which first became apparent in 1799 and was total by 1803. It is nothing in the history of art comparable to Beethoven's musical genius.

Beethoven was near to despair and contemplated taking his own life. This period of intensifying deafness had developed new powers as a composer.

He developed a new creative dimension, new emotional depth, a fresh range of vision and unexplored dramatic power.

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

Brotherhood

Once Beethoven had achieved mastery, a constant theme in his music was man's search for freedom and brotherhood.

His only opera, Fidelio, expresses the idea that injustice can only be overcome by human action which is determined because it is based on a belief in man, his potentiality, and the sanctity of life.

His last symphony, the Ninth of Choral, contains lyrics from Schiller's 'Ode to Joy'. It expresses the deep joy men feel in the experience of being all humankind fighting for a common victory.

Again, the funeral marches in the 'Eroica' and Seventh symphonies reflect a type of mourning that expresses more than an individual's loss, but a widespread and unfathomable sorrow.

Expressed in these works is the mounting men feel at the loss of their humanity at the hands of an oppressive society. These works are therefore not only desolate and revolutionary, they express the desire of men to liberate themselves from the crushing yoke of tyranny that imposes itself on all of us.

In Beethoven's late chamber music, he expresses feelings of individual loneliness and the struggle to overcome such isolation. This isolation is that created by the new urban, industrial society produced by capitalist society.

'Superhuman'

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

Beethoven's music was inspired by the struggles of the urban masses. Its power and emotion can inspire in new ways the struggles in revolutionary struggle for a world based on human values.

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

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

Not all people believe in that kind of divine provision nowadays, at any rate not in the industrialized countries. And yet, in Britain in 1970, 70% of working people voted for the Conservative Party.

Not all people believe in a country with universal suffrage, where 80% of the working population consists of manual and routine white collar workers (1961 census), the Conservative have been in power for 34 years out of the last 50.

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

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

What has been explained is why this is so. What has not been explained is why there is only a minority committed to the destruction of the problem. A larger section of the population that lives in more or less regularly votes for a minority that has proved, to quote a member of the capitalist system, to privatize its concerns to us.

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

Christians are most familiar with the idea of Christianity in order to get an idea of the main features of ideology in general.

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

Man created God in his own image and naturally the conception of the deity charged as soon as conditions changed. In our Bible we progress from Jehovah, the bloodthirsty being as approached to Our Father, the omnipotent and benevolent ruler of Heaven and Earth — the idealized counterpart of the omnipotent and no-so-benevolent Roman Emperor.

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

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

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

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

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

Slowly dying

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

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

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

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

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

The cast is a collection of stereotypes that never fails to please. The perpetually anxious elevators of the Grimst Jacques plays a werewolf - vampire who successfully drives anyone a thoughts of sex from the minds of even the most obsessed man.

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

One variety show that has become quite popular is the 'Carry On' films strip as we call it - the comedic prudish attitudes. The 'Carry On' films strip is just as arbitrary and diverse, sex becomes trivial, dehumanized and essentially pointless.

No one actually ever has sex in the 'Carry On' films unless they are happily and boringly married couples. In this day and age of deathly hand-waving, the ideas the film puts over effectively belittle moral moralities, monogamy and Church marriage while at the same time we are allowed a furry glimpse of a breast or two and a few laughs as well. Not as daring perhaps as 'Oh! Calcutta!' but cheaper and fumier.

These films tend to not only re-inforce people's most reactionary attitudes towards any kind of sexual freedom and the physical infidelity but towards human relationships as a whole. The characters only relate to one another either to make money or to really exploit another.

And the last thing the film shows or advocates is the need for the carrying on, of any actual loving! 

Martin Tomkinson

NOTICES

SOUTH LONDON (5 branches: Roger Pratt on the Labour Party an attempt at 'Carry On' and Ralph Draws a Rosenzweig on 'Carry On' Anti-Apathetic meeting against arms to Spock. Sunday, 12th May at Westminster Central Hall).

WALTHAM FOREST Council of Action (Programme: 'Carry On' and the need to defend the social movements with general secretary SODA). To A and Erics Deneham 6pm Sat shows.

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

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

Called The Road to the Left, the programme charts the stages of Orwell's political development in the career he wrote that stunning if politically modulated book The Road to Wigan Pier about the conditions of workers and unemployed in the North of England.

From Wigan Pier, Orwell went to Spain in 1936 to join the Spanish Republic forces in action against Franco as a member of the anti-Franco socialist party. From that experience came another fine book called Homage to Catalonia.

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

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

Potential

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

Only American writer Norman Mailer had anything perceptive to say about Orwell's amazing foresight in 1948, his projection of a world divided into three constantly warring states, with today's enemies becoming tomorrow's allies.

In 1948 was called 'peace' and conducted to use up the excess capacity of the system.

Mailer pointed out the horrifying similarities with the 'Red America' of America's 'peace mission' in Vietnam and the building of a U.S.-Russia pact against China.

Winston Churchill's exhibition publisher, Frederick Warburg was allowed to extract from Orwell's repudiation of that stale definition of both 1948 and Animal Farm as 'anti-interclassist' Fascism.

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

Unspeakable

EARLIER ON Sunday, BBC-1 brought back the series that start the实践活动 this pathetic programme - but still without success, if Sunday's ratings don't go by.

Paul Temple. This must be the third time the BBC has tried to pump this pathetic programme - but still without success, if Sunday's ratings don't go by.

Paul Temple was a famous radio series in the 1930s, 40s and 50s. If BBC-1 had played them on the radio in the early 30s, Temple with Temple as a tweddy, Oxford bags private detective, they could have greatly combined mystery and humour.

Instead we have a miserable attempt to make Temple and his sidekicks go over the top with some cheaper, humbled with bad scripts, shoddy acting. How did this abortion ever get on to our screens - that's the most pressing mystery our hero should solve.

David East

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

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

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

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

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

Knees bend

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

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

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

They are not wholly convinced of the merits of prayer so they had 'etc' tagged on at the end.

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

Babbling Brookes

RAYMOND BROOKES, chairman and managing director of Guest Kent and Netterfield, is one of the three 'impartial' members of the Court of Inquiry into the power worker dispute. Brookes, who receives a mere £36,000 a year from GKN, is also a member of the council of the Economic League, the extreme right-wing body that spurs on militants and keeps files of their activities for affiliated firms.

Say that again

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

Both ICI and BP Chemicals International have increased the price of certain grades of PVC by up to 39 per cent. PVC is the most widely used plastic in terms of tonnage and its general price is now over £100 a ton.

The UK plastics division of BP Chemicals announced last night that the United Kingdom selling price of some grades had been raised by up to £3 to £5 a ton. Apparently ICI quickly implemented similar higher prices last month.

ICI and BP dominate Britain's PVC market with a 55 per cent and 30 per cent market share respectively. Last February both companies raised prices by 7 per cent and a similar increase was implemented a year earlier. ('The Times, 6 January)
TUC rally: boos greet Wilson and Feather

TUC leaders showed how out of touch they were with the rank and file of their union by attending the anti-union law demonstrations in London’s Albert Hall. And Vic Feather was forced to abandon his speech by the rising level of discontent from the audience.

Magazines chosen for canvass by the TUC. Trade union officials were there in abundance.

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

Longer memories

Wilson attempted to dissolve the TUCs for the last time. Many of his listeners, however, had longer memories. They remembered that Labour’s policies while in office had been responsible for the present attacks on the trade unions and the welfare state.

When Wilson said: ‘It was not Donovan who Fanlighted the Bill,’ Italians recalled: ‘It was you.’ And when he said that the TUCs were trying to divert attention from its own broken promises by attacks on striking workers, the cry resounded round the hall: ‘No, you did it, in the seamen’s strike.’

A section of the audience had heard that the Labour Party worthies could be expected to support communist states. Only one-fifth of those present were really hostile.

The Labour Party leader, standing at the conclusion of the rally, said that the ‘official leader’ of the TUC, was pathetic.

Calls for action

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

The most wholehearted supporter of the official line could hardly restrain himself from the weariness with which their leader, the professor of industrial law, Bill Wedderburn, had things to say of interest about the laws. But he was also the only speaker to respond to the mood of the listeners.

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

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

Hull dockers keep ban on ‘black glass’

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

The dockers had already made it clear that until the 200 sacked Pilkington workers are re-employed at £2 10s. a week, Pilkington Road and File Committee Chairman Harry Black, said the meeting that the 200 workers sacked from Pilkington’s last summer were unable to join any ship in the area.

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

Support

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

Shop stewards at London’s Royal group of docks have told Watkin Cunningham Chairman of the Hull Shop Stewards Committee, that they will support the ban.

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

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

Dutschke: Tory action ‘worthy of McCarthy’ - S statement

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

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

From the outset, we regarded the ‘no politics’ conditions imposed upon Mr Dutschke as indefensible and contrary to the law of the land. We have obtained these facts, obtained as they were through phone tapping, informant and secret police, that proved Mr Dutschke had broken his undertaking.

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

Great interest

Throughout his stay our members acutely appreciated this appeal. Despite our great interest in Mr Dutschke’s political ideas, as at no time did he address a meeting of any of our branches, take part in any of our committees, write for any of our journals or contribute to any of our propaganda.

It is true that he stayed in the same house as one of our members and was put up with us on the train to the sea. It is true that he attended two of our mass meetings - as a participating observer.

Secret police

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

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

Waltham Forest Council of Action

No union law!

Speakers: Berndette Devlin MP Vincent Flynn, general secretary SOGAT division A Eric Deakin MP

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