

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 204 23 JANUARY 1971 6d (2½p)



3000 march for Dutschke

PART of the 3000-strong march on Sunday on its way to Trafalgar Square to protest at the political victimisation of Rudi Dutschke. Inset, IS speaker Paul Foot in Trafalgar

Square. He called on British socialists to step up their fight for a society that would welcome Dutschke back as a comrade-in-arms. (Pictures: JEFF PICK)

Police raid left film group

POLICE raided the offices of Cinema Action in the early hours of last Sunday and destroyed several films during a search allegedly in connection with the bomb attack on Employment Minister Robert Carr.

The group of left-wing film makers have just completed a film against the Tory anti-union laws. It was shown to a large audience of trade unionists outside the Albert Hall last week before the TUC's rally.

Several of the officers who raided the group's headquarters came from Barnet police station, centre of the search for the bomb planters. They went through documents, film projects,

research work, correspondence and even private letters.

In spite of pleas from Cinema Action members, the officers exposed cans of film to the light, destroying months of valuable work.

Questioned

The raid lasted four hours and the officers refused permission for anyone to phone a lawyer. Those members who do not have British passports were taken to Barnet police station and questioned for several hours about their whereabouts on 12 January - they were all at the Albert Hall - and their political beliefs.

It is clear that the raid was part of a

campaign to intimidate and bully all those actively engaged in the struggle against the Tory Bill.

Cinema Action this week appealed for help to enable them to continue with their work. Because of the police's wilful destruction of their work, new copies of the anti-Tory film will have to be made.

Cash donations are urgently needed. As soon as postal services are resumed, please rush them to Cinema Action, care of Socialist Worker.

Bomb outrage against blacks in South London - page 3.

POSTMEN'S FIGHT IS YOUR FIGHT

THE POST OFFICE WORKERS must win their strike. A victory is vital not only for the living standards of 230,000 lower paid workers but also for millions of other working people.

The postal workers are demanding a pay increase of £3 a week. The justice of their claim is beyond doubt. A Leeds postman, for example, now takes home less than £16 after working a 43 hour, six-day week. It is almost impossible to live adequately on wages like this.

But the Post Office bosses, ordered and encouraged by the Tories, have offered a miserable increase of 8 per cent - an offer that is below the rise in the cost of living.

To accept such an offer would amount to taking a cut in wages.

The Tories are leading an all-out offensive against higher wages. They are determined to fight wage claims and weaken the power of workers.

That is why they are also attempting to introduce savage anti-trade union laws.

The employers and their parliamentary representatives are trying to hold down wages in the public sector. If they are successful, millions of workers will be affected and then the bosses will step up their assault on workers in private industry.

There have been many examples of this policy. The government tried it with the lower-paid council workers but failed. Then they took on the miners and the electricity supply workers. Now it is the turn of the postmen.

DIRTY LIE

The Tories claim that higher wages cause inflation. This is a deliberate and dirty lie.

According to a recent economic report produced by the Trades Union Congress, two-thirds of the recent inflation is a result of higher taxation and the increased cost of borrowing money.

These facts are known by the Tory government but they are ignored.

The reason is simple. The Tories cannot really come out into the open and admit the truth. They cannot say that they want to hold wages down in order to increase profits.

They blame working people instead for the chaos of a system over which the great majority have no control.

The Tories are determined to smash the postal workers. They are anxious to force through the 8 per cent offer as part of their plan to force down wages and conditions.

They reluctantly gave 15 per cent to the council workers. The miners settled for 12 per cent. They offered 10 per cent to the electricity supply workers and now only 8 per cent to the postmen.

If they beat the postmen, the next public sector will be offered an even smaller percentage. Eventually the Tories

We must have cash

EVERY EFFORT must be made to get cash to Socialist Worker and the International Socialists. London IS members must bring subscriptions and cash for paper sales to head office. Outside London, branches must contact their National Committee members immediately.

You may telephone reports to Socialist Worker on 01-739 1878 if that number is busy, try 01-739 2539.

will force down wages to a level where only marginal increases are ever paid.

Full support must be given to the post office workers. Money should be collected for them and public meetings held to publicise their case.

Other unions should spring to their aid. Big, wealthy unions like the Transport Workers and the Engineers should give large amounts of cash to supplement the UPW's meagre resources.

But more than solidarity is needed. The attack on workers in the public sector can not be fought by individual unions.

A Nationalised Industries Alliance of all relevant unions should be formed as a matter of urgency to counter the united front of the bosses and the government with the unity of millions of organised workers. Only in this way can we stop the Tories picking off one section at a time.

Payments threat

LONDON postmen claimed on Wednesday that management will attempt to keep post offices closed on Thursdays in an attempt to stop the payment of old-age pensions and social security. Postal workers have offered to work free of charge to make sure that the old and the needy do not go short.

The management move is a crude attempt to whip up public feeling against the strikers. Readers should tell the public who is responsible.

POSTMEN SHAKE OFF

THE PAST - see page 3.

Build Action Councils to kill the Bill

Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN
Tel: 01-739 1878 (editorial) 2639 (business)

Throw in the towel or run up the flag?

AT THE TUC rally on 12 January, Vic Feather said that if he thought for one minute that a national strike would kill the Tory anti-union Bill he would prepare for such action now. But the mere idea of galvanising 10 million workers sends such a cold shiver down Mr Feather's back that he abandons the idea immediately.

And that is the end of the TUC's 'protest' campaign. There may be a demonstration in London next month but, to all intents and purposes, the General Council has thrown in the towel. A few days prior to the rally, Mr Hugh Scanlon, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, said that trade unionists had to accept that the Bill would go through parliament and the task now was to prepare ways of making the laws ineffective.

Here again the advantage is given to the Tories and the employers. No fight now — wait until the laws are on the statute book and then we may think about fighting them, says Mr Scanlon. What he fails to realise is that the Tories will have won a major ideological victory by the very fact that the laws exist. That will be enough to frighten most union officials into opposing strike action: 'Don't do it, lads, it's against the laws'.

We have stressed since last autumn that militant trade unionists must fight for a policy designed to cripple the Bill before it becomes law. That does not mean we close our eyes to the possibility of the Tories pushing their proposals through parliament. Labour's opposition is a fraud: the Tories have a built-in majority and can only be defeated by mass action outside the hallowed walls of Westminster. A militant policy must be designed therefore to kill the Bill now and to make it impossible to use if it does manage to become law.

Refuse to register

In other words, if Hugh Scanlon, leader of more than one million engineering workers, declared NOW that the AUEW would refuse to register, would not accept cooling-off periods or secret ballots and would defend the closed shop and the right to hold sympathy strikes, the Tories would have to think seriously about the wisdom of proceeding with the Bill in the face of such opposition. And if Mr Jack Jones and the giant Transport Workers' Union also declared their opposition now, the Tories would know that key sections of the trade union movement would refuse to recognise the laws and would defend any of their members attacked under them.

The Bill could be killed stone dead if the TUC were to prepare for a national strike of all affiliated unions. Feather and co say the Bill is a grave threat to trade union rights and liberties. Their refusal to countenance a general strike only underlines our assessment that many union leaders welcome those sections of the Bill that seek to smash shop-floor militancy.

The surrender of the General Council, the 'wait-till-it's-law' approach of Hugh Scanlon and the complete silence of Jack Jones throw the burden of organising opposition to the Bill squarely on the shoulders of rank and file militants. Councils of Action need to be built in every locality to link up and direct the anti-laws campaign, a campaign that must fight in every section of the trade union movement for a declaration of total opposition to the Bill and the demand that the TUC should stop hankering after the 'commissionaires' jobs in the corridors of power and lead their members in all-out strike action.

The organised working class has the strength to kill the Bill: that strength must be mobilised now.

MORE REPRESSION IN NORTHERN IRELAND

SO THE BRITISH ARMY OF OCCUPATION in Northern Ireland is to get 'tough'. This, it seems, was agreed at the meeting earlier this week between Chichester-Clark and Maudling. The residents of Belfast, who have been on the receiving end in recent months of the 'pacification' campaign of the British forces, will no doubt allow themselves a grim smile at the thought that the Tommies are only now to use 'tough' measures.

The British military need little new encouragement to use strong-arm tactics. Already the authorities in Belfast have been deluged with complaints about brutality, house ransacking and occupants beaten up by soldiers allegedly searching for arms and 'subversives'.

The truth is the Stormont regime now feels encouraged to go onto the offensive to destroy militant opposition to its rule in Catholic areas of Belfast and the rest of Northern Ireland. Major Chichester-Clark now says that the army will be empowered to search out the so-called ringleaders in traditional Republican areas. This is a threat to all radical and republican elements who have been organising the struggle for civil rights and resistance to the armed attacks of right-wing forces.

Concentration camps

The encouragement to Stormont does not come only from London. The Green Tory Dublin government of Jack Lynch also signalled its 'go-ahead' to the Stormont regime when it announced its intention to take powers to open concentration camps in the 26 Counties.

The new turn in the repression in the North of Ireland is aimed at trade union militants and socialists as well as traditional republicans. That is why it is vital for republican militants facing the strong-arm tactics of the British militia to build opposition on the basis of the widest possible unity of the organised working class and labour movement. It is in the interests of workers, Protestant and Catholic, North and South, to halt the drift to open state repression on both sides of the border, but there is no chance that the so-called 'Green Provisional' wing of the IRA, concerned with hunting the reds from under its own beds, will give this kind of lead.

It is the responsibility of socialists, dedicated to the achievement of an Irish workers' republic, to take the lead in organising resistance against repression.



British premier determined to arm Vorster

'Russia threat' is cover for Heath's racialism

PRIME MINISTER Heath's racialism has been made clear by his arrogant attitude to the African heads of state at the Commonwealth Conference this week. Words like 'firm' and 'hard' in his treatment of them over the arms issue are cheered and applauded in the South African press and radio.

His behaviour is no surprise. The disgusting ticking off he gave Kenneth Kaunda in October when the Zambian President went to Downing Street to attempt to dissuade the Tory boss from selling arms to apartheid was the first shot in a campaign to humiliate Black Africa and to assure the white ruling class in South Africa that he would not falter in his support for them.

Heath's argument — used to camouflage his support for the oppression of the black workers in South Africa — is that the Cape must be protected against the Russian presence in the Indian Ocean. It can easily be destroyed.

First, the South African Navy, even with the promised frigates and Buccaneers from Britain, would be completely inadequate to counter the Russian navy if the threat became real. And as a major oil route for the international companies, any Russian disruption of the Cape route would immediately call up the nuclear navies of Britain and America, the police forces of Western capitalism.

Refused to accept

But all the indications from Washington are that they do not feel that the Russian navy is any more a threat to the Indian Ocean than anywhere else.

Second, Mauritius has offered to become the Malta of the Indian Ocean, in order to provide work for her poverty-stricken people. Heath, it is reliably reported, will refuse to accept this alternative as a base to counter the so-called Russian threat. He is determined to arm apartheid.

His reasons are simple. Apartheid is the method used by the South African state to squeeze the greatest amount of labour out of the black working class, the majority of workers in South Africa's booming industry, at the lowest possible wages.

70 per cent of these wages fall below the recognised poverty line, but lie just above sheer starvation, since it would not be economic to let workers starve.

British capitalism is deeply involved in this vile exploitation. More than 400 British firms have subsidiaries in South Africa.

Among them are familiar names: Pilkington, GKN Sankey, British Leyland, General Electric, J Lucas. In mining the British firms of Consolidated Goldfields and Charter Consolidated form the bedrock of the economy.

Apartheid means that South Africa can produce the cheapest coal in the world. The pithead price is 499d compared with the British price of 15s.

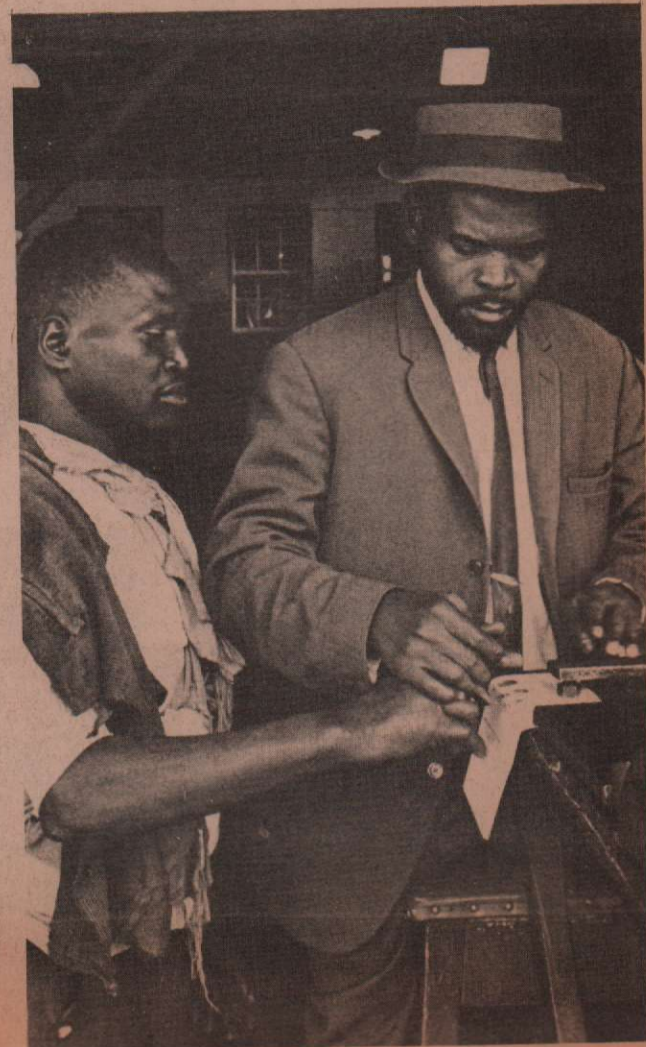
This is hardly surprising as the African miner's wage is about £4 a month. South Africa exports coal to Britain.

Forcibly cleared

Apartheid means that 'excess' Africans, thousands of the old, the industrially disabled and the wives and children of workers who are unable to work to produce profits for the white capitalists, are forcibly cleared out of the urban areas and shunted into the concentration camps of the Bantustans.

Many starve and die of TB as they attempt to become peasant farmers for the first time in their lives on the overgrazed and lifeless soil of the overcrowded reserves called 'homelands'.

To qualify to remain in the urban areas you must be economically active, that is profit producing. You must have worked with the same 'baas' for 15 years as a faithful and passive Bantu.



A mine worker 'signs on' for a job: fingerprints go on to a pass to allow a workman to stay in a white area

From W. EWENLA



KAUNDA: main target for abuse

To move within 15 years to a new job where the wages may offer a few per cent more, lines you up for the dumping grounds. To show the slightest attempt to organise on the shop floor, outside the incredibly complicated arbitration procedure especially designed to keep the blacks in their place, is to commit a criminal offence.

A strike means jail, beatings up and then a one-way ticket to the reserves. To react against the constant harassment by the police at home and in the street, to refuse to call your white foreman baas, leads to a similar fate.

Apartheid keeps a constant watch on you. Your industrial activity is recorded in a thick pass book which you must carry at all times or end up in jail.

South Africa has an intake of 500,000 prisoners a year out of a population of 15 million. Britain has a 50,000 intake.

Most of the prisoners are pass offenders. Many of them will be housed in prisons built by local farmers and will be used to produce profits in the fields as slaves. Outside and inside jail, the African worker sweats to produce the enormous wealth enjoyed by the three million whites, 400 British firms and all the major international corporations.

Apartheid attempts to prevent the African from combining with his fellow worker. It humiliates him, treats him as slave labour and exiles him if he tries to organise in the smallest way.

Yet through strikes and political agitation, the Africans attempt to fight back. The white ruling class is scared and responds with even greater repression.

In order to make apartheid work the state has built up armed forces numbering 10,000 regulars, 85,000 commandos (grey-shirt fascists are prominent in these forces) 350,000 trained citizen reserves and a police force of 30,000 — all these out of a white population of 3½ million.

South Africa is well armed to put down a rising of the African workers. Heath wants to make her better armed.

Liberation forces outside South Africa are becoming a constant source of worry for the capitalists in South Africa and of inspiration for the masses inside her borders. Portugal has suffered constant defeat in her colonies of Mozambique and Angola which neighbour South Africa.

Liberation forces are trained within Tanzania and Zambia. This is why Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda, however divorced they may be from the life experiences of the South African labouring masses, are fighting against the sale of arms at Singapore. This is why they are the main targets of Heath's attack.

The real threat

South Africa has forces deployed against the liberation forces on the Rhodesia-Zambia border and in the Caprivi Strip.

Vorster, the South African premier, has said that 'An army would be built up in certain Central African states for an eventual now or never attack on South Africa.' This is a far cry from Russians in the Indian Ocean.

He sees the African liberation forces as the real threat to the Cape because it is their successes that will light the flame of revolution within South Africa to overthrow the humiliation and exploitation of centuries of black workers in Johannesburg, Cape Town Durban and Pretoria.

This is why Heath is determined to arm the white capitalists and will continue to show his grinning baas arrogance to Black Africa whether they are inside the Commonwealth or not.

The main picture is from 'House of Bondage', a magnificent collection of photographs by black South African Ernest Cole. The Penguin Press, 63s.

POSTMEN SHAKE



The postman: as regular as the clock on the wall — and just as much taken for granted

OFF THE PAST

by Dave Percival UPW

MANY TRADE UNIONISTS were surprised that the Union of Post Office Workers did not have sufficient funds to provide its members with strike pay during the current struggle. The union has existed for more than 50 years and this is the first full scale strike.

But it was not until 1961 that the strike rules were agreed by annual conference. Since then a defence fund has been built up to £350,000 for 200,000 members, which shows it has not received top priority in the last 10 years.

DESIRABLE

The main reason for the weakness of trade unionism in the industry is that the Civil Service was comparatively desirable as a job for working people because it provided regular work and a pension at a time of high unemployment and poverty in old age.

The management took advantage of the anxiety of the workers to retain these benefits and imposed almost para-military discipline. The rule book, even now, is stuffed full of antiquated rulings about compulsory overtime and forbidding staff to send letters to newspapers about Post Office affairs without the permission of the Post Master.

Even the old uniform of blue with a red stripe, which is now being phased out, was modelled on a late

WHY THEY ARE STRIKING

Basic pay for:

105,000 Postmen at 22: £18 18s.
41,000 Telephonists at 28: £17 8s 6d.
22,000 Counter Clerks at 30, less than: £25.
Post Office workers do not get the full rates until they reach the ages above. A Counter Clerk of 21 gets about £16. Postmen start at £10, with a top rate of £19 outside London.

Victorian army uniform.

Lack of opposition by the workers to bureaucratic nonsense about being the Queen's 'servant' and the mountains of red tape which surrounded even the simplest aspects of organisation was caused by the attraction of a pension and reinforced by the grade of postman being recruited almost exclusively from boy messengers or retired regular servicemen accustomed to being ordered about in a way workers in private industry were not.

CONTACT

All this was naturally reflected in the relationship between the management and the union. Just after the First World War, when big business was in fear of a revolution, a government committee, chaired by J H Whitley, discovered that industrial trouble was caused by a lack of contact between the two sides of industry.

It recommended joint committees at all levels to foster co-operation. The aim was to make trade unions responsible for action against the

interests of its members, without giving them any real control over industry.

In most industries the employers preferred less subtle methods of pacifying workers. But in the Post Office, it struck a ready response in an atmosphere of paternal dictatorship and Whitleyism to this day exerts a powerful influence.

The emphasis in the UPW is on the 'responsibility' of the union even at the branch level. It is symbolic that the term of address is not 'brother' but 'Mr' and the union uses Post Office jargon as in referring to postmen as 'delivery officers'.

But there are more favourable features of the UPW. It is the best example of an industrial union and includes telephonists, counter clerks, postmen, overseers, telegraphists and cleaners.

CONNECTED

Two years ago all the members went on an overtime ban in support of 2000 overseas telegraphists and ensured their victory.

The branches are based on workplaces which means that local negotiations and the union machinery are better connected than in some labour organisations.

The old-fashioned traditions are rapidly being discarded now the Post Office is no longer part of the Civil Service.

Mechanisation will reduce the number of sorting offices to 120 and new telephone exchanges are altering telephonists' conditions. These uncertainties come on top of the resentment caused by low wages.

Bomb outrage against blacks

MORE THAN 20 black people were injured, 10 receiving multiple burns to their heads, faces and hands, when four petrol bombs were hurled into a house party in Forest Hill, South London on 3 January.

The bombings were the work of at least two youths — probably more — who were charged by the police with nothing more than malicious damage to property.

The Black Unity and Freedom Party, at a meeting of more than 100 in Deptford on Sunday night, claimed that Mosleyite fascists were behind the outrage.

When 20 members of the BUFP went to visit the victims in hospital on 10 January one was attacked by a thug and then all 20 were arrested by police from Ladywell Police Station.

At the Deptford meeting the message was that black people must organise to defend themselves.

But the speakers stressed that blacks must also see racialism not as whites against blacks but as a well-established divide and rule strategy of a class-ridden society in which the interests of capital are above those of people.

The BUFP called for black and white unity among all oppressed working people. This call was enthusiastically taken up by the overwhelmingly black audience.

A resolution was passed at the meeting demanding that all the victims should be given the best medical treatment available, including plastic surgery, absolutely free of charge. It was pointed out that the press had almost completely neglected the atrocity, yet could pour out endless crocodile tears when Robert Carr's luxury house gets damaged and the Daily Mirror offers £10,000 reward for catching the assailants.

All donations to the fund for the victims of this appalling incident should be rushed to: The Secretary, SEBPO, R Lofters, 83 Astbury Road, London SE13.

Notting Hill charges

CHARGES of 'Incitement to Riot' and 'Riot' were dropped against seven black people at committal proceedings in Marylebone Magistrates Court, London, last week.

The charges arose out of a demonstration last August. After 18 months of police victimisation, black people in the Notting Hill area decided to demonstrate.

Many were arrested on charges of ob-

struction and assault. Some weeks later, a new charge was introduced of 'incitement to riot'.

After evidence was given last week from 25 witnesses, only two civilians and the rest police, the 'incitement' charges were dropped. The prosecution then substituted charges of 'riot', some five months after the demonstration.

To substantiate the charge of riot, the prosecution's case rested mainly on the shouting of the slogan, 'Kill the Pigs'.

The Magistrate, Mr David Wachter said, 'Forgive my language, if they shouted 'f... the Pigs', or 'Bugger the Pigs', the police would not have taken that literally would they?'

The prosecution lawyer then said: 'One man said: "We are going to smash up the Pig houses".' The Magistrate replied: 'But they passed at least one Pig house and nothing happened.'

The defendants have all been committed on charges of 'affray' and some are charged with assault. One man is on a separate charge of 'Attempted Murder'. The cases will be heard at the Old Bailey.

A national conference organised by black people is to be called shortly to discuss problems and policies.

THUMP!
TAKE THAT,
SQUAREHEAD!

HIMMEL-SAY
THAT AGAIN,
ENGLISCHER PIG,
UNT I VILL TELL
GEORGE ORWELL!

GUNS CHATTERING, Rockfist Rogan dived his Spitfire towards the menacing Messerschmidt. Tracer bullets leaped through space, the German plane burst into flames and plunged earthwards, a thick pall of smoke belching from its engines.

Meanwhile, back in the Fifth Form, Ginger Nutt (the Boy who Takes the Biscuit) was toasting crumpets over his study fire and planning a super jape to outwit Peachy Snook, the school sneak. Danny Chester was rattling home yet another hat-trick of goals for United and Colwyn Dane, the star detective, was flushing dangerous slit-eyed Orientals from a Limehouse opium den.

1948: all's right with the world, the war is over (although they forgot to tell Rockfist Rogan) and hundreds of thousands of small boys like myself were lapping up the repetitive, predictable but satisfying fare of weekly papers like *Champion*, *Hotspur*, *Wizard*, *Rover* and *Adventure*.

The pigtail brigade had a diet of 'jolly hockey sticks' adventures (What is the Sports Mistress's Dreadful Secret? — see next week) in *School Friend* and *Girl's Crystal*.

The record attendance for Michael Kustow's exhibition* 'A Celebration of Comics' at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, shows the amazing nostalgia that many of us still have for the twopenny dreadfuls of yesteryear.

In the British section I slipped through a time-lock to the years of Brylcreem and short trousers to meet again Billy Bunter, Dan Dare, Roy Race and the many other heroes of 20 years ago.



GEORGE ORWELL:
magnificently wrong

SOCK

The show is marred by the absence of any comics published by DC Thomson's of Dundee. This means we are robbed of some of the most famous characters of the comic world — Pansy Potter the Strong Man's Daughter, Desperate Dan, Biffo the Bear, Lord Snooty and his Pals, Alf Tupper, the scrap metal merchant who could run the mile in four minutes, and, king of them all, Wilson.

Wilson was the man with the secret potion that gave him enormous strength despite his age — about 250 years. Clad only in a tattered tracksuit, he scaled Mount Everest, ran the mile in THREE minutes and dismissed the Australian Test Team in less than two overs of 150mph fast bowling.

Thomson's, a notorious anti-union firm — it makes its journalists go in on Saturdays to practice type-setting — has refused all attempts in the last 30 years for any research into its publications.

The reason for this Greta Garbo attitude is that Thomson's have never recovered from the verbal drubbing they received in 1939 when George Orwell wrote his famous essay 'Boys' Weeklies' (available in volume I of his collected writings — Penguin, 50p).

BIFF

The ICA show sent me hurrying back to Orwell's magnificent diatribe. He reserved his main attack for two long-dead comics, Magnet and Gem, that had nothing to do with Thomson's. They were published by the Amalgamated Press, now Fleetway Publications, part of the Mirror group.

The Magnet featured perhaps the greatest ever comic book character — Billy Bunter, the Owl of the Remove, the enormously fat, cowardly, sneaky public schoolboy who was always waiting for a cheque to turn up to settle his gargantuan bill at the school tuck shop.

Orwell described the Bunter stories and their counterparts in Gem as outdated, snobbish, sickeningly patriotic, ignoring the realities of the world, portraying the working class as idle buffoons, all aristocrats as God's gift to mankind and all foreigners, without exception, as funny.

He viewed comics as a monstrous plot by the ruling class (Lord Camrose, the press baron, owned Amalgamated Press) to subvert young workers and instil in them the rotten values of capitalism and to learn to go through life hating foreigners and touching their forelocks to the gaffers.

WOW

Yes, the essay is magnificent — it is also magnificently wrong. Orwell's attitude to the ruling class is similar to that of many other socialists, who see them as a conspiracy, using our marxist analysis and approach in their own distorted way.

But the ruling class is not like that. They have their own world outlook, their own point of view and they naturally express that outlook through their control of newspapers, radio, tele-



BILLY BUNTER:
fat, sneaky, cowardly

vision — and even comics.

And as an ex-employee of the Amalgamated Press, I can vouch for the fact that comics are produced not to push a 'political line' but to make money — in my day any comic that fell below a circulation of 120,000 copies a week was chopped, regardless of the importance of its propaganda. The reactionary views expressed in such publications are not part of a conspiracy but reflect the attitudes of the middle-class people who write them.

Similarly, I doubt Orwell's contention that comics have a long-lasting, harmful effect upon working-class readers. For example, it is harsh economic necessity that drives young workers into the army and if they become sadistic thugs through that experience, it is a result of their training, not through reading the blood and guts adventures of their childhood heroes.

GOSH

The Penguin Orwell contains the reply which Frank Richards, the author of Billy Bunter, wrote to the *Boys' Weeklies* essay. It is one of the most outrageously funny pieces of reactionary writing that has come my way for some time.

Orwell complained that the magazines avoided any discussion of the sexual problems of the young. To those who want such discussions, Richards said: 'My own opinion is that such people generally suffer from disordered digestions, which cause their minds to take a nasty turn.'

The plain fact is, he says, that aristocrats are God's chosen people — the higher you go up the social scale, the nicer people become.

And the final blow: 'As for foreigners being funny, I must shock Mr Orwell by telling him that foreigners are funny . . .'

As Richards might have said himself: 'Ouch, I say, yaroo, leggo you awful beast.'

ROGER PROTZ

*A Celebration of Comics: ICA, Nash House, The Mall, London SW1, until 7 February. 11am-10.30pm daily.



The Philippines: a guerrilla fighter loses a round in the battle for freedom

what we stand for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



regular election of all full-time officials.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IMPERIAL

robb sta the

IN THE INDIAN PROVINCE of Uttar Pradesh the peasants live in the period between one harvest and another by picking grains of corn from the dung of cattle. A day of such work might yield a few handfuls of food and make the difference between life and death.

In the countries of South East Asia, where three-quarters of the people live and work on the land, the landlord and moneylender often take up to two-thirds of the crop from the farmers who are reduced to the level of starving serfs. The typical landholding might be of three to five acres worked by one family entirely by hand without the benefit of modern machinery and producing a third of the crop for sale.

In many countries, much of the best land is kept for producing crops for export — as much as a quarter in Indonesia and two-thirds in Malaya and Ceylon. Most of this will be owned by foreign companies, for whose profit the local people work as labourers on the large plantations.

In South East Asia the peasant spends more than half his miserable income on food, but his average daily diet is only just over 2000 calories, compared with our 3500 calories. In this there is only 5 to 10 grams of animal protein, as against 40 to 50 in our diet.

His annual purchases of clothing weigh only 5lbs as against our 30 and the climate is not always warm. His house is often only a hovel of mud or reeds.

He burns 200 or 300lbs of fuel a year, much of it precious animal dung which should go to fertilise the fields. The energy we use each year for heating and lighting are the equivalent of 10,000lbs of fuel a head.

When the landlord or moneylender have been paid and food and shelter found there is little left, and if the crop fails millions die. In India a child can expect to live for 30 years, in Britain, 70. Fifteen out of every 100 Indian babies die within a year. In Britain the figure is two.

Economies wrecked

The so-called 'poor' countries have been made poor and are kept poor by the now wealthy nations. Their economies and industries have been wrecked and ruined to wrench them into line with the needs of the West, as suppliers of raw materials and cheap labour.

Every trick of force and fraud, divide and rule, has been used to keep them dominated. So-called foreign aid is used to keep their economies tied to ours and to prop up corrupt local rulers so that a much greater sum in profits can flow into the pockets of a handful of big monopolies.

If their raw materials are no longer needed by modern technologies, their economies and people are left to rot. And on every one of the countless occasions when the exploited peoples have revolted against this system, imperialism has used massive violence to keep them in their place.

From Cromwell's Irish massacres and the slave revolts to the continuing butchery in Vietnam, the history of imperialism proves what Karl Marx wrote 100 years ago: capitalism came into the world covered with blood and will only go out the same way.

Robbery of India

The wealth that started the industrial revolution in Britain was looted from Africa and Asia through the slave trade and the robbery of India. When native industry had been destroyed and the people confined to agriculture and their exports ruined, their countries were turned into markets for British goods and sources for raw materials.

In the second half of the 18th century the fabulous wealth drained off to Britain each year from the Indian province of Bengal alone is estimated at £15 million a year in the money of the time — worth 12 times or more our present money and all of it flowing into private pockets in England. Indian industry, especially in



Malaya: British troops floated whole villages away from the

textiles, had been the basis of this profitable trade. Britain killed the industry to make room for cheap imports of British-made textiles, and turned Bengal, once India's richest province, into a desert.

The first famine came in 1770 and a third of the population died. The population of the towns dropped by more than half.

Indian spinners, weavers and metal workers were ruined. Indian exports of cotton dropped from £1.3 million in 1814 to £100,000 in 1832.

A British governor general wrote: 'The bones of the native weavers are bleaching the plains of India.' In the same period British cotton exports to India increased 50 times over.

The Indian story could be repeated for Ireland, Egypt, Indonesia and Africa, where native societies were broken up by shipping off the able-bodied population as slaves. The failure of these countries to develop is due to the use made of them in the development of capitalist industry in our own.

When their industries had been smashed by foreign exports, they were used as sources of raw materials: cotton, jute, hides, oil and wood in India, tea, coffee and rubber in Ceylon and Malaya.

At the end of the last century, as Germany, France and America had industrialised too, the race for colonies began. Soon almost the entire globe was carved up among a few great robber powers.

A S

As the pove at home restr profitable invest capital to the of overseas mark the system gain

Income from ments gave Brit payments surpl onwards. In 19 investible surp abroad.

The stabilit system for a tim for the employ concessions to movement at he the trade unio bureaucracies gr ers' organisation unity of interes and 'their own' the rulers and countries and a of the exploited

Lea slau

When the n ition between t robber states led War, the worke each country su countries. They into the trenche

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen/Cydebank/Dundee/Edinburgh/Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling/Forth

NORTH EAST
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Teeside (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

NORTH
Barnsley/Bradford/Derby/Doncaster/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds/York/Selby/Sheffield

NORTH WEST
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham/

Bolton//Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/Potteries

MIDLANDS
Birmingham/Coventry/Northampton/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/Swansea/Plymouth

SOUTH
Ashford/Brighton/Crawley/Folkestone/Portsmouth/Southampton

EAST
Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Acton/Angel/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/Fulham/Greenford/Harrow/Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Reading/Richmond/Stoke Newington/Slough/South Ealing/Tottenham/Walthamstow/Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria

JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Name

Address

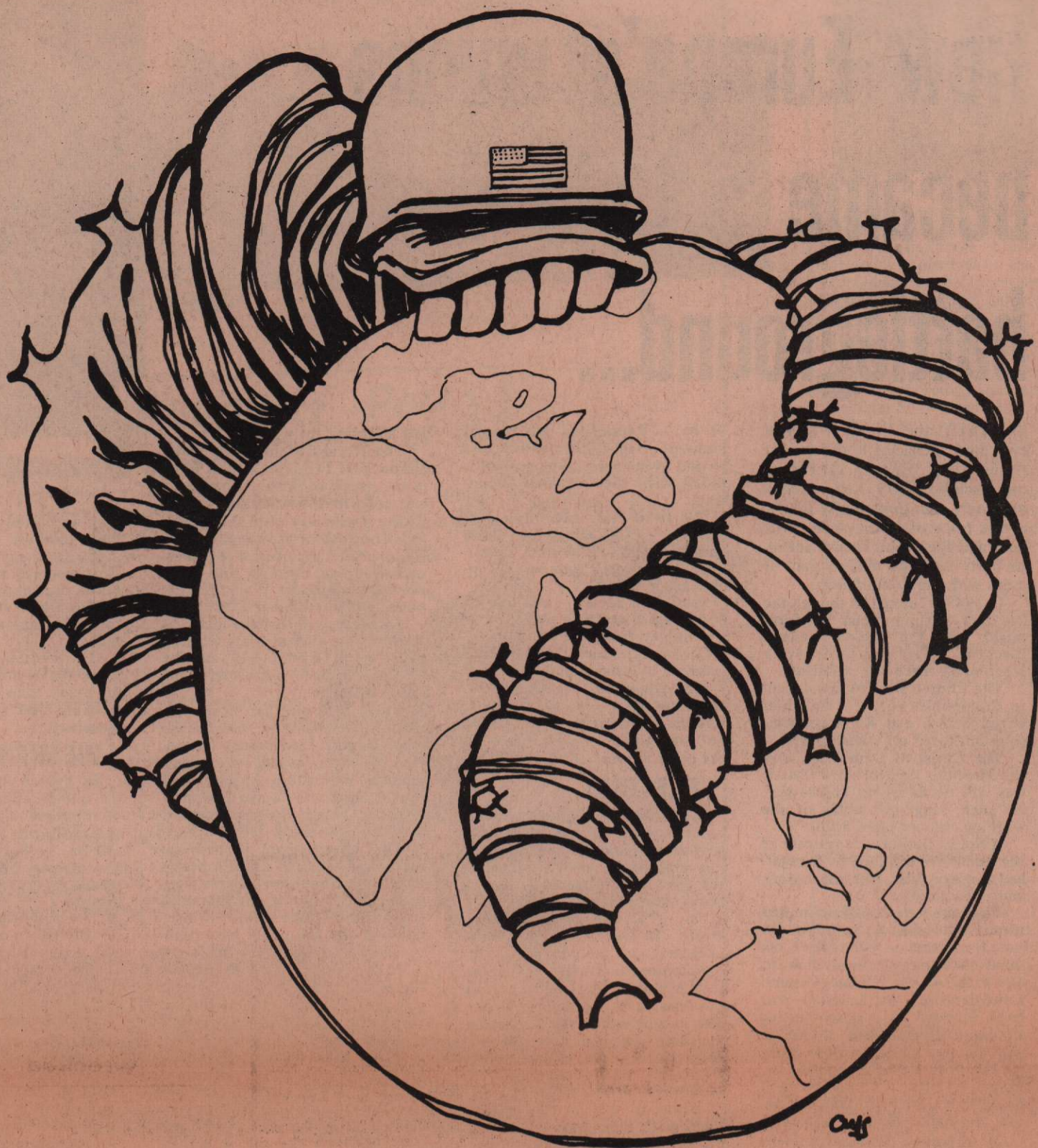
Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Fight the

IMPERIALISM: Serving and World



guerrillas



Special survey by STEPHEN MARKS

ty of the workers
ected outlets for
ment, export of
olonies and the use
ets helped to keep
g.
overseas invest-
ain her balance of
s from the 1870s
4 half the annual
us was invested
y this gave the
e made it possible
ers to grant wage
he rising workers'
me. On this basis
n and reformist
w up in the work-
s, believing in the
between workers
uling class against
workers of other
against the peoples
countries.

other in the interests of the employers' profits. So the ideas and politics grown upon the soil of imperialism have helped to keep capitalism going and do so still.

But imperialism, we are told, has changed since the war. Many countries have won their 'independence'.

What has changed is simply this: since 1945, when America and Russia divided the world in the Yalta carve-up, arms competition between the super-powers has played the role of mopping-up excess capital which the export of investments to the colonies used to play.

And the modern technology which has grown up on the basis of the arms industries has meant that trade is increasingly between the advanced countries themselves and not between the advanced and the backward.

But if the advanced countries are less dependent than they were on the 'backward', the opposite is not the case. The exploited countries are more dependent on the 'advanced'.

Their economies remain based on the export of raw materials. The prices of the raw materials they produce have been dropping as modern industry relies more on synthetic substitutes and as the chaos of capitalism leads to 'over-

production' in a world where millions starve.

So the raw-material producing countries get into debt. The only way out of the debt is through loans from organisations such as the World Bank.

But these loans are only granted if 'sensible' economic policies are followed. This means concentrating on products for which export markets already exist - in other words, raw materials.

Vicious circle

So their dependence on one or two crops like coffee, sugar or cocoa, for which the world price still drops, is increased.

In 1966, 44 per cent of all American foreign aid to Latin America went to pay interest on past debts. In Latin America today these debt repayments are exceeding so-called 'aid' which is tied to the receiving governments 'respecting foreign investment', that is not breaking out of the vicious circle that causes the problem in the first place.

The debt must be repaid in foreign currencies earned from exports, while the debt burden grows faster than exports do. Any indus-

trial goods such countries may try to export are kept out of the advanced countries by tariffs.

Most industry is foreign-owned by companies which deliberately do not export it back to their own countries. From 1950 to 1965 American investors in the 'third world' took out three times as much in profits as they put in and the value of their assets increased.

Imperialism is the working-out of the logic of capitalism on a world scale. The struggle against it is a single, world-wide struggle.

Every victory of the exploited peoples in Vietnam, Latin America or India, weakens the common enemy.

That enemy can only be finally defeated in his centres of strength in the advanced countries, where the productive forces that can build the socialist alternative to capitalism have been concentrated by the robbery of the rest of the world.

But the struggle can start anywhere and win victories anywhere. Political power may more easily be won where the enemy is weakest. No one but the working class in the exploited countries can lead a fight to the finish against imperialism.

The middle class is too closely tied up with the system and the vast mass of peasants, though they are capable of fighting to the end, as the Vietnam war shows, by themselves lack the centralisation and collective power of the urban workers.

Workers' power cannot last indefinitely in a poor isolated backward country (nor in an isolated advanced country for that matter). But a workers' government in any part of the world can help immeasurably the overthrow of capitalism by the workers of other countries.

For us in Britain the central point to learn is twofold.

First, every victory of the oppressed and exploited nations is a victory for us by striking at our common enemy. And every victory of imperialism over the peoples it robs strengthens the power of capital.

It is not possible to fight the employer at home without also opposing his robbery and murder abroad.

Firm rejection

Second, the new sort of politics that is needed to fight the employers' offensive at home has to be based on a firm rejection of all the nonsense about 'national interest' which owes a lot of its strength to the heritage of imperialism.

Only by telling the truth about the sordid history of imperialist robbery and murder and by defending all struggles against it - in Ireland, India or Uruguay - can we fight on a clear and united basis at home.

Exploitation is world-wide. So must the struggle be against it.

Important novels for all socialists

Fast

Spartacus - a superb novel based on the great slave rebellion of 71BC
7s (35p)

Sartre

Roads to Freedom:
The Age of Reason 7s (35p)
The Reprieve 8s (40p)
Iron in the Soul 7s (35p)

Serge

Birth of Our Power 7s (35p)
Case of Comrade Tulayev 7s6d (37½p)

IS BOOKS

6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN

the bosses at home and abroad

How Europe's unions became a Cold War battleground...

IN ITALY the situation looked even more menacing in the eyes of Washington. Whereas in France the Socialist Party had taken a resolutely anti-Communist line — at the price of losing most of its rank and file — the Italian Socialist Party in 1946 made a pact of unity with the Communists.

In 1948 it looked as though the Socialist - Communist platform might win the Italian General Election. Before this threat every reactionary force was mobilised.

The Church refused absolution to Communist voters — and their wives. British and American warships anchored off Italian ports.

The Christian Democrats won the elections comfortably. But it was still necessary to ensure that no such dangerous unity of the working class emerged again.

A Social Democratic splinter of the Socialist Party, led by Saragat, had already split, but the unions were still united.

The long period of fascism had meant that Italian trade unions did not, for better or worse, have the same traditions as the French. In 1944 the CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labour) had been founded as a body uniting Communists, Socialists, Republicans and even Christian Democrats.

The 1948 elections, and the decision by the Communist and Socialist majority of CGIL to oppose Marshall Aid, led to a split.

A Christian Democrat break-away in October 1948 was follow-

ed by a Republican and Social Democratic split in May 1949. The second group split again, part of it joining with the Christian Democrats.

By 1950 Italy had three federations — CGIL (Socialists, Communists), CISL (Christian Democrat), UIL (Social Democrat, Republican).

American advice — and finance was again much in evidence, as was money from the governmental Christian Democratic Party, itself financed by private industry.

The employers eagerly followed up the split. Fiat, for example, refused to negotiate with CGIL, but was highly co-operative with the other unions.

RESTRICT

CISL played the role of a perfect bosses' union. It was pledged to support Christian Democrat election candidates, even those from the right-wing fringe who opposed trade unions on principle.

In 1952 its leader Pastore wrote: 'In Italy it is not possible decisively to emphasise a more equilibrated distribution of income if this should in some way limit the process of capital formation... This is why workers in Italy must, in their own interests, restrict their requests for wage increases within the margins determined by increases in productivity.'

While it was in France and Italy, with their mass Communist parties, that the split had its most dramatic effects, the results were

felt all round the world.

The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), founded in 1945 in the period of post-war harmony was split in 1949. Active leaders of the breakaway were the American Congress of Industrial Organisations (the American Federation of Labour had been too anti-Communist to support it in the first place) and the British TUC.

Side-effects in Britain included the ban on Communists holding office in the TGWU (1949) and the de-registration of various left-wing trades councils.

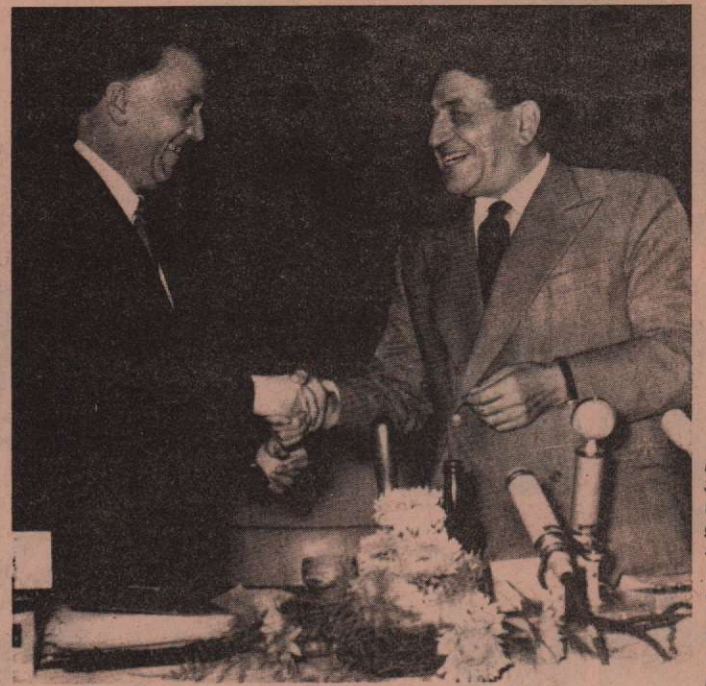
From then on, there were two world federations — the WFTU (now largely Communist dominated, with most of its biggest sections in Eastern Europe) and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, founded in 1920.

The effects were particularly severe in Africa and Latin America where the labour movements were in an early stage of development. Independent trade unions in Europe and the US could have done much to assist their growth.

Instead the trade unions of these continents became a cold war battleground, with authentic trade unionism finding it difficult to get its head above water.

Elsewhere the US could be more directly brutal. In Japan in 1947, General MacArthur was able to ban personally a general strike.

In Greece, Irving Brown of the AFL played a key role in getting the unions tied up under state con-



Louis Saillant, WFTU general secretary (left) and Giuseppe Di Vittorio, former president

trol, with union dues collected by the employers.

In Germany, the British and American sectors forbade national union organisation until 1947 and strikes until 1948. But an attempt to set up separate Catholic unions failed.

The events of this period laid the foundations for the following 20 years. The Western European working class was divided and demoralised.

WEAKENED

In France there had been over six million unionised workers in the immediate post-war period. In the 1950s this fell to around three million. In Italy the numbers fell less sharply, but the unions were greatly weakened in the bargaining process.

The conditions were now ripe for the US to expand its political and economic influence throughout the world, for European capitalism to revive and establish the Common Market.

The villains of the piece are clearly the Americans and their allies in the Church and Social Democratic Parties. But the Communists must also bear a heavy responsibility.

Their politics, though militant, were the politics of manipulation and the splitters' job was made

easier by the fact that some of their criticisms of the Communists were indeed true.

The 1960s have seen some changes in the pattern of European trade unionism. Communist and non-Communist unions now co-operate quite frequently.

Partly this stems from the concern of the rank and file of all unions for unity, but partly also from the fact that there is growing pressure from the State to involve the unions in co-operation with economic planning and incomes policy. For example, the French CGT has recently been awarded state subsidies equal to those given to the non-Communist unions.

It would be wrong, therefore, to see unity as an answer to all problems. British workers with a long history of a united TUC are only too well aware that this unity is no guarantee against betrayal.

The real lesson that emerges from the squalid story of splits, bribery and betrayal in the years 1947-50 is this — European workers will have to see through the lies of ALL the bureaucrats who have misled them over the last 20 years, and establish a unity based on struggle and socialist principles.

French workers took the first step on this road in May 1968 — it will not be the last.

THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



'Greedy workers': who really holds the nation to ransom?

MR ANTHONY BARBER said recently that 'We cannot allow the trade unions to hold the nation up to ransom'. Just what is the 'nation'? Car workers, dustmen, miners, power workers and postmen together with their families are presumably part of it.

As a matter of fact they, with their fellow workers in other industries and trades and their families, make up a big majority of the people living in Britain. Are they holding themselves up to ransom?

Of course, Mr Barber, whose concern for the old, the sick and the poor was reflected in his recent Budget, means to give the impression that groups of greedy workers are exploiting their strength to get exorbitant wages at the expense of old-age pensioners, the chronically sick, widows, orphans and other unfortunates.

The reality is very different. It was the Tory politician Disraeli who coined the phrase 'The Two Nations' to describe the rich and the rest of us. Today's Tories are less candid but the two nations are still a fact. Around 10 per cent of the population own about 80 per cent of all private property. Some of the 10 per cent are only moderately well off. The really rich dominate property ownership in Britain.

Professor J E Meade showed, in a book published in 1964, that the richest 5 per cent of the population owned 75 per cent of all personal wealth in 1960. If we take shareholding, the most important source of unearned income, we find that just over 1 per cent of the population owns 80 per cent of all share capital and the great bulk of the remainder is owned by another 9 per cent.

As with property ownership, so with income.

Marxists distinguish between personal property — a suit of clothes, a car — which does not produce income and property in the means of production (nowadays mostly in the form of shares) which does.

All wealth is produced by work. Shares are a legal title to a portion of the wealth produced by others — by workers. The interests of the class that produces the wealth, working people, and the class that controls the surplus value, the capitalists, are directly opposed to each other. If the workers collectively get a larger share, in real terms, of what is produced then the capitalists get less and vice versa. It is as simple as that.

The 'national' interest, then is a fake. There are only class interests. The real interests of working people in Britain are the same as those of working people in Germany, Japan or the USA. The slogan 'Working people of all countries unite' expresses both the reality of common interests and the necessity for workers to recognise and act on those common interests to free themselves and the rest of humanity.

Head fixers

Nationalism is an ideology, a false consciousness which enables the ruling classes to control the people they exploit. But like all influential ideologies it incorporates some facts. National differences, in language, in history, in customs, are a fact. So too are differences in the standard of living in various countries.

It is these indisputable facts that make it possible for the 'head-fixing industries' con-

trolled by the various ruling classes — education, TV, radio, the press and so on — to play on the differences so that the bosses can divide and rule.

Nevertheless socialists cannot regard all nationalisms as equally reactionary. There is all the difference in the world between the nationalism of a colonial or semi-colonial country, whose workers are doubly exploited, and that of an imperialist power like Britain. The right of every people to self-determination has to be recognised.

'No nation,' wrote Marx 'that oppresses another, can itself be free'. The poison of imperialist ideas, of which racialism is the most extreme form, helps to paralyse the workers of the imperialist countries in their own struggles.

The peoples of the British Isles have genuine national traditions: the traditions — to go back no further than the industrial revolution — of the English and Scottish Jacobins, of the Chartists, of the pioneers of free speech and trade unionism, of the heroic fighters of Irish republicanism.

The struggle for democracy is central to our tradition. Every single democratic right we enjoy today, free speech, the right to organise, even the right to dissent from the state religion, has been won by working men in the teeth of violent opposition from the ruling class.

Immense sacrifices were necessary to achieve them and immense sacrifices will be necessary to defend and extend them. There is no final victory short of socialism. We do not have democracy in Britain today though we do have vitally important democratic rights.

At one time the fight for the right to vote was the central issue and many thought it would, if won, destroy class rule and exploitation. Bronterre O'Brien, the Chartist leader, believed: 'Universal suffrage means a complete mastery, by all the people, over all the laws, and institutions in the country ... General suffrage would place the magistracy and parliament and consequently the disposal of the military and police forces in the hands of the entire body of the people.'

Limited value

Universal suffrage was actually won in 1928. It has real, if limited, value. It has not achieved what the Chartists hoped for and the reason takes us to the heart of the problem of ideology. The forms of democratic rule are quite compatible with the reality of rule by a small governing class, on one condition.

The condition is that the mass of the population have a false view of the world and, in particular, that the working class as a whole is not yet what Marx called 'a class for itself'. In other words it has not yet come to understand its objective interests and looks at society through the spectacles of ruling class ideology, of 'national interest' and the rest.

This state of affairs cannot be changed simply by education and propaganda, necessary as these are. It can only be changed by activity, by that actual struggle for immediate aims which produces self-education. In Marx's words, 'The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionary practice.'

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



Pop goes the great music festival

AFTER an enormously lucrative run in the West End, Woodstock is at last on view all over the country. It is a three hour long film showing what happened at the famous open-air American music extravaganza — the people, the music, and the reactions of the local inhabitants.

Apart from the fact that the film badly needs cutting (three hours is a long time for even the most ardent enthusiast), there is little one could quarrel with in the film's content. The music is excellent, the photography sharp and imaginative and the interviews are interesting and nearly always relevant.

Woodstock communicates the explosive excitement of the original event amazingly well. The audience in the cinema shout, clap their hands and jump about, generally getting into the atmosphere of the whole thing.

Same way

What is contentious is the significance of the whole event. Over and over again, people in the film say things like, 'This is the start of something really new' and 'America will never be the same again after this'.

In fact, America and the Vietnam war have gone on in very much the same way as before. The Woodstock festival was just one more step along the road to the final, total alienation of the youth of America from their elders and 'superiors'.

Its significance should not be underestimated. Capitalist values tell us that people are essentially evil and, when they get together in large numbers, they fight, steal each other's possessions and all need men in uniforms called policemen to keep them manageable.

As socialists, we are concerned to show that men can live together, at peace with one another and that this is the only way men can live.

Woodstock was an example of this. It was no revolution or anything of the sort, but it was important as an answer to the pessimistic individualists who argue that men have to be kept isolated from one another. The sad thing about Woodstock was that it did and could only have lasted three days. On the Monday morning people had to climb back into the rat race.

Not enough

What has happened in America since has shown only too clearly that this kind of festival is not enough on its own. Repression in all its many facets has forced young people either to become politicised or to drop out totally and to go and grow wheat and marijuana in New Mexico.

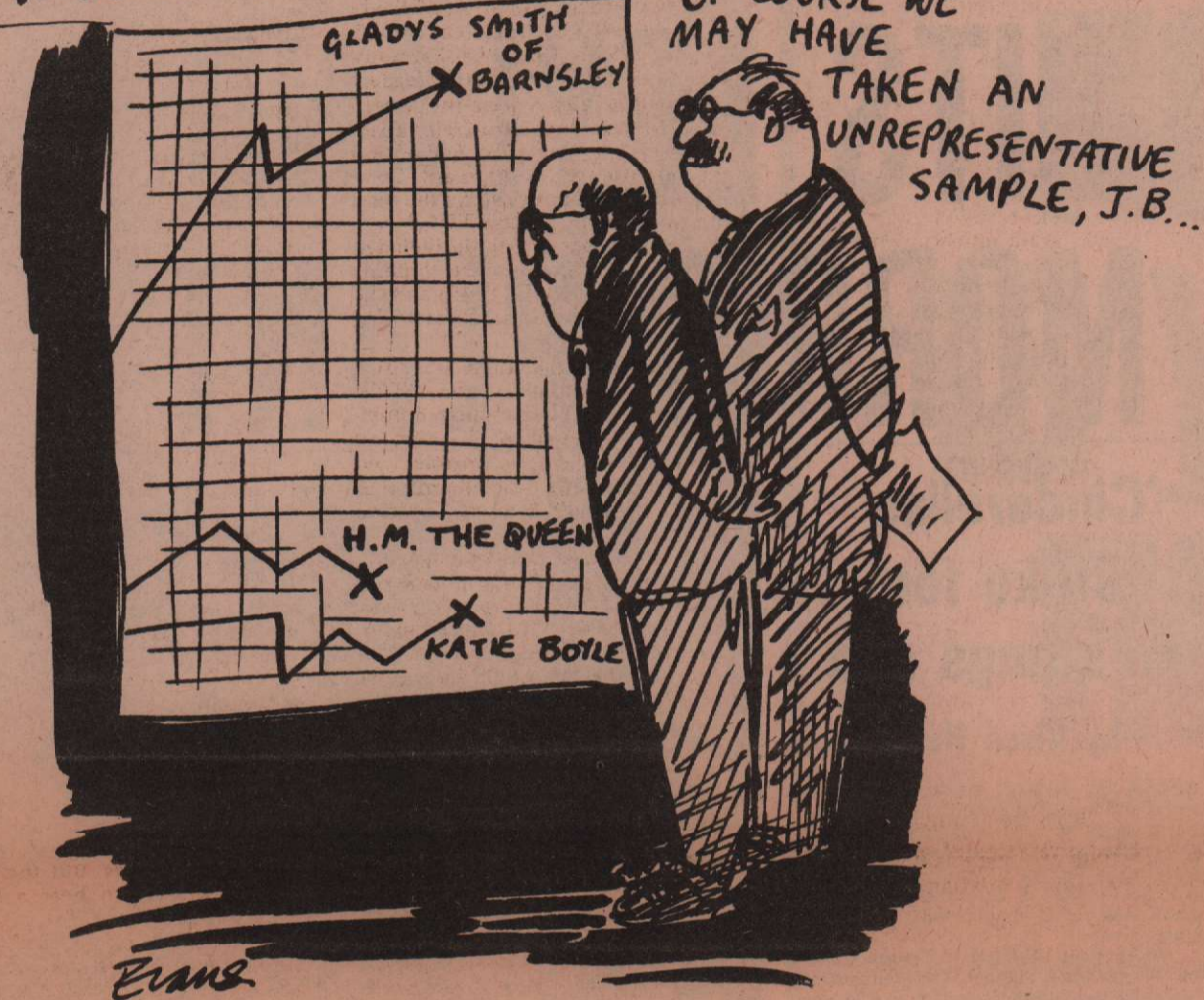
Capitalist society will not fall apart just because hundreds of thousands of people live together and have a good time for three days.

For people who are socialists, these facts are pretty obvious. They should not, however, blind us to the importance of trying as far as its possible in our neurotic society, to live our ideas here and now.

In this context the whole Woodstock phenomenon, the fact that it actually took place, was very important and should be appreciated as such.

Martin Tomkinson

WALLOP POPULARITY POLLS



COTTONS COLUMN

THERE was quite a party on New Year's Eve at Baron Edmund de Rothschild's castle near Paris. Just before the witching hour of midnight all the ladies retired from the main salon to the 50 or so bedrooms.

They reappeared a few minutes later wearing masks and identical silvery white dresses and shoes. Jolly sport then commenced, with the gentlemen groping around to 'identify' their ladies.

This popular pastime had been masterminded by Baroness Nadine, the lady of the chateau. It makes a change from playing Monopoly — but it's a mite expensive. Each of the dresses worn for the occasion cost £1900.

FORWARD the Czech Communist Party to fearlessly crush another insidious counter-revolutionary plot. The party has banned the Boy Scouts.

The party youth paper *Mlada Fronta* claims that the shorts-and-sheeps-shanks brigade were perverting the nation's children with 'concepts of democracy and humanism'. Concepts that not only horrify the Czech party bosses but no doubt the ghost of old Baden Powell up in the great Camp Fire in the Sky.

Backing down

REMEMBER the nauseating 'I'm Backing Britain' campaign back in 1967 — the futile attempt by assorted pop singers, bosses and mindless union leaders to get us to wave the Union Jack and buy only produce



VORSTER: black looks

stamped 'Made in the Crown Colony of Hong Kong'?

The campaign was launched by a handful of typists at the Colt Ventilation factory in Surbiton, Surrey, who offered to work overtime without pay to help the 'national interest'.

Amble down to Surbiton today to find how the jolly jingo typists are doing and you would have a rude shock. Most of them have emigrated.

Dropped a brick

LATEST example of the appalling hypocrisy that is apartheid: a block of luxury flats was being built in a high-class suburb of Johannesburg. It was a 'whites only' area, of course, and, to the horror of Vorster's government, it was discovered that all the workers employed on the site were black.

That is illegal in South Africa and it began to look as if the luxury flats would remain half-built. The property developer who owned them was anxious about his profits and he

searched the apartheid Labour Code

The outcome is that work is progressing again — but with a difference. Painters are no longer using paint brushes — they're putting on paint with old rags. Bricklayers are using shovels instead of trowels, plasterers are using pieces of wood and electricians are making do with penknives instead of screwdrivers.

The reason? The Labour Code only bans skilled black workers from working in white areas.

VAT 71

THE Common Market, we are often told, is a manifestation of the new streamlined capitalism. Old-fashioned national barriers are allegedly being swept away.

But suppose a citizen of Luxemburg dies and his family wants him cremated. The nearest crematorium is in Strassburg — where the French government will exact Value-Added Tax for a 'service rendered to a private individual'.

When the ashes come home to Luxemburg, more VAT — this time for 'work given to a foreign company with reimportation of the finished product'.

USEFUL figures to wave in the face of the next person who goes on about strikes damaging the economy
the number of working days lost through sickness is more than 80 times the average number of days lost through strikes in the five years 1965-69



INTERESTING to see the unbiased reporting by both channels of Sunday's Dutschke demonstration. Out of the hundreds of different banners and placards on the march, ITN singled out a Communist Party student banner with a large hammer and sickle.

The cameras closed in on that one banner for the duration of the report. It ended with the information that 'among speakers in Trafalgar Square were Labour MPs Michael Foot and Judith Hart'.

That could be described as a loose version of the truth. Of all the speakers, M Foot and Mrs Hart received the worst receptions from the crowd, who were bored by the platitudes of two representatives of a party that did precious little for individual liberties when it was in office.

Then over to BBC for its report. Low and behold, the camera focused on the same Communist banner and the reporter told us that 'among speakers in Trafalgar Square were Labour MPs Michael Foot and Judith Hart.'

Here is a beautiful example of distortion: select one banner to suggest that a march was entirely composed of 'reds'. Then choose only those speakers who are 'personalities' even if they had nothing of any great importance to say. That's responsible television journalism for you.

I CAUGHT up with the adventures of Dr Who for the first time for several years on Saturday. I imagine that it still commands a sizable audience or it would have been chopped after its 10 year run. But what kind of audience is it?

Fantasy

Years ago, Dr Who was clearly defined as children's television. The old space traveller flipped about the time scale, now in the future, now in the past, and, as unashamed fantasy, frightened no one.

But that, if you'll pardon the pun, is all in the past. The stories now seem to be set firmly in the present day and the reality of the scenes and the possibility that the events could happen might well have an upsetting effect on young viewers.

What has happened to Dr Who is quite easy to understand: the programme is a success in terms of its rating. No one minds very much whether the programme is still really children's television, least of all the writers, who write to please themselves.

The current adventure treads the well-worn path of aliens trying to take over Earth. The villainous Master kills people off through his ability to bring plastic objects to life, including very nasty dolls that choke their victims to death.

There is a lot of semi-scientific mumbo-jumbo. Dr Who explained the properties of the dolls as 'quasi-organic matter'. Not surprisingly, my six-years-old son spent half the programme averting his gaze, the other half looking bored.

I am sufficiently interested to watch again this Saturday. But will the kids?

London Weekend has a much better children's programme on Sunday afternoons called *Catweazle*. The hero is a wizard from Norman times who has turned up in Britain in the 1970s.

The writers keep their audience firmly in mind and the adventures are amusing.

The programme even makes some telling points about the wonders of modern life compared to the 'ignorant' dark ages. Confronted by an alarm clock, *Catweazle* asks what is function is and is told that it tells you when to get up, when to go to work, when to go to bed.

'And do you obey it?' he asks unbelievably.

David East

Socialist Worker

Press lies over Ulster 'terror'

by Eamonn McCann

THE TORY PRESS lies about the fighting in Belfast. The lies are deliberate. The Tories are trying to create a climate of opinion in which murder by soldiers and imprisonment without trial will meet only muted protest.

Every journalist hack churns out the tired and time-honoured lie: that the people in the streets are dupes, inspired

and manipulated by a tiny handful

Socialists know that there is no need to look for hidden hands. An unemployment rate that in some areas approaches 50 per cent, a rotten educational system, the corruption of the courts, the offensive arrogance of the army in quiet times, its animal brutality when trouble ensues, the legal repression of republican politics — these are reason enough for riot.

The reforms so far enacted have not

changed the bleak life of a Ballymurphy or Bogside teenager. But he has changed. The chaos and campaigning of the past two years have given him a glimpse of something better and a hope of achieving it.

The lack of any alternative leadership means that the militancy of the Catholic kids, especially in Belfast, has been channelled into crude nationalism. The left must move quickly to head off the dangers inherent in this.

Building boss defies call to take back sacked men

by Gerry Bold

ST HELENS:- A lock-out at Rowlinson's building site is now in its 15th week. The bitter dispute started when the 73 men on the site were sacked after joining last October's demonstration in support of 200 sacked Pilkington glassworkers.

The industry's National Disputes Panel has twice ordered the firm to take the men back. But the gates stay shut.

The site will only re-open, say Rowlinson's, without two of the stewards and after a cut in the bonus system has been agreed by the men.

Bricklayers' steward Peter Lenahan said: 'We can never accept these conditions and they know it. This is the old system of weeding out. We have taken every possible channel with them. We have won every round and we are still out of work. How can you beat a system like that?'

Behind Rowlinson's stands the big boss of St Helens — Pilkington's. Since the glass monopoly went 'public' at the end of last year, the management has been determined to reimpose firm discipline throughout the company town.

Intimidate workers

Two hundred redundancies have just been announced at Sheet Works, the largest plant in the town. This is clearly intended to intimidate workers throughout the group.

The announcement of the redundancies followed closely on the rejection of a productivity deal and speed-up by the committee of 183 (Sheet Works) branch of the GMWU.

Rowlinson's site stands opposite Sheet Works. Millionaire boss Rowlinson, who operates the 'lump' system on all his other sites, was prevented from doing so in St Helens by the militancy and solidarity of the men.

In the present political atmosphere, Rowlinson felt safe to act and to go to the limits to defend the principle of the building industry that high profits come before good workmanship.

Gerry Caughey, chairman of the Pilkington rank and file committee, has pointed out that in an interview with him in our 9 January issue, the unity between socialist organisations that he called for was to fight the anti-union laws not just the question of the reinstatement of the sacked men.

WANDSWORTH IS: public meeting at The Spotted Dog, 72 Garrets Lane (nr Wandsworth Town Hall) at 8pm, Thursday 28 January. Tony Cliff on the Tory Offensive

MIDLAND REGION IS day school: two speakers on Decline of Social Democracy and Industrial Perspectives for the Midlands Leicester University, Percy Gee Building, 10am Saturday 6 February.

STOKE NEWINGTON IS public meeting: Tony Cliff on The Need for the Revolutionary Party. Monday 25 January, 8pm. Rose and Crown pub (upstairs room) cnr Church St/Albion Rd N16. Bus: 73.

TEACHERS and the industrial relations Bill: 2pm Saturday 23 January, NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, Theobalds Rd WC1.

SHEFFIELD IS: Roger Protz on The Millionaire Press, Sunday 24 January, 8pm, Brunswick Hotel, Haymarket.

SHOWDOWN OVER MDW HITS LEYLAND MORRIS PLANT

SW Reporter

OXFORD:- A showdown over Measured Day Work hit British Leyland's Morris Motors plant at Cowley last week. It marked an important new stage in the management's months-old attempt to force through the new pay system.

The 500 workers in the modern South Works received a letter proposing MDW at the universal rate of £1 an hour. One paragraph of this letter read: 'If you clock in tomorrow and begin to work normally, this will be taken as showing that you agree with the proposal. If not, consult your supervisor who will arrange for you to be transferred to the transitional labour pool.'

This was no choice. The pool rate would be only £26 per week, £14 a week less and the permanence of the pool is well known.

At a mass meeting of both North and South Works, a majority voted to fight MDW. Yet by Friday the company gleefully announced that all workers in the South Works had 'accepted' their proposals.

At the meeting the three trade union officials who spoke avoided calling an immediate stoppage against the imposition of MDW. Instead they told the South Works men to return to work 'as pieceworkers'.

This meant it was up to each worker individually to take a pay cut as well as facing up to the get-tough foremen. At first a brave minority refused to accept the company's proposals but by Friday all were working the new scheme.

This policy was in clear contrast to what had happened when the management tried the same tactic on 165 workers at the neighbouring Car Body plant. A mass meeting of workers from the factory directed the 165 to work to rule, at the same time pledging that their earnings would be maintained by a levy of all factory pieceworkers.

British Leyland wants to abolish piecework and introduce MDW because it hopes to speed up production and bring in systematic work study and flexibility.

IMPORTANT

Imposing MDW at Cowley is tremendously important for the bosses. Although only a minority of the Morris workers are employed in the South Works, the plant is the key element in the whole £75 million complex.

In time it will handle not only the new model — the ADO 28 — but also most of the other mass produced vehicles assembled at Oxford. Agreements at the South Works will slowly affect more and more workers.

At the moment most of Morris's workers are employed in the North Works and are not covered by the MDW proposals. But the company clearly intends to spread the scheme to this plant as well.

The attempted extension of MDW into the North Works and the next door Car Body plant might be assisted by two factors.

First it takes some time before a MDW system begins to show its teeth.

Second, as long as there are other factories not on MDW but where the bosses would like to introduce it, the full implementation of the system will be avoided. In this way, by attempting to show 'that it's not that bad' the management will try to totally abolish piecework.

The South Works workers now have the responsibility of fighting the MDW scheme.

The Cowley events contain lessons for all British Leyland workers. Slowly but surely the management are trying to introduce MDW in Birmingham, a form of MDW has been signed at the Austin Crofton Hackett factory and wages and conditions are under attack elsewhere in the city.

All of these struggles demonstrate the need for motor workers to meet, exchange experiences and develop a fighting policy.

CAR WORKERS CONFERENCE: Sunday 7 February, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham. Sessions on Parity, MDW and a rank and file paper. Credentials from: C Beadle 128 Hainault Road, London E11.

'Cinderellas' strike for no-strings rise

by Vince Hall

AFTER 20 years of submission to low wages and appalling conditions, one of the sweat shops of Leeds has decided that it will sweat for a pittance no more. The Wellworthy factory in South Leeds (formerly Specialoid) is the Cinderella of the giant Associated Engineering group of companies.

While many Midlands AE workers are on £40 per week, humble little Wellworthy of Leeds has survived on £16 to £18 per week, well below even Leeds district AUEW rates that are the lowest in the country.

After 20 years without a strike, the factory had a walkout a year ago. They were immediately awarded a £1 average increase provided they allowed consultants into the factory to plan a productivity deal.

Threw out

But when the obnoxious 25 page document called the New Start was eventually produced, the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee decided that it was unacceptable without the removal of large parts of it. The bosses offered only a £4 increase for accepting all the strings without exception.

With patience at last exhausted, the men and women of Wellworthy threw out the prod deal unanimously and put in for a £12 straight increase. The management would not entertain any question of a rise, so the across-the-board increase was put through the painful and time-consuming process of 'Procedure'.

Failure to agree was registered two weeks ago. When a proposal was taken for official strike action last Friday, the majority was four to one in favour of striking.

The shop stewards' committee has asked for help and advice from other AE factories and from any other workers in sympathy.



The freeze and squeeze three: Mortimer, Wilberforce and Brookes

Union leaders flay Tory bias at power inquiry

SW Reporter

SAVAGE ATTACKS were made by trade union leaders at the opening of the power workers' Court of Inquiry on Monday. Both Frank Chapple of the Electricians and Bob Wright of the Engineers, accused the Court of being biased.

They attacked Lord Wilberforce, the chairman, for being an ex-Tory candidate and Sir Raymond Brookes as the chief executive of a company — GKN — that gave more than £35,000 to the Tories' election funds.

Even former trade union official Jim Mortimer, an ex-member of the Prices and Incomes Board is soon to be appointed labour boss of London Transport.

'Chopping block'

Frank Chapple also denounced the decision of the government to include 'the interest of the national economy' in the Court's terms of reference. He said this showed that the Tories were biased against the power workers who were on the 'chopping block' for the government's anti-wages policy.

But neither Chapple nor Bob Wright explained why, in view of these facts, they

called off the pre-Christmas work-to-rule. It was they who accepted that the Court of Inquiry should discuss 'the national economy'.

Demand answers

And to date none of them has explained why they called off a work-to-rule that could have resulted in victory for the workers for the alternative of a Tory hand-picked Court of Inquiry. Power workers should demand answers to these questions.

The role of Frank Chapple should surprise no one. His militant remarks are motivated solely by his wish to make a favourable impression in his union's forthcoming elections. Without these elections there is no doubt that his behaviour would have been very different.

All power workers should continue to demand the full pay increase and publicly announce that their work-to-rule will be resumed if they do not get it.

Published by the International Socialists, 6 Cottons Gdns London E2. Printed by SW (Litho) Printers Ltd [TU all depts]. Registered with the Post Office.

Subscribe now!

£2 for a year/£1 for 6 months

Name

Address

I enclose £.... for 1yr/6 mnths

Send to: Socialist Worker,
6 Cottons Gdns, London E2 8DN