

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Council tenants plan strikes to fight Tory law

RENTS BATTLE ON THE BOIL

FOUR MILLION tenants had shock letters from their councils this week telling them they will have to pay up to £1 a week more in rent from 1 October. Midnight last Sunday was the legal deadline for councils to give notice of the increases imposed by the Tories' vicious 'Fair Rents' legislation—the Housing Finance Act.

by HUGH KERR

More than one million tenants had to pay an extra 50p a week from April. Now more than five million face the start of a spiral that will double rents in the next four years, followed by regular increases every year after that.

For the majority of tenants, any last lingering hopes that Labour councils would protect them

from the Rent Act have been finally demolished. Only 40 Labour councils have ignored the deadline for issuing notices of increases out of 1200 local councils responsible for housing.

Of the 40, the majority are Scottish local councils, most of them small housing authorities.

The final collapse of the majority of Labour-controlled authorities came in Sheffield last week when the committee planning opposition to implementing the Act broke up in total confusion.

Only half the committee's 21 members bothered to attend and some of them represented councils that had decided to sell out their pledges to fight the legislation.

Sheffield and Stevenage councils then threw in the towel, leaving only one big city authority left in England that is still voicing opposition.

That is Birmingham—and Labour leaders there have made it clear that if the government waters down the increase slightly they will implement it.

In London, only Camden council is still refusing to bring in the increases.

Those Labour councils that do stick out and fight the Act all the way must receive full support from the labour movement, including pledges of support of industrial action to stop fines, jail threats and the imposition of government-appointed Housing Commissioners to force through the increase. Strike action by unions in the public sector, including town hall clerical staff, could stop the Tories in their tracks.

SUPPORT

But in most parts of the country it is the tenants alone who will have to lead and organise the opposition to the savage increases. Already the tenants' movement is at its most active ever.

In dozens of towns and cities, tenants' organisations are pledged to rent strikes in October. In many areas, the tenants are actively supported by local trade unions and pledges of industrial action if tenants on rent strike are threatened with legal action.

It is the task of every socialist, tenant and trade unionist between now and October to develop the tenants' movement to the highest possible pitch.

Mass meetings must be held on every estate to plan the fight against the increases. Leaflets and posters should be produced calling for support.

The local trade union movement must be closely involved in every area. Above all, a militant strategy must be adopted that can defeat the rises.

Every rent increase must be met by a rent strike. Every local trade union branch should pledge industrial action to support the tenants.

The miners and the dockers have shown that the Tories can be defeated by the organised strength of the working class. The rents battle can be won, too, if tenants and trade unionists plan for action NOW.

Turn to back page

TUC: the carthorse



TUC delegates voting: toeing the line—but what line?

turns a cartwheel

HEADY DAYS you might think at this week's TUC—32 unions suspended for defying Congress policy, a boycott of the NIRC, and the 'left', it is said, firmly in control.

But if you want to understand the meaning of the decisions taken, cast aside the commercial newspapers and other official versions of the events, and borrow a microscope, preferably highpowered. For behind the speechifying, the mixture is very much as before.

Concerned at the spinelessness and duplicity of the General Council of which he is a member, Hugh Scanlon once again had to come to the Congress floor. His union's motion on the Industrial Relations Act envisaged a boycott of the employers' court, called for Congress discipline to be applied to any defaulters and insisted on solidarity with threatened unions.

But the AUEW move also includes provision for payment of fines imposed by the NIRC from a special fund. Even that well-known cheque signer Jack Jones managed to agree with this formulation.

LAURIE FLYNN: Brighton

It is a shoddy patch-up, allowing the manoeuvrers of the TUC's permissive society to continue business as usual. And this allegedly militant formulation leaves the majority on the General Council happy in the thought that their basic approach remains unchallenged.

In between Congresses they have the power 'to decide the varying tactics required' albeit 'within the framework of Congress policy'.

Little or nothing about the Congress gives you even a whiff of the struggle that has gone on, is going on, in the world outside. You would never have thought five trade unionists had been jailed. More importantly, you would never guess how and by whom they were set free.

In his opening presidential address, George Smith of UCATT himself under-

lined the point: 'We must never imagine that we are an alternative form of government.' Smith was at pains to underline that the doors to talks with Heath and his fellow bandits in the CBI are welded back in the open position.

Jack Jones, too, is happy, though a little sad about the way the captains of the TUC are currently being treated at those talks: 'How can you expect the unions to sit with the government and deal with the country's key economic problems when they are regarded as second-class citizens. And worse, treated as second-class citizens,' he asked the huge audience of 70 people who had come to hear him and Wedgwood Benn address a Tribune meeting. 'This Act has debased the law of the land,' he added.

There is no official intention to take on this government. The leadership of the TUC has successfully insured that any such

FIGHT RACISM

On page 5, a powerful indictment by VINCENT FLYNN, general secretary of SOGAT, the print union:



Heath, Powell and Wilson support unemployment. They, and the society they uphold, created it. And now that it suits them they are crying false tears over the plight of the human beings they themselves fling on the scrapheap and they are doing this because they know racialism and fear are powerful weapons for undermining the growing strength of the organised working class.

PLUS

A rebuttal of the poisonous lies of racist politicians like Enoch Powell by IAN BIRCHALL—also page 5

PLUS

A demolition job on the lying and twisting of facts by the Daily Express in RON KNOWLES' Spike column.

ALSO

LAURIE FLYNN investigating the prisons revolt and MIKE COOLEY, executive councillor of the supervisors' union TASS, on the computer threat to jobs.

ALL

In the paper with the best news and analysis for the working-class struggle against the Tories and their system. The paper that on

28 OCTOBER

will expand to a regular 16 pages a week, with an even better news and analysis service.

YOU know you can't afford to miss Socialist Worker. Have you told your workmates?

LONDON IS MEMBERS THIS FRIDAY

(8 September)

Tory minority on Ealing council is moving motion at emergency council meeting urging the government to force Asians not to settle in Ealing.

Protest demonstration outside Town Hall from 6pm. Called by Communist Party, Indian Workers Association, Ealing AUEW No 3, Ealing Community Relations Council and West London branches of the International Socialists.

All IS members to give maximum support.

DRIVING US MAD: SEE CENTRE PAGES

WORLD NEWS

Police link with chain of brothels exposed

CORRUPTION YEAR is reaching its height in France, too. The latest scandal to be exposed is the network of prostitution in the Lyons region—a network in which the local police force is intimately entangled.

Brothels are illegal in France, but some of the most respectable citizens of Lyons have been making fat profits out of the business—including chains of brothels along the motorways.

The chain that did best was the one in which a former head of the vice squad and one of his officers had

shares. They were able to get rival businesses closed down on false reports, buy them up cheaply and reopen them. Other brothel owners were 'just good friends' with the local police superintendent and a Gaullist parliamentary deputy, M Charret.

The conduct of these local worthies during the recent inquiry is worse than the sordid nature of the racket itself. The former superintendent, M Javilliey, who has now been arrested, tried to cover up the evidence in a murder case four years ago to hide his

by Norah Carlin

connection with the night club (called Le Fetich's Club) where it happened.

The deputy Charret, called upon to explain his longstanding relationship with a local madame, claimed that he had visited her house out of charity to her deaf-and-dumb son. Last year he raised a parliamentary question about the corruption of French youth by sex boutiques.

The local prefect, responsible for police affairs, stated that there was not a single member of the police force in whom he did not have the utmost confidence. (Does the phrase have a familiar ring about it?) He described the affair as an empty bubble blown up by journalists and although he retired or suspended several officers he vigorously asserted their innocence.

Two weeks after his statement several of these ex-officers and some still working were arrested by order

of the inquiry judge.

The prefect also complained about the shortcomings of the law on prostitution, but added that he thought the practice unavoidable in Lyons, because it has so many unmarried immigrant workers, especially North Africans.

Most North African workers in France live on meagre wages, in appalling shanty towns, are the main target of French racialism—and now stand accused of providing a temptation to the police to make shady profits!

The Lyons prostitutes themselves have been driven from their 'hotels' on to the streets, to be constantly harassed by officious policemen anxious to prove they are not corrupt. Their attempt to demonstrate against this sudden increase in vigilance by those who turned a blind eye to their employers was broken up.

The case has shown more than the French middle class cares to see exposed. There is the hypocrisy of the law: no one imagines Lyons to be the only place where brothels exist, and for this to be possible police corruption is essential.

But the extent to which the upholders of law and order are prepared to lie to defend their shady friends is an ever greater embarrassment, as every day new evidence exposes last week's big lie.

Legal robbery

A QUIRK in the law of Michigan, the American state which includes Detroit, has robbed 22,000 jobless workers of 13 weeks of unemployment benefit. Where the rate of 'insured unemployment' is more than 6.5 per cent, workers should receive 13 weeks extra benefit after the six months of normal benefit runs out.

Unemployment in Michigan is 10.3 per cent and rising, but so many workers have been out of work for a long time that nearly half are no longer insured—so 'insured unemployment' is below 6.5 per cent.

BRITAIN GAVE AFRICA RACISM

PRESIDENT Idi Amin's plan to expel thousands of people of Asian descent from Uganda is having repercussions elsewhere in Africa.

Racist propagandists broadcasting from Southern Africa have gleefully quoted the British press condemning the Ugandan leader as a 'black racist'.

Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia have all taken some kind of action against non-citizen Asian businessmen. Therefore, they say, African nationalist movements as such are simply another form of tyranny no better than apartheid.

This outlook ignores the role played by British imperialism in planting the Asians in Africa as a class of shopkeepers and small businessmen. It also ignores the real issue, which is the continued domination by imperialism of supposedly independent countries.

In the 1890s, a prominent British imperialist, a friend and colleague of Cecil Rhodes and British Consul to Mozambique, Sir Harry H. Johnston, explained Britain's strategy for tropical Africa. It should, he said, 'be ruled by whites, developed by Indians, worked by blacks'.

Johnston used Indian troops to crush African resistance to colonisation. This military 'pacification' was eventually to establish Rhodes' British South Africa Company as ruler by royal mandate over vast tracts of Africa. Johnston also encouraged immigration of Sikhs and other Asians to serve as policemen and traders.



A Ugandan Asian woman and her child being met by a friend at Heathrow Airport, London

special report
from Lusaka, Zambia

Meanwhile the European settlers grabbed land and mineral rights, turning African peasants into landless labourers forced to work cheaply for them. Asians gained a virtual monopoly of retail trading and were treated as equals in many respects by European administrators.

With a few individual exceptions, the Asians in East and Central Africa remained opposed to African nationalism right up to independence.

SYMBOL

In Zambia during the 1950s, the African Nationalist movement, led by people like Kaunda, launched a massive campaign to boycott shops which enforced a colour bar. Many Asian as well as European-owned shops served Africans only through a hatch on to the pavement.

Although the real economic power lay elsewhere, it is not surprising that oppressed Africans often saw the trader as a more immediate

symbol of exploitation, with his high prices and stiff credit terms.

Britain's African colonies have achieved political independence without a social revolution. The political and administrative apparatus was simply handed over to the leadership of the local nationalist movement. Kaunda recalls in his autobiography how he brought the independence constitution home from Whitehall in his briefcase.

Since then, in Zambia and elsewhere, reforms, which were supposed to alter colonial patterns of wealth distribution, have benefitted mainly a small minority of bureaucrats and businessmen. For the majority, the alternatives are still to scratch a mere existence from the soil, or jostle with the urban unemployed looking for work at the factory gates.

In this situation, it matters little whether the shopkeeper charging exorbitant prices is black, white or brown.

Even where foreign companies have been '51 per cent nationalised', the big moguls are not worried as they can still repatriate their share of the profits, and collect handsome compensation.

BRIEFING

RAUL SENDIC, the founder and leader of the Tupamaros, was wounded and captured by the Uruguayan police on 1 September. This has come after months of a hysterical 'war against subversion', in which the government has used the most brutal means in order to smash the Tupamaros.

It seems the government also intends to beat the Uruguayan working class into submission. Several militants unconnected with the Tupamaros have been imprisoned and tortured. Two trade unionists, Luis Batalla and Juan Fachinelli, were killed at the end of July while in detention.

BISHOP GONZALES of Puno in Peru has been forced to resign by the Vatican, apparently because of pressure by the rest of the Peruvian hierarchy. In an interview with a Catholic magazine, he said that other bishops had spread gossip about him, calling him 'unbalanced, mad, a womaniser, an intellectual and a rebel.'

The bishop's chief sin seems to have been that he took an interest in the welfare of Indians in his diocese. Well over 80 per cent of the population of Peru is native Indian. He encouraged schemes for improving their agricultural technique and

cutting illiteracy, and also took a course in sociology at Lima University.

The last straw came when he attempted to set up a seminary to train Indian priests—when the Vatican heard about it the promised financial aid failed to arrive.

'South Americans', the bishop says, 'are not going to tolerate much longer the oppression from the United States, nor the oppression from certain "systems" which we in the church have accepted.'

AN ITALIAN court has now indicted two members of the MSI, a neo-fascist organisation, with responsibility for the bomb explosion in a Milan bank in 1969 which killed several people.

The anarchist Valpreda is still charged with the same offence, despite the new evidence. He has been in prison for 33 months, and the case has been conducted in an atmosphere of violence and repression. A key witness against Valpreda died suddenly. The anarchist Pinelli fell, was pushed or threw himself from a police station window during the investigation.

The case was moved from Milan to Rome as popular demonstrations in Valpreda's favour grew in Milan.

During this time the left-wing press has repeatedly exposed the lies of the police, and has built up a damning case against the two fascist suspects, as the court was forced to admit.

The Italian legal system works by delay—more than half the prisoners in Italian jails are there awaiting trial after the preliminary indictment. When either of these trials will be held is anybody's guess.

IN FRANCE 21 babies have died from the effects of a talcum powder containing the poisonous anti-septic hexachlorophane.

An official American report last year made known the dangers of hexachlorophane. British manufacturers withdrew their baby products containing it (though not their vaginal deodorants), because many mothers refused to buy them. But at the same time they stated that it was all a false panic, because small concentrations of hexachlorophane are harmless.

Small concentrations (under one per cent) may be harmless, but a batch of French talcum powder made this year contained six per cent.

Chile: The downward spiral continues

by Vic Richards

AS THE 'Chilean experience' continues its downward spiral, parliamentary socialism in Chile is creeping, not towards socialism, but to a pathetic defeat whenever next there is an election.

The latest round started in Argentina, when 29 guerrillas escaped from Rawson prison (Patagonia) in mid-August. They took Trelew airport, and 10 of them flew to Chile in a hijacked plane.

The remaining 19 surrendered to the armed forces, after freeing the 60 hostages they had held. They were taken to the navy barracks, where 16 were machine-gunned to death a few days later, 'while trying to escape'.

The arrival of 10 hijackers from Argentina seeking political asylum landed Allende's Popular Unity government in an extremely tight corner. Chile's economic and legal ties with her more powerful

neighbour made it most expedient to send the hijackers back.

The Communist Party pressed for this, in part to avoid any conflict with Argentina's military rulers, in part to inflict a moral defeat on Chile's 'ultra left' (the revolutionaries). The right-wing parties supported this. As the Communist Party is one of the two big government parties, there was enormous pressure on Allende, who sat on the fence.

The murder of the 16 guerrillas strengthened the campaign by the left for the 10 hijackers to be flown to Cuba, as almost certain death would await them in Argentina.

Allende's own reputation as a 'peaceful revolutionary' was at stake. So he chose to comply with the wishes of the left (including the vast majority of his Socialist Party) and the hijackers were put on a plane to Cuba.

Since then the Chilean right wing—in particular the fascist group 'Fatherland and Liberty'—has been thirsting for revenge.

Left-wing and right-wing demonstrations were to take place simultaneously in the town of Concepcion on 30 August. The governor, Vladimir Chavez (a leading member of the Communist Party), banned the right-wing demonstration in an effort to purge himself for his actions in May when, faced with a similar situation, he banned both demonstrations. Fighting nevertheless broke out and the riot police was let loose upon the socialists alone, killing a member of the revolutionary MIR.

Emergency

On 30 August, the left-wing demonstration came under attack by groups of right-wing thugs. The police intervened and one policeman was killed and two injured. But the day ended in a shoot-out between the police and the left. The police claim that a group of socialists opened fire on a passing police bus, so they returned fire and wounded nine.

They then laid siege to the local head-

quarters of the Socialist Party, where about 200 left-wingers had fled. A state of emergency was then declared.

The police account is just not believable: they were sent in against the right-wing, not the demonstrators. The only reason for the socialists to have opened fire would have been in self-defence—the incidents were probably a successful provocation by the fascists.

What this shows is that, whatever the circumstances, the riot police will always make socialists and workers their targets, quite literally.

The ruling class in Chile is increasingly confident, and is resisting even the smallest of reforms. The armed forces of the state are taking orders not from their nominal superiors, but from their real masters, the owners of private property. Even the blind should be able to see the idiocy of believing that socialism can be achieved through the ballot box—but Chile's parliamentary socialists continue to dig their own graves.

Socialist Worker

For Workers Control and International Socialism, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2 8DN

Taking the pressure off

IN SPITE of all the sound and fury about the Industrial Relations Act at this week's Trades Union Congress, the joint CBI-TUC 'Conciliation and Arbitration Service' is to go ahead. This fact tells us more about the real attitudes of the TUC bosses than any amount of denunciation of the Act.

For Vic Feather and his friends the Industrial Relations Act is a nuisance because it makes it more difficult for them to get on with the serious business of class collaboration.

However, honest Vic takes the view that difficulties are made to be overcome. Scarcely had the five imprisoned dockers shaken the dust of Pentonville off their boots when the TUC representatives were wining and dining again with the chiefs of the giant monopolies that dominate Britain, in order to sew up their scheme for what the General Council Report calls 'the promotion and maintenance of industrial peace'.

Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon are among those running the 'Service'.

Even that long-standing and incorrigible right-winger Jim Conway, general secretary of the AUEW, professes to be shocked. Setting up the service, he writes in his union's journal, has taken the pressure off the government at a time when, from the unions' standpoint, it should have been maintained.

Absolutely right. We have no illusions about Conway's motives, but the fact that he, rather than the well-known 'lefts', should be the one to point this simple and absolutely indisputable truth speaks volumes about the reliance that can be placed on the 'left wing' when it comes to a real fight.

Certainly, the disciplining of those unions who openly defied Congress decisions in order to collaborate with the government is a welcome step forward. Without it, there would be many more defaulters.

Certainly the AUEW motion re-affirming the boycott of the NIRC and calling for solidarity action in support of victimised workers and unions deserves support even though it provides loopholes for retreat.

But the fact remains that the Jones-Scanlon-supported 'Conciliation and Arbitration Service' is a fundamental retreat. The idea that somehow deals with the employers can paralyse the government offensive against living standards and work-shop organisation is nonsense.

The government intervenes in industry disputes in support of the employers. The government is the agent of the employing class. Is it necessary to remind Brother Jones and Brother Scanlon that big business finances the Tory Party and that he who pays the piper calls the tune? The 'Service' will be used, as even Jim Conway recognises, to get the government off the hook when it is in trouble.

And worse trouble is coming. Make no mistake about it. The National Institute of Economic and Social Research report on the economy proves that inflation is about to hot up and that, without massive wage increases, workers' real incomes are going to fall.

There is a grim winter ahead. The fight against the Industrial Relations Act is part and parcel of the struggle for jobs and wages. It is a struggle against the employers as well as the state. And it is a struggle that cannot be avoided unless we are prepared to accept the loss of many of the gains workers have made in the last 20 years.

Conciliation and arbitration are, at best, a means of saving the face of employers when the strength and militancy of organised workers have forced the bosses to concede demands. More commonly they are weapons in the employers' armoury, used to deceive and confuse workers.

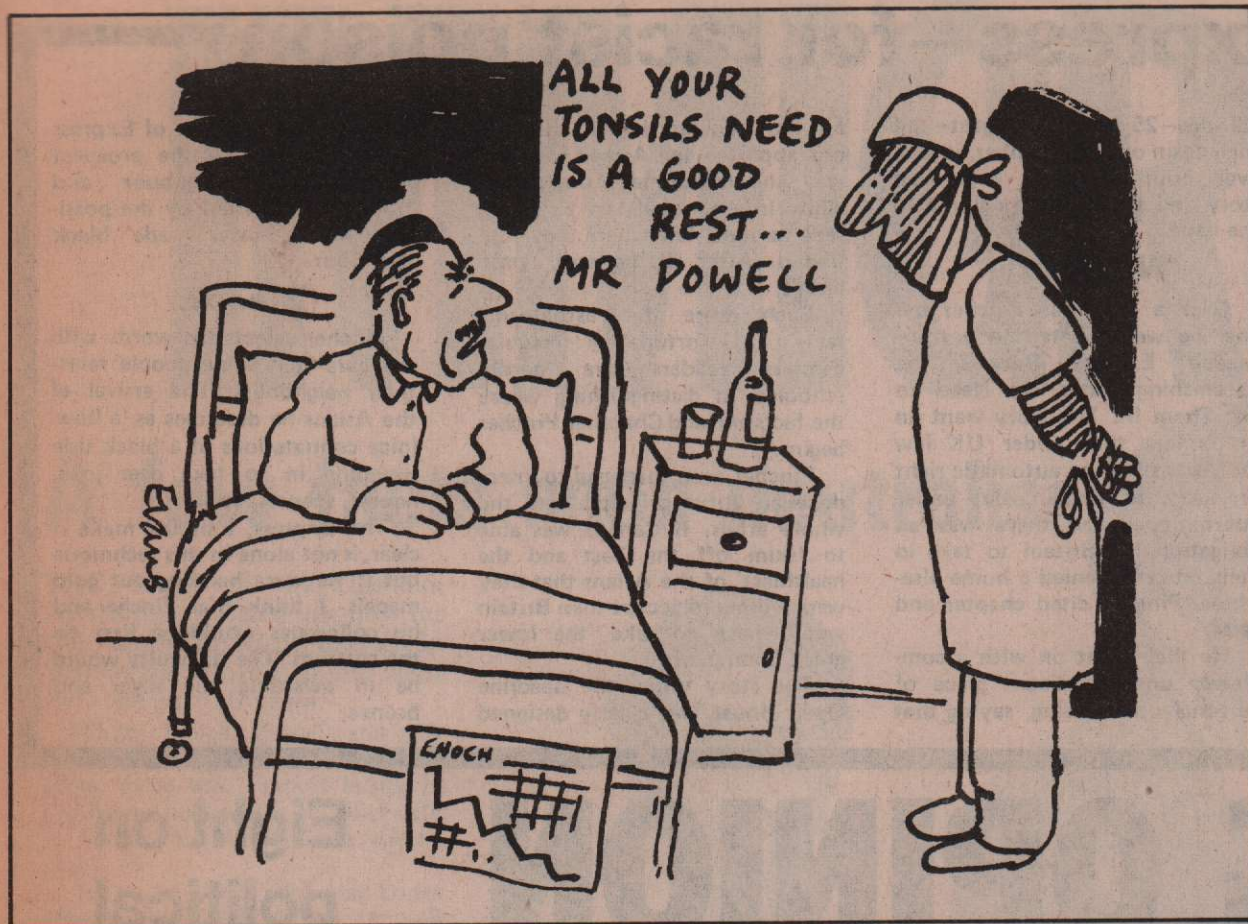
Public funds scandal

THE JUDGES' decision to pay out of public funds the costs of 'private prosecutor' Bennion in the Hain conspiracy trial is a scandal, a clear indication of the political views of the judge and an invitation to other enemies of civil liberties and the working-class movement to resort to tactics of legal harassment and intimidation.

Bear in mind that Bennion has not only received white South African finance to help in his disgusting antics. He is also a proven organiser of scabs. Apart from his, probably empty, threat to bring 'conspiracy' charges against leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers, Bennion has been an active promoter, indeed the president at one time, of an avowed strike-breaking organisation.

At the time of the teachers' strikes of 1970 this would-be Tory candidate organised a 'Professional Association' of teachers whose admitted object was blacklegging.

It must be admitted that the left was slow to recognise the real menace of the Hain prosecution. That must not be allowed to happen again. The background and motives of people like Bennion must be well and truly exposed. Future political prosecutions of the type he has been involved in must be greeted with such a storm of protest that they become too costly to proceed with.



COTTONS WARS

Under the bridge

HEADLINES in the press: Immigrant Flood May Force Ban, Fear of Panic Rush, Immigrants Pour In.

No, they didn't appear in the papers in the last week. They are four years' old. They were written at the time of the arrival of the Asians expelled from Kenya in 1968.

The same deliberate choice of highly-charged words—flood, rush, pour in—designed to whip up fear and frustration. The campaign was successful for a brief time, diverting the attention of millions to the prospect of the 'alien hordes' descending on our green and pleasant land.

And yet, despite the furore stirred up by the press, we'd bet a pound to a penny that most people who are now concerned, to the exclusion of all else, with the question of the Ugandan Asians, have forgotten the scares and outrage of 1968.

Simply because, when the dust had settled, most people found that the problems that had faced them for years remained but were not in any way made worse by the arrival of people whose total number could not even manage to make up 1 per cent of the population.

From 1965 to date, 71,000 East African Asians have arrived here and official figures from the Community Relations Commission show that the majority found jobs within six weeks and few were unemployed for more than six months. They were quickly snatched up by industries that were short of labour, such as textiles.

Now identical headlines scream the same message about an even tinier number of people. Next time you're badgered by somebody worried about the Ugandan Asians, ask them what their chief worry was in 1968—and see if they even remember the 'flood' that 'poured in' then. More likely that they'll name prices, rents, fares, wages as their main concern.

BILL PRITCHETT ordered some ties from a mail order firm, the simple sort of thing that thousands do every day. But Mr Pritchett is a man with a difference—he is a miner and asked



Edouard Heath Premier ministre de l'impérialisme britannique, s'en lave les mains.

OUR French comrades who publish the paper *Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers' Struggle) have an understandable difficulty in distinguishing between the two leaders of the main British political parties. The picture and caption appeared in the latest edition, illustrating a piece on the Ugandan Asians. Caption says that Heath (!) is washing his hands of the problem. Fair enough—but he'd better not wash his face in case the disguise comes off.

the firm to send the ties to his wife's working address, the Nottinghamshire area office of the miners' union. He got a letter from the firm refusing his order on the grounds that the miners' strike was 'a disgrace to civilisation'.

Four-letter ed

JOURNALISTS on the Manchester Evening News were expecting something of an intellectual tussle when they entered into negotiations for a new wages and hours agreement. Not only is their editor, Brian Redhead, an advocate of moderation in industrial relations, but this Cambridge-educated trendy is well known for his appearances on the BBC as compere of highbrow philosophical discussion programmes.

So it was something of a surprise that when the journalists' steward delivered the chapel's proposals, Mr Redhead greeted him with the phrase: 'Thank you. Now fuck off.'

Consequent negotiations were somewhat bitter and for several days not a typewriter stirred as journalists held extended chapel meetings to consider the full import of Mr Redhead's message.

Come again?

REMEMBER Phan Thi Kim Phuc, the nine-years-old Vietnamese girl pictured on front pages in June as she ran screaming in pain and naked down a highway when she and other children were mistakenly bombed by a South Vietnam plane dropping napalm?

Kim Phuc was horribly burned by napalm on her back, neck and arms and has received extensive skin grafts

at a hospital in Saigon. But, explains a reporter in the Boston Globe, she is really a lucky girl. For her hospital alone has 50 children and adults even more distressingly injured by napalm, fragmentation bombs, shells and mysterious diseases that eat away the skin and bones.

Maybe they are worse off than little Kim Phuc. But to describe her as 'lucky' would indicate that not only have the Americans decimated Vietnam but they have also turned the English language on its head.

BRYN JONES, Labour Correspondent of the Daily Mirror, has something of a reputation as a 'radical' in Fleet Street and that reputation helped elect him to the executive of the journalists' union. Just how radical he is can be gauged from his response to a demand at last Friday's meeting of the NUI leadership that the union members on strike at the International Publishing Corporation should receive strike benefit. No, said Brother Bryn, don't give 'em strike pay—tell them to go to social security.

The Daily Mirror is owned by the International Publishing Corporation.

Discredited

A NUMBER of banking whizz-kids have been taken on by the poor old Co-op Bank in a bid to gloss up its image and grab some more business from the powerful capitalist banks. Their first move has created a storm of protest from customers who have received letters telling them that the Co-op has linked up with Barclays Bank to produce a Co-op version of the Barclaycard credit scheme.

The high-powered City gents now easing into the top chairs at the bank overlooked a simple fact that a lot of people on the left prefer to bank with the Co-op because it has some tenuous connection with the labour movement.

Now one angry co-operator, Raymond Hutchinson, has put the following resolution on the agenda of the October meeting of the London Co-operative Society: 'This members' meeting, being aware that Barclays Bank is a supporter of apartheid South Africa, protests at the association of the Co-operative Bank with the Barclaycard scheme. It calls on the board to use its influence with the CWS to cancel this arrangement.'

TAXPAYERS worried about footing the bill for workers withdrawing their labour and asking for some of their own contributions back in the form of social security for their families may care to note that a group of MPs is soon to tour Europe on an official trip of Common Market countries. In addition to their £90-a-week salary, they will also pocket £35 a day each in 'expenses' from public funds.



A gold for the Express—for racist poison

THERE is a racist crudity about the Daily Express that is fascinating in its nastiness. In fact its form is a supreme example of Fleet Street's unique capacity to smother facts with opinion to produce poisonous propaganda.

The Express handling of the Uganda Asians story has been text book stuff. The facts may be muddled, but the technique is starkly clear.

The application of emotive words in strident headlines produces a ready atmosphere in which primitive fears can be exploited to manipulate a problem into a 'crisis'.

Selective facts buttress an argument while those features that undermine it are conveniently ignored. Possibilities and probabilities become cast-iron certainties



RON KNOWLES' EYE ON THE PRESS

to shore up the case and assumptions then constructed on this flimsy foundation. The 'ifs' and 'buts' of analysis are swept aside by the tide of indignant assumptions.

We've seen it all from the Express. The paper has been really pulling out the stops. In successive

editions—25 and 26 August—and then again on 4 September, it gave over both its front page lead story and the Opinion column to the issue.

'No right'

Over a Chapman Pincher by-line we were treated to a story headed Express Reveals the Astonishing Facts—No Need to Let Them In. The story went on to explain that under UK law the Asians had no automatic right of entry to Britain, but under international law there was an obligation for Britain to take in their citizens denied a home elsewhere. Pincher cited chapter and verse.

He then went on with a completely unsubstantiated piece of personal opinionising, saying that

he was convinced that this did not apply to the Asians and anyway the government ought not allow international law to supersede national law where they conflicted. After all, he said, Amin didn't.

Such were the 'astonishing facts'. Unfortunately regular Express readers are hardly schooled in distinguishing where the facts end and Chapman Pincher begins.

Pincher even managed to introduce an elitist principle into the whole affair. If Canada was able to 'skim off the best and the healthiest' of the Asians that they were willing to accept then Britain would have to take 'the lower grade immigrants'.

The story under the headline Open House was clearly designed

to add to the distress of Express readers worried by the prospect of a black neighbour and thoroughly terrified by the possibility of a 'lower grade' black neighbour.

Medals

Pincher selects his words with the care that some people select their neighbours. The arrival of the Asians he describes as 'a flow' (nice connotations of a black tide sweeping in to take over jobs, houses, schools, etc).

The Express, I should make it clear, is not alone in this technique but if we were handing out gold medals I think that Pincher and his colleagues would be first on the rostrum. The difficulty would be in awarding the silver and bronze.

INFLAMING OPINION ON THE ASIANS

THE Leicester branch of the Indian Workers' Association is appalled at the way in which the current situation is being exploited to encourage racist attitudes, and to increase the insecurity among immigrants in this city.

It is clear that the British government is solely responsible for the fact that a large number of Asians have to leave Uganda at the present time. They have been aware that this would happen since 1968, and their policy towards applicants for admission to Britain since that time has been to delay these as long as possible.

If they had accepted applications in larger numbers throughout this period, there would have been no emergency situation now, and President Amin might not have had to take the decision to expel Asians. His action has been forced by the British government's policy to delay admissions to Britain for as long as possible.

The Leicester City Council's statements of concern about the strain on the social services have inflamed public attitudes into hostility against the Ugandan Asians who may wish to settle here. These statements have been irresponsible and have ignored several important facts:

That in the period 1962-65, there was a much larger settlement of Commonwealth citizens in Leicester, but there was no special provision made by local government for the settlement of these numbers, the responsibility for this being taken entirely by the relatives, friends and organisation of the established immigrant community.

That in 1972, the Ugandan Asians will look primarily to their friends and relatives for assistance and reject the idea of depending on public assistance.

That during the political crisis in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, thousands of white immigrants entered this country, many of them to Leicester, and there were no emergency arrangements for them, no public hysteria, and apparently no insurmountable strain on the social services.

The numerous public estimates which have been publicised in Leicester of the numbers of Ugandan Asians who may arrive in Leicester have no basis in fact.

We appeal to the Indian leaders of the British Asian Welfare Society to make no more statements about numbers of arrivals which cannot be substantiated. These only impress the racists in this city who are using this evidence to inflame racial hatred making the climate of this city one of hostility rather than one of hospitality.

We would also like to add that the same leaders who have quoted numbers of houses available are in fact playing with the unfortunate British Ugandan Asian immigrants because they are at the same time occupied as estate agents, brokers and landlords and expect to make a good profit in the course of making accommodation available.

We would therefore appeal to ordinary Asian families not to let these new arrivals be exploited by the unscrupulous and to offer whatever help they can in their own homes.—MOHINDER FARMA, Secretary, Leicester branch IWA.

The cancer

IN the first-page article 'Racist Bid to Split Workers' (2 September) you fail to tackle why immigration is not a problem (at least the problem of the working class) and how the ruling class cynically uses immigration and immigration controls for its own benefit, how there was no 'problem' in the 1950s when there was mass immigration and how Powell as a minister sanctioned such immigration because there was a labour shortage.

You then give a list of facts and say that more people leave Britain than enter each year. So what? The logic of that is that if more people entered than left im-

LETTERS

migration controls would be reasonable.

You say that immigrants take less not more from the social services. Again the same logic applies. You also imply that the social services therefore belong to us.

They don't, they belong to the few rich parasites who live on our backs. What gains we do have have been gained by us fighting to obtain them but their running is not our problem. The social services are part of the state and they are used to try and break strikes.

It is vitally important that the racist and fascist scum which is reappearing on our streets is driven off now while there is time. Racialism is the cancer of the working class. It is necessary that IS and other revolutionary groups organise a mass demonstration in London like the anti-internment and Vietnam marches to demonstrate in favour of the Asians coming in and against all immigration controls and we should physically break up other racist marches.

We cannot leave the running to the racials. We must smash the attempt of the National Front and other nazis to divide an otherwise healthy working class.—TONY GREENSTEIN, Liverpool 8.

● Socialist Worker's statement of aims says we are opposed to restrictions on immigration. We quoted facts and figures on immigration and the social services in order to counter the lies and distortions of racists and the press. It is nonsense to say that we would be in favour of restrictions if immigration was greater than emigration.—EDITOR.

Builders: stop distorting the facts

The following letter was sent in the first instance to the industrial correspondents of the national newspapers. AT its most recent meeting, the Magazine and Book Branch Committee of the National Union of Journalists discussed the current building workers' strike and press reporting of it. This is a familiar subject for our branch of the union as it organises the vast majority of trade and technical journals including those covering construction.

What concerns the M and B Committee is the inadequate and often downright inaccurate press reporting which is sadly becoming an everyday event in such strikes. In construction this is a particularly bitter pill for any serious trade union organised journalist to swallow.

For example, last Sunday (27 August) a front page story in the Sunday Times portrayed a situation where the 'taxpayers' are subsidising building strikers through

social security payments. The report missed the elementary point that social security is funded by, among others, the building workers who are currently on strike. They have both a legal and moral right to claim while they are on strike.

If one is serious about who the taxpayer is subsidising one really has to look at the employers. It is estimated that 300,000 non-unionised building workers are employed on the 'lump', i.e. nominally self employed. Both employers and men avoid paying insurance contributions and men pay no tax.

Employers conspire to get workers to flout the law in pursuit of short term high earnings. The 'lump' system has been deliberately spread over Britain by the employers as one way to break trade unionism, and also to avoid any statutory obligation to workers for accident compensation.

Organised trade unionists in construction are fighting actively to end this iniquitous system where the most basic social responsibilities are abandoned. The press says little or nothing about the matter.

Construction is the most dangerous of all British industries; one building worker is killed every working day of the year, hundreds more are maimed or injured. The press seldom asks why.

Perhaps most disturbing of all is the claim that the building workers' target of £30 for 35 hours is inflationary. This is nonsense. Building employers are perfectly willing to pay some men twice that, either through the 'lump' or a dubious bonus scheme. The reason they will not concede £30 for 35 hours has more to do with politics and power. Low basic wages enable employers to keep the whip hand on the workforce.

Most laughable of all is the claim that house prices will rise if building workers are paid more. House prices have risen dramatically as a direct result of the policies of successive governments. In parts of London new house prices have risen by up to 76 per cent in the past year, while building workers' pay has been unchanged.

Yet it is true that contractors will pass on the cost of the building workers' pay settlement. That is inevitable in a profit motive system; it is no argument against meeting the claim in full.

The Magazine and Book Branch Committee does not enjoy sending out letters like this. We do so out of a sense of solidarity with our fellow trade unionists in struggle and out of the concern for the ready way journalists can be forced, often in a subtle way, to be propagandists for the employer. We urge you to resist any such pressures.—ROSALINE KELLY, Branch Chairman, JOHN COATES, Committee Member.



'The language of the civilised nations has clearly marked off two epochs in the development of Russia. Where the aristocratic culture introduced into world parlance such barbarisms as czar, pogrom, knout, October has internationalised such words as Bolshevik, soviet... This alone justifies the proletarian revolution, if you imagine it needs justification'—Trotsky.

TROTSKY'S HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

VOLUME ONE

Three volumes, 50p each, post and packing 7p per volume, 15p the three

IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Eight on political trial call for funds

IN PROGRESS now at the Old Bailey is a trial which has become known as the Stoke Newington Eight Conspiracy trial. Eight young people are charged with 'conspiring together with Jack Prescott and persons unknown' to cause explosions. The prosecution alleges these eight are the nucleus of the Angry Brigade. However they have all pleaded not guilty.

The trial has already been going 10 weeks. After an adjournment over August, it recommenced on 5 September and is expected to last another three months at least. For a trial of this length and complexity a lot of money is essential. But while the prosecution is able to command all the resources it requires, the eight defendants are severely handicapped by lack of funds.

The state can mobilise resources extensive enough to meet any requirement. Compared to this the defendants are encountering difficulties far in excess of those normally met with. Initially they were not even able to brief any top counsel. Partly as a result of this several of the defendants are defending themselves.

All but one of these have been denied bail and are consequently attempting to combat difficult and complex charges from the isolation of their prison cells. They have few facilities for consulting law books, friends, etc, or for holding joint discussions. From this adverse situation they are attempting to combat some of the most experienced lawyers in the country.

It is absolutely essential for the proper conduct of the defence that the defendants have good transcripts of the proceedings. Until now the defence group has had to pay for these. Although the judge has now recommended that these be paid for by legal aid he has no power to make a decision on this matter and it is possible that no aid will be forthcoming. In any case the final decision will not be known for several months.

In a major political trial of this nature, it is surely essential to make known the facts about what is going on in the courtroom as widely as possible. As a result of press silence the Stoke Newington Eight Defence Group has had to take on the additional task of attempting to disseminate information itself. This is not proving easy. They are being hampered not only by lack of money, but also by the fact that Chief Inspector Habershon, one of the main police officers concerned in the arrest and charging of the eight, has attacked the Defence Group in court and indicated that any persons connected with it are themselves liable to prosecution. The situation of a defence group having to operate under such oppressive conditions ought not to arise in a country with a supposedly free press.

It is a major political trial with grave implications in the field of civil liberties. These are not confined to the eight, since it appears that the state is attempting to use this trial to discredit other sections of the left, especially the Womens Liberation and the Claimants Union Movements. Success for the state in this trial could well open the gates to a series of political prosecutions.

Send donations to: The Stoke Newington Eight Defence Group, Box 359, 240 Camden High Street, London NW1.

Letters to Socialist Worker must arrive first post Monday. They should be not more than 250 words long and may be cut for reasons of space.

IMMIGRANTS

A few facts soon neutralise Powell's poison

THE CASE of the Ugandan Asians has revealed just how far the whole political line-up in Britain has moved to the right over the past 10 years.

While Enoch Powell and the National Front spread their poisonous ideas, those who support letting in the Asians do so as an act of charity or because the Asians are a 'special case'.

In the 1950s even right-wing Tories argued for free entry for all Commonwealth citizens, and when the Tories introduced immigration control in 1961 the Labour Party opposed it.

A letter from the secretary of the Parliamentary Labour Party to Cyril Osborne on 2 June 1961 said: 'The Labour Party is opposed to the restriction of immigration as every Commonwealth citizen has the right as a British subject to enter this country at will. This has been the right of subjects of the Crown for many centuries and the Labour Party has always maintained it should be unconditional.'

But it was about-turn when the Labour government in 1965 decided to tighten up the controls, and the Tory weekly *The Spectator* accused it of 'giving . . . tacit approval to the idea that coloured immigrants are unwelcome second-class citizens.' (20 August 1965).

NO INCREASE

Now almost everyone—except a few groups of revolutionary socialists—seems to accept that immigration control is necessary. Is this really so?

Many workers who have no quarrel with immigrants already here still feel that control is necessary because of overcrowding. In fact, immigration is not leading to population increase—for during the sixties more people were leaving Britain than were coming in.

In any case it is not a question of numbers. Barbados, which is mainly a sugar-growing country, has more than 1300 people to the square mile. In Britain there are fewer than 600 to the square mile. The problem is not numbers—it is houses and jobs.

Immigration does not cause housing problems. On the contrary, since many immigrants are building workers, immigrants build more houses than they occupy.

The most detailed study of London's housing problems, the Milner Holland Report of 1965, said



A Ugandan Asian family who arrived penniless at London's Heathrow Airport last week

quite clearly that immigration was not the cause of housing problems.

Nor does immigration lead to unemployment. Unemployment was much higher in the 1930s, when there were hardly any immigrants, than it is now.

Unemployment is encouraged by the government because it weakens workers' militancy, making them compete for jobs instead of uniting against the boss. UCS and the dockers have shown that this 'divide and rule' tactic is not working.

Anyone who argues that black and white workers are fighting each other for jobs is in fact playing the Tory government's game by making unemployment do what it is intended to do.

And as far as social services are concerned, immigrants—just because they are mainly young adult workers—take less per head than the average for the population. Since they pay the same taxes and contributions as everyone else, they are putting in more than they take out.

Some socialists argue that since we support planning, we should plan immigration in the same way as we would plan the rest of the economy. The assumption here is that working people are too irrational to know what is good for them, and need wise planners to look after them.

If the entire population of London was liable to rush off to the Highlands at a moment's notice, it would be necessary to put up walls to stop them. But they aren't, so it isn't.

Unless there are exceptional

circumstances, workers don't move from one country to another unless there is a good chance of having a house and job when they get there. This is doubly true when it comes to leaving a pleasant place like the West Indies—where the British rich pay hundreds of pounds a week to spend their holidays—to come to a cold damp country like Britain.

And the figures show that in the 1950s, before there was any talk of immigration control, immigrants came when there were jobs, but stopped coming when there was unemployment, and many who were already here went away. When there was a shortage of labour in the fifties, British industry went out to look for immigrants.

Why has there been so much immigration, not just into Britain, but throughout Western Europe, since the last war?

Because industry has developed in certain areas, where it suited the bosses to build, while other areas have been run down. Scotland, the North of Ireland and the South of Italy are left to rot, while industry clusters in the centre of the Common Market.

CONTROLS

Socialist planning would reorganise industry to solve the problems of regional underdevelopment, but planning the movement of workers to fit in with the bosses' needs has nothing to do with socialism.

Logically, anyone who argues that this is what planning means should demand that workers have to get permission before moving from Glasgow to Birmingham, or Newcastle to London. (This, of course, is what happens in Russia.)

Britain has had immigration controls for 10 years now. What good has it done us?

Firstly, it increased immigration. Just before the first Tory immigration laws were introduced, there was a huge rise in immigration. Many people who might never have come hurried here because it was their last chance.

Secondly, it has increased racial prejudice. When the government spends its time debating how to keep immigrants out, instead of how to build more houses and find more jobs, then people naturally believe immigration is the cause of their problems.

And that suits the government. Thirdly, it has opened the door to the real racials and their propaganda. Between 1966 and 1968 there was more or less an agreement to take immigration out of political debate. This was done by everyone accepting the Tory terms—the need for stiff controls.

So when Enoch Powell wanted to cash in on the issue in 1968, he had to go a step further by demanding that immigrants be sent home. Concessions to the right wing don't satisfy them—they encourage them to ask for more.

There is another, more basic reason why all socialists must oppose immigration controls.

The officers who are enforcing immigration control are part of the same state machine that put the five dockers in Pentonville and is preserving 'order' in Northern Ireland. Any worker who believes that machine is working in his interest, does not understand what the state is and cannot fight it properly.

To oppose immigration control is to explode the myth of the 'national interest' and to fight for the unity of all workers, of whatever race or nationality.

IAN BIRCHALL

Vincent Flynn condemns the REAL parasites

'SO the Daily Express thinks the Ugandan Asians shouldn't come here. It has done its best to "persuade" its readers likewise. Well, there's one question the Express doesn't ask. And that is, what are the Ugandans supposed to do if they don't come to the UK. Do the Express and its ilk want to see these people fly about in aeroplanes for the rest of their lives?'

This is the view of Vincent Flynn, general secretary of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades. Speaking in a personal capacity, he told *Socialist Worker*: 'I don't normally give interviews to the press because my views and my beliefs are no more important than those of 10 million other trade unionists.'

'But,' he added, 'on this issue the Labour Party and trade union people who are normally queuing up for interviews have kept silent. That is a discreditable performance.'

'We are in the middle of the building workers' strike for a decent basic wage. Production of houses and schools has been halted. Why? Not because of the building workers, but because of the employers and their refusal to pay a decent rate.'

'We see thousands upon thousands of builders rotting on the dole who could be set to work to build houses, hospitals and schools, not just for the Ugandans who are coming to live here, but for all those who are in need.'

'When the Ugandans are coming the Daily Express suddenly discovers there is a housing shortage. Hasn't there always been? And why? Because of migrant

workers—Irish, Scots, Jewish or Ugandan? No, because houses are built not for need but for purchase and profit.'

'The housing shortage is an inevitable by-product of the society in which we live. The truth is that the commercial press, Heath, Powell and Wilson support unemployment. They, and the society they uphold, created it.'

'And now that it suits them they are crying false tears over the plight of the human beings they themselves fling on to the scrap heap and they are doing this because they know racialism and fear are powerful weapons for undermining the growing strength of the organised working class.'

Ruthless

'It really makes me laugh when people talk of overcrowding. All of a sudden in August 1972 Britain is overcrowded. Wasn't it overcrowded in June 1972?'

'In any case, what is overcrowded about the North of Scotland, Ireland or Northumberland? Nothing at all. In these places the people who rule this country have spent a century depopulating the areas, driving workers and their families into migration with the same ruthlessness as General Amin. Where did he get the idea? He must have read some books on recent British history.'

'I am Scots. But my name is Irish. My people were uprooted and forced to leave their land and their homes.'

They were pointed in the direction of Glasgow's factories and forced to live in hovels. And then when it suited them, the employers and their political allies stirred up anti-Irish feeling.'

'Not without success. In the 1930s in Scotland there were those who believed that if all the Irish were sent home the Depression would end.'

'How stupid and ignorant, you might say—but where did they get such ideas? The answer is, from the same Daily Express which today says that Britain would be a better place if the Ugandans were left to fly around the globe.'

'The Ugandans are welcome here. They have hands and brains and their children have hands and brains. They are not parasites unlike the patriotic Britons who never work, able as they are to live off dividends and shares, the sweat of other people's labour, black and white, African, Asian or British.'

'In Britain today we are at the crossroads and I and hundreds and thousands of others welcome the Ugandans on our side of that crossroads.'

'What we say is, let us organise and unite for a society where working people and their organisations are not subordinate. A society where no man, woman or child goes hungry or badly housed.'

'A society where all work for the common good free from profiteering and the empty office blocks which are such an outstanding monument to the pursuit of private gain.'

BBC: TRUTH IN



Industry: only the 'experts' can voice an opinion.

THE BALANCE

EARLIER THIS YEAR a group of high-powered BBC executives, under the chairmanship of Richard Cawston, Head of Documentary Programmes, produced an official pamphlet called *Principles and Practice in Documentary Programmes*. It attempts to lay down guidelines for producers on what constitutes 'balance' and 'fairness', though of course it would be most un-BBC-like for these to be considered as marching orders.

Rather, according to Huw Wheldon, the BBC-TV boss, they are 'what the group believes are or should be the principles and practices that guide them and their work for the BBC.' Since the group consisted of the bosses and executive producers of the Television Documentary Department, it is not unlikely that what they believe are the principles of producing documentaries will become actively applied to the making of the self-same documentaries.

We learn first of all that a documentary is defined as an exploration of 'factual subject in depth', that it studies material at first hand, that it is a creative work, that it occupies varying lengths of time, and that it uses fact and opinion but not normally fiction.

All this doesn't really tell us very much beyond the level of the obvious, and indeed it leaves much unsaid altogether. We next have a sort of simple rundown about how such documentaries are made, but the pamphlet doesn't start to get interesting until it deals with the question: 'May a producer express extreme views on a subject of high controversy?'

The answer given is No. For one thing, he is not a 'contributor', and 'only an acceptable contributor may be given such a licence.'

Now, what is 'an acceptable contributor', who may 'express extreme views'? He can be defined as 'a person who works on one subject after another in a professional capacity.' This is obvious in the case of matters of science or the professions, but how does one get to be able to express 'extreme views' on subjects like Vietnam, morality, the Industrial Relations Act, and so on?

Apparently such a person has to be 'a journalist or broadcaster' who 'can rise to a stature in which he not only has the right, but is expected, to



Muggeridge: court jester

express judgements of his own. Certain individuals, like Malcolm Muggeridge or James Cameron, are known to have bees in their bonnets about a wide range of topics and views which are clearly recognisable as their own.'

So in order to qualify you for the privilege of being opinionated on the air, we have to make sure that you are a professional journalist or broadcaster, with opinions which won't be too extraordinary or extreme (since we have to choose you and we don't want to lose our jobs) but who, nevertheless, has a well-known bee in his bonnet.

If this were another century, I would use these terms to define a court jester, which certainly seems to fit Muggeridge's function in our society. At any rate, this is the sort of man the BBC considers correct as a choice for expressing opinion of his own upon Vietnam, morality, injustice, or anything else which isn't strictly 'technical'. The rest of us might as well forget it.

However, sometimes a fellow rises

in the broadcasting ranks so that he ceases merely to convey the BBC message and is allowed to convey one of his own. For example, when in 1950 Rene Cutforth reported the Korean War, he was obliged to do so as a BBC man who described what he saw, but whose personal attitude would have been entirely out of place. When, however, Cutforth returned to Korea in 1970 he did so in his own right as a personality, whose views were by then not only acceptable but of interest.'

So, you see? It's only a matter of 20 years' spent in retailing the orthodoxy (or at least in not contradicting it), by which time the particular war you wanted to have an opinion on has been over, if not almost entirely forgotten.

The point about the expression of 'extreme views' on television is that—according to what the BBC says—this is an area reserved for a special sort of person. Opinions must be carved up among all sorts of officially-approved 'experts'.

Now in the case of a discussion on cancer, say, it would certainly be irresponsible for the BBC to give over the airwaves to the views of a quack who might raise false hopes in many sufferers.

EXTENDED

But when it comes to broad social, economic and other problems which are of concern to all of us, to statements about meaning and purpose, right and wrong, the BBC is obviously in a bit of a quandary as to what sort of 'expert' is right for this.

Nevertheless, the BBC has made up its mind. Politicians are the 'experts' of politics, just as doctors are the experts of medicine. Opinion-makers are the 'experts' of opinion-making, just as politicians are the 'experts' of politics. And so the BBC has extended the division of labour successfully into the realm of free speech.

Readers of Socialist Worker should not necessarily lump all broadcasters together so far as intentions and motives are concerned. There are many broadcasters who would like to express opinions (and not merely that, but to back them up with factual evidence) but who are prevented from doing so by BBC policy, which is justified by the 'fact' that 'audiences have come to accept BBC programmes as the work of the BBC—part of its continuous flow.'

And so we have another example of fetishism: the BBC itself is a sort of super-person, making programmes in its own corporate image and with its own corporate consciousness, having its own relations with its audience which supersede the personal communications of the persons working under the corporation.

There is no clear answer to this problem until broadcasting itself comes under some form of workers' control. But despite its ideological importance, broadcasting is only a relative 'fringe area' on the industrial scene: it needs much greater impetus from workers' control movements in industries generally in order to be transformed, both from within and from without.

Driving US mad

IN BRITAIN today half of all hospital beds are occupied by those defined as mentally ill, and 6 per cent of us can expect to have to spend some time in a mental hospital. Altogether some 14 per cent of the adult population suffer either from some official psychiatric illness or else experience psychological symptoms which drive them to seek medical advice from their doctor.

The following table, which gives the incidence of suicide per 100,000 of the adult population, shows that it is increasing in a number of capitalist countries.

	1952-54 (annual averages)	1961-63
West Germany	23.6	24.1
France	20.3	20.7
USA	14.1	15.6
England and Wales	13.8	15.1
Canada	9.5	11.1

Yet nothing is more common than for eminent journalists, professors or welfare experts to bandy the idea that such cases are purely individual incidents—exceptions to the rule of a generally healthy, well-functioning social system. Those who become mentally sick do so, in their view, because of their individual make-up that has nothing to do with the way our society is run. Treatment, they believe, consists in readjusting the sick individual to the society, making him fit in with its requirements of him.

But can we really accept that a society which produces such a high proportion of mentally disturbed people is itself sane? Many a patient in a mental hospital is convinced that everyone else is mad except himself.

Our society has produced in the last 100 years greater material wealth than any previous society in the history of the human race. Yet millions have died in two world wars. We live under the constant shadow of a third world war which threatens to wipe out our entire civilisation.

Our economy has depended for thirty years on the production of weapons of mass destruction. While hundreds of millions of people are near to starvation in the colonial countries, thousands of millions of pounds are spent every year to protect us against 'enemies' that few seriously believe to be a threat. In the US, a good crop is often a disaster for farmers whose profit levels are threatened.

The experience of those who become mentally ill is not fundamentally different from that of everyone under capitalism. All of us are products of a sick society, and whether or not we actually come to be labelled 'mentally ill', we all reflect within ourselves its distorted values and misshapen priorities. Quite simply, a society based on the exploitation of man by man cannot produce people who are healthy, who experience themselves and others as creative

being able to realise their human

Man under capitalism feels like a commodity to be sold on the manipulated by others. To have the wealth produced by their class require people to become impoverished creatures who, without questioning their situation, irrational or aggressive at bottom a refusal to accept demands of the system, a refusal of others or appendages to

The forms of treatment most mental hospitals, while in some temporary relief from the misery down, are in the end only palliative cover up the root social disturbance. This is in no way to quietly accept the current Tory mental health services. Only labour movement should vigorously demand for their extension and of far more adequate and humane treatment.

Pills and electro-shocks may at for certain patients, but they are in-depth, analytical types of therapy enable the patient to reach a greater of himself, and potentially to between his illness and the society produced it. Ultimately, of course the working class abolishes human that the problem of mental illness

The crack

'I WOULD rather have lost a leg than have gone through all I have suffered mentally,' said Stan Price. 'I can't stand those who call people like me "nutcases". It annoys me because unless they have been through a similar situation themselves they don't understand the suffering.'

Stan is a militant London shop steward. He told me about the first signs of his cracking up.

'I remember one day, when I lived in a small flat high up in a tower block with my wife and the three sons we had then, being overcome by a terrible feeling of panic. I felt suffocated, so I just ran from that building as fast as I could and didn't stop running until I finally ended up in a nearby hospital. I could hardly talk, and didn't know what was happening. The doctor told me that I had a touch of flu.'

'I had another attack later on. I just felt absolutely choked with fear. I started crying, uncontrollably. It was very embarrassing.'

'There I was a grown man, 6ft tall and crying like a baby. The doctor came and found me cowering in a corner of the sitting-room. He gave me five shots of some drug, and then asked my wife if she would like to put me away.'

'I was given electro-shock treat-

ment, which isn't worse. I have been but none of them time to talk thing. I went to foreign patients well, but just gave me a bit giving me different when one kind died. 'They once had been badly treated child, but they got insight into the bad headaches and I am perfectly happy am perfectly happy know WHY I get a

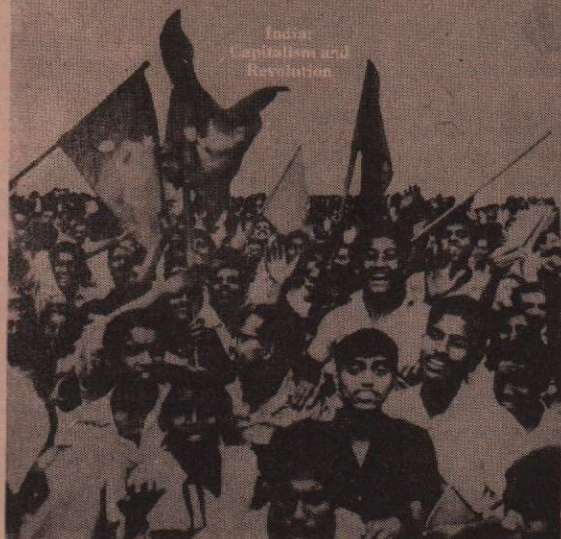
One

'When I was young it was pretty tough war, and my drip get regular simple the family I looked children and took my mother went evacuated, and my parents very often. 'Soon after that where I am now.

International Socialism 52

20p

Labour, from the safety of opposition, once again proclaims its commitment to a 'fair society'. **Raymond Challinor**, in 'Labour and the parliamentary road' strips away the party's reformist pretensions and the Labour 'left's' hopeless dedication to evolutionary change. **PLUS** Nigel Harris on India, Tony Cliff on Lenin, David Widgery on Mayakovsky



£1 for four issues

IS magazine, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Robert Harrington

Dealing with the symptoms -but not with the cause

RESULTS of a recent London study, carried out to see whether existing psychiatric and social services were meeting the aftercare needs of former mental in-patients, suggested that the services were only dealing effectively with the patients' clinical needs. A large proportion of social needs were not being met.

A majority of patients interviewed were in need of some kind of social service: rehousing, day nurseries, financial assistance, home help. Housing was a particular problem, reflecting both the housing shortage in the general population and the hostel shortage in the psychiatric population.

Most patients in need of alternative accommodation were on council housing lists but had been waiting many years for rehousing, meanwhile living in the most terrible circumstances.

In some instances overcrowding was the main problem. Conditions of cold and damp, collapsing ceilings and floorboards, and inadequate or absent plumbing facilities were also common. Repeated requests for repairs had been ignored or put off by the local council or private landlords, especially if rehousing was believed to be 'imminent'.

'So what else is new?' one is tempted to say. Can it honestly be suggested that difficult environmental circumstances actually cause mental breakdown?

Not necessarily. Hundreds of thousands of working-class people are subjected to similar conditions every day of their lives and don't end up in mental hospitals.

What can be said is that such stresses are not conducive to mental health and can only aggravate and add to any other problems a person might have. It isn't surprising that an ex-patient, thrown back into an environment which features all the same social stresses he faced before hospitalisation, should become 'ill' again.

Directly related

The only puzzle is why more people don't crack under the strain caused by such appalling conditions.

Who are these ex-patients, what are their present needs, and in what way do these unfulfilled needs reflect upon the society they live in and its distorted priorities? Consider just a few individual cases...

Mrs N is a 26-year-old Nigerian woman, previously admitted to hospital with a diagnosis of schizophrenia, now being treated by her local doctor for depression. Her husband believes his wife's depression is directly related to their living situation and he is quite bitter about his contacts with the housing authorities and attempts to be rehoused in a suitable council flat.

Repeated applications to be put on a housing list, made over the past few years, have always been rejected with 'Your accommodation is adequate for your needs.'

At the time of Mrs N's admission to hospital, this family of five—husband, wife and three children all aged five years and under—were living in a single room. Circumstances have not changed significantly since her discharge. It's hardly surprising that Mrs N continues to feel depressed.

Make ends meet

Mr B lives with his wife and four children in the cramped ground floor of an old house. Because of his psychiatric history he found prospective employers reluctant to hire him after his last discharge from hospital.

He now holds down a full-time job, but the work is unskilled and brings in less than £15 a week. Mrs B is anxious but competent and spends her days doing domestic chores and caring for the children.

Then, in order to make ends meet financially, she works from 5pm to 11pm in a local shop. A relative cares for the children until Mr B returns from his own work at 6pm, he then cares for the children all evening.

This means that husband and wife see each other only between 11pm and 8am, which are also the only hours when they are able to sleep off their

Sent home to cramped rooms and low wages

exhaustion. They never have an evening out and are rarely able to be with the children at the same time, much less to take them out on any sort of family outing.

Mrs B feels that the present arrangement, so disruptive to family life, and the lack of outlets for her husband contribute a great deal to his present anxious and overwrought mental state. They have applied for rehousing, but both are fed up with their general situation and question how much longer they can stand the pace.

The consulting doctor's opinion: taking him off his present medication might improve Mr B's feelings about himself.

Mrs S is 27-years-old, legally separated from her husband and desperately in need of accommodation for her four children and herself. At the moment the four children are all in care. She has been living with her brother since her out-patient discharge a year ago.

She has a good job and is reconciled to the fact that her ex-husband (who is in prison) can offer no financial support, but she is bitterly unhappy over the fact that her children have not been returned to her nor family accommodation arranged. Clinically she is considered to be fully recovered from her illness.

Fail to help

She feels she is in a position to be a good mother and provide for the children, and is angry that the child welfare department has not explained when and how she will be reunited with them. She has had contact with three child care officers within the past 12 months and 'no one will give me a straight answer'.

It would seem in this case as if the rehousing of mother and children would be in the interest of all concerned, including the GLC, since it would relieve the local authority of the responsibility and expense of keeping the children in care.

These are just three examples of the services failing to help people with their concrete problems. Rather than attempt to deal with the very real social problems which may be related to, if not responsible for, such clinical symptoms as anxiety and depression, the services tend to treat only the symptoms themselves—with pills, with electric-shock treatment, with psychotherapeutic support.

This is the easiest course of action to take, because it in no way threatens the status quo and it permits the profit-oriented priorities of a society which has chosen to neglect the basic social needs of ordinary people—adequate housing, job security, financial security—to go unchallenged.

How much simpler it is to label as 'inadequate' or 'ill' that minority of persons who are unable to cope with the social consequences of unbearable conditions than to do something about those conditions.

Delores Raymond



RED SAUNDERS

Check-up: 'There I was, crying like a baby...'

case made me to several doctors really have much over. One hospital weeks treated the the psychiatrists They kept on coloured pills work. me if I had my parents as a gave me any I have. I get and I'm told y, well I know I y, but I don't and pains.

mp

g,' he went on, it was during the father couldn't nt. As head of the younger the meals, while to work. I was really see my red the factory got married. It

breaks my heart to think of some of the places where we lived and had to bring up a family. There was one dump, it consisted of one small room where we ate, slept and cooked with the child we had then.

'We found another place after a lot of difficulty. That wasn't much better. You walked through the front door, took two-steps and you were through the back door where the outside toilet was. The rent was higher and at that time I was broke and my difficulties weren't helped by having been on strike for several weeks.

'I don't know the root cause of my problems, but I do know that part of the problem is to do with this society,' said Stan. He thought that work had some part to play in building up frustrations.

'When you are standing on the line for hours on end and more than 70 jobs pass you each hour, and every time a job passes, you automatically pick up a "gun" and punch so many holes, and that is your entire job, your mind starts festering.

'What can you think about?' he asked, 'with all the noise going on,

when you can't talk to your mates without getting hoarse. Your mind starts chewing over a multitude of problems about money, work and home. You might start thinking about that TV programme you saw the other day, and as you continue punching holes and the work seems to pass more slowly, your mind becomes fixed on that one programme and you think about it 15 times or more.

Meaningless

'Conversation is dead, your mind destroyed for any activity other than work. Eventually you end up thinking about nothing. You find you ARE nothing but a vegetable, who, like clockwork, knocks off and goes home to his family, and that's where all the frustrations come pouring out.

'Work is soul destroying. It gets to the stage where the machine is more important than you are. When you think that what a worker produces comes back to him when he buys the article, you'd think he would want to do a good job. But he never sees the

thing for himself, he's just working on a meaningless object.'

Men like Stan are not just a few isolated cases, although not every one who suffers mentally has been through an actual breakdown. The fact that Stan does not know the root causes of his illness is also a sign of the inability of this society to help him.

The doctors he sees only try to bolster him up with pills or shock him out of his depression, which only push the problems even further back into his mind.

In many ways he feels even more inadequate for having problems, because it is generally held that disturbance of the mind is something bad, something to be embarrassed about or even that it is a flaw in character which certain people are born with.

Every day of Stan's life only serves to make him more frustrated. Just like a machine on the line, the system moulds men as products to serve the capitalist system and not to serve themselves.

Ginny West

am potentialities. self to be a thing, labour market and able to cream off majority, the ruling educated to passive, operate smoothly authority. In this symptoms reflect the values and to be merely the machine.

available in our increases providing of mental break- tives that serve to uses of mental suggest that we proposals to slash the contrary, the usly take up the for the provision mane kinds of

mes be necessary to substitute for therapy which can understanding grasp the link society that it is only when an exploitation will be solved.

Sabby Sagall

Solidarity pays: The workers' message reaches through the prison bars

by Laurie Flynn

IT IS not just in the 40-hour-a-week jail of the factories, docks and pits that people are organising and fighting for change in the quality of their everyday lives. Over the past fortnight the 'outcasts', the 'jailbirds' have swung into action to demand their human rights, in particular the right to their own trade union organisation free and unfettered from the state.

It is a momentous development, an affirmation that no matter the restrictions and tyrannies imposed, the human spirit and the will to struggle cannot be destroyed.

In Peterborough jail in north east Scotland prisoners went on the roof demanding union recognition and in solidarity with their oppressed brothers 700 miles to the south in Albany, Isle of Wight.

For the press it is all a dreadful conspiracy stirred up by the Kray twins and others who want to impose a 'reign of terror'. It is as well Bernie Steer is out now. Otherwise the prisoners' struggle would all have been down to him.

Victims

Though there is now a prisoners' union seeking affiliation with the broad labour movement and bargaining rights from the Home Office, the movement is almost totally spontaneous.

Much of the violence has as likely been sparked off by sections of the prison warders, those other, sadder victims of the abomination that is a prison. Some of them are all for the law and order that the Heaths, Maudlings and Barbers rant about. They are for provoking a real showdown where the 'scum' will get a hammering. PROP, the prisoners' union, fears that this may indeed come to pass. Their talk of an Attica-style bloodbath is far from mere words.

PROP wants to see the entombing of people and their setting aside from life abolished entirely. This would need a society with concerns totally different from the protection of property above life.

In the short term the prisoners' union is determined to organise and agitate until the most obvious tyrannies of the prison system are scrapped. This means trade union recognition, the right for prisoners to elect shop stewards who will represent them on wages, conditions and discipline.

Families

Also high on the list is proper sanitation, privacy, and an end to the many other petty indignities of prison. PROP is out to secure the right to vote, the right to education, to marry when inside—in short some genuine approach to human life.

They want the right to make love to their loved ones, be they wives or husbands. They want the right to see and love their children. It is revealing that the denial of family and sexual relations imposed on British prisoners is far worse than the regime inside Russia's terrible system of prison and labour camps. There, prisoners are allowed such visits, even though only occasionally.

The question of pay and working conditions is also vital to the prisoners' struggle—and indeed the right to work, for if not employed they are locked up 22 hours a day.

This also has a direct bearing on the bread and butter interests of the labour movement.

For example, every morning a bus leaves Pentonville Prison in London for a

Watford factory called the Brookside Metal Company. There prisoners work a 40-hour week. They get 1p an hour. The Home Office gets £17 a week.

Brookside Metal simply cannot get workers on the open market to do their filthy job of cleaning down scrap metal for such wages. They get it courtesy of the Home Office. And cheap.

Even more serious, Community Service Orders are to be introduced next month. This will mean judges and magistrates can order offenders to do up to 240 days of supposedly 'community' work instead of being jailed.

Very handy to break a dustmen's or building workers' strike, and a few others come to that.

And there is another reason for the entire working-class movement to take the prisoners' cause to heart. Sir John Donaldson is only away on holiday.



More than eighty prisoners who crowded on to the roof at Peterhead Jail, Aberdeenshire

Whose finger on the computer button?

In this interview, we asked Mike Cooley, executive councillor of TASS, about his book *Computer Aided Design—Its Nature and Implications*, which the AUEW (Technical and Supervisory Section) is publishing free as a service to the trade union and labour movement.

WHY HAS your union taken the unusual step of publishing free a book on the effects of computerisation?

Our union is the largest organising designers and technologists and as such we have in membership those who design many of the computer systems being introduced throughout industry and commerce.

We feel therefore that we have a social and political responsibility to make clear to the trade union movement what the consequences of the uncontrolled introduction of this kind of equipment are likely to be in our profit-orientated society.

The trade union movement in this country has not faced up to the enormous problems which technological change can bring in its wake in our form of society. They seldom analyse these problems on a real class basis, and simply react to their effects rather than anticipate them, and evolve policies prior to their introduction.

We hope that this book will provide the basis for such an analysis, and will lead to a far-reaching debate at the place where it matters—the point of production. It is there that the real power exists to determine whether technological change will be used in our interests or to our detriment.



Mike Cooley

Does this mean then that the book is aimed at the wider trade union movement rather than your own members?

The book was actually written primarily for our own members engaged in the design field and one section is devoted entirely to examples of computer applications. This is of necessity somewhat technical—and interest in this part will most likely be limited to those directly involved in design work.

We hope, however, that this will not prevent all active trade unionists irrespective of industry or occupation reading it since by far the most important and larger section deals with the effect of technological change.

In this section, we attempt to identify some of the laws which govern technological change in a profit-orientated society. Having

done so, these laws are then used to explain the trends now beginning to be evident over a wide spectrum of industry.

Although we look at these trends within the engineering industry, they abide by the same laws in other fields as technological change alters the organic composition of capital and makes processes capital rather than labour intensive.

Containerisation is a case in point. We tried to demonstrate the contrast in the relation to production in our society and a socialist one. We attempt to show that in capitalist society, production will increasingly dominate the producer and alienate him from the product of his labour.

In the third, self-contained section 'Technological Change—its effects' which you mentioned, you give concrete examples of the consequences of technological change. Which of these do you regard as being most important?

This section is basically a refutation of the idea, carefully engendered by the mass media, that technological change, automation and computerisation will free man from routine, soul-destroying tasks, and automatically lead to a shorter working week, longer holidays and more leisure time.

We attempt to identify those forces in our society which will seek to dictate that such equipment will be exploited for

24 hours a day, while creating a frantic work tempo for those involved and the dole queue for those displaced by high capital equipment.

We look at the processes which give rise to the further subordination of the operator (whether white collar or manual) to the machine and the dehumanising effects from this which will mean that workers will be more and more regarded as 'machine appendages' and 'man components' in the total machine system.

Brutal

Against this background we look at the fragmentation of skills and attempt to show that as functions (even white collar ones including design) are computerised, the more those involved will be 'proletarianised'.

A part that is particularly relevant at the moment is that dealing with the permanent elimination of jobs and the consequential growth of unemployment. Other sections deal with the brutal manner in which older workers are eliminated simply because they have committed the hideous crime of beginning to grow old. We hope this part of the book will also be of interest to educationalists, teachers and students. Having shown the evolution of the 'dedicated machine', we show how they also require dedicated operators.

This is true even at graduate and post graduate level where the tendency is to train people for a job rather than educate them to think. More and more students are being used as industrial fodder for the monopolies.

At a tactical level we show how technological change and the concentration of capital increases the strike power of those involved and how this should be used to offset the worst excesses of the system.

But this confines the struggle to the narrow field of economism. It is therefore implied throughout at a strategic level that the real requirement is for a revolutionary change in the ownership of the means of production, exchange and distribution.

Copies of the book *Computer Aided Design—Its Nature and Implications*, are available free from AUEW/TASS, Onslow Hall, Little Green, Richmond, Surrey. Tel. 01-948 2271.



REVIEW

CIVILISATION... HUH!

Kenneth Clark's series *Civilisation* is now being repeated on BBC2 after being shown on most of the world's television. KEN MONTAGUE looks at its political role.

'Whenever I hear the word "culture", said Herman Goering, 'I reach for my gun.'

Most of us wouldn't put it quite so bluntly, but for good reason lots of working people will feel a tinge of sympathy. Generally speaking, working men and women don't care too much about what the critics call 'Art'. Which isn't surprising, since what the critics call 'Art' hasn't cared too much about working men and women.

It was not until a hundred years ago that workers began to appear in pictures, and not long afterwards paintings stopped being pictures and became abstracts. The two facts are not unrelated.

Despite the rebelliousness of individual artists, for nearly 400 years art was tied to the middle-class view of life. Painters were given rich rewards and grave status for depicting this new class as the lords of the earth. Nature was displayed like a vast shop window, offering its goods to the merchants who still gloat at us from their portraits.

If the Christian bankers believed their treasure was best stored in heaven, they got the painter to prove in grand style that the place had sound assets. The artist had to 'justify the ways of God to Men'—which gave his masters the confidence to store up a bit extra down here.

In fact the very 'realism' characteristic of Western painting grew out of the stated middle-class belief that the thing wasn't pleasing unless they felt they could lay their hands on it. 'A good Florentine', went one Renaissance saying, 'is always in a shop.'

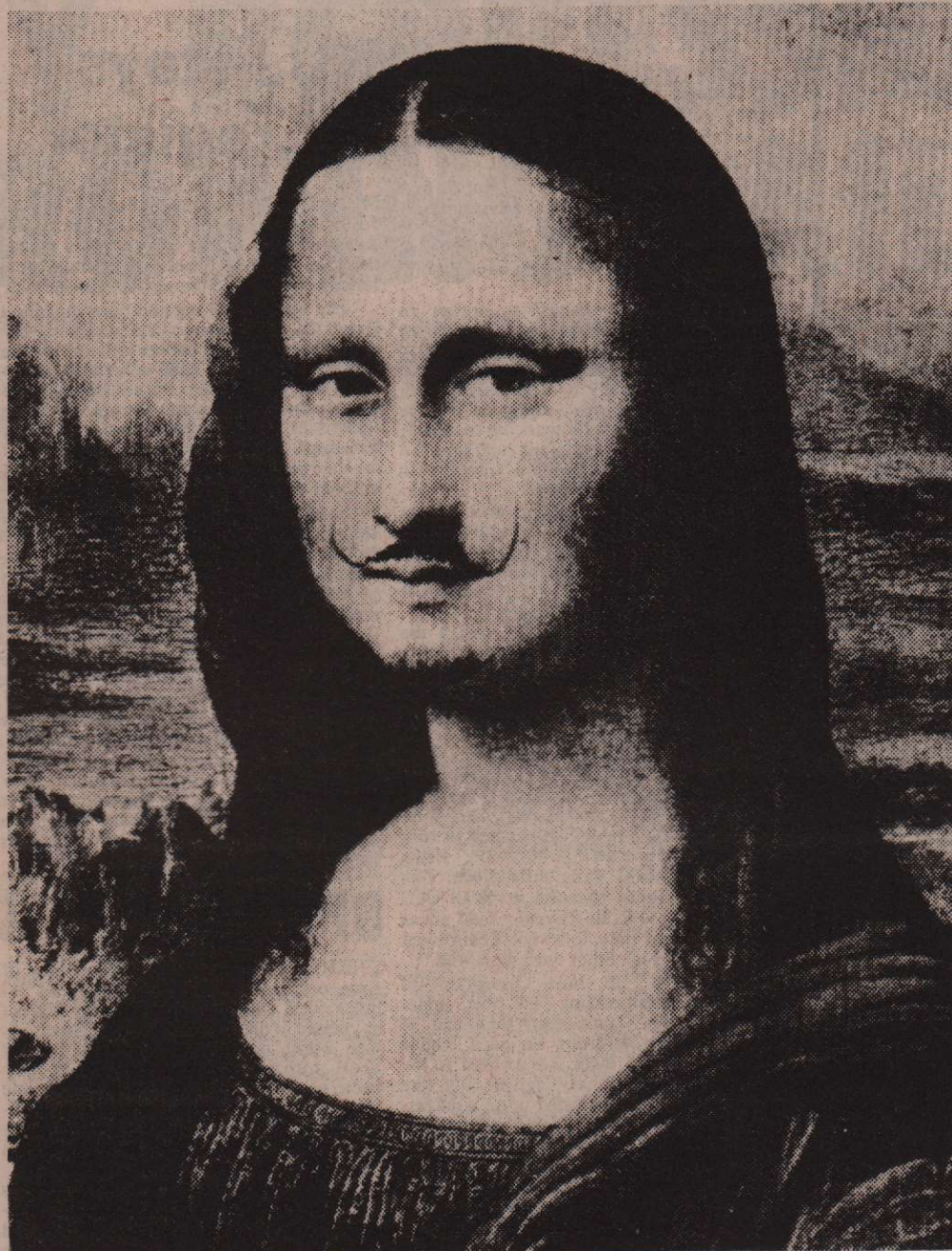
CRUSHED

Then, a hundred years ago, the new working-class organisations began to shake this traditional bourgeois view of the world, and artists (by now superfluous to the powerful ruling class and so condemned to hunger, despair and their various dreams) came face to face with new forces all around them. In time they learned from psychology that all men have dramatic desires and dreams and tremendous creative powers, but that these are crushed or perverted by the systems they live under.

They learned from the new science of this century that the universe is not a stable hierarchy governed by 'law and order' where each has his rightful 'station', nor a collection of individuals and possessible commodities—as the middle class saw it, but a field of invisible forces in a constant movement of change and interchange.

Einstein, to describe the new science he'd founded, once quoted the Book of Revelation: 'I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the old heaven and old earth had passed away.'

Since the capitalist class lost its hold on progressive ideas, most modern artists have been revolutionary in some way. They have seen that in the past art was used to overawe and oppress people, and



Marcel Duchamp's touched up Mona Lisa: a modern artist's attack on the powerful class mystique of art. Years later he signed an unaltered print and called it Mona Lisa Shaved!

not as a liberating force, that artists had been encouraged to hog the creative and expressive part of work—in the interests of their masters—while other men were left with just the drudgery and repetition.

They set out to destroy art as the middle class knew and loved it—although in the absence of a real social revolution they have had to work alone, in a world of ideas, becoming more abstract and removed from ordinary people.

Not surprisingly then, many middle-class critics have turned away from this period and look back with nostalgia to the Golden Age of middle-class self-assurance and Idealism. They not only avoid making clear the revolutionary nature of modern

art but are completely blind to the contribution of working people, by means of whose labour all social and cultural changes came about in the past.

The marxist critic Walter Benjamin makes the point that these people so quickly avoid: that without exception the cultural treasures a socialist surveys have an origin he cannot contemplate without horror.

'They owe their existence not only to the efforts of the great minds and talents who have created them, but also to the anonymous toil of their contemporaries. There is no document of civilisation which is not at the same time a document of barbarism'.

Lord Clark is one of those smug critics who sell us the myths of past glory and serenity. Despite his lip service to heroic rebels and the passively suffering poor, he relishes the ancient lie of the 'human condition'—the inevitability of suffering, against which all social struggle is hopeless optimism.

He is, of course, a rich man, and suffers only when the mood takes him. Walter Benjamin would have described him as someone who flaunts the cultural treasures wrenched from the workers to proclaim the victory of the ruling class.

For Clark 'civilisation' ends in 1910, is confined to Europe, and is created almost solely under the good offices of

the middle class. He disregards completely the cultural traditions of working men, which over the years have survived forced labour, mass migration, the robbery of lands and homes, and constant poverty and hunger. A culture which has been mainly a political culture.

Despite his humanist pretensions, Clark snidely dismisses the native civilisations of Africa, Asia, America and Australia, which one by one were destroyed—by the empire builders who made the fortunes of our rulers.

His message is that the white middle class alone can rule in a civilised fashion, because its civilisation has somehow been 'outside the day-to-day struggle for existence'.

'Above all, I believe in the God-given genius of certain individuals, and I value a society that makes their existence possible,' says Clark. If you don't think that's a defence of meritocratic capitalism, take note that his son is a prospective Tory MP!

Because men like Clark have constantly tried to remove art from its social setting, it is tempting for workers and socialists to disregard it in return. But this is a mistake.

All cultures are politically powerful because they describe men in their relationships, can seek to change things or perpetuate them.

The middle class know this well. They captured and developed art in the 15th and 16th centuries when, too weak for political conflict, they needed a sense of their own divine mission independent of the landowners' religion. The individualism and Idealism of Renaissance art enabled them to by-pass the traditional social order maintained by Catholicism.

And art remained a weapon in their struggle for power throughout a time of class war and vicious repression which—in scale and time—make Stalin's reign of terror look like the Golden Years of Hollywood.

For this reason the middle class emphasised that in art which is elitist and produces valuable (or even sacred) objects, whereas once it had been communal and to do with the shared action of dance and song.

POMPOUS

The development of the art object gave greater power to the new ruling class because it emphasised the continuity of their rule and because it could remain solely in their possession. (And it confirmed their faith in property and money.) Significantly, it is just these objects—paintings, sculptures and buildings—to which Clark devotes the greatest attention.

But the greatest crime of Western culture has been to create the illusion that most men are uncreative and only fit for slavery, and that this precious tradition must be preserved against 'anarchy and chaos'. This is what Clark calls 'Idealism': 'One can't help wondering,' he says, 'how far civilisation would have evolved if it had been entirely dependent on the popular will.'

His pompous programme implies that we are uncivilised and stupid, and that our experience in factories, in our trade unions and our communities—our whole history!—have nothing to do with 'civilisation'.

On the other hand modern philosophers are fast coming to the conclusion that all men everywhere are naturally creative.

They are not Michaelangelos or Shakespeares and won't produce the same kind of splendour, because that depends on a manufactured elite and an individualist response to the moods of middle-class life. But, says the philosopher Ernst Cassirer, 'in language, work and myths' men show the same artistic ability to 'organise their feelings, desires and thoughts'.

Of course under capitalism human communication and labour have been distorted, and myths used to support the ruling class. And Kenneth Clark sells us those myths in his version of cultural 'history'.

But socialists and artists must therefore struggle not only to smash the icons of the rulers, but to return expression to work, freedom to communication, and our own understanding to myths.

That won't be as magnificent as the Sistine Chapel—but infinitely more glorious!

Fred Hall

Would the real Lenin stand up

LENIN IN HIS OWN WORDS by Ernst Fischer. Allen Lane, The Penguin Press £2.25

THIS is an honest book. That would be no great tribute if its subject was French literature or flower arrangements. For a book on Lenin it is high praise indeed.

'During the lifetime of great revolutionaries', wrote Lenin himself, 'the oppressing classes relentlessly persecute them, treat their teachings with malicious hostility and fierce hatred and subject them to an unscrupulous campaign of lies and slanders.'

After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonise them, so to speak, and to surround their names with a certain halo for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping them, while at the same time emasculating the revolutionary doctrine of its content, vulgarising it and blunting its revolutionary edge.'

In Lenin's case the 'campaign of lies

and slanders' continued long after his death and continues today. Thus, perhaps the most widely read book on Lenin in Britain today is the utterly worthless volume by David Shub. And of course writers like Shub, who put their talents at the disposal of the oppressing classes, have their 'libertarian' counterparts who use the lies and slanders in the interests of anarchist or semi-anarchist politics.

Simultaneously Lenin was canonised, turned into a plaster saint, in the interests of the rulers of a monstrous despotism. The man, of whom Fischer quite rightly says 'modesty and the rejection of any kind of personality cult were characteristic of him throughout his life', was embalmed like a Pharaoh and his tomb turned into a place of pilgrimage 'for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes'.

The man who said in 1919: 'We can fight bureaucracy to the bitter end, to a complete victory, only when the whole population participates in the work of

government', was converted into the icon of one of the most overwhelming bureaucracies that has ever existed, a bureaucracy that deprived 'the whole population' of even those minimal political and trade union rights that had existed under Tsar Nicolas II.

And so the writers, bourgeois, 'libertarian' and Stalinist alike, have by a liberal use of distortion, omission and invention, created Lenin the Devil and Lenin the Deity in the interests of the struggle against the politics Lenin stood for all his life—the politics of revolutionary marxism dedicated to the self-emancipation of the working class.

By contrast Fischer presents a selection of the ideas of the authentic Lenin. Selection pre-supposes a viewpoint, and Fischer's own viewpoint can be roughly summarised as within the genuine communist tradition but standing on its right wing.

Wages: Britain is being left behind

PRICES will rise faster than ever over the next year—and substantial chunks of the increases will be a direct result of government policy. These are the conclusions of last week's report by the National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

This suggests that prices will rise by an average of eight per cent this year, nine per cent next year, and even more in 1974.

Some of these figures have been much quoted in the national press. Other revealing facts brought to light by the report have been less publicised.

On wages, it says there has been a much slower rise in Britain than in continental Europe in the value of hourly wage earnings. In 1970 'the total cost to employers of an hour's

work was much lower in Britain than anywhere in continental Europe except Austria and Finland.'

'The rise in wage costs per unit of output was much smaller in the United Kingdom than in West Germany, Japan, Italy or the Netherlands...'

Yet prices are rising faster in Britain than in these other countries: one per cent faster than in France and Germany and two per cent faster than in Italy. There could hardly be more decisive proof that the myth that rising wages are responsible for rising prices is completely false.

In fact, things are quite the other way round. In order to keep ahead of rising prices, workers need to push much harder on wages than at present.

The Institute's estimate that prices

will rise by nine per cent next year is based on the assumption that wages, before deductions, will rise by 12 per cent. But as a third of any pay increase goes to the government in tax and national insurance contributions, such pay increases are worth only about eight per cent—hardly enough to keep up with price increases, let alone ensure an increased portion of the national cake for those who labour to produce it.

'Fair' Rents

The report does indicate, in passing, where the main responsibility for price rises really lies. Government policy will be the direct cause of an increase in the cost of living in at least four ways:

Entry into the Common Market, the devaluation of the pound and the introduction of value added tax will all push up prices considerably, while the so-called 'Fair Rents' Act is forcing up the rents for working-class families.

When groups of workers try to recover the loss in purchasing power caused by these measures by pushing for wage increases, no doubt the government and the press will again turn on them and speak about the need to hold back prices. But no one should be fooled by such stories.

The present accelerating inflation is part and parcel of a society in which industry is owned by a small and powerful minority and in which the motive force behind production is profit for the few not the needs of the many.

ARMY REPRESSION IS GROWING DAILY

by Mike Miller

BELFAST:—Army repression of anti-Unionist areas is growing daily in response to increasing demands from the extreme right-wing to get in and 'wipe out the rebels'.

The Catholic community in Andersonstown has been deprived of its schools and recreational facilities which have been converted into Army barracks where the terrorising of the working-class estates is planned and carried out.

In Ballymurphy, Paras have beaten up women and in Broadway, Green Jackets have joined in with the UDA to attack Catholic houses.

Massive armoured cars with cannon and machine guns—banned from urban areas by the Geneva convention—roll up and down narrow, densely populated streets followed by scores of nervous and demoralised troops whose trigger-happy actions have cost the deaths of two of their own number in recent weeks.

Arrests and detentions continue at a level approaching that of the days of internment. An average of 10 men a day are rounded up for interrogation and beatings.

Those who are not released are being detained at Long Kesh: detention is the new word for internment.

The right wing is now advocating the introduction of special courts where a man would be presumed guilty unless he can

prove his innocence. They want these courts to ensure that, if internment ends, Republican activists will remain locked up.

In rural areas there has been a steady increase in Loyalist terror activities. Members of the Ulster Defence Regiment (the reformed B-Specials) have been mounting road blocks in Catholic areas in order to provoke trouble. Catholics have been dragged from their cars and beaten up.

Last weekend the UDR opened fire on an unarmed crowd they were preventing from getting to the local fair. They smashed up a Catholic dance hall and on Monday night they were again on the rampage.

Bernadette Devlin, MP for one of the areas involved, has reported the names of known UDR thugs to the police but the close links between all levels of the 'forces of law and order' have prevented anything being done.

TACTICS

Under such conditions, every socialist must recognise the need for the anti-Unionist sections of the population to retain their guns for self-defence. The Loyalist bosses are intent on a total physical victory over their political opponents.

They are demanding a return to the 'good old days' when every Fenian knew his proper place. Although such a demand is not entirely suited to the need of British imperialism, the Tory Party is unlikely to move against those raising it.

The Tories fear the possible repercussions of giving in to anti-Unionist demands and for this reason they are prepared to tolerate the illegal terror tactics of their old allies in the Unionist Party.



Bernadette: protest at Ulster Defence Regiment violence

By giving Loyalist workers a free hand to organise, arm and kill, the Tories can ensure that the recent splits in the Unionist bloc are patched up temporarily, giving them the time to buy off the middle-class leadership of the Catholic side—the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

Only a continuation of civil resistance on a massive scale, coupled with more open and direct socialist politics, can hope to frustrate Whitelaw's plans by exposing the SDLP and bringing the working class of the south in to the struggle against imperialism and capitalism in all its forms.

Sit-in after 318 sacked

GUILDFORD:—200 workers are sitting in at Dennis Brothers, the heavy vehicle builders.

The firm was taken over in May by Hestair, a subsidiary of the Bankers Trust Corporation of New York, a multi-national company known for its habit of sacking workers after takeovers. At Johnson's, the photographic manufacturers of Hendon, Hestair sacked a third of the workforce and at Yorkshire Vehicles a quarter.

In early June the Guildford branch of the International Socialists got wind of coming sackings and put out a leaflet. Management strongly denied there were to be any sackings—with notices throughout the factory, letters to the shop stewards and articles in the local press.

One director denounced the authors of the leaflet as liars.

When the Engineering Union's national pay claim was submitted the firm offered 3p an hour—plus 4p with productivity strings. This was rejected and the threat of a strike brought an offer of £4 a week, which was accepted.

Two weeks ago the firm announced it would be sacking 318 workers and intends to reduce the labour force further before December. A mass meeting last week decided to take no action, but the next day workers in the fibreglass and machine shops, which would be most affected by the sackings, started an occupation.

LUCAS STAFF STRIKE FOR PARITY

by Ken Appleby

KEIGHLEY:—Technical staff at NSF, a subsidiary of the Lucas group, have been on official strike for more than two weeks for parity with the rest of the group. Wage rates at present are about £12 a week less than at Birmingham and £6 a week less than at Burnley, where engineering workers are also on a parity strike.

Before submitting strike notice the workers, members of the technical and supervisory section (TASS) of the Engineering Union, had carried out a militant programme of sanctions. This included keeping the managing director in his office until he was 'rescued' by the police, holding shop floor meetings in production areas, mass leaflet campaigns, and flying a 'parity' banner from the roof.

During this time they were forced to play hide-and-seek with police who had been called to evict them from the premises as the management was trying to sack them.

Since the strike started they have applied equal determination to picketing. The company has relied entirely on scab drivers, and one striker is on £200 bail charged with 'criminal damage' arising from an incident in which a blackleg driver charged the picket line.

A delegation from Keighley travelled to Birmingham last week to lobby the TASS national Lucas negotiating committee, which was meeting management to discuss the claim. In June a Lucas group delegate conference had pledged full support to any part of the group trying to secure parity of wages and conditions.

Donations and messages of support are urgently needed. Please send to Ken Appleby, 25 Southway, Eldwick, Bingley, Yorkshire.

Counter-demo meets racist campaign

BRADFORD:—A strong counter-demonstration against racialism was held when the British Campaign to Stop Immigration held a meeting here last Saturday afternoon.

The campaign is led by former Tory councillor Jim Merrick. When in office, Merrick voted to stop the building of council houses, although at that time 40,000 of Bradford's houses were unfit to live in, according to the National Building Agency: 26,420 were without indoor lavatories and 2200 had no piped hot water.

Merrick is now using immigration to explain the bad housing situation for which he himself is partly responsible.

The anti-racist counter-demonstration, which had been organised mainly by members of the International Socialists, was prevented by police from getting near Merrick's demonstration, so allowing him to spread his racist lies.

After the demonstration was over, some of the posters used by the

racialists were found to be pasted on Tory election placards.

In Leeds on Saturday evening, Colin Jordan's fascist British Movement was due to hold a meeting. But several hundred people turned up to an anti-racist demonstration which prevented it.

110 walk out

WALTHAMSTOW:—110 workers walked out at Hammond and Champness, lift engineers, last week, striking to maintain a £4 differential over the national minimum which they had in the past and which has been wiped out as a result of the national engineering settlement.

The works convenor, Ted Miles, said: 'The lads are out as a direct result of the failure of the engineering leaders to secure an across-the-board increase. The settlement was a total sell-out.'

The firm's repair and servicing department at Clerkenwell has also come out in support of the claim, but the strike has not yet been made official by the union, the Metal Mechanics.

TORY RENT ROBBERY AND HOW TO FIGHT IT

Don't miss this vital pamphlet

2p a copy plus postage
12 copies or more post free
Cash with orders to:
IS (Rents) 6 Cottons Gardens,
London E2 8DN

Victory for car depot strikers

by David Gibens

EAST KENT:—20 Transport Union members at Pride and Clarke's Toyota depot at Lydden returned to work last week after winning a significant but not final victory over bosses who sacked two militants for union activity and then tried to sack 25 other workers who struck in their support.

The strikers have gained union recognition but the management are trying to re-employ rather than reinstate them—meaning loss of seniority and even lower pay. Further industrial action is being considered.

Contact with other militants brought the blocking of a vital shipload of 400 Toyota cars by dockers and harbour board workers at Dover and Harwich. This undoubtedly contributed to the victory. Official union support has been almost non-existent: the local Transport Union official was seen twice during the seven weeks of the dispute and has been unanimously condemned by the strikers.

AUEW five fight on

AT CHATHAM, the official strike of five Engineering Union workers at W Griffiths is entering its ninth week. The bosses sacked the men and then applied for a High Court order against them for 'trespassing on company property'—picketing.

This sacking is 'legal' under the Industrial Relations Act because the men have been working for the firm for less than two years. Cavangh Weaver, their shop steward, said: 'This is the first battleground in East Kent against the Act. If we are beaten, every other trade unionist in East Kent is beaten.'

The slowness of the local AUEW machinery means the strikers have so far received little financial support. The district official has in fact advised them to give up the strike.

Transport Union members are still working at the firm, but several of their union officials who visited the plant have spoken only with management. When the strikers contacted Transport Union shop stewards at Griffiths' suppliers and got agreements that drivers would not cross the picket line, officials stepped in to order them to end the blocking.

Donations and messages of support please to: Cavangh Weaver, 7 Chart Close, St Anne's Park, Faversham, Kent.

CORRECTION:—In the recent Socialist Worker Builders' Special, an article stated that a shop steward at Cowlins in Bristol had been phoning his trade union daily to have his site stopped. This was in fact incorrect, and we apologise for any inconvenience caused by this mistake.



I would like more
information about
the International Socialists

Name

Address

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

Socialist Worker

Jaguar strikers settle for £44

by Dave Lyddon

COVENTRY:-The Jaguar strike at the Brown's Lane factory has now ended. The workers involved voted on Tuesday by a small minority to go back after eleven weeks out.

The strike was originally called when the company refused to give an increase in piecework rates for about 2000 workers.

But some time during the first few weeks of the dispute, the principle of sticking out for an improved piecework rate was lost, and the outcome of the strike depended on the amount offered for a new flat rate system.

On Tuesday an interim rate of £44 per week was accepted, with lump sum payment of between £20 and £105 to compensate for future loss of wages. Negotiations are now to begin on a 'Secure Earnings Plan' for all Jaguar workers at both the Brown's Lane and Radford plants.

The 'Secure Earnings Plan' is a misleading name for measured day work, a payment system aimed at the maximum exploitation of the workforce. It is easy to show that the introduction of this system was the company's purpose in sitting out the strike, and not the fear of more expensive Jaguar cars.

Jaguar caters for a very select group of people—rich people. A small rise in the wage bill can easily be passed off in extra cost. Well over half their cars are exported. Failure to supply the cars, especially the new XJ12, must hit their share of the market much harder than a small increase in price could.

Stewards

Jaguar management was in fact following the general policy of British Leyland of which it is part. British Leyland is currently unable to extract sufficient profits from its workforce to undertake the necessary investment to survive on the world market.

Its only way out is to hold down the wages of its workers. The piecework system, under the present conditions of strong shop-floor organisation, is unable to do this.

Even measured day work will not succeed, unless shop organisation is completely smashed. And under this new system, the shop steward's central role in wage bargaining disappears and with it the source of his power.

Ford, operating such a system, was able to sack 17 leading stewards in 1962. The following year, productivity per worker was forced up by one-third.

British Leyland would dearly love to copy this, and that is why the new payment system is so important to them. Their victory at Jaguars will increase their confidence in taking on the crucial Austin factory. Now more than ever it is important for the British Leyland combine committee to learn the lessons of Fords and to organise a co-ordinated fight against the management.

Carthorse turns a cartwheel

From page one

fight is avoided. Instead it is playing the complicated game of keeping as many members in line with a line that doesn't exist.

This was marvellously spelt out with the suspension of the 32. These blacklegs were allowed 80 minutes to add poison to the sweating atmosphere of Brighton's Dome.

Vic Feather could not and dared not answer those who are Heath's agents. Instead he told them how easy it was to

get back into the family fold.

Brighton's Dome was built to house a Prince Regent's horses. It is a suitable place for the old carthorse and next week it will move back into another set of stables, this time built by the Tory government and the system of society it upholds.

But Jack Jones is right: 'The TUC is slowly changing for the better, it is no longer a carthorse,' he said this week. If he were perceptive enough he would have added: 'It's now a cartwheel.'

It is clear, a thousand times clear, every minute of every debate from the Tory Act to the crucial question of the TUC's attitude to the country's waterworks, what can and must be done.

Now is the time to fight the class-collaboration politics of the TUC leaders by building in each and every union, each and every locality, organs of struggle which can really lead the fight to smash this government, its courts, its jail bars and its exploitation.

PICKETS SHUT BIG CEMENT WORKS

by SW reporters

ALTHOUGH hardly mentioned by the press, the builders' strike is still growing from strength to strength. With more than 300,000 workers involved, it is now the biggest long strike for years in any industry.

Birmingham, where the action committee took the initiative in spreading the strike to all sites more than two months ago, while the union leaders were still trying to restrict it to selective strikes, has once again given a lead to the rest of the country.

Pickets have been outside the major cement works, aiming to stop the supplies needed by the few sites still

working. Tunnel Cement, in Curzon Street, has already been shut, and pickets are active in Rugby Portland in Sparkbrooke and Blue Circle Cement in Handsworth.

But the national leaders of the unions involved are giving little help to such militancy. In many areas local officials are refusing to spread the strike and have gone out of their way to try to stop building workers employed by local authorities from joining the movement.

Above all, they are continuing to accept deals with local firms, short of the unions' claim, which can only weaken and fragment the strike.

It is being claimed by officials that such settlements divide the employers. But in fact they are more likely to divide the workers and frustrate the aims of the strike.

Most of the deals so far arranged are secret, but the few whose terms are known are far short of the claim. They usually offer no immediate cut in the working week. Instead they mention the possibility of shorter hours in two to three years' time.

And instead of offering a basic £30, they only offer a minimum rate of £30 for skilled workers, after bonus payments have been taken into account. This minimum will, in any case, be reduced by rising prices to be worth only £27.50 in real terms next year and £25 in two years' time.

With only local deals it would be easy for employers to backtrack once the strike is over, and they will not stop the use of the lump-labour-only contracting—on new sites. The morale of strikers holding out for the full claim is also weakened when they see sites working which have settled for less.

For these reasons, every serious trade unionist in the building industry must reject the local deal strategy that the national leadership is trying to push through.

Unfortunately, however, there is still some confusion over this. On Monday, for example, the Morning Star was still speaking of local deals signed in the North East as some sort of victory for the strikers.

Journalists spike pay offer



JOURNALISTS seen this week picketing the London offices of the giant International Publishing Corporation—the world's biggest magazine firm and owner of the Daily Mirror.

IPC's 1800 NUJ members are in official dispute with management over pay. The union's claim is for £495 in the next 12 months and a further £250 next July. A mass meeting last week rejected a management offer of £300 now and a further £275 next June.

Six hundred journalists were called out from selected magazines but the rest were told by management that they were considered to be on strike as well and would not be paid. Several leading magazines, including New Society and New Scientist did not appear this week.

Journalists off register: page 10.

ROUND THE SITES

WIGAN:-The strike remains absolutely solid, with daily strike meetings. All builders' supply merchants are being successfully picketed. Council building workers are also 100 per cent in support of the strike.

But a few lump sites are believed to be working only at weekends to avoid pickets, so weekend picketing has been arranged.

An advisory service for social security set up by the strike committee has had some success: single men are no longer being turned away and are receiving benefit under section 13.

BLACKBURN:-Local building workers remain determined to win this strike, despite attempts by employers to con them into returning to work.

But union officials have been doing their utmost to play down the dispute and stay out of the firing line. At the last Transport Union branch meeting, the secretary complained of 'intimidation' of his members by striking building workers.

Blackburn Town Council, dominated by the Labour Party, has been playing a scandalous role. They employ lump labour on council house modernisation sites, and have been taking on labour from private sites closed by picketing.

In spite of all this, the chairman of the UCATT action committee, Keith Hull, assured Socialist Worker: 'The men are solidly behind the strike. There will be no compromise on the £30 for 35 hours demand. We will stick it out till we win.'

GLASGOW:-The strike in the West of Scotland is absolutely solid. Local authority workers have unanimously rejected official advice to return to work.

But the official union leaders and many Communist Party members are trying to sell the rank and file company agreements of the Cameron type. They are meeting with strong opposition. The local authority workers, with the lads in East Kilbride, Cumbernauld, Ayrshire and Edinburgh, have called for the Cameron agreement to be rejected.

BIRMINGHAM:-The strikers' action committee is still refusing to sign any company agreements, even with the few firms who offer the full claim.

A leaflet has been put out in Punjabi explaining to Indian strikers about social security benefits.

In a desperate attempt to weaken the strike, one of the big local firms, Bryants, sent a letter to its workers with a ballot form attached calling for an end to the strike. Many simply scrawled on the form '£30 for 35 hours' and sent it back.

BRADFORD:-Five hundred building workers from Bradford, Leeds, Huddersfield and Halifax voted at a mass meeting here on Saturday not to return to work until the full claim is met. They also voted overwhelmingly against local agreements.

CHARTER

One disappointing feature of the strike has been that the Building Workers' Charter, the rank-and-file newspaper around which militants in the industry have been organising, has not been used to put forward a national rank-and-file strategy in opposition to the manoeuvres of union officials.

A meeting of the Charter was held in Manchester on Sunday, and the beginnings of a national strategy were agreed upon. It was decided to call for a national campaign to close cement works and to call out furnace bricklayers and maintenance builders in industry.

On the question of local deals, the feeling was that these should be opposed and that delegates should argue against them in their areas. But no vote was taken.

The urgent need is for rank and file militants to carry into effect a nationally co-ordinated struggle over these points.

RESOURCES

They should also insist that the union leaders call on the government to declare an amnesty for workers who have been forced to work on the lump, and who have evaded paying insurance contributions or tax. Otherwise many workers who would like to return to work after the strike as trade unionists will be unable to do so.

The resources of the whole trade union movement should be channelled to pay out hardship money to strikers being refused social security benefit. George Smith, head of UCATT and this year's president of the TUC, should issue a call for the TUC to arrange workshop collections and contributions from all unions to this end. The Transport Union should use some of its £21 million funds.

And the officials of the unions concerned should waive their pay while the strike lasts.

- Continue to spread the strike into a complete national stoppage.
- No local deals.
- Rank and file strike committees to control the struggle in each area.
- Mass picketing of all cement, brick and other works that supply the building industry.
- Bring out building workers in other industries, such as steel and engineering.
- No retreat—£30 for a 35-hour week.

Subscribe Now!

I enclose £_____ for one year's/six months

Socialist Worker

(£3.40 per year; £1.70 six months)

Name _____

Address _____

→ Socialist Worker 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN