

Socialist Worker

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Army given go-ahead to step up repression and bloodshed

TORIES LIE OVER DERRY KILLINGS

THE BRITISH ARMY has been given a free hand to smash by any means the resistance to imperialism in Northern Ireland. Every British soldier now understands clearly that he can shoot to kill at whoever strays into his sights, that his military supervisors will lie in their teeth to protect him and that the relevant ministers in the House of Commons will repeat it again as often as they are asked.

On Monday in the Commons Lord Balniel stood up to answer questions from Bernadette Devlin and in true Tory time-dishonoured fashion there tumbled from him lie after politically-motivated lie. The current escalation in Derry was triggered by the killing last Thursday of Seamus Cusack and George Beattie.

The only reporter present when Cusack was killed in the early hours of the morning was Neil McCafferty of the Irish Times: 'Seamus Cusack was shot by a British soldier at practically point blank range, not 50 yards from where I stood in Bogside on Wednesday night. He carried neither rifle nor petrol bomb nor stone, but was in fact bending down to pick up an object from the ground.'

Within a few hours the Army authorities in Derry had pieced together their story. Cusack, they said, had been carrying a rifle and was about to fire it.

The British press gladly seized on this and spread it all over their front pages. The Times was typical: 'An Army marksman fired at a man carrying a rifle after he had been warned in the Fahan St area.'

HEADLINED

It was the same with George Beattie. Numerous eye-witnesses have testified that he was shot while running away and that he had thrown no bombs. But the Army lie was headlined as fact by the national papers.

These are the lies that Balniel endorsed on behalf of the Tory government. It is clear from this that the Tories have begun to abandon the attempt to balance between the two communities in Northern Ireland, the attempt to draw together Catholic and Protestant moderates into a civilised conservative regime.

Their inability to solve the economic problems or to defer all reference to the national question has forced them now to revert to their oldest and most tried weapon—open, brutal repression.

In Northern Ireland the powerful surge of anger has forced the Social Democratic and Labour Party—which less than a fortnight ago was eagerly grabbing minor parliamentary positions from Prime Minister Brian Faulkner—to threaten to withdraw completely from the Stormont parliament.

by EAMONN McCANN

But the continuing absence of a viable socialist presence in areas like the Bogside has allowed much of the militancy of the people to be siphoned in behind the Provisional IRA. What is necessary is not just the removal of the British Army.

By tragic irony, last Thursday when Seamus Cusack and George Beattie were being killed in Bogside, Martin O'Leary, aged 20, was being buried in Cork in the South.

He was killed by an explosion at the Tipperary mines of Mogul Ltd, where miners were fighting a protracted and now successful battle against a reactionary management. His death reminds us that the struggle in Ireland is not just a struggle between England and Ireland. It is a struggle between British imperialism and its allies, foreign and native, and the Irish working class, which is a significantly different thing.

ENCOURAGE

While exposing the lies of the Tory press and politicians and expressing solidarity with those bearing the brunt of the repression, we should encourage left republicans and other revolutionaries urgently to come together in order to give the embattled communities a leadership which both politically and militarily can lead to the defeat of the imperial power.

In Britain it is necessary also to expose the opportunist manoeuvres of the Labour Party.

Last Monday when Lord Balniel sat down it was George Thompson, the Labour MP for Dundee East who sprang to his feet to express his 'intense anger that our soldiers, who are trying to save Northern Ireland from a bloodbath, should face the kind of provocative action they do face.'

Withdraw the troops: editorial p2.



Derry Bogside clashing with troops last week after the death of Seamus Cusack

Rents: blueprint to soak council tenants

SW Reporter

THE TORIES' new rent proposals, announced on Tuesday, are yet another attempt to slash the living standards of millions of working people. They are in the same category as the welfare cuts, the increase in health charges and the raising of school meal prices.

The great majority of council tenants can confidently look forward to a 50p rent rise every year for the next three years—in addition to increases they have had to pay in previous years.

The Tories have tried to sugar the pill. They claim that those 'unable to afford the rises' will get a rebate.

What they don't say is that in order to qualify for a rebate, tenants will have to undergo the indignity of the means test.

Nor do they mention the fact that at the moment housing subsidies exist for the better-off sections of the population that are not subject to means tests. This is the tax relief given to people who are buying houses on mortgages.

Such relief costs the government considerably more than the £200 million a year spent on council house subsidies.

The government is abolishing subsidies for what it calls 'well-to-do' council tenants—a man with a wife and two children earning the average industrial wage. But it is doing nothing to touch the subsidy to well-to-do mortgage holders.

Better-paid workers will pay more to subsidise those prepared to go through a means test. The middle class gets off scot free.

The government is careful not to say where the money from the rent increases is going. It speaks blithely about 'slum clearance'.

Yet this year, despite rising rents, 50,000 fewer houses were built than four years ago. Meanwhile 85p out of every pound collected in rent in London has gone in interest charges to money lenders.

And of course nobody is talking of cutting the subsidy which ordinary working people in council houses pay to these leeches.

COMMON MARKET: SPECIAL ANALYSIS pps 4&5

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Ireland: clear the troops out now

THE MURDER by British soldiers of two civilians in Derry last week has put Northern Ireland back into the headlines. It has demonstrated once again that British imperialism can no longer solve its problems in that province.

Control of Northern Ireland by British big business was based for generations upon systematically encouraging religious bigotry among the population. Protestant workers were brought up to believe that they were intrinsically superior to Catholics. And to give some reality to such feelings, government and employers discriminated against Catholics and in favour of Protestants, when it came to providing jobs or houses. Such marginal privileges made it possible for Protestant workers to forget their own miserable wages and housing conditions and to unite behind the Orange sashes and Union Jacks of their rulers.

Such techniques meant that it was relatively easy for the landowners and industrialists to detach the Six Counties of the north-east from the rest of Ireland when it gained independence in the 1920s. The result was that Britain kept control of Northern Ireland, while the southern state never had the resources to achieve real economic independence.

Whenever the Catholics of the North protested against discrimination, British governments united with the most reactionary Protestant bigots to terrorise them into submission.

Preached moderation

But the government did not feel able to treat the Civil Rights movement that began three years ago in the same way. For British big business now owns more property in Southern Ireland than in the North. Its profitable activities there might be upset if it were to permit the Northern Catholics to be too vigorously repressed. And so it started preaching 'moderation' to the rulers of the North. Reforms to end some aspects of discrimination were promised.

The bigots who control the Orange Order and the Unionist Party were outraged. The whole basis for their power was threatened. They were backed by many ordinary Protestant workers who feared that unemployment and bad housing would hit them more than ever if their marginal privileges over the Catholics were done away with.

But the reforms have not really helped the Catholic section of the working class either. The toll of redundancies continues to push up unemployment—already twice the British level. Resources that could be used to improve conditions continue to flow abroad as the owners search for bigger profits.

Such a situation cannot be ended until the wealth of Northern Ireland is taken out of the hands of the minority who at present control it. And that means kicking out British big business and its troops.

Many Catholic workers are beginning to see this, but in a confused manner. They give increasing support to Republican organisations that are fighting for an end to British control.

But they do not always see that behind the troops stands a British ruling class with interests in both North and South Ireland. Nor do they understand the need for united action by the whole working class, north and south of the border, if that ruling class and its Irish hangers-on are to be thrown out.

But there must be no doubt on whose side socialists in this country stand. Our own rulers are using British troops to try and keep their grip on Northern Ireland. They have tried using tear gas, rubber bullets and armoured cars. Such methods have not cowed the population, and so lead bullets are employed with dreadful consequences.

We have to defend the right of the local population to fight back with all the means at its disposal, even if we do not always agree with the political ideas of its leaders or have criticisms of some of their tactics.

And we have to make clear that the only way to end the history of violence and bloodshed in Ireland is to force the British government to withdraw its troops.

RIGHT-WING LABOUR CASHES IN ON ANTI-TORY MOOD

THE PROPAGANDA offensive by the press and the government over the Common Market is not having the desired effect. So strong is the anti-Tory feeling in the labour movement that even hardened right wingers like Denis Healey and Anthony Crosland feel compelled to make concessions to it. They do not want to be seen as the men who made it possible for Heath's government to survive the Commons vote on entry in October.

But such moves create dangers for the Left. Already some people are talking as if the only problem we faced were the Common Market. Tribune and the Communist Party, for example, are both behaving as if we can solve all our difficulties by merely maintaining an independent capitalist Britain.

Only one measure

We oppose the Common Market because we believe that the problems facing society can only be solved by working-class struggle culminating in socialist revolution. Capitalist attempts like the Common Market to solve such problems can only operate at the expense of working people. But the Common Market is only one measure among many—unemployment, welfare cuts, anti-union laws, racialism—which will be used against workers even if Britain keeps out of Europe.

The likelihood is that right wing Labour leaders will make nationalistic noises about the Market in order to avoid having to commit themselves to action on these other issues. They hope to return to government on the crest of popular revulsion against Tory policies without having to undertake to reverse such policies. And their task is made easier by the way in which much of the 'left' is talking in nationalistic and not class terms.

THEIR WEEK IN EUROPE

The White Paper

THAT we're going in is less uncertain than what we're going into. The Common Market is not an economic union: it has no common currency and no common economic policy. There are no common guidelines on transport, energy or business legislation. Labour and social security laws go all over the place. It does have a common external tariff (on most things) and a common agricultural policy (just about).

It is even less a political union: France and Germany are at loggerheads most of the time about the leadership of Europe, about the American alliance, about NATO. They are on opposite sides in the Middle East. They are competing on a strictly national basis for Russian attentions.

If the Common Market is anything, it is a club for BIG European (and even American) business who feel cramped by national markets for their goods and for finance and skills. But not everyone is eligible for membership—and some of those that aren't are flaying themselves raw with computations about....

The Cost

DOUGLAS JAY was nearly hysterical last week about a possible cost 'to the British taxpayer' of £450 million by 1977. Then Harold Wilson, late jumper-on on this particular bandwagon, claimed a secret, suppressed figure of £500 million for the balance-of-payments loss. (Wilson is clearly picking his way towards a new adman's slogan: Buy Labour's Cutprice Trip to Europe.) There are others, each with a challenging but unchallengeable figure.

But THEIR WEEK can also play the numbers game. When these careful counters were in office they cost us something too: about £3 billion a year in lost

production because of their government-induced deflation, say £18 billion in all; about £2½ billion a year in military production, say £15 billion in all; some £700-800 million for the flying preposter—Concord...and billions upon billions in sheer waste as the cost of running a capitalist system. Compared with that, anything the Tories chuck at us is chickenfeed. But cost is not....

The Real Argument

WHICH is about power, and specifically class power. Will business manage to ride workers harder than before by virtue of the new arrangements, or will workers manage to exploit business' quarrels to emerge stronger, if not masters?

'The striking thing', George Thomson, Labour's Rippon, confessed last week, 'is the way so many of those who have had to face in government the realities of the limitations of British [capital's] power...have been persuaded of the pro-Market case'. Equally striking is the fear evinced by capitalism's weaker brethren—represented by Powell and most of the Parliamentary Labour Party—at the thought of what might happen to their interests in a confrontation between big capital and labour on a European scale.

Neither big nor little capital are wrong: entry will clearly weaken the parliamentary influence that workers still exert (and is supported by big business partly for this reason); it will also multiply the opportunities for intra-company organisation and direct shop-floor pressure (and is opposed by small business and trade union bureaucrats for that reason).

Entry will tend to loosen the unity and the strong internal links of our trade union movement but it could make comparison with workers' gains abroad easier, and speed and spread trade union leap-frogging. The possibilities for

working-class gains (which terrify small business) are set against the probabilities for working-class losses (which encourage big business), and since neither of them know the strength or temper of the worker-based revolutionary organisations on which the outcome depends, they cannot come to an agreed conclusion. That is why 'the Common Market'—George Thomson again—is one of these rare national issues where party criteria are irrelevant'.

We've been here before

A HUNDRED-ODD years ago Germany was being formed into a single state out of many. The socialists of the time were understandably worried. One of them wrote: 'The thing has this good side to it that it simplifies the situation; it makes a revolution easier by doing away with the brawls between the petty capitals and will in any case hasten development... The whole of the petty states will be swept into the movement, the worst localising influences will cease and parties will at last become really national instead of merely local...In my opinion, therefore, all we can do is simply to accept the fact, without justifying it, and to use, so far as we possibly can, the greater facilities for national organisation and unification of the German proletariat which must now at any rate offer themselves.'

A friend wrote back: 'For the workers everything which centralises the bourgeoisie is of course favourable.'

Who were they?

THEIR WEEK offers no prizes for guessing that our two old mates were Fred and Charles, Engels and Marx respectively. Nor do we offer prizes for contributions. But they are nonetheless welcome, and should reach The Editor by first post Friday.

BRITAIN AIDS US ARMY WITCHHUNT

by Chris Hitchens

THE CASE of American Air Force Captain Tom Culver, found guilty on Tuesday for opposing the Vietnam war, is not the first such piece of repression, and probably not the last. In May 1970 a group of American servicemen and students based in Britain began to publish a newspaper PEACE (or People Emerging Against Corrupt Establishments).

Its purpose was to oppose the Vietnam war and the generally repressive nature of the American military machine. At present it has a circulation of some 4000 copies on a total of nine different American bases.

It has carried articles attacking racial prejudice in the Army, exposing the myth of American freedom, and pointing out the similarities between Army discipline and factory life. All the articles are written by servicemen, many of whom have first-hand experience of Vietnam, and have seen the real face of American imperialism in action.

Not surprisingly, the military hierarchy was worried by these activities



CULVER: found guilty

and last month began a series of actions against anti-war militants. GIs collecting signatures for a petition to Congress (supposedly a Constitutional right) found their rooms raided by security police and the petitions stolen.

All kinds of intimidation were used to prevent servicemen from going to London to hand in the petition to the US Embassy, but 300 of them defied the brass and went all the same, carrying a thousand signatures to a demand that American forces be withdrawn from Vietnam.

Since then, Captain Culver has been arrested and charged with illegal demonstrating, and six other air-forcemen have been discharged from the service. More prosecutions are expected as the level of resistance rises.

The methods of the Air Force are phone tapping, the photographing of activists, the planting of informers and the threat of blacklisting in civilian life. In all these vile practices, they have been helped by the British police and government, who have even hunted down deserters for them, as well as lending diplomatic and political support to the American genocide in South East Asia and elsewhere.

This places a heavy responsibility on the British Left, whose activity against the war has declined markedly to the point of mere token demonstrations. This new complicity in the war on the part of the Tory government should lead us to demand that all American bases be withdrawn from British soil, and that the trade union movement should black them until this is done.

Meanwhile Tom Culver and his comrades must not be forgotten. Demands for his release should be raised wherever possible and the US Embassy should be flooded with protests from the socialist and trade union movement.

Bernadette and women's rights

LAST WEEK's front page quite rightly stressed that our support for Bernadette Devlin continues on the basis of respect for her serious commitment to revolutionary socialism. But it played down the very issue which Fleet Street used with such sensationalism, and on which many readers were questioned by their colleagues.

We should make it very clear that we feel that EVERY woman has the right to decide for herself the questions of contraception, abortion and childbearing. And we therefore support the right of ALL women to decide these questions according to their personal and economic circumstances, regardless of whether they are married or single.—VALERIE CLARK, London N8

Warmongers

IN OUR work for a truly socialist society we should put a very special emphasis on the following facts. With regard to the terrible tragedy now being enacted in

Bangla Desh, it is important to remember that this warmongering Tory government is supporting Yahya Khan, the chief architect of this wicked crime against an innocent people.

If we study the history of Tory and Labour governments we find that during the past 40 years they have always supported reactionary regimes and dictators. The wholesale slaughter and sufferings of the workers of various nations have been brought by successive British governments' open support for these murderous thugs.

During the Spanish Civil War, they supported Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. Then when the Frankenstein monster they had helped to create got beyond their control they turned to the working class and, with all the hypocrisy in the world, called out 'Save us, save us, from this terrible man Hitler.'

These are the people who support military regimes in Spain, Greece and Ireland, while thousands of workers are tortured to death in the prisons of these countries.

These are the facts which must be shouted from the house tops—and let us not fail to point out the Labour Party's connivance in these matters.—ERNEST OFFEN, London W14.

Disillusion

LAST WEEK's editorial gave a list of six demands to be put on a Labour government in order to show them up when they don't follow them.

But nationalisation of industries handed back to the capitalists (provided they're not put under workers' control) and repeal of the Industrial Relations Bill are not demands a Labour government could not follow.

When we put these demands, do we say: 'Of course, the Labour Party can't follow them'? If so workers will rightly laugh in our faces.

If not, the class will be as disillusioned in us as in the Labour Party.—PAUL BARKER, Bolton, Lancs.

'Workers need a new party to lead struggle for a socialist society'

The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has agreed not to register when the Industrial Relations Bill becomes law. What do you think the consequences of this will be?

The Industrial Relations Bill is one of the most vicious and odious pieces of anti-working class legislation since the Combination Laws. It seeks to destroy basic trade union rights established out of generations of struggle and sacrifice and render the trade unions docile, pliant tools of the employers and their state.

It is an undisguised attempt to solve the inherent crisis of the system at the expense of the working class. Its provisions take us dangerously close to the corporate state. It has been carefully drafted to ensure that the consequences of de-registration are serious for the unions involved.

I wish to stress therefore, right at the outset, that serious though the consequences may be, they fade into irrelevance when compared with the historical consequences of acceptance of the IRB, and the philosophy which surrounds it.

Liabile for damages

The consequences can be examined at three discernible levels: economic, organisational and political. At an economic level, a de-registered union would lose its tax concessions. Various estimates put this loss for the AUEW at between £250,000 and £600,000 a year. Further, the union and its officials will be liable for 'damages' and fines in consequence of almost any industrial action they undertake.

All militants will be under attack whether their unions are registered or not. Those in de-registered unions will be open to even more pressures. A whole series of industrial struggles will be involved in addition to protect our 'bargaining units'. Some unions are already saying in private that if they register the employers will grant them bargaining units and agency shops under the Bill, and they can therefore increase their membership at the expense of de-registered unions.

We need not fear this. The AUEW represents some of the most powerful and best organised workers in Britain. Such rights as they do have were established through their industrial strength, and in spite of their employers, their laws, and their state. That same strength is more than adequate to deal with any 'industrial scavengers' who register and thereby become appendages of the state and seek to use the Bill against us.

Politically, the AUEW stand is of tremendous importance. On March 1 and 18, over two million workers were engaged in a direct political strike which in itself is an enormous step forward for a movement which historically has limited the use of the strike weapon to economic objectives. The AUEW's determination to de-register and oppose the implementation of the Bill in the engineering industry can give a lead to the whole of the trade union movement.

By using its industrial strength to repel these attacks, the contradictions in the system will be heightened. As the state then counter-attacks, the limitations of trade union action alone will become more evident, and recognition of the need for political action will grow.

As the conflict heightens, the true class role of some so-called trade union leaders will be exposed. We will find that we face not only the employers and their government, but those Trojan Horses in our midst who are more at ease in the cosy sanctity of the House of Lords than in facing their own rank and file.

Shoddy compromise

Also exposed will be those who are even less honest, who will use every form of left-wing phraseology to pose each sell-out, each retreat, each shoddy compromise as a brilliant tactical move in the long term interests of their members.

What steps do you think should be taken if the Tories attack the union?

The union will be attacked and will fight back. It will be a long, protracted battle. Guerrilla industrial action will be necessary in which we, and not the employers, select the area of conflict.

As this occurs, the broader trade union movement must see that principled unions which stand and fight are not isolated. Sympathetic action (illegal whether registered or not) should take place on a mass scale in support of any section under attack.

What do you think militants at local level should now be doing to fight the Bill?

Militants should now be preparing at all levels for sustained action against the Bill. The first step is to get wider sections of the working class committed to this ideology.

The Bill is in part a psychological attack to make us feel weak and drive us



Says MIKE COOLEY, president of DATA (Technical and Supervisory section of the AUEW)

into retreat. It is they and not us who are weak. History stands on our side.

The fact that they are driven to these measures underlines their desperation. So serious is their crisis, that they no longer have the flexibility of permitting so called free trade unions to operate. Militants at all levels should emphasise the enormous power and ability of the working class.

That power was amply demonstrated on March 1 and 18. All their high-capital, electronically-controlled equipment stood idle because that vital element in the production process, the human being, was missing.

Even the seemingly invincible Fleet Street was proven to be a 'paper tiger' in the most literal sense of the word when a few dozen maintenance fitters stopped its barrage of lies for those two days.

This great power can stop the Bill in its tracks at the point of production. This was recognised at the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions' conference three weeks ago when it was also agreed that no affiliated union would register. All these Confed unions, which represent about 3½ million engineering workers, must be compelled by rank and file pressure to adhere to these policies.

Since one of the main aims of the Bill is to destroy shop-floor organisation at the point of production, every strengthening of that organisation is a blow against the Bill. A systematic campaign should therefore be launched at local and district level to prepare for the defence of closed shops, resistance to agency shops, the pursuit of wage claims as if the Bill did not exist, and the defence, on a multi-factory basis, of any militants under attack.

Industrial action

Meetings should take place at the point of production to prepare for this. It should be made clear to every employer that none of the provisions of the Bill will operate in his factory, and if they do, it will be met with industrial action. Each trade union should be pressurised to commit itself to the support of such activity.

Most workers are prepared to fight their individual capitalist. The battle must be elevated to fight capitalism itself. We must continuously work to break out of the narrow confines of economism and elevate the struggle to a political level by workers who are increasingly class conscious.

The crisis at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders threatens the jobs of thousands of workers. How do you think this can be fought?

The Upper Clyde redundancy further underlines the deepening crisis of the system. The fact is that no capitalist nation, however well organised, can consistently provide the right to work.

Any real fight against redundancy must be linked with the fight to change the social system. It is imperative that the fight against redundancy is stepped up wherever this occurs.

I welcome the statement of the UCS workers that they will occupy the yards. I hope, however, that this will not be in an effort to demonstrate that they can run the yard more effectively than the employers. It should be seen as an effective method of preventing the company moving out any work, machinery or technical know-how.

Most important, it seems to me, will be supporting action and solidarity from other yards and industries. No yards should accept the transfer of any UCS work. Stoppages should take place throughout the industry in support of actions in UCS itself.

A tremendous onslaught has been launched against the living standards and rights of working people since the Tories returned to power. How can the government be defeated?

The Bill should be seen as part of a much broader political and economic offensive against the working class. That offensive includes the frantic grovelling efforts to get into the Common Market, the savage cut in the social services, the deliberately created mass unemployment, and the racist Immigration Bill.

All this is happening, not just because the Tories are nasty people. It stems from the deepening crisis of the whole imperialist economic system of which the British economy is but a part.

Externally, we see the greatest imperialist power in the world brought to a complete standstill by the glorious people of Vietnam. Internally in Britain, we have seen the very pinnacle of British industry, Rolls-Royce, go bankrupt.

The general crisis can be demonstrated in four ways:

Firstly, there is the general crisis of imperialism in which the metropolitan countries find that their ability to plunder the colonies is increasingly limited by the

national liberation movement. Since they can no longer export their most intense exploitation, these countries now bring it back on to the shoulders of their own metropolitan working class.

Secondly, the law of diminishing returns, which is an inherent contradiction in the system, will cause increasing problems for the large combines. Cash flow problems which caused the Rolls-Royce and UCS crises, will cause similar problems in other firms. The employer's solution will be to try to get the same or more work out of less people.

Thirdly, the problem of so-called over-production in which on the one hand we have over 800,000 unemployed although at the same time there is a dire shortage of housing, schools, social services and even decent transport.

Fourthly, the contradictions of technological change. This will increasingly mean that the employers will have to instal high capital equipment which by its nature will be obsolete in four or five years.

Faced with this, the employer will seek to exploit it for 24 hours a day, eliminating all 'non-productive time' and reducing his workers to the level of docile animals. The problem for him is that such concentrations of capital enormously increase the strike power of those involved. In the past two years, more and more workers are learning that the only way to advance their interests is to use that strike power.

Labour's role

Anyone who attempts to operate capitalism at this historical stage of deepening crisis will have no alternative but to take these measures. It matters not whether it be Tweedledum Wilson or Tweedledee Heath. This crisis did not just start since the Tories came to power.

Labour sought to introduce anti trade union legislation. Labour introduced prescription charges. Labour created Weinstock and laid the basis for mass unemployment. Labour sought to enter the Common Market.

To ask how the government can be defeated seems to me to be something of a non question. What we should be asking is how to defeat capitalism.

The Left in Britain is weak. What do you think is necessary to build a socialist movement capable of removing the capitalist system?

Great power and cohesion exist in the British trade union movement, but the movement by its very nature can only operate defensively around the rights and standards already gained.

It is not, however, in its nature to mount an offensive on the whole system, to destroy it and to lead the struggle for socialism. For this, we need a political party, a Marxist Leninist Party, with its roots deep in the working class.

Unless the fight for the creation of such a party is strengthened as part of the campaign against the government's anti-working class legislation, there will be no strategy forthcoming, and no overall leadership which will enable the whole class to destroy the present economic system and build a new one based on working class power.

Such a party would dedicate itself to the destruction of the present state machine and seize political power for the working class. In the build-up to that stage, it would fearlessly expose the so-called trade union leaders, the parliamentary fakers, and the social democrats.

Too modest

It would imbue in the class a real sense of history, and the power of the class in this era in which oppressed people all over the world are arising and liberating themselves. If the Vietnamese can do it, so can we in Britain.

The fact is that up to now we have been too modest and too fearful in our demands and aspirations. This reserve on the part of the working class was condemned by James Connolly, the greatest trade union and revolutionary leader these islands have produced. He said in his poem Be Moderate.

'The Labour Faker full of guile
Base doctrine ever teaches
And whilst he bleeds the rank and file
Tame moderation preaches.
Yet in his despite we'll see the day
When armed with sword in girth,
Labour shall march in proud array,
To seize its own—the earth.'

That day may not be too far. The present crises and the instability in the system provide enormous opportunities if we organise to seize them.

If we don't, there is the very real danger that society will polarise to the right.

EUROPE:



HEATH: big business's prime minister, determined to join the Market

WILSON: slippery opportunist for entry in government, against in opposition

Special analysis by Tony Polan

'Join the Common Market and take a chance to prosper. Stay out, and get ready for going down the drain.'

The amazing thing about the Tories' attitude to the working class is that they don't just want us to take the arsenic, they want us to believe it's good for us into the bargain. Still, we might justifiably be cynical about the alternatives the London Evening Standard screamed at us on the day the Tory White Paper on the EEC was published. But as far as the bosses are concerned, the old Tory press was telling the truth.

For the Common Market is the bosses' market. It is a vital part of the British bosses' strategy for survival, along with the Industrial Relations Bill, the Immigration Bill, massive unemployment and the rest of the Tory offensive.

British capitalism is undergoing the unpleasant experience of both suffocating and starving to death at the same time—suffocating for lack of markets and starving for lack of finance. A 'united Europe' offers giant new markets to exploit and new capital resources to feed on.

It might be hard for a class that less than 50 years ago believed itself to be the world's leading power to now admit that it cannot go it alone. But profit speaks louder than words. The rate of returns on investment in British industry has plunged from some 20.2 per cent in 1954 to 10.9 per cent in 1969.

VAST

The Rolls-Royce fiasco demonstrated how close to the wind the industrialists had to sail to win the order for the RB-211. The necessary outlay on research and development was so vast that the paper-thin profit margins were incapable of sustaining the investment. A national-based aero industry simply does not have the money to produce the latest engines and aircraft at a competitive price.

Over the past 10 years, the British chemical industry has slipped from second to fourth place in the world industrial league. It is now behind America, Japan and Germany. Yet The Economist was forced to comment bitterly that 'by British standards the industry is a star performer, growing at twice the rate of the British economy.'

But the home market is not growing fast enough to absorb the massive new output which would result from investing in larger plant. 'In Europe, the market is so much larger and faster growing that plant can come on at full steam without delay.'

In Britain, it takes 9100 employees to produce a million tons of steel. In the EEC 5600, in the USA only 4750. While in the EEC there are five large steel plants with an annual

'The EEC is a shame-face recognition that the old capitalist framework is now incapable of harnessing the potential of the new technology for the good of the mass of the people'



output of over three million tons, there is only one steel plant of this size in Britain.

This then is the picture. In the two years 1968 to 1970, British industrial production crawled up at a rate of 2 per cent growth a year. In contrast Italy sustained a growth rate of 6 per cent, France 10 per cent and Japan no less than 26 per cent.

And the problem is intensifying with every day that passes. The 'technological revolution' that has taken place since the war has totally changed the rules of the capitalist game.

For instance, it took 112 years from the invention of photography for someone to put it into commercial use in 1839. The telephone had to wait for 56 years (1829-85).

The gap for wireless was 35 years (1867-1902)
Radar took 15 years (1925-1940)
The atom bomb six years (1939-1945)

Transistors five years (1948-1953)
Printed circuits three years (1958-1961)

The greatest technological advance of the post-war years, the computer, has in its brief history, gone through three totally different techniques—valves, transistors and the printed circuit. The technological revolution

ceaselessly calls in developments and ruthlessly obsolete.

And the money. The American IBM to sink five billion years into the business series of computer certain of realising investment. No British even as yet any European have the money to on such a scale, let alone take the risk if cash.

RE

British employees lot more money than one small island. The situation is too bigger.

The Tory government two things on its shopping list that it in—capital resource or takeovers, and meant to reap a profitable technological breakthrough tomorrow's obsolete.

So what does the future depend upon?

LEFT CANNOT

ENTRY into the Common Market is the policy of the ruling class. Tony Polan makes that abundantly clear.

The Tory government, the Confederation of British Industry, the banks and the extreme right wing of the labour movement—that is the line up on the pro-entry side.

On the other side we have the left and most of the centre of the working class movement—but also the National Front, Enoch Powell and a gang of very nasty small business elements, plus

the Beaverbrook press.

Many militants are understandably unhappy about appearing on the same side as these racials, thugs and liars.

Some think that socialists should say 'A plague on both your houses'. They are wrong.

As a resolution at the last International Socialists' conference stated: 'The Common Market campaign of the ruling class is a further stage in its general offensive against

the wages and working class.' It is a class struggle and the neutral.

For their own reasons, some oppose the ruling class does not determine

NO FU

Such things as example, we are against. So, too, are some

WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

We believe in independent working-class action for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

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

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

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

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

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

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations through-



out the world.

We believe in the necessity to unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people and therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We fight:
For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

For a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the

demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restrictions.

For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

- SCOTLAND**
Aberdeen/Dundee/Edinburgh/Fife/Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling
- NORTH EAST**
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Teesside (Middlesbrough and Redcar)
- NORTH**
Barnsley/Bradford/Derby/Doncaster/Grimsby/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds/York/Selby/Sheffield
- NORTH WEST**
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham/Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan

- Potteries
- MIDLANDS**
Birmingham/Coventry/Leamington/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham/Northampton/Redditch/Telford
- WALES and SOUTH WEST**
Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/Gloucester/Mid-Devon/Plymouth/Swansea
- SOUTH**
Ashford/Brighton/Canterbury/Crawley/Folkestone/Guildford/Portsmouth/Southampton

- EAST**
Basildon/Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester
- GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES**
Acton/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/Fulham/Greenford/Havering/Harrow/Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Notting Hill/Reading/Richmond/Stoke Newington/Slough/South Ealing/Tottenham/Walthamstow/Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria

I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name

Address

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

The Market is a bosses' market. European workers must unite to fight the menace



The United Kingdom and the European Communities

The government White Paper published last week

The Europeans can't—yet. French and German industrialists have been complaining that it's the Americans who have really reaped the advantages of the EEC.

In the years 1961 to 1969 'only' 257 mergers or takeovers took place across frontiers of member countries of the EEC, in contrast to 861 initiated by firms from outside, mainly American.

There have been important European mergers in photography (Agfa-Gevaert; German-Dutch), aircraft (Dutch German Fokker-VFW), Rubber (Dunlop-Pirelli) and Fiat-Citroen have been working on a car industry link-up. But it's not nearly enough.

VITAL

In fact a likely next step, particularly if Britain joins, is the formation of a European merger agency along the lines of the Labour government's Industrial Re-organisation Corporation. A new multi-national state apparatus is seen as having a vital role to play in the new Europe, both in the form of providing money handouts to help the big boys get bigger, but also as one aspect of the accelerated 'co-operation and co-operation' between the giant corporations.

The ultimate logic of the Common Market is to do away with the employers altogether, and initiate the international organisation and planning of economic resources based on socially progressive and democratically accepted priorities. The EEC is a shame-faced recognition that the old capitalist framework is now ludicrously incapable of harnessing the potential of the new technology for the good of the mass of the people.

Industrial restructuring, the money to apply the new technology, the guaranteed market to sell the results fast, before its become obsolete: this is the music of the future for the 'New Europeans'.

What does the EEC promise the workers of Britain, and of Europe for that matter? Very much the same thing as we've been getting under the Tory government, and the Labour government before—only a lot more of it.

'Industrial restructuring' will mean

the closing down of many factories that are outdated or surplus to the requirements of the new monopoly Europe. New industrial complexes will develop—on the basis of a smaller labour force and much higher labour productivity.

Tens of thousands will be thrown on the dole—to stay there as the vast agglomerations of capital need fewer and fewer people to work in them. To square up to the American challenge, 'labour discipline' will be a priority.

The employers will be able to develop a Europe-wide offensive—too many strikes in Liverpool? Turn it into a depressed area and move out to Frankfurt.

Wages too high in the Midlands? Build the new plant in Italy.

Even more immediate will be the effects on the cost of living. Over the six-year 'transition' period the price of food in the shops will rise by anything between 18-20 per cent to bring Britain into line with EEC prices. Part of the job, it must be admitted, has already been done.

Last month, the Financial Times cynically commented that 'in the past year alone there has been an 8.5 per cent increase in retail food prices, and however disagreeable this may have been, it has at least carried us a part of the way towards the prices operative inside the EEC.'

Yet it is a fact that the Common Agricultural Policy of the EEC has forced European workers to buy expensive French agricultural produce in place of the cheaper Danish and North American food they could get before the formation of the Community. At least 4 per cent of the total combined gross national product of the EEC countries goes on subsidising inefficient farming.

So butter, cheese, and beef are likely to rise by significantly more than the 'average'. No price is too great to get into Europe—particularly when it's the wage earners and housewives who actually pay it.

Another acceptable price to be paid is the 'Commonwealth'. A second-rate Empire, it no longer enters into the calculations of big business. It has outlived its usefulness as a guaranteed source of cheap food and raw materials.

TOUGH

Britain has with the West Indies an agreed fixed price for sugar. That was all right as long as the fixed price was lower than the current market price. But over the past few years the terms of trade have shifted sharply against raw materials, and Britain has found herself paying more than the world market price in a sellers' market.

And of course the Commonwealth is only a worthwhile arrangement so long as its the British businessmen who get the wealth. So that can go out of the window with no qualms and its tough luck on any of the ex-colonies who actually believed the stuff about the 'benevolent mother country'.

There used to be a custom in some states of the US that when a man was sentenced to death, he was given the option of the gallows or the firing squad. That's the choice presented to

Need for parity

UNITED trade union action throughout Europe will be an important weapon to use against the menace of the monopolies in the Common Market. Demands for parity with the best wage rates, fringe benefits and holidays can help build powerful working-class links as the first steps towards a United Socialist Europe.

Conditions in Britain are lagging behind in many fields.

The increase in wages between 1964 and 1970 were:

Germany	31%
France	30%
Belgium	29%
Netherlands	28%
Luxembourg	24%
Britain	17%

British workers are bottom of the holidays' league:

France	33 days a yr
Belgium	28
Germany	25-37
Italy	29-47
Netherlands	24-30
Luxembourg	28-34
Britain	21

The total expenditure on social welfare and security as a percentage of gross national product is:

Belgium	14.8
France	14.0
Germany	15.1
Italy	15.1
Luxembourg	15.6
Netherlands	16.3
Britain	12.8

the British working class by the 'great debate' over Europe.

Outside the EEC, capitalist Britain will decline even more into an industrial backwater. We will tighten our belts while the employers tighten their grips on their money bags.

Perhaps the US might be kind enough to turn us into the 51st state, but its far more likely they'll prefer to put their money into Europe, where higher growth rates bring better returns.

Inside the EEC the fight will be a bitter one against a united European capitalist class. We will face the years of a massive shake-up in industry, widespread redundancies and clamping down on trade unions. The organisation of the working class now has urgently to begin to think and operate in international terms to have any hope of resisting the employers' onslaught.

ACTION

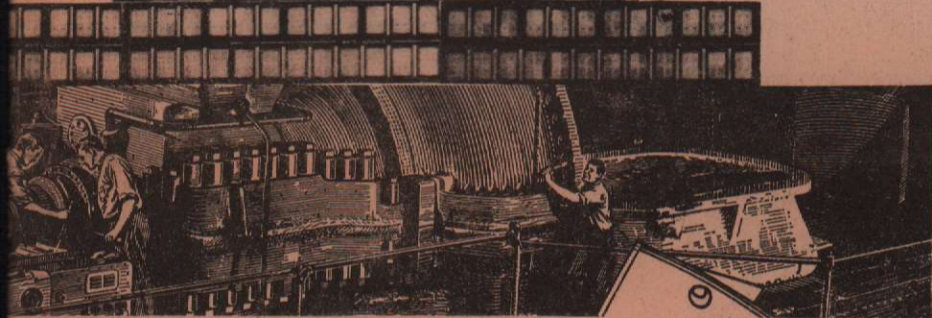
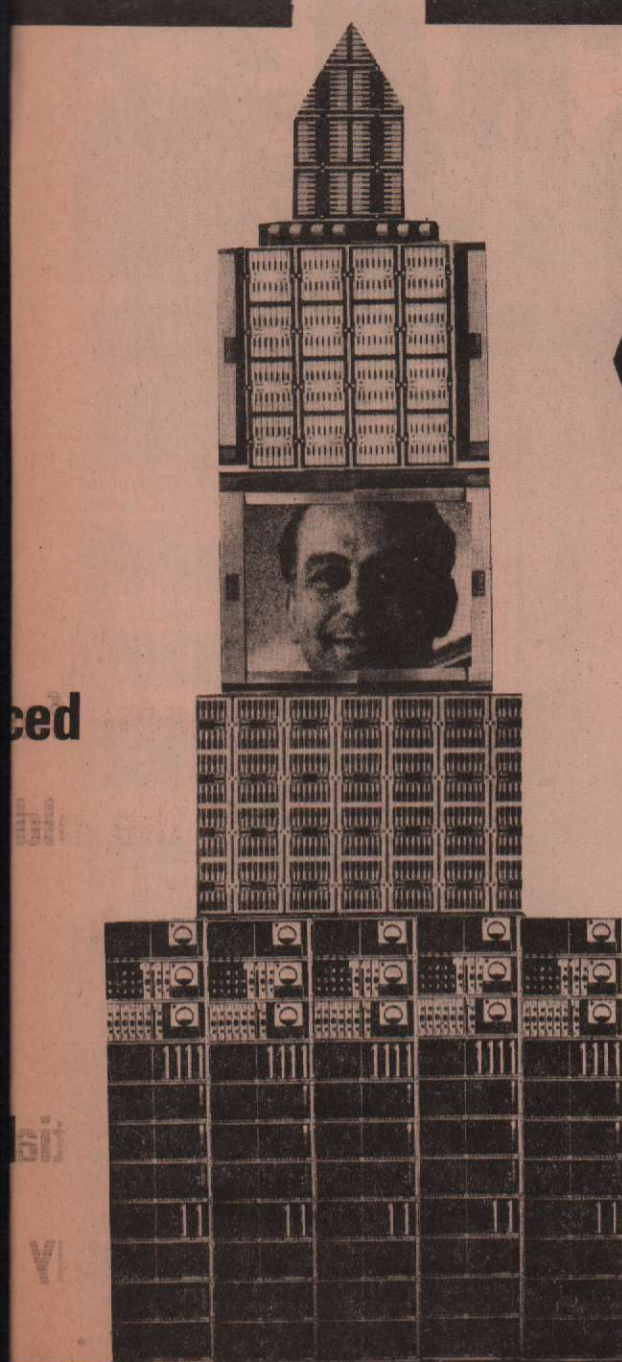
Cross-border links between workers in the same combine and industry will be vital. The trade unions must work out common demands, be prepared to defend common gains, and organise common actions in order to obtain well-defined objectives, commonly agreed upon and applicable throughout the Community.

A central demand must be international negotiations to get international collective agreements and prevent the employers taking advantage of the weakness of organisation in one country to undermine the well-organised plants.

Internationalism has never been the property of the bosses, and fits them badly when they try it. The EEC poses the question of a rediscovery of internationalism by the workers of Europe as the only means now of defence, and of attack.

The grim European future is only the penalty the working class has to pay for not having challenged with sufficient determination the employing class.

Duncan Hallas



Stephen Place

being new dev-

involved is vast. corporation had dollars in four ding of its latest s—without being a profit on the tish company, or opean one, would attempt anything alone be prepared it could raise the

AP

ers need money, a n can be found in e only way round get bigger, much

ment has only Common Market s really interested s through mergers kets large enough return on invest- ast before today's junk. EEC offer? s asking the ques-

tion. For big business, it offers a lot. They can accept with little more than a crocodile tear the fact that a lot of employers, particularly the small ones, are going to get a hammering.

A recent report concluded that manufacturers of cotton fabrics, machine tools, aluminium, and ship-builders, to name a few, will be worse off after joining. Still, isn't that what competition is all about?

In a strongly pro-EEC report published last year, the Confederation of British Industry declared: 'If Western Europe is to compete effectively in world markets, industrial restructuring from a European, rather than a national base, is essential'.

Watch that phrase, 'industrial restructuring'. You're going to hear a lot more of it in the years to come.

It's no good pulling down tariff barriers if the result is to replace two firms squabbling over a market of 50 million people by 10 firms fighting over 250 million. The whole point of the Common Market is what comes next.

Through mergers and takeovers, European big business will transform itself into a tiny number of vast corporations which can stand up and look American investment in the face. Mergers in Europe have so far been very slow to get off the ground.

It has taken time to convince the magnates that, if they want to avoid becoming mere office boys for the Americans, they have to turn themselves into a European ruling class and abandon their fine national sentiments. The pay for office boys is not so hot these days.

The Americans are king of the castle because so far they are the only people who have actually got the resources necessary to develop new techniques and actually put them into production.

The CBI calculated that the relationship between the cost of invention developing it into a commercial proposition and building the factories and running the advertising to produce and sell it, is in the ratio of 1:10:100.

WEAK

The USA presently spends about 25,000 million dollars on research and development a year. The cost of productive investment on the basis of this are enough to make even a strong European capitalist go weak at the knees.

The Americans can do it. The biggest five US corporations have an annual turnover equal to the gross national product of Italy.

they are. Our opposition is based on a principled class line:

NO to the Europe of monopoly capitalism.

NO to the blind alley of British nationalism.

FOR the United Socialist States of Europe.

AGAINST

The concrete issue is British acceptance of the Treaty of Rome. If there was a group of revolutionary MPs,

they would have to vote AGAINST, while making clear their hatred and contempt for chauvinism.

So too in the trade union movement. We are not neutral in a struggle between Lord Cooper and Frank Chapple, for entry on one side, and Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon on the other.

Whatever criticisms we have of Jones and Scanlon, we fight alongside them against the right. We expound the internationalist case

where possible and WE VOTE WITH THE LEFT.

Revolutionary socialists cannot expect to be taken seriously if they stand on the sidelines on an issue like this. We are against the government, we are for bringing it down, we are against its policies in every field.

And we are against the Common Market.

DO NOT STAND ON SIDELINES

conditions of the is a battle in the ere we are NEVER

quite different actionaries also lass line, but this our attitude.

TURE

ten happen. For st the monarchy. extremely reaction-

We make no political concessions to the reactionaries. We are INTERNATIONALISTS. There is no future for British workers in 'little England' flag-waving.

The disgraceful contortions of Tribune supporters and Communist Party members about 'sovereignty of parliament' and 'our national heritage' have to be recognised for the poison

The greatest slump capitalism had ever known hit the world in 1930. Germany was among the worst affected. There were three million jobless and a similar number were on short-time. Two of the major banks collapsed, destroying the savings of many of the middle classes.

Employers tried to protect their profits by cutting savagely into wages. The government in turn cut welfare and unemployment benefits to the bone. Poverty, hunger and hopelessness became the rule.

All classes were thrown into chaos by this turn of events. They sought desperately to solve problems that had become unbearable. But none could do so without radically reshaping society in one way or another.

Among the working class there was a massive influx of support for the Communist Party, particularly from the unemployed.

But the majority of workers still voted for the moderate Social Democrats.

CONCESSIONS

The ruling class was forced to change its politics. In the years of economic boom it had been prepared to make marginal concessions to the workers' organisations. It was the price it had to pay to keep the workers under the thumb of moderate labour and trade union leaders.

But now it had to withdraw the concessions. Such actions, it knew, could force even the most conservative sections of workers to fight back. And so it had to find some new means of keeping them in order, even if it meant destroying the workers' most elementary forms of organisation.

In the boom period the Nazi Party had been a minute lunatic fringe. Electorally it got no more than 2½ per cent of the vote.

But millions of middle class people were driven to desperation by the slump as they lost both their jobs, their small businesses or their savings.

Hitler promised them that he would transform society. He appealed to both their fears of big business and their prejudice against the working class.

In his speeches he raged against both the 'financiers' and the 'Bolsheviks'. He used anti-semitism to make it seem that both finance and the workers' organisations were controlled by the same people. He claimed that the Jews owned the banks (in fact less than 20 per cent of German banks were owned by Jewish concerns) and ran the unions.

The middle class turned towards Hitler en masse. Their resentments against the 'financiers' could be worked out by smashing up Jewish owned businesses.

UNTOUCHED

And their resentment against the organised workers turned them into an ideal unofficial army for breaking up strikes and workers' demonstrations.

So while the working-class organisations were weakened, the bulk of big business was left untouched. In return, big business gave increasing amounts of money to Hitler.

Between 1930 and the beginning of 1933 Germany was ruled by a series of what Marxists call 'Bonapartist' governments—big business governments without any mass support in the country and without a parliamentary majority of their own, but somehow managing to balance between the mass workers' movement and the mass fascist movement.

The ruling class was not yet ready to hand over all power to Hitler because it was frightened that the working class had the power to smash him.

That power was certainly there. But those who controlled the workers' organisation were incapable of putting it to use. The Social Democratic Party had 800,000 members, the unions 5 million. They had their own defence force, the Reichsbanner, hundreds of thousands strong and claimed to control the police force of the largest

FASCISM



BIG BUSINESS'S KNUCKLEDUSTER

by CHRIS HARMAN



Hitler swearing Nazi MPs to allegiance in 1932 on the eve of taking power

Left-wing disunity helped Hitler to power

provincial government, Prussia, which had 80,000 heavily armed members.

But the policy of the official leaders of the labour movement was one of peaceful collaboration with capitalism and their defence forces were to 'protect the constitution'. Meanwhile they backed the big business minority government as the 'only alternative' to Hitler.

But these governments were run by the very people who were supplying Hitler with money and arms. And popular hatred of their policies rubbed off on the Social Democrats, so that Hitler gained support, not the official labour leaders.

Nor was big business grateful. The more the social democrats gave ground, the more money flowed into Nazi coffers. There was no other way to reduce working-class strength and push up profits.

PROTEST

At the same time the government itself 'broke the constitution' by dissolving the Social Democrat Prussian provincial government. The moderate leaders did nothing but make parliamentary protests.

Even when big business finally handed over power to Hitler in January 1933, the Social Democrats told their supporters to refrain from action. On 1 May 1933 some trade union leaders even offered to work jointly with the Nazis on a May Day demonstration.

Hitler showed his appreciation of their services on 2 May by dissolving the unions and putting the same leaders in concentration camps.

In spite of the treachery of such leaders, however, the Nazis could have been defeated. Millions of workers had turned towards the Communist Party be-

cause they thought it could provide an alternative road to winning the struggle.

But although the Communists were prepared to fight, their leaders' policies doomed them to failure. In 1928 Stalin in Russia had decreed that the official labour leaders were as bad as the fascists, that they were 'social fascists', and that there could be no united front with them against the real fascists.

In Germany, Communist leaders declared as early as 1929 that fascism already ruled Germany. Such talk made it very difficult to fight realistically against the real fascism of Hitler.

Of course, the Social Democratic leaders stood for the rule of big business. But they did so on the basis of concessions from the ruling class.

DILEMMA

When such concessions were withdrawn and the Nazis were paid to attack workers' organisations, the official leaders were completely at a loss to know what to do. Their members, although not yet prepared to support a revolution, were prepared to listen to realistic talk about self defence.

If the Communists had made proposals about this to the Social Democrat organisations—for instance for joint actions to drive the Nazis off the streets—the leaders would have faced a major dilemma. Either they would have to agree—and thus weaken the forces used by big business against the workers—or they would have to refuse publicly and see their members join the Communists in disgust.

Instead the Stalinist policy of the Communist Party made it possible for the official Social Democrat leaders to claim that the Communists were preventing united action—particularly when they united with the Nazis against the Social Democrats in a referendum over the future of the Prussian provisional government in 1931.

Even when Hitler had finally taken power, Communist leaders still pretended nothing had changed. Their slogan was 'After Hitler, Us'.

SURVIVED

They soon learnt the truth the hard way. Under previous governments, strikes had been broken, demonstrators shot down, there had been starvation wages and mass unemployment.

But the ordinary, every-day workers' organisations had survived. While capitalism had depended on the Social Democrats to keep the workers in check it could not destroy the rank and file movement.

But Nazism had a mass organisation of its own, with members in every block, in every street in the country, directed against the workers' organisations. As soon as it also controlled the government there was nothing to stop it destroying completely the very sinews of working-class strength—not just Social Democratic, but Communist as well. United class action could have stopped the process, but it did not come until it was far too late.

The price paid for this failure was enormous. In trying to solve its problems, the German ruling class let loose organised barbarism on an unprecedented scale.

Because Hitler could not solve the real, material frustrations of his middle-class supporters, he had to misdirect them into the most hideous forms of savagery.

The world was to pay dearly for the lack of a real, revolutionary workers' party at the head of the German working class.

NEXT WEEK: the Spanish Civil War

Whizz-kid management turns the screw on workers

SW Reporter

UNEMPLOYMENT is hitting the Stoke on Trent area. The workforce in the pottery industry is being run down, and 400 workers at Fodens' heavy vehicles plant have been declared redundant.

Now short-time working has been brought in at Rists Wires and Cables, part of the Lucas car components group.

Out of a workforce of 3000, 2500 of them women, 300 men in the cable shop have been put on a four-day week. In the last year 300 part-time women workers have been laid off.

The latest blow came last Friday. The management waited until the

works convenor was at the district office of the Transport Workers union and then gave notice to 65 workers in two sections, five minutes before clocking-off time.

Lucas took over A V Rists' Wire Works in 1934. Two years ago new management whizz-kids were brought in.

Since then the bosses have been tightening up. In the cable shop, new machinery was brought in that increased 'productivity' by 100 per cent but cut the bonus rate by 23 per cent.

Management has always refused to recognise a closed shop and it has attempted recently to use non-union labour for building on the site. But after a threatened walk-out by the key engineering section, they backed down.

Lucas have used Rists as a source of cheap labour. In the Midlands, rates for motor and allied industries are 85p-£1.15p an hour for men, and a minimum of 55p an hour for women. At Rists the rates are 43½p an hour for men and 37½p for women.

Transfer work

Because of this, Lucas have used Rists as a 'price breaker' for many of their components. For example, Lucas started production of batteries, ignition coils and headlamps at Rists. After ironing out production difficulties on the cheap, they have been able to present workers in other Lucas factories with fully worked-out production schedules and manning rates.

This enables them to bring new components on to the market cheaply. Lucas are now closing their plant at Darwin, Accrington and transferring the work to the low wage area of Stoke.

The summer months have always been a slack period for Rists, but the old management overcame this without the problem brought by lay-offs. Now the going is getting rough, and profits must be maintained at all costs. The new whizz-kid management have had no hesitation in putting people out of work.

Senior management predicts no improvement until December, but convenor Les Dawson foresees a creeping process of redundancies and short-time working throughout the plant.

But the workers are beginning to react against management attacks. On Monday 5 July, 700 men and women from various sections walked out in protest against redundancies.

'What is needed', Les Dawson said, 'is a rank and file organisation of the entire cable industry.'

He stressed the need for a national lay delegate negotiating committee for the industry, to bargain for national rates. Only in this way can isolation be overcome and parity of wage rates achieved.

He added: 'Laid off workers are being used as pawns in the game for higher profits and salaries for higher management. Management are expecting workers to buckle under the pressure of short-time working and redundancies.'



SOCIALISTS don't speculate about the future, they try to make it. Nevertheless at a time of rampant attack on the labour movement, the thought of failing to build a viable revolutionary movement provokes a grim picture of what our society might be like in a few years time.

It is a picture that forces us to redouble our efforts. Others who do not see the possibility of fundamentally changing society drift into dark pessimism.

The much-publicised ITV series *The Guardians* (Saturday 10.10, different times in certain regions) is probably a product of that pessimism. I say probably, because it is due to run for 13 weeks and it is difficult to say from the first episode whether the ultimate message will be that fascism is on the way and nothing can stop it or better-the-Heath-you-know-than-the-jackbooted-thugs-you-don't.

The Guardians is set in England (not Britain—Scotland must have declared Home Rule) a few years hence when a coalition government has failed to cure the mounting economic crisis and has given way to a businessmen's cabinet that merely rubber stamps the demands of an unseen but all-powerful General.

One welcome departure from current television mythology is that the main opposition to the new set-up comes not from students or bomb-wielding anarchists but from workers. The first play began with a confrontation between a group of rebellious workers defending their union rights and the General's para-military force, the *Guardians*.

But the general effect was one of implausibility. The previous government had fallen simply because of rising inflation. Would that be sufficient to allow a sharp departure from the norm of constitutional democracy without provoking massive social unrest and upheaval?

And if the General is king of all he surveys, why does he bother with the thin facade of a cabinet presided over by a querulous Prime Minister who objects to his every order? Fascist dictators tend to give short-shrift to parliamentary has-beens.

Belief had to be suspended totally when we were told that the Communist Party had been banned but the authorities had only locked up the leaders because they didn't know the names of the rank and file. Someone should remind the writers and producers of this flabby epic that there is an organisation in existence called Special Branch, licking its chops at the thought of a totalitarian society, with buildings full of the names of every 'red' and 'subversive' in the land.

PRAISE for Llew Gardner's *This Week* report last Thursday on Clydeside unemployment, warm and sympathetic to the plight of the jobless, juxtaposing their remarks—'you might as well be shot as to be unemployed'—with the hard-faced 'realism' of the Scottish employers. 'The trouble is,' said a Tory spokesman, 'that profit has become a dirty word.'

'But unemployment is a longer and dirtier word,' said Gardner.

Praise, too, for 24 Hours' David Taylor, who gave us last Friday a brilliant reconstruction of the murder of Newcastle fruit machine boss Angus Sibbert, a crime for which two men are now serving life sentences after conviction on purely circumstantial evidence. Taylor's re-staging of the police version of the murder and that of eye-witnesses should have convinced everyone short of the Police Federation that justice had been miscarried yet again.

IA M retiring for a while to have my eyeballs re-bored. Phil Hall takes over next week. May he and Eamonn McCann live happily ever after...

David East

What's a good film doing at the Jacey?

THE ISSUE of the censorship of artistic material (both written and visual) is under public scrutiny at the moment with the trials of *OZ* magazine and the Little Red School book. At the same time, the worthy Lord Longford has initiated a one-man war against sex and obscenity in the cinema.

In this situation, Gabriel Axel's film *Danish Blue* (Jacey, Piccadilly) is a timely reminder of sanity and non-hysteria. The film was made in 1967 before the Danish authorities virtually abolished censorship and *Danish Blue* is advertised as 'the film that laughed the censor out of Denmark'.

The aim of the film is quite simple—to show by a judicious mixture of humour and learned argument just how stupid censorship is. This is done by tracing the portrayal and celebration of sexual passion in the art of all races and all civilisations at all times.

Farcical

This is contrasted with contemporary attitudes held by authority—the ridiculousness of being able to portray certain parts of the body but not others and the farcical rules about not being allowed to show pubic hairs.

Axel's case is overwhelming and it is unlikely that any readers of *Socialist Worker* will need this film to convince them of the stupidity and injustice of censorship. He partly sidesteps the problem of violence and sex, though he does make the important point that if the censor's wish is to prevent people from being degraded he could very easily take a closer look at much of the violence which spews itself out daily on our television screens.

However, what is far more worrying is that a film like *Danish Blue* is first of all required to be made. Then, worse still is the fact that because of problems about even getting an X certificate, it is forced to be shown at a cinema which normally caters for the plastic-mac brigade (to use the usual terminology for sad lonely young and old men). Indeed the *Jacey*, Piccadilly is just what Axel's film is all about.

Irony

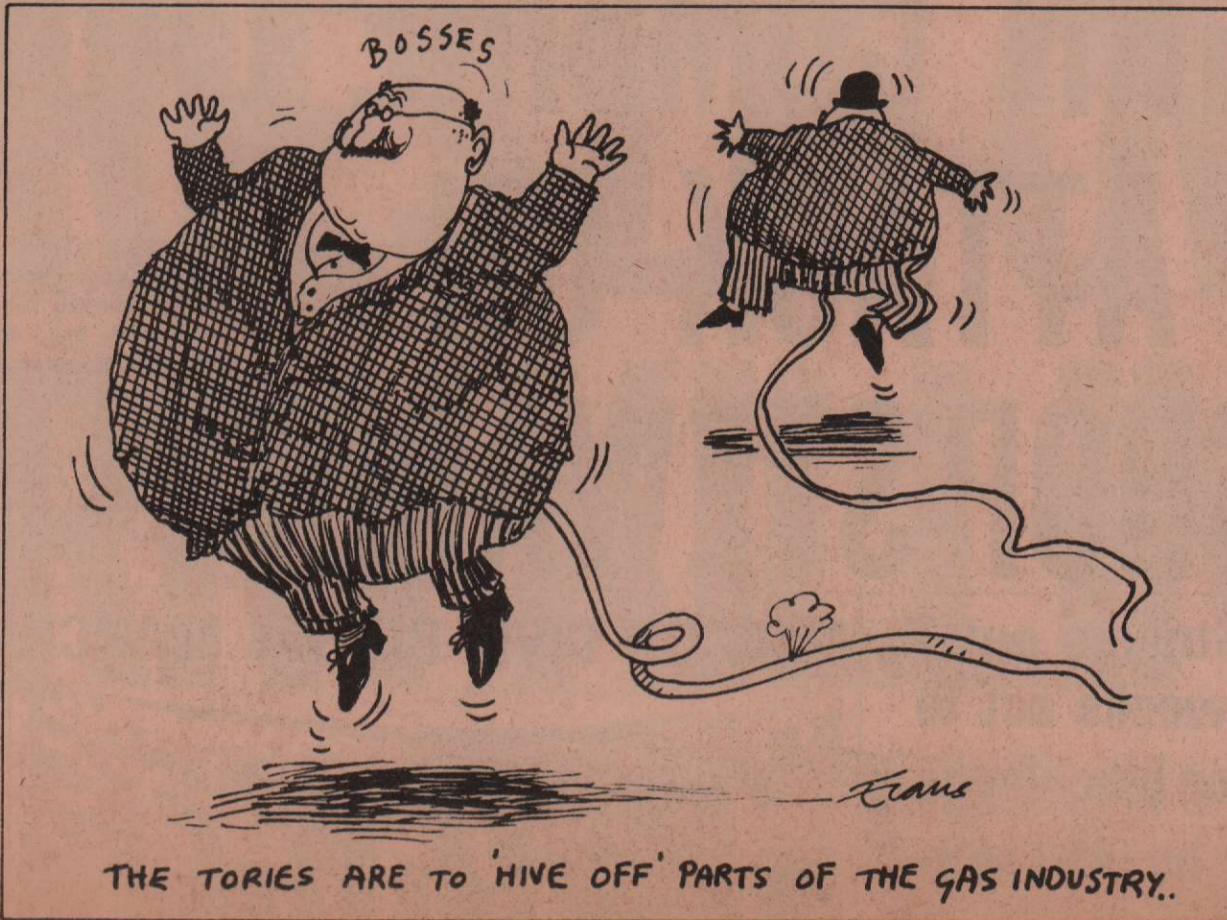
When I saw the film, the cinema was crowded, but among the audience there were only two women. Almost every man was alone and nearly every one had his statutory copy of the *Evening News* or *Evening Standard* to put up in front of his face when the lights went up.

This is the final irony—that a film satirising censorship and attacking the 'dirty-book specialists' which censorship inevitably breeds is forced to be shown in the kind of place which is one of Axel's main targets.

But *Danish Blue* performs a very useful function in puncturing the sanctimonious posturings of the censors. It also makes the vital and often-overlooked point that there are very few obscenities that can compare with the cruel and humiliating loneliness that capitalism as a system imposes on so many people.

The real 'dirty old men' of our society sit in office and limousines, not in the *Jacey*, Piccadilly.

Martin Tomkinson



COTTONS COLUMN

BSR, the company which has a virtual monopoly of cheap record turntables, has an interesting moral for trade unionists. Built up from nothing by Dr Daniel MacDonal, an entrepreneur of the old school and a vehement opponent of trade unions, it was based on the three plants at Stourbridge, Old Hill and Dudley in the Black Country.

Dr MacDonal himself registered the company in Bermuda (in order to spare the British Inland Revenue) and took himself off to Switzerland. While accumulating a fortune he set up a factory in Londonderry which was closed when the Transport and General Workers' Union organised the shop floor. Then the AEF organised at East Kilbride last year and led a 16-week strike for recognition.

Meanwhile in Birmingham ASTMS organised the supervision section which was promptly locked out. ASTMS is still not recognised there by BSR nearly two years later.

Management changed hands and Dr MacDonal retired, selling shares worth £16.25 million. The company decided a new tactic to straight opposition to trade unions was needed.

Despite all the difficulties facing trade unionists the General and Municipal Workers collected 2000 members in the Black Country a few months ago and negotiated the collection of union dues by BSR.

How was it done? A somewhat incautious official was heard telling how the company saw the General and Municipal as a 'responsible organisation' unlike the TGWU or the AEF.

So now there is every chance of an agency shop for the right organisation. Perhaps Lord Cooper sees not only tax savings in the Bill but new members by the thousand.

FRIENDS of Wrexham's Labour MP Tom Ellis have given him the nickname of Jonah. His activities in



Goodman: don't stop the press

Wales over the years have brought a degree of disaster to a few people.

Before joining the Labour ranks last June, Ellis worked for the Coal Board. He was under-manager at Llay colliery, which closed down with 2200 redundancies.

He became manager of Hafod colliery, which also closed with 1300 redundancies.

This year he was voted onto the board of Rippingilles' oil-heating firm at Johnstown, Wrexham, when it faced a financial crisis. Now 120 workers have been sacked, with no holiday pay and inadequate notice.

The affair has visibly upset Ellis. He took out shares in the company when he joined the board and he complained last week that they were now virtually worthless. It's the sort of hard-luck story that might move the flinty-hearts down at *Social Security*.

Stout baching

MEANWHILE further south in the principality, a South Wales Labour Party decided to have a debate on the Common Market. Speakers were unable to attend, but the comrades obtained tape recordings of Roy Jenkins and Peter Shore.

The audience seemed unimpressed by Jenkins' diatribe in favour of entry. But Shore was on the ball with his little Englander defence of national pride, sovereignty and the memory of Owen Glendower.

At the end of his peroration, the audience rose en masse and applauded the tape recorder

Fatman lobbying

THERE has been a complete press blackout on events in Rhodesia, in spite of frantic efforts by the Tories to reach a sell-out settlement with Smith and his kick-the-kaffirs henchmen. The blackout is not unconnected with the fact that the Tories' icebreaker is Lord Goodman, chairman of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, an organisation thought to have some influence over the content of the millionaire press.

In fact, during Fatman's trip to Salisbury, Africans staged several courageous demonstrations against Smith, all of them ignored by the press here. 125 African Sunday school students from Bulawayo marched into Salisbury with slogans reading 'stop working for these white pigs', 'Rhodesia is a police state', 'no second South Africa' and 'people's liberation, a free Zimbabwe or death'. Students arrested under the law and Order Act were sentenced to six strokes of the cane.

On another demo, 150 African students from University College, Salisbury were arrested within sight of Fatman's office. It is understood that his Lordship did not cable Fleet Street with the hot news.

Gut laugh

DR CHRISTIAAN BARNARD was boasting to an English surgeon that he could now transplant several human parts from one body to another with a guarantee that within six months the patient would be back at work.

'That's nothing,' said the chap from Harley Street. 'We transplanted a whole human being from Bexley to Westminster and within nine months 800,000 were out of work.'

Breakdown in key talks on Coventry agreement

SW Reporter

TALKS on the employers' move to end the Coventry Tool Room Agreement have ended in deadlock at the York conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. A 'failure to agree' has been registered.

The agreement has meant that up to 12,000 tool men and ancillary workers get a monthly wage increase based on the average piecework earnings in the Coventry area. The tool rate now stands at 99.5p an hour.

The tool men have been operating an overtime ban and work to rule for the last four weeks in defence of their agreement.

Production has been seriously affected at several major factories. Both Chrysler and Standard-Triumph have been forced to lay off workers in the past week.

At Chrysler, Stoke, proper maintenance of new plant has been delayed which will considerably reduce its long-term efficiency

and working life. Work on safety modifications to the American version of the Avenger which is to be produced in Coventry, has been affected so much that management have threatened to remove it 'elsewhere'.

Shop stewards and convenors will decide on future action this week. Further action from the employers is not expected until after the Coventry holiday fortnight which begins this weekend.

Rail union to boycott the Bill

by John Field

LEADERS of the National Union of Railwaymen have decided that the union will cancel its entry on the provisional register on the day that the Industrial Relations Bill receives the Royal Assent.

The NUR has also decided to accept other TUC recommendations, including a firm refusal to co-operate with the Industrial Tribunals and the Commission on Industrial Relations. Neither will NUR members serve on the proposed National Industrial Relations Court. The executive has also told branches that no new agreements should be legally binding.

This decision may seem surprising to many militants who have been inclined to see the NUR leadership as being firmly dominated by the General Secretary, Sir Sidney Greene, who has never even resorted to left-wing talk before.

Loss members

But if the closed shop is abolished, the NUR would stand to lose a lot of its members. It would also lose its position as sole recognised negotiating union with the Railways Board (although ASLEF and the CSEU are recognised, they have at present no guaranteed negotiating rights), not to mention the possibility that future sell-outs of the members would lead to mass transfers to other unions.

The NUR decision against registration is not the result of a sudden radicalisation of the leadership. It is a sign that Greene and the other leaders recognise the threat that the IRB poses to their own position, especially the state-regulated rule-book. The first cases of alterations in rules after the IRB becomes law will be watched closely by union leaders who have not registered.

It is now up to rank and file NUR members to continue the struggle against the IRB, and to keep the leaders on a tight rein to stop them joining Lord Cooper's queue to co-operate. Hand in hand with this must go the struggle for union democracy—something which needs special attention in the NUR.

GKN COMBINE LAUNCHES ATTACK ON SHOP STEWARDS

SW Industrial Reporter

GUEST KEEN AND NETTLEFOLD, the giant steel, engineering and car components combine, is preparing for the Industrial Relations Bill to become law with a campaign of harassment against shop stewards.

Two weeks ago, Harry Hitchins, convenor at GKN's Cardiff Castle Works, climbed a water tower for five days to draw attention to the management's tactics. The result was a half-day solidarity strike this week by 15,000 GKN workers throughout the country.

The GKN bosses, currently notching up record profits, have been aided in their campaign by the role of the engineering union, the AUEW. It has not paid out a penny to its members in Cardiff, who struck for 10 weeks prior to Harry Hitchins' one-man protest.

But the strike was approved by the local district committee after only two days. District secretary Eric Griffiths claims he did not know that dispute schedules have to be sent to head office before strike pay can be given out.

IGNORANCE

John Boyd, the national officer for the AUEW's craftsmen's section, also pleaded ignorance that the strike had been made official. He didn't lift a finger throughout the strike to stop AUEW foremen working and supervising scab labour.

When the Cardiff shop stewards and rank and file refused to accept Boyd's sell-out proposals, he demanded an investigation, the seeking out of 'culprits' and appropriate punishment for the stewards. But if there were any culprits to blame for the strike it was the union officials who accepted a new bonus scheme and productivity deal that added up to an actual cut in GKN Cardiff workers' wages.

Boyd claims that the Cardiff stewards refused to meet him. In fact, they travelled 200 miles to Eastbourne, where Boyd refused to speak to them.

After the return to work at Cardiff, manning flexibility was demanded by management because 35 men had found new jobs. In opposition to the two convenors, Dougie Gay and Harry Hitchins, district secretary Eric Griffiths violated union rules by signing away the union's rights to control overtime.

At the same time, the management moved to prevent the convenors from carrying out their duties by transferring them to unskilled jobs on the night shift.

CALL OUT

Harry Hitchins decided to draw national attention to the struggle by climbing the water tower, rather than bring out the men again, who had struck for 10 weeks with financial support only from the GKN Workers' Association.

While he was up there, the Workers' Association, a combine-wide organisation, met in Birmingham and decided to call out their members for half a day on Tuesday.

In Birmingham the West Midlands District Committee of the AUEW, controlled by the right wing, has started its own witchhunt against militants at a local GKN factory. It has summoned all 15 shop stewards to a special disciplinary meeting to explain their alleged association with the International Socialists.

The lessons of recent events for GKN workers are that the union leaders cannot be relied on to defend them against the management's latest attack on shop floor organisation.

It is only by supporting and strengthening their own combine organisation, the Workers' Association, that they will defeat the traditionally anti-union management.

Let The People Decide!

Why should a few MPs decide the fate of millions? Why not a popular referendum, binding on the government, on all major issues—starting with the Common Market?

Public Meeting Conway Hall, Holborn Thursday 22 July at 7pm

Speakers include Brian Behan and John Lawrence

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Strikers out 11 weeks act to stop blacklegging by ASTMS

CUMBERNAULD: The 11-weeks-old strike by AUEW members at Burroughs' office machines factory took a new turn this week when pickets tried to stop blacklegs entering the works.

The scabs were supervisors in the Association of Supervisory, Technical and Managerial Staffs, who had been carrying out inventory and stock-checking duties performed normally by the striking workers.

On Monday a delegation of strikers to the ASTMS office in Glasgow forced the union to issue instructions to the supervisors to stop blacklegging, with overtime, which had been going on for two weeks.

The men went on to the streets in April when they rejected a final pay offer of £3.75 over two years. £1.87½ for the first year was to offset any national engineering pay award.

During the strike, Burroughs UK, who recorded £11½m profits last year, made 500 workers redundant at the Cumbernauld factory, making a total labour loss there of 1500 in the last year.

The strikers have received financial aid from local pits and factories, including Singers of Clydebank, who have donated £300 so far. The strike also involves Burroughs' other plant at Strathleven and is expected to continue into August.

2000 ON CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH



2000 supporters of Civil Rights in Northern Ireland marched to a rally in Trafalgar Square on Sunday to hear Bernadette Devlin and other speakers

ELLIOTT MEN UNITE TO STOP VICTIMISATION

SW Reporter

WORKERS at the Lewisham, south London factory of Elliott Automation, part of the GEC combine, have teamed up with fellow union members at Greenwich, Rochester and Gravesend in a bid to avoid victimisation.

The initiative by DATA, the technical and supervisory section of the AUEW, now links up six factories in the union's no. 15 division, which covers south London and south-east England.

Lewisham delegate Don Kane said: 'We have recently held three token walk-outs in support of an 18 per cent wage claim. This would keep our wages only at the level they were at 18 months ago.'

'But the management is not even involving itself in serious negotiations. The light is beginning to dawn that they're waiting for the Industrial Relations Bill to go through.'

'So after our second walk-out, we held a joint group meeting in Gravesend on 24 June. Our relations with the shop floor are excellent. As we began our second walk-out, they gave us a tremendous send-off, cheering and banging pipes. Last Monday, all sections walked out together in support of various claims.'

At the back of Don Kane's mind is the uneasy suspicion that before long the local GEC-Elliott factories may become affected by the unemployment that is creeping like disease through S E London.

The twin threats of unemployment and the Industrial Relations Bill are stimulating a wider awareness than existed a few

years ago when demands were easily conceded and local needs were dominant.

NOTICES

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PUBLIC MEETING on EEC. Motion tabled. Speakers Bill Hamley MP, Safeguards Committee, Ray Stephenson, Trade Union Committee for Europe, William Morris Hill, Masons Hill, Bromley, Kent. 22 July 7.15 pm. Organised by Bromley Trades Council.

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP's recent reports—on Northern Ireland; East African Asians; Religions in Russia; Japanese Outcasts; and (just out) a double report on the Southern Sudan and Eritrea—price 30p each from MRG, 36 Craven Street, London WC2.

IS TEACHERS' meeting Sunday 18 July 11am 2 Albany Terrace, London NW1.

BOLTON IS: Wanted Cheap duplicator. Offers to Bolton IS, 23 Coop Street, Astley Bridge, Bolton.

NE REGION IS conference: The Fight against Unemployment. For all members. Londonderry Hotel, High St, Sunderland. 2.30-6 Sunday 18 July. Social in evening.

ICI STEWARDS HEAR OF SACKINGS THREAT

THE ICI Northern Shop Stewards Committee in Manchester last Friday, heard a report on a recent top level meeting in the Fibres division factories with local union officials where statements were made suggesting a potential 'shedding of labour'. Both staff and shop floor workers would be subject to the sack following a manning review now taking place.

Committee members unanimously supported a resolution demanding that ICI open the books on Fibres operations to all

unions concerned before any further policy decisions are made. Union delegates pointed out that inefficiency and unsound forecasting in top management gave cause for concern.

There is no doubt that 'improved' working arrangements implemented under the WSA productivity deal, only recently introduced at some Fibres factories, are a contributory factor in the present situation in Fibres, and sooner or later in other parts of the company.

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