

SOCIALIST WORKER

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL & INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

LEFT UNITE TO SMASH THREAT FROM THE RIGHT

THE SAVAGE ANNIHILATION of the Labour Party in last month's council elections, following hard on the racist outburst by Enoch Powell and the marches and counter-marches that he inspired, mark the beginning of a new phase in British politics.

Both events have stripped away the complacency that has enveloped the socialist left in recent months, the feeling that "things are going our way at last."

Certainly, the left has been growing, extending its roots into vital sections of the working-class movement. But with one carefully-delivered speech, Powell has shown that a sharp swing to the right can take place with horrifying ease.

Powell did more than win support from dockers and meat porters. He made racialism a political flash-point; millions of people who lived their lives relatively unworried by immigration suddenly realised there was a "black menace" to combat.

Powellism infected the local elections. Labour, the government that has ruthlessly reneged on all its promises by bowing to the dictates of big business and attacking the living standards, wages and hard-won rights of the working class, took a well-deserved hiding at the polls. But there is little comfort in that for genuine socialists, for it was the Tories who gained and who now control town halls in areas where they are normally as unfamiliar as excreta in Wolverhampton letter-boxes.

It is clear that working-class voters who have probably never voted for a Tory in their lives before, consciously crossed the party line last month. Socialists now have a major battle on their hands if they are to recapture these working people for socialism—for a real socialism that goes beyond the ballot box and the empty ritual of parliamentary elections and poses the question of workers' power in Britain.

INDICTMENT

Powell and the Tories have reaped their so-far small rewards by playing on the fears of ordinary people—fears about jobs, wages, houses, education and general living standards. These fears exist—and what a terrible indictment it is of the Wilson government that after four years of dynamic, forward-thinking Labourism, the working class feel themselves more threatened than ever by the traditional evils of unemployment and poverty and turn in desperation to the ideology of Powell and his racist supporters.

But for a worker to think that the Tories might be better for him than Labour is like a man who has



POWELL: seeks mass base

workers with them, must go to the wall.

Under capitalism, it is the workers who must pay for these innovations. If their wages are not held back, then the bosses will have to cut into their profits to pay for the new investment—and they are not prepared to do that.

This is the background to Powellism. A section of the ruling class—at present a minority—represented by Powell, knows that the working class has to be disciplined and restricted to to a much greater degree if the economy is to survive. To succeed, they must divide and weaken the workers by infusing them with the ugly ideology of racialism, which turns one section of the victims of capitalism into the culprits.

GARNISHES

In order to shackle the working class, Powell is attempting to win a mass base within that class. In one of his more recent speeches, he appealed directly to the trade unions to fight for higher wages—this from a man who has until now blamed the unions for all the problems of society.

Like all the purveyors of racial filth, Powell garnishes it with a little radical rhetoric. Hitler was a "socialist" of sorts, but he wanted to build concentration camps for workers, not a workers' state.

But support for Powell is not one-sided. It shows that hundreds of thousands of workers are fed-up with the existing society, with its political parties and leaders who betray their trust.

They have, as yet, no clear-cut alternatives, but they are looking for a change. The tragedy is that, out of their frustration, they turn to the extreme right for help and blame mythical enemies instead of real ones.

Much of the blame for this state of affairs lies with the orthodox left—the tired men of Tribune who peddled illusions in Wilson and still give space to any "left" cabinet minister who wants to explain the incomes policy; the rootless men of the parliamentary Labour Party who have little contact with the working class

trade union movement made any statements of opposition, while Frank Cousins admitted that he has refused to allow "racist" resolutions to appear on the agenda at his union's conferences to avoid an open discussion on the subject.

In industry, militants who have built up seemingly impregnable power-bases and have led major disputes on purely bread-and-butter issues, found themselves suddenly isolated and unable to stop the racist tide.

It is vitally important for socialists to discuss ways and means of combatting the threat of racialism and fascism in Britain.

Although he is rejected by the major sections of the ruling class and the press, if the economic situation deteriorates, Powell may yet win their support and lead a fascist movement. And if it is not Powell himself, there is no shortage of contenders for the title of King Jackboot.

First, we must remember who the real enemies are. Socialists who bait dockers and call them racists are making a bad mistake. These are men with a great tradition of militancy who can be won to socialism. Following decasualisation, they are now facing redundancy and unemployment and are open to racist ideas. But they are open to socialist ideas, too.

Propaganda on a massive scale must be produced to flood every section of the working class. Fighting organisations must be prepared to take the streets and clear them of the racist gangs and embryo fascist parties.

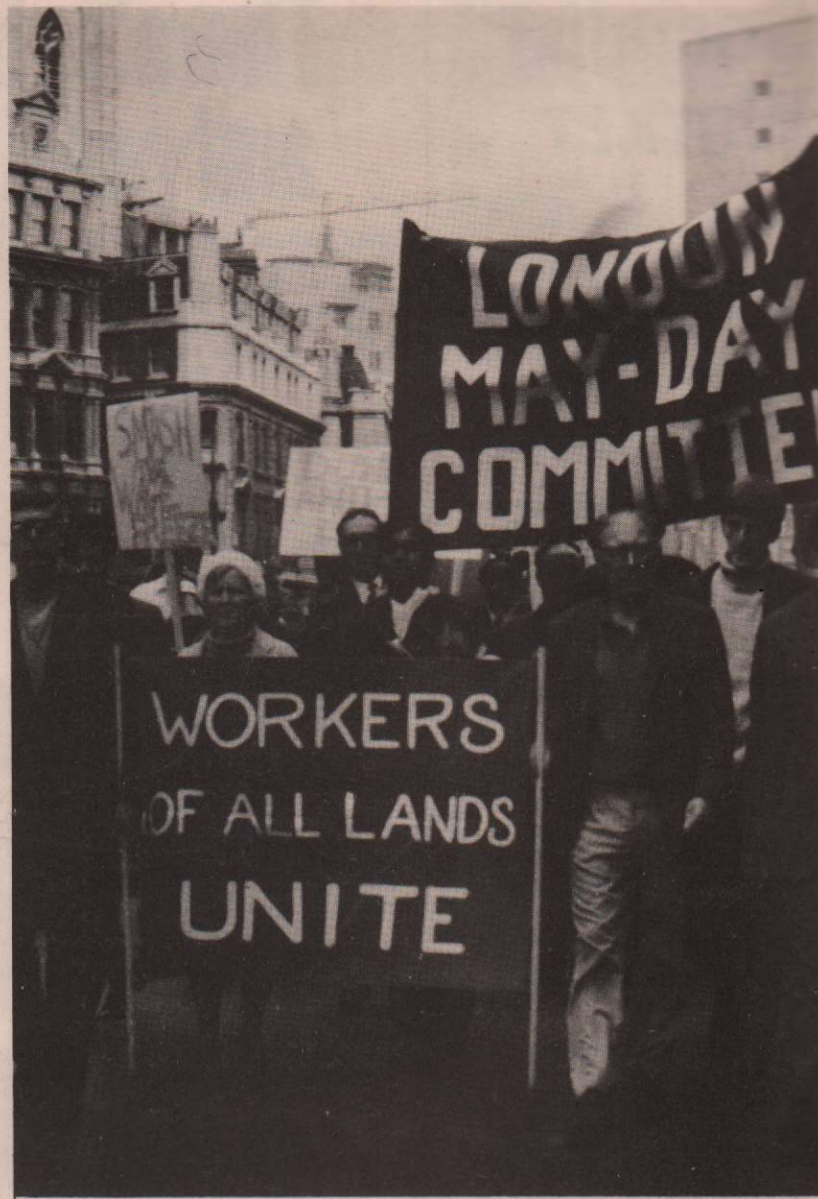
The real left, the bands of committed revolutionary socialists, are too small to take on this tremendous task if they remain in their present splendid isolation. Differences that have divided one from another must be subordinated to the struggle against the common threat.

ALTERNATIVE

A single organisation of revolutionary socialists is needed to fight these new and urgent battles. We appeal to all those who agree with the following four-point programme to contact us with a view to discussing the creation of a real revolutionary alternative:

- Opposition to imperialism; for the victory of all genuine national liberation movements.
- Opposition to immigration controls and to racialism in all its forms.
- Opposition to state control of trade unions; support for all progressive strikes.
- Workers' control of society and industry as the only alternatives to fascism.

Don't leave it for a few months "to see how things develop." While we mark time, the fascists and racists are organising. In Nazi Germany it was the trade unionists, socialists and communists who were the first into the gas chambers.



UNITY IN ACTION: socialists marching in London against Powell on May Day

Urgent need to build our paper's strength

A WARM WELCOME to new readers of Socialist Worker. You are joining thousands of other militants and socialists who have been long-standing supporters of the paper that used to be known as Labour Worker.

We have explained in recent months that the change of name has become imperative because any apparent connection with the wage-freeze, anti-working class and pro-employers government that masquerades under the name of Labour prevents us from selling even more copies of the paper.

In spite of the Labour tag, our circulation has more than doubled in the last year. Now we are confident that we can go from strength to strength and again double the sales in the next year.

Not that we are complacent. There has never been a greater need for the socialist case to be brought to the attention of the millions of working people in this country. If Enoch Powell has done one thing, he has revealed just how little socialist consciousness exists today.

We have to go back to square one and argue the ideas and theories of socialism to the people in the factories, the docks, the offices and on the vast council estates.

OUTPUT

International Socialism, an organisation of revolutionary socialists committed to the struggle for a new society based on workers' control of industry, is conscious of the need to step up the output of its published material in order to reach a wider audience. We must hammer away ceaselessly at all the myths—especially the racist ones—that seek to deter workers from seeing whom their real enemies are and struggling against them.

We need to supplement our monthly paper and quarterly magazine with leaflets and pamphlets. We hope to produce frequent Socialist Worker "Specials" that will deal with vital issues as they arise. Last month, for example, we printed 10,000 copies of a special issue for the one-day engineers' strike, which was distributed at factories throughout the country.

To underpin these plans, we are in the process of establishing our own printshop. This issue comes to you from a modern four-colour litho press which gives us tremendous flexibility with schedules and design. In the coming months we hope to supplement the press with more modern litho equipment—camera and plate-making equipment and a text-setting machine.

Fleet Street, which churn out a constant barrage of lies and distortions to working people, such equipment may seem peanuts. But to us it means the outlay of large sums of money.

This is where we turn to you. If we are to help turn the tide of racialism in Britain and begin to build a genuine socialist party run by workers and not time-serving bureaucrats, we must organise a modern and efficient printshop, staffed by full-time printers and journalists.

We need to raise £10,000 by the end of the year. Members of International Socialism have already donated £5,500 towards that target.

We appeal to all our readers to help us to reach the target. We know money is tight and times are tough. But we also know that a growing number of working people in Britain, deeply disturbed by the ground-swell of racialism and right-wing politics, are determined to step up the fight for socialism.

Send us as much as you can afford. Raise the fund in your union branches, your Young Socialist branches, tenants' associations and all the areas of the labour movement in which you are active.

If you believe in socialism, in real freedom and an end to this squalid, dog-eat-dog system called capitalism, you won't let us down.

TO SOCIALIST WORKER PRINT SHOP FUND

I enclose £..... towards your printing fund.

Please send me a banker's order so that I can pay £..... each month to your fund.

I promise to give you £..... in three/six months time.

Name

Address

Organisation

Delete where inapplicable.

(Send to the Editor, 39 Gendar Gardens, London, NW6. Names will not be published in the paper without permission.)

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

Route n?

evils of unemployment and poverty and turn in desperation to the ideology of Powell and his racialist supporters.

But for a worker to think that the Tories might be better for him than Labour is like a condemned man choosing the electric chair in preference to the gallows. The Tories have nothing to offer the working class except unemployment, lower wages and cut-backs in social services, exactly the same as Labour. For both parties administer the same capitalist system and both have to grapple with the same tortuous problems.

If British capitalism is to survive in the ruthless world of international competition and the cut-throat fight for markets, then she must bring the economy up to date through the introduction of the most modern methods of production: new factories, machinery, and technology. Outdated methods, their factories and their

the tired men of Tribune who peddled illusions in Wilson and still give space to any "left" cabinet minister who wants to explain the incomes policy; the rootless men of the parliamentary Labour Party who have lost all contact with the working class, who shout their opposition to Wilson then meekly troop into the lobby to vote for him or, at best, abstain; and the cynical leaders of the Communist Party who have eroded their industrial base to catch the will o' the wisp of parliamentary success.

The parliamentary left could not even stir itself to move a motion condemning Powell. While militant members of the Communist Party sprang into action, the leadership deliberately boycotted and refused advertisements in the Morning Star for the first significant anti-Powell demonstration in London on May Day.

Apart from the engineers, no spokesmen for important sections of the

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To the vast publishing houses in

**France: special
eye-witness report
on the back page**

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There's trouble at mills- cheap labour and weak union organisation...

THE LEEDS INTELLIGENCER of 29 October 1831 published the text of a resolution passed at a large public meeting. It called for restrictions on the extent to which child labour was being used by employers to drive wages down.

Restrictions would help by "... calling into employment many male adults who are a burden on the public, who, though willing and ready to work, are obliged, under the existing calamitous system, to spend their time in idleness, whilst female children are compelled to labour from 12 to 16 hours per day."

In January this year New Society carried a short article which asked "Who are the low-paid workers?" The article concluded that the biggest section of English workers living on subsistence-level wages were adult male workers employed in the textile industry which is concentrated in the West Riding of Yorkshire, of which Leeds is the "capital."

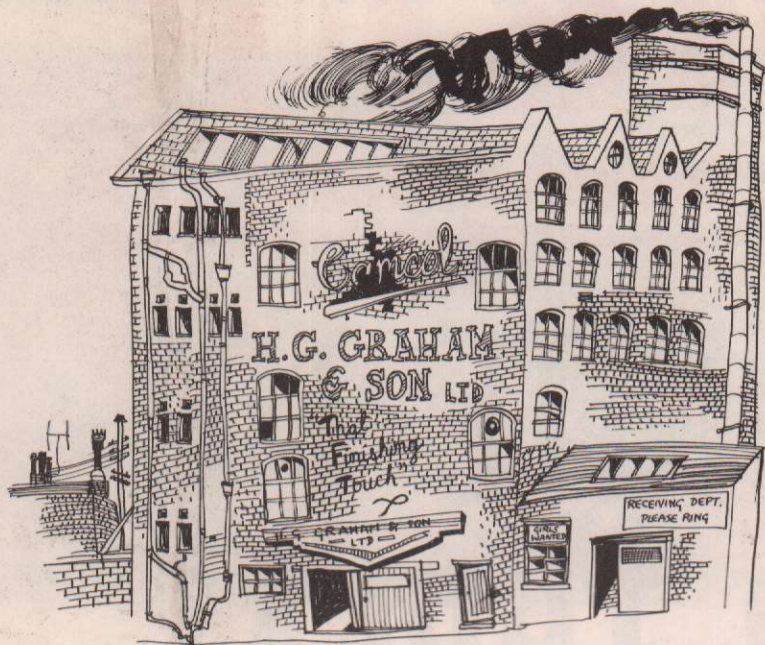
With minor variations the same tactics are being used by employers in Yorkshire mills to reduce wage costs and lengthen hours as they were using 137 years ago. There is extensive use, first of all, of "female children."

Signs outside mills always ask for "girls" rather than women (and "youths" rather than men). Women working in mills are usually either between 40 and 60 or between 15 and 20, with the latter group often in the majority.

It is shocking to discover that many young girls in mills neither voluntarily read a book nor wish to, and that some of them write with difficulty. Mills are still usually dotted about in the middle of areas of working-class housing, and the pressure on children in these Coronation Street districts to leave school and help make up a respectable family income is enormous and irresistible.

For girls the opportunity to move upwards socially is hardly ever seen in educational terms but through marriage. Talk on the shop floor is always about boyfriends, dates, the eligibility of so-and-so.

In Yorkshire there are still hundreds of small family businesses whose owners behave as their ancestors did in the 19th century. The boss calls his workers by their Christian names; when there's a rush on he helps out by carrying things around, taking off his coat and rolling up his sleeves. Some businesses grow unexpectedly



Story and pictures by PHIL EVANS

quickly and catch the boss unaware, behaving in his old paternalistic way in incongruously modern automated surroundings.

There are also little ruses to encourage workers to think of themselves as part of a big family. The bonus is paid, perhaps, not on an individual basis, but on total work leaving the shop every week. Workers often actually go up to others and complain that their laziness is endan-

gering the bonus for the whole shop. This happened to me while I was working in a mill.

In other words the whole ethic of slacking is completely different from that of less backward industries. But for a girl who earns 2s. 8d. an hour, industrial solidarity is alien if it means 2d. an hour less.

Union organisation is usually non-existent. There is often a fake staff



or management-run organisation, but healthy union shops exist only where a conscious political element of some kind has intervened—usually the Communist Party. But it is usually an incredible effort to keep organisation alive.

A transient husband-seeking teenager or elderly housewife working for pin-money are not usually very interested. Wages are so bad in some factories that workers believe they cannot afford to pay union dues. Many refuse to pay 5d. a week towards the Workpeoples' Hospital Fund. They can't afford it.

An energetic Communist Party member who has managed to organise the shop in which he is a tailor complains that most of his time as shop steward is spent unravelling domestic difficulties of his members. The situation was summed up by a housewife who had recurrent grumbles about toilet facilities. "I went to Mr. Driver (the manager) and asked him if we could have a union. He said we didn't need one."

IMMIGRANTS

Immigrants who find work in textile mills tend to keep organisation weak. Few have a sympathetic attitude towards unionism—an attitude which is understandable when the only unions they tend to come into contact with are weak unions. They are prepared to work for very low wages and are generally welcomed by managements who take advantage of people who don't know their rights. Many employers say they won't deduct tax from wages and find this kind of cheating easier with people who do not understand English or taxes very well.

Gains in wages and conditions are usually made when workers manage to compare their conditions with those of workers in other industries. Short of complete unionisation, which is the only final answer to the appalling bargaining-weakness of the textile workers, socialists should concentrate on propaganda which points out the gains others have made and compares wages and hours.

In some places, even a copy of the Factory Act on the wall could mean a great leap forward for a 16 year-old girl working 54 hours for £8, in a 19th century shack called Perseverance Buildings or Fortitude Mills.

Rents White Paper: councils go ahead with jack up plans

by BRIAN EBBATSON

THE WHITE PAPER on Prices and Incomes was widely interpreted as an important step towards a rent freeze, but in fact there is little change from previous vague statements of government policy. The White Paper states: "The government will take power to require early warning of rent increases and to direct local authorities to moderate and phase rent increases."

Compare this with previous policy statements. June 1967 (White Paper on Prices and Incomes): "The principle of moderation should apply to rents." December 1967 (Ministry of Housing Circular 76/67): "The ministers request local authorities to moderate any necessary rent increases and to phase any unavoidably substantial increases..." Clearly no change.

There are no proposals to set up machinery to enforce government policy and it is clear that the government has no idea how it would prevent an increase—and thereby seriously tackle the problem of interest rates. The government has been pushed into making a statement on rent increases and has responded in a hurried and equivocal manner.

Increases like the proposed 17/6d. in Newcastle-upon-Tyne last October or the planned £1-£4 per week for GLC tenants in London will not be challenged by the government if they are phased over slightly longer periods as they fit within the definition of "moderate" or "part of a series of phases." The Tory GLC even boasts

that the London increases are "less than suggested by the present government in the Ministry Circular 46 of June 1967."

This is a grim enough picture but it is only one aspect of the crisis facing tenants. Following cuts in social service and housing expenditure, the White Paper also announced a further 18 months wage restraint. The situation is not one in which reforms can be easily won, whether they be wage increases or increased housing subsidies.

The main reform in housing introduced by the government, the Housing Subsidies Act has totally failed to alleviate the burden of interest rates. Twelve years ago it could have kept rents down and boosted council house building; now it barely prevents the total collapse of the present system of housing finance.

In 1967 debt charges in England and Wales exceeded rent income by £16 million. The increase has been steady. In Newcastle, interest payments have risen from £1 million to £3 million since 1959, half of which was in the past three years. Against this nationally, rate and exchequer subsidies as a percentage of Housing Revenue have decreased, while the rents proportion has risen. Now, to further increase the tenants' share of housing costs we have cuts in repairs, tenants paying for improvements to property, and the rebate schemes.

The rebate schemes are central to what The Economist calls "the new orthodoxy in housing finance." (Editorial, January 13, 1968). It states: "The government has urged that rent increases should replace the rate subsidies as far as possible... The thing now is to stop payment of all exchequer subsidies whatsoever (and), require all local authorities to balance their books by increasing rents."

These are to be cushioned by rebate schemes, while all rents become "economic" rents, meaning increases of as much as £3 per week. The Economist is not a lone voice. Sir Keith Joseph (former Tory Housing Minister) called in June 1967 for the elimination of subsidies and "fair (i.e. economic) rents."

In January Kirby Laing, President of the National Federation of Building Trade Employers and Gilbert Anderson, Chairman of the Building Societies Association, praised the government for "curtailing subsidised council-house building" and went on to call for all tenants to be charged "economic" rents. The Federation of Registered Housebuilders joined the call in March in its evidence to the PIB inquiry into rents.

With the government tagging along behind, if not exactly leading this combined move of powerful political and economic interests, tenants movements are growing in response. Important questions of organisation and

tactics face tenants. First, they must be prepared and organised to stop rent increases—which means rent strikes. Battles will be hard and long. This means militant campaigning long before the increases are due, and solid organisational work.

Secondly, the opposition must be explicitly political. When a confrontation comes it will be as much against the government as the councils.

The task of socialists is to emphasise the need for strong grass-roots organisation, and stress the futility of limiting activity to lobbying, petitioning and writing protest letters.

Though the government becomes the enemy, battles will be fought locally. The building of a "national" organisation to pressurise a "sympathetic" government to introduce housing reforms is a diversion as well as a total misunderstanding of the situation facing tenants. It leaves the tenants no room for vital local initiatives, their only role being to pay affiliation fees, fill in petition forms and lobby meetings.

A national organisation will be necessary but it must be allowed to develop from below, not to distract from local struggles, and not imposed from above. Anything else is to invite defeat.

The GLC Action Committee have made the following statement:

THE LONG-AWAITED PIB report is out. Far from holding down rents the PIB was given the green light to rent rises and means-test rebates. All it says is that rents should not be increased ON AVERAGE by more than 7s. 6d. a week in any one year.

As more new council housing is built, debt charges and land prices continue to rise. Since 1966 council rents have gone up £21 million; £20 million of this has gone straight to the moneylenders. But the PIB are silent about this. All they can suggest is that in future council tenants should pay the full cost of new council housing.

The GLC plan to increase rents by 14s. in the £ from October. These increases will still go through. But instead of being increased in three stages over two years, they will go up in five stages

WHERE WE STAND

SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant inequalities, its periodic crises, wars and racialist hysteria must be replaced by one based on a planned economy under full workers' control; those who produce the wealth should own and control the means of production.

International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers in order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members in their struggles for better wages and conditions and oppose all reactionary laws that threaten the liberties of the labour movement. We support all strikes in defence of workers' interests with the demand of no victimisation of trade unionists. Redundancy should be opposed with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop stewards' organisations should strengthen and extend their influence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism.

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Gilden Road, London NW5

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We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism. The labour movement must demand the immediate recall of British troops from abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles, to enrich those struggles with socialist ideas that will link up the various sections of the labour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers' power.

If you would like to join IS or would like further details of our activities, fill in the form below:

Please send further details of the meetings and activities of International Socialism to:

Name

Address

Send to 39 Gondar Gardens, London, NW6.

The GLC plan to increase rents by 14s. in the £ from October. These increases will still go through. But instead of being increased in three stages over three years, they will go up in five stages over four years.

Tenants should not be fooled by Tory-Labour squabbles. The government, and GLC are not fighting about whether rents go up. They both agree about that. They are fighting over whether £4 rent should go up to £6 16s. 0 in two years or in four years.

Tenants can get no justice from government, GLC, or PIB. They can only rely on their own organisations to stop even a penny going on the rents.

● The address of the GLC Tenants Action Committee is 66 Longland Court, Avondale Square, S.E. Tel. BER 6869.

False friends on the road to liberation for black Americans...

by JOHN LEA

THE MASS VIOLENCE that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King is the most appropriate reception for the publication of the **Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders** (Bantam Books, 12s. 6d.) set up by President Johnson to investigate the "causes" of last year's negro uprisings.

A committee of the American ruling class such as this, packed with sociologists and sub-committees of businessmen, is faced with the problem of reconciling the supremacy of American capitalism with the existence of the human degradation, poverty and racialism in its midst.

The Commission achieves this reconciliation to its own satisfaction through the definition of the problems of race and poverty as the personal responsibility of all American citizens—"the shame of OUR cities" "the crisis of OUR nation" for which we, as potential white racials, all of us, are responsible.

The logic of this is the emphasis on racialism as the basic cause of negro unemployment and poverty. "White racialism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II" (p.203).

Even within this context of emphasising the role of race prejudice, there is no attempt—and nor can there be without challenging the legitimacy of the capitalist system—to seek out the role of racialism in the exploitation of the working class generally.

Incoherent

This inadequacy shows up most clearly in the report's almost incoherent potted history of negro resistance since slavery. The removal of the vote from the negro and the imposition of Jim Crow in the 1890s, for example, is seen totally as a question of white racialism.

The class unity of negro and white agricultural workers in the agrarian radical movement of the 1890s against the big southern landowners is totally ignored as is the imposition of Jim Crow and the disfranchisement of the negro as part of a direct political campaign by the land owners to direct the impending class warfare into racial channels and to (successfully) convince the poor white that his enemy was the negro not the southern ruling class.

The most useful part of the report is its statistics. Collectively they shatter the myth of negro improvement in economic and social conditions. The gap between the average white and negro income per family widened from \$2,174 in 1947 to \$3,036 in 1966 (at 1965 price levels).

These figures can be supplemented by others from the manpower report to the president (US Department of Labor 1967) which shows that during 1959-64 the US National Consumer Price Index rose by 8 per cent. Total US family income during that period rose 8.6 per cent but on examining the actual distribution we find that for the poor and mainly negro areas of Cleveland for example, family income over the same period rose by 6.5 per cent, that is slower than the rise in prices, but for the prosperous white suburbs of the city it rose 16.5 per cent.

Similarly with rents. The average weekly rent in South Los Angeles (the mainly negro poor area) rose from \$69 in 1960 to \$77 in 1965, while in east Los Angeles rents rose over the same period from \$63 to \$75. These figures are only a small sample of the data on poverty and inequality provided by the report.

Evidence

The implication that a solution to the problem of the emancipation of the negro can only be seen as a problem of the emancipation of the working class as a whole and not as a question of a "massive national effort" is nowhere drawn in the report. Measurement of attitudes is statistically often meaningless, but what evidence there is goes against the assumption that is embodied in the report that white racialism is still the root cause of the poverty of the negro ghetto.

In a survey of attitudes on housing segregation from 1942 to 1963, the percentage of respondents in opinion polls favourable to housing integration increased from 35 per cent of whites in 1942 to 51 per cent in 1956 and 64 per cent in 1963 (source Daedalus Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences).

Yet according to the report, housing segregation is increasing. The report shows that during 1940-1950, 109 major cities increased their degree of segregation and from 1950 to 1960, 83 of the most segregated of these increased still further.

Similarly, opinion polls show increased acceptance of school integration yet in 15 northern cities the Civil Rights Commission found last year that during 1950 to 1965 school segregation had increased.

White racialism is no longer important as a cause of the ghetto. It is rather the vicious circle of poverty, insecurity, poor educational performance and low income which faces the working class as a whole and thus faces the negro as a worker. It certainly does not face the prosperous "black bourgeoisie" which says "cool it" whenever the working-class negro



The white faces that negroes know best: National Guardsmen shooting to kill in Detroit. It is with the "unknown" white working class that negroes must link up

takes to the streets.

Because the problem is not seen as a capitalist one, the Commission can convince itself that it is making bold new recommendations when in fact it is advocating more of the same chaos and inactivity that is already embedded in the so-called "war on poverty." The report points out that in 1966 only a third of the people below the US poverty line received social security payments. It also admits that vast amounts of federal money allocated to the war on poverty simply fail to reach their destination.

In Detroit last year federal funds for retraining unemployed reached under half of the unemployed. In Newark, New Jersey, federal funds for retraining programmes reach less than 20 per cent of the unemployed. Yet all the report can do is to call for the creation of three million new jobs through a simple mechanism of tax incentives to business, and to retrain the unemployed to fill them by co-ordinating and revitalising the hotchpotch of programmes and organisations created by the war on poverty.

There is no attempt to evaluate the success of this. Facts like the high drop-out rate from youth unemployed training programmes such as the neighbourhood youth corps, or the complete mis-use of federal funds get no mention. In Watts, Los Angeles the federal government has spent £1.5 million since the 1965 riots. 51 per cent of this has gone on administration.

Neither is any mention made of the continuous struggle to obtain funds from a right-wing Congress. In 1966,

14,000 children were killed by rats in the USA—yet last year Congress threw out a Rat Control Bill.

The converse of white liberalism is black separatism.

The slogan of Black Power is a correct description of the situation as the working-class negro sees it from the ghetto, where the only whites he encounters are cops and employers. Thus exploitation and power become racial exploitation and power.

But in itself the slogan is dangerous. Due to its transitional nature it can easily lead to black separatism or "self-help" such as attempting to set up all-black business in the ghettos, which can do little to alleviate the economic and social plight of the negro.

Hardest

The negro cannot win alone. The next step in the struggle is the hardest. It is the re forging of the link between white and negro workers which was made in the 1890s and continued sporadically until after the last war.

The recent increase in militancy of the white working class gives some hope that the link can be made. It is a good sign, too, that the distinction between the ghetto dweller and the reactionary black bourgeoisie has become a part of negro consciousness.

It is only when class replaces race, only when the negro emancipates himself from capitalism as a worker, that he can emancipate himself from the ghetto as a negro.

The police state in Britain's back yard

By MALACHY McKENNA

IRISH SOCIALISTS were not surprised by Enoch Powell's racialist speech. He is trying to win support from the working class by playing on their economic fears—jobs, houses and wages.

The Tories have played this role in Northern Ireland for years—ever since Lord Randolph Churchill produced his Orange trump card and brought down the Liberal Party. Now the ruling class of Northern Ireland has the working class divided between protestants and catholics, just as Powell would like to divide them between black and white.

Because of this division, the Ulster government has been able to pass such undemocratic laws that even the South African prime minister, Vorster, has spoken of them with envy. These laws are called the Special Powers Act and they have been used against trade unions in the past.

At the moment the Special Powers have been used to ban Republican Clubs which organise tenants' associations and study socialism. No one has been arrested yet, but it is possible that someone will be in the near future.

The Wilson government has the power to repeal the Special Powers through the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. But nothing has been done. The British government could also legislate through this Act to ensure one man, one vote in local elections.

At present, only property owners can vote, plus limited companies, which have six votes. Tenants in furnished accommodation and those living with parents are disfranchised.

The British government subsidises this state of affairs to the tune of £182m. a year. Because of the police state in Northern Ireland, the British government cannot sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the European Convention on Human Rights on behalf of the British people.

Workers in Northern Ireland are sometimes bitter when they see massive demonstrations in Britain against American imperialism. They feel they are the forgotten people.

Northern Ireland is part of the British Isles, yet the ordinary people there are denied basic democratic rights and are terrorised by armed police and clerical thugs. It is time that the British labour movement came to their aid and organised a campaign to bring this scandalous state of affairs in Britain's backyard to the eyes of the world.

Here are some of the provisions of the Special Powers Act:

1. Arrest without warrant.
2. Imprison without charge or trial and deny recourse to habeas corpus or a court of law.
3. Enter and search homes without warrant and with force at any hour of the day or night.
4. Declare a night and prohibit meetings, assemblies and processions.
5. Permit punishment by flogging.
6. Deny claims to trial by jury.
7. Prevent access of relatives or legal advisers to a person imprisoned without trial.
8. Arrest a person who by word or mouth spreads false reports or makes false statements.
9. Prohibit the circulation of any newspaper.
10. Arrest a person who does anything "calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order in N. Ireland and NOT specifically provided for in the regulations."

SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAELI SOCIALIST FORCES LIGHTER JAIL SENTENCE

PLEASE ACCEPT our sincere thanks for your solidarity and support concerning the arrest and trial of Khalil To'ameh. (See March issue).

The verdict was given on March 12. The military judge sentenced To'ameh to 18 months imprisonment, of which nine months are suspended. We have reason to assume that your response—which was expressed in demonstrations, picket lines, letters and cables and which was widely reported in many countries—resulted in the sentence being not quite as severe as it might have been.

However, in view of the facts revealed during the trial, and of the reasons given by the military judge, Colonel Alpern, in his judgement, the sentence is still extremely severe, illustrating the draconian character of the 1945 Emergency Regulations according to which To'ameh was tried. It was established—and not even

Letters

ing to the judgement, the very fact that Khalifa belonged to a political movement, one of whose aspirations was the "Liberation of Palestine," is enough to make him an enemy of the state; and the fact that he lived in To'ameh's flat (although, as was pointed out, they appeared together openly) is enough to condemn To'ameh to prison.

Thus the decisive fact is the political affiliation of the "harboured person."

It follows that any Palestinian Arab whose political aspirations of affiliation are opposed to Israel's official policy could be defined as an enemy of the state, and any Israeli citizen who comes in touch with him could be prosecuted and condemned in virtue of the Emergency Regulations.

inhabitants of the occupied territories. The "legal" basis for most of these acts are the 1945 Emergency Regulations.

Dozens, perhaps hundreds of people (the exact number has not been made public) are imprisoned by administrative order, without trial. The Israeli courts have no authority to order the release of such prisoners. There is an increasing number of deportations, demolition of house (several hundreds), house arrests and restriction of the freedom of movement—all without trial and by administrative orders only.

We appeal to you to take whatever action you think right (demonstrations, picket lines, letters and cables to the Israeli authorities) to protest against these repressions and to arouse world public

Chris Harman in his article on the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in May says: "Violence is necessary for socialists if we are ever to overthrow the systematic, institutionalised violence of our rulers." Until the power of non-violence has really been tested in the West no one can say how "necessary" violence is for a revolution in an advanced capitalist country.

To make violence a central part of one's programme is, at this stage, very misguided. Violence is usually self-defeating, creating many more problems than it solves; the main product of violence is more violence. Social change produced through military virtues usually ends up as a military or police state.

Then the article King: end of an illusion was written as though the words militant and violent mean the same thing. They don't. It's perfectly possible to be one without the other.

lence, the complete dislocation of the life of a city through non-violent means.

The Grosvenor Square demonstration, I suspect, alienated a good deal of potential support not because it favoured "Victory for the Vietcong" but because many demonstrators refused to draw the distinction between fuzz-baiting (pitiful pastime) and defending oneself in the face of police violence. A mass sit-down or lie-in, 20 to 30,000 strong, would have made a more effective demonstration.

So I take up Martin Luther King's cry: "Escalate non-violence!" I hope Socialist Worker comes to adopt it too.

Robert Hutchison
77 Marylebone High Street,
W.1.

IS BOOK SERVICE

extremely severe, illustrating the draconic character of the 1945 Emergency Regulations according to which To'ameh was tried.

It was established—and not even contested by the military prosecution—that during the period when, according to the charge, To'ameh harboured Ahmed Khalifa, the two appeared together openly and publicly, took part in social meetings in which many Israeli students were present, etc. The prosecution did not contest the fact that during the same period Khalifa continued to come to the shop, owned and managed by him, in East Jerusalem.

It is especially noteworthy that in his judgement the military judge explicitly says that it was not proved that Khalifa belonged to a terrorist organisation or involved in violent resistance. Accord-

an enemy of the state, and any Israeli citizen who comes in touch with him could be prosecuted and condemned in virtue of the Emergency Regulations.

It may be assumed that the wide stir in foreign public opinion, as well as the manifestations of solidarity by a part—although a small one—of the Israeli public, were among the reasons why the military authorities conducted the hearings openly and even allowed the defendant to appeal against the sentence. In addition, the defence counsel, Mr. Shlomo Tusia-Cohen (one of Israel's best lawyers) has found a legal possibility to appeal against the verdict itself.

But this affair, grave though it is, is but one case—not as severe as others—of repression by the Israeli authorities against Palestinian Arabs, both citizens of Israel and

ever action you think right (demonstrations, picket lines, letters and cables to the Israeli authorities) to protest against these repressions and to arouse world public opinion. Please let us know of any action you take, and send us copies of your letters of protest so that we may publish them here.

Arie Bober,

For the Students Committee,
The Israel Socialist Organisation,
c/o Dan Omer,
P.O.B. 2092, Jerusalem, Israel.

Cool it

VIOLENCE is too easy a form of compensation for people's thwarted desire for power, and in my view this shines through some of the thoughts on the subject expressed in Socialist Worker.

illusion was written as though the words militant and violent mean the same thing. They don't. It's perfectly possible to be one without the other.

The black power movement does not go far enough not because it has a strong non-violent streak, but because, as you say, it has failed "to dig the roots of independent political organisation." King pointed to the contradiction involved in those negroes who call for the rejection of all white values and in the next breath are willing to imitate the worst values of white society in calling for violence.

Had King lived, the demonstrations in Washington (for which King had the co-operation and support of Stokely Carmichael) would probably have been a major episode in the escalation of non-vio-

W.I.

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Mirror, Mirror on the wall, is Cecil the fairest of them all?

HAROLD WILSON, MAN OF THE YEAR! screamed the Daily Mirror on January 1st 1967, and continued in the glittering prose of that paper's style to sing the Prime Minister's praises. And no wonder. For every policy which the Daily Mirror had advocated over the previous few years had been faithfully pursued by Wilson's government.

It was the Mirror, way back in 1964, that warned against "too hasty" social reform in the light of the economic crisis. It was the Mirror, early in 1965, which urged the government to "ease up" on its plans to tax profits and capital gains. It was the Mirror, later in 1965, which urged support for the American action in Vietnam.

Not surprisingly, the Mirror again supported Labour in 1966. Soon afterwards it launched the most savage of all the press attacks against the striking seamen. And when the economic crisis broke in July, 1966, the Mirror urged: "Nothing short of drastic cuts in public expenditure and a wage freeze for at least six months will put the economy right." (July 15, 1966.)

We got the cuts and the wage freeze.

But perhaps the Mirror's biggest triumph was the decision in 1967 to apply for British entry into the Common Market, a policy which all the Mirror papers had been urging since 1960. When Wilson applied for Common Market entry, he had, according to the Mirror's front page "carved a name for himself in British history."

The Mirror's enthusiasm for the Common Market was, of course, selfless and patriotic. It had nothing to do with the enormous profits which would accrue to the International Publishing Corporation—the Mirror's owners—in a tariff-free Europe in which IPC would be the biggest publisher, the biggest printer, the biggest manufacturer and supplier of newsprint and typesetting machines, not to say wood pulp from its forests in Canada.

Throughout the talks on Europe, the Mirror continued to back Wilson and show him the way. On Rhodesia, on Vietnam, on disciplining rebel MPs, on cleaning-up demonstrators, even on South African arms, the Mirror and Wilson were of one mind.

Even in personalities, they agreed. The Mirror liked Brown for a long time, and then started chanting Brown Must Go. Brown went. For a long time, the Mirror yelled for the blood of Douglas Jay, who opposed Common Market entry. Jay went. Every little prejudice was instantly rewarded by dynamic action from No. 10 Downing Street.

Now King makes his final demand: that the faithful Wilson himself should go. Suddenly, the government needs not new policies but new leaders.

Why? Lost support for Labour means lost readers for Cecil King. He cannot attack the policies of the government because they are good for his profits. So he is forced to kick his faithful servant in the teeth and prepare his next Man of the Year, Roy Jenkins, for similar treatment.

Bottom and below

SOME PEOPLE thought that things couldn't get worse electorally. Others that the social policies of the government had reached rock bottom.

Both suppositions have now been disproved, the first by the municipal election results, the second by the government's White Paper on Rents, which threatens to remove control on all controlled properties which have "adequate amenities."

The "new control" of the 1965 Rent Act is not automatic. It works only if the tenant is prepared to face

TAKE SHELTER

YOUR ISSUE of February 1968 has just been drawn to my attention and, in particular, a column by Paul Foot. Despite the passing of time and the self-destructing vindictiveness of his style of writing, I feel I must write and correct two facts in the paragraph about SHELTER.

Firstly, its chairman—whether its former chairman or the present one—has not got a 14-bedroomed house, or even a 4-bedroomed house. Secondly, there are no communion services in the office, compulsory or otherwise, daily or weekly, and the majority of the staff, including myself, are not Christians.

Therefore his accusation that only people who will attend a communion service are employed is completely



KING:
enormous profits

rent officers and Rent Assessment Committees, which are staffed with lawyers and accountants and by their very composition are sympathetic to the landlord.

The old control, enforced by the Glasgow Rent Strike of 1919, was automatic. It applied to the rented property without anyone approaching anyone, and it was therefore effective.

The clamour of the Fair Rents Association—a sinister group of politically-motivated men which purports to consist entirely of poverty-stricken old ladies bullied and raped by West Indian tenants paying 2s. 6d. a week for fully-furnished luxury flats—have now forced the government to agree to take effective control off the houses where it still operates.

Even the Tories were frightened to do this when they studied the results of their 1957 decontrols. The measure, if enacted, will involve appalling rent increases for the people who can least afford to pay: mainly old tenants in old decaying areas.

All these people, however, should take comfort for the Minister of Housing is a hero of the Left, Anthony Greenwood, whose wife launches Polaris submarines as enthusiastically as he used to oppose their manufacture. Tony Greenwood's a decent Christian fellow. It's an honour to have your rent doubled by the decisions of a bloke like him.

Love thy enemy

THE NEW MOOD of unity which is sweeping the revolutionary Left has not, it seemed, penetrated New Park Publications of Clapham, who occupy the same offices as the publishers of the bi-weekly Newsletter. Recently to help me in a book I was writing I wanted to get hold of some excellent articles by Brian Pearce written in Labour Review some years ago, and published by New Park.

I rang New Park and asked if I could come down and look through some back numbers in their files. No, I could not, said a woman firmly. Could I buy some back numbers, then? She would see.

Then I had a letter from one Carol Curtis of New Park, which said curtly: "We regret we are unable to supply you with back numbers of Labour Review . . ." No reasons were given, though I suspect from the lady's tone that my connection with Socialist Worker and International Socialism was not wholly irrelevant.

"Enemies of Marxism" who want to obtain marxist literature should apply in future to the British Museum.

was appointed director over a year ago.

Paul Foot also describes us as "an establishment charity." I would have thought he would find that rather difficult to justify as more than most charities, SHELTER has combined its rescue operation with fairly forceful pressure on society as a whole to bring to an end a problem that must be of some concern to your readers, even if it is not to Mr. Foot.

DES WILSON,
Director, SHELTER,
The Strand, W. C. 2.

Paul Foot writes: Yes, sorry. My informant talked about "Shelter." I now realise that she was talking about the Christian organisation of the same

THE STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS that followed Enoch Powell's outburst in Birmingham at the end of April emphasise the need for socialists to take racialism seriously and to reorganise their forces to combat this menace. The traditional labour movement has proved incapable of doing this. The long observed isolation of the left in the Labour Party from the mass of workers was starkly exposed.

With only a few honorable exceptions, trade union officials preferred to ignore what was happening, at best piously passing paper resolutions. Although many Communist Party members resisted the racialist wave, the party itself did little to help them. It did not immediately produce internationalist propaganda or organise counter demonstrations—indeed the Morning Star refused an advert for the May 1st demonstration in London.

The immediate upsurge of racialist agitation rapidly died down. But it revealed a real long-term threat. The question of how to deal with this must be central to any socialist strategy.

The experience of Germany and Italy before the last war proved that when capitalism is in decline the alternative to a socialist society is a fascist one. For this to occur two parallel processes have to take place.

First, the ruling class has to decide that it can no longer afford liberal democracy. It begins to see even the very marginal reforms that reformist Labour parties and trade unions win for the workers as a threat to its profits and to its very existence. It is prepared to utilise any means—even if this involves certain hardships for some of its own members—to destroy these organisations.

Every possible measure is taken to physically liquidate workers organisations, however corrupt their officials are, in any way they defend workers interests. Thus in Germany even trade union and social democratic leaders who had participated in the handing of power to the German bourgeoisie in 1918-19—a process which involved the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht—were put into concentration camps by Hitler.

But the ruling class cannot smash working class organisations completely in an advanced industrial country on its own. It is too small a section of the population. Even the forces of the state are minuscule compared to the total numbers of organised workers.

Organisations have to exist with hundreds of thousands of members, with tentacles reaching into every section of society. These can only grow through a second, and at points independent, process. The very decline of capitalism can begin to breed them.

Under certain conditions the frustrations and tensions that individuals feel as a result of living in capitalist society are utilised to build such a movement. This is possible if people can be persuaded that their country or their race are more important than their class, and that active participation in a movement concerned with

by **CHRIS HARMAN**

these can begin to solve their problems.

But this does not mean that racialism or chauvinism alone constitute fascism. They form a basis on which it can build, but little more.

Under capitalism they are ideologies that most of the population suffer from most of the time. As Marx used to say: "The ruling ideology is the ideology of the ruling class."

Because this class controls the press, the educational system, the whole development of culture, it also determines the way in which people think most of the time. The working class certainly has not been immune to racialist myths pumped out to justify a hundred years of imperialism.

ERODED

But for most people most of the time this ideology is a passive one. It is perhaps one of the factors that prevents them challenging the present system, but it does not determine positively how they behave. And it is constantly being eroded by other factors—such as working alongside immigrants.

Fascism can only develop if this racialist mentality can be made into



the central preoccupation of millions of individuals. They have to be so committed to it that they regard it and the phoney solutions it offers to their problems as more important than their private lives, their organisations or other concerns. The identification with the leader of the fascist organisation and his definition of their problems has to be complete.

Nothing like this exists in Britain at the moment. Enoch Powell has prepared the ground for the beginning of a serious fascist movement. But this is the beginning of the process not the end.

The speed with which the rest of the representatives of the ruling class disowned him shows that they have not yet completely given up hope of solving their problems by traditional means. They still put their faith, although to a decreasing extent, in buying off trade union leaders and keeping the working class complacent and apathetic.

They believe that provided the government holds the line on incomes policy, provided shop stewards accept productivity deals, and provided the international monetary problems can be solved, their profit margins will be secured. They are not yet desperate

AKIVA ORR looks at the still explosive situation in

Whirlpool of instability gives hope to Arab liberation forces

A YEAR HAS PASSED since the six-day war in the Middle East. Like most wars, it signified the end of an era and the start of a new one.

The 1948 war marked the beginning of the disintegration of the British empire. It exposed the corruption of the feudal monarchies in Egypt, Trans-Jordan and Iraq and precipitated the officers' revolution in Cairo.

It was on the battlefields of Palestine that the Egyptian officers first asked themselves: "Why are we fighting here?" as well as: "Why were we defeated?" It was there that the 1952 revolution was hatched that overthrew Farouk.

The 1956 war witnessed the end of Britain and France's imperialist role in the Middle East. The Aswan dam enterprise, the nationalisation of the Suez canal by Nasser and the defeat of the Israeli, French and British attack on Egypt brought Arab nationalism to its peak.

The refusal of the veteran pro-British regime in Baghdad to come to the help of Egypt eventually brought about the 1958 officers' revolution in Iraq.

In both cases the conflict with Israel acted as a catalyst to processes within the Arab world, hastening the downfall of that traditional prop for British imperialism, the feudal monarchies.

searching questions throughout the Arab world, especially when their efforts are compared to Vietnam.

"Why can the Vietcong defeat the US, where the means gap is much greater, yet Egypt cannot stand up for one week against Israel?" Such questions have already brought about a profound change inside Egypt.

The grip of the professional officers' class on Egyptian society was broken after the June defeat. That class, incompetent as it was, provided Nasser's main support, but since June 1967 it serves him only as a scapegoat.

So far the regime has survived. Nasser has survived, too, as a symbol of Arab nationalism and past victories, but that symbol, cracked in the defeat, is no longer what it was.

Captives

Every serious revolutionary in the Arab world knows that the nationalist officers reached the end of their progressive role and from now on can only become captives of imperialism. It is likely that Nasser will become for the Arab world what Chiang Kai-Shek became for China in the 1950s.

Washington is well aware of its power to dislodge Israel from Suez and Sinai. This could serve to bring Nasser, with his prestige as a "fighter



THE VICTIMS - Arabs

office, compulsory or otherwise, daily or weekly, and the majority of the staff, including myself, are not Christians.

Therefore his accusation that only people who will attend a communion service are employed is completely untrue—certainly since I

DES WILSON,
Director, SHELTER,
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Paul Foot writes: Yes, sorry. My informant talked about "Shelter." I now realise that she was talking about the Christian organisation of the same name.

James Connolly centenary social

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about the 1958 officers' revolution in Iraq.

In both cases the conflict with Israel acted as a catalyst to processes within the Arab world, hastening the downfall of that traditional prop for British imperialism, the feudal monarchies.

Established

How does the June war of 1967 look from this viewpoint? It highlighted the limitations and weaknesses of the officers' revolutions, of Arab nationalism, and of the role played by Moscow. It established the United States as the main imperialist power in this part of the world.

The fact that the officers' revolutions in Egypt and Iraq, established in power 15 and nine years respectively, abundantly armed by Russia, well-prepared for a military attack, suffered a shattering defeat within six days is bound to raise many

only become captives of imperialism. It is likely that Nasser will become for the Arab world what Chiang Kai-Chek became for China in the 1930s.

Washington is well aware of its power to dislodge Israel from Suez and Sinai. This could serve to bring Nasser, with his prestige as a "fighter against imperialism," into the US orbit in order to contain the masses. Prior to the June war, the CIA wanted to remove Nasser—as it did with Sukarno and Nkrumah. After the war he became its most valuable pawn in the game against the masses in that area.

But while Nasser's domestic position remains shaky, Washington, keeping all its options open, sent a consignment of Skyhawk jets to Israel. Never before in its history has Israel received arms directly and openly from the US.

While students and workers demonstrated in Cairo for the first time since 1952 for democracy, against the offi-



THE VICTIMS - Arabs from the west bank of

cers and the regime (which closed all universities for three weeks), in Jerusalem all the Zionist parties, from the leftist Mapam to the rightist Herut, still sit together in the "National Unity" coalition formed on the eve of the war.

The fate of the "conquered-held-liberated" territories is still debated between the extremists and the moderates. The former advocate outright, total annexation, the latter, while voting for the annexation of East Jerusalem, favour trading territory for a peace treaty with Hussein and Nasser.

and how to fight it



Gold: why the merry-go-round stopped turning...

by ANDREW SAYERS

ANYONE WHO HAS tried to understand the reasons and the underlying factors of the "gold crisis" by reading the official economic sources cannot have failed to become even more confused.

Certainly the outward causes of the present crisis are monetary ones. The currency under attack is the US dollar, which was also the case when sterling was under attack. It happens to make good sense to attack the weakest currency in the system.

The important question, however, is not how the crisis manifests itself, but why did it happen at all, whether any monetary system is endemically inefficient, or whether some could be devised that would be "trouble free."

It is the fact that a solution would be so easy (and was advocated by Keynes more than 20 years ago), that provides a clue. If only the various major economic nations of the world could agree to leave the gold system and establish an international currency controlled by a central fund of sufficient magnitude, the speculators would be fought off easily and world economic stability ensured.

Why has this solution not been adopted before? The fact is that some of the international needs of capitalism conflict with the individual needs of national capitalism. At the present moment, however, this contradiction in aims is heightened by very serious world over-production. Over-production and the needs of the capitalist nation to secure itself a market, and an outlet for its goods leads to fierce competition between the national units. This is why an apparently simple solution has been impossible to put into practice.

National capitalisms are at each other's throats, and it is no coincidence that France, one of the weakest links, which has to fight for its life in the international markets, is in the forefront of today's fratricidal wars.

Miss the boat

But France is not alone. Of the nations that comprise the Gold Pool, of those pledged to maintain the gold-dollar exchange rate and to support the dollar at all costs, the only ones not to have increased their gold holdings since 1957 are Britain and the US. Behind the scene, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium were all busy exchanging dollars for gold. In the capitalist world, if you miss the boat you are dead.

Why is there over-production? Basically in capitalism there is an endemic tendency to over-production, both nationally and internationally, because capitalist production is not geared to human needs but to the needs of production itself. The question that we should ask ourselves is why for so long this has not created a problem.

This leads to the concept of the permanent arms economy. Within its anarchy, capitalism sometimes stumbles on something that manages to stabilise it for some time. One of these "accidental" encounters, as Professor Hosbawm so clearly argues, in Industry and Empire, were the railways which managed to give both an impetus and to absorb the productive capacity of the capitalist system.

Another is the permanent arms economy which has managed to give the world economy an unparalleled spell of prosperity, stability, and optimism.

The beauty of a permanent arms economy is that for a very long time it managed to absorb enormous productive capacity and that as a system it was fault free. Often one of the questions asked is: "Why weapons and not hospitals and schools to give dynamism to the economy?"

The answer is unfortunately simple: in the highly competitive situation of the international market to invest in hospitals spells suicide. While you do this someone else will be investing in cost-saving techniques, subsidising his exports, and basically undermining your position in the international market.

What is needed is something that compels everybody to follow suit (so that they cannot put their resources to competitive use) that goes to waste and lastly that requires massive investment in terms of capital, labour, and materials.

Lately the permanent arms economy has come to serve less and less this last prerequisite. With the switch from tanks, ships and cannons to sophisticated weaponry such as atomic warheads, missiles, complex electronics, which are research intensive but not labour or material intensive, an enormous productive capacity has been unleashed, while at the same time the decreased need for bulky primary materials has reduced the need for all kinds of accessory production, and, more important, has reduced even further the purchasing power of the third world.

Thus the symptom is the monetary crisis, but the underlying factor is the end of the traditional permanent arms economy.

Why is the US with its buoyant economy still vulnerable? Two factors are important here. In the past the US, by being the most important economic power in the world, perhaps through political pressures and in the last analysis by guaranteeing immediate reconversion into gold, has been able to convince most nations to amass large quantities of dollars into their reserves.

Advantages for US

This, of course, had some advantages for everybody, especially in trading, but it had special advantages for the US. It allowed the US to keep a high-valued dollar for a long time, and it has allowed her to run a balance of payments deficit for years without having to do anything about it.

It has meant that the US has been able to buy whole chunks of European industry very cheaply. It has meant that US industry, by borrowing European dollars, has pushed up interest rates in Britain. (Thus the high interest to be paid to the money-lenders.) Lastly it has meant that the US has exported its own inflation.

As long as the international economy was healthy and the famous "cake" expanding for all, this was allowed to continue. But it became increasingly intolerable when the American superpower was threatening the very existence of the weaker capitalist nations in an increasingly tougher international situation. And, once started, the attack on the US dollar acquired, as these things always do, a momentum of its own.

The US expenditure in Vietnam is certainly in itself not enough to begin to bother the US economy. But in a situation where the dollar is already in bad shape Vietnam becomes very important. Especially if, as after the Tet offensive, there is any likelihood that more might have to be spent. Thus the bewildering sight of thoroughly reactionary papers calling on the US to withdraw from Vietnam.

If war ends

While not forgetting that the struggle against imperialism is going to be won in the metropolitan countries, we should not underestimate the importance of the Vietnam war. If it is not capitalism's doomsday, it is still of enormous significance. If and when the Americans do withdraw, the effects of this, both within America and in those other countries also struggling under American imperialism, will be enormous.

It is obvious that the present two-tier system is not going to last for long. How many nations will be able to resist the temptation of buying at one price and selling at a higher one?

But some general agreement is always possible, indeed the beginnings of it have emerged from Stockholm. We should not forget that the contradictions of capitalism, though always present haven't prevented it from surviving up to now, and it isn't really likely to commit suicide.

If the US gets out of Vietnam, in the short run the situation should be considerably eased. In Britain the situation should improve as the pressure on the dollar is released.

The solution for socialists is clearly a political one—to intensify the fight against capitalism at home, encouraged and helped, but no more, by the underlying economic crisis. Above all, now is the time to realise that the next 10 years can bring a fascist threat as well as a socialist hope.

enough to need extra-parliamentary forces to destroy the working-class movement.

The racialism of the mass of people is still essentially passive. We have not yet reached the stage in which there are large and systematic attacks on immigrants by gangs of thugs. Even avowed racialists feel they have more important things to do with their time.

The fascists can lead a few workers in peaceful marches; they cannot yet lead millions against the immigrant community.

DEVELOP

But this should not make us unduly optimistic. If unemployment increases, wages continue to fall, rents to rise, the frustration and disillusion for fascists to exploit and misdirect will increase. Already they are probably preparing to develop fascist cadres and propaganda among those sections of the population that proved most amenable to Powell's speech.

How can we fight this development? Against fascists there is only one weapon: physical force.

We have to utilise every means at our disposal to stop them mobilising their forces. We must be prepared to unite with any one, however much we might disapprove of their other policies, to achieve this.

Fascist movements depend for their success upon their ability to fill their followers with the vicarious thrills of action for the sake of action as they mobilise against the imagined enemy. It is this mobilisation we have to prevent.

But racialism is not fascism and our tactics in relation to it have to be different. We have to show those who define society in racialist terms that they are wrong. The only way this can be done is to work with them in struggles against real enemies, to offer real alternatives to the privations of capitalist society, not phoney ones.

What is required is the development of organisations and forms of activity that can begin to offer genuine revolutionary alternatives. The sort of united organisations that are necessary to keep fascists off the streets cannot serve this task, for many of these will be only worried about racialism and fascism, without caring about their real causes.

They do not mind the problems people suffer under capitalism, they merely object to them looking for racialist solutions to them. It is not surprising that some workers, when they are offered a choice between these people and the fascists choose to follow the latter. That is why Danny Lyons, who bravely stood up against the racialists on the Royal Group of docks, was silly to think he could do so with two priests.

THE SCAPEGOATS - workers must not be fooled by racialist lies and myths...

In their day to day struggles against capitalism, racialism is of no use as an ideology to workers. They have to see the world in class terms. The danger is that as the new situation of crisis that British capitalism has entered forces people to look for generalised forms of activity, these will be offered by people like Powell and Colin Jordan, but not by socialists. This makes it more than ever necessary for revolutionary socialists to come together to fight racialist ideologies and build a unified struggle against the real enemy.

REFUSED

In Italy and Germany, fascism only triumphed when, despite massive socialist organisation and support, the established leaders refused to create a real challenge to capitalism. Disillusioned millions then followed Hitler and Mussolini.

There is nothing intrinsic about Britain that makes it immune to such developments.

the Middle East one year after the six-day war...



motivated by the ideology of "Jewish Power" and "Back to Zion" gathering a population.

Since de Gaulle, Wilson and Keisinger decided that it was time to woo Nasser and company and leave Johnson to burden himself by supporting Israel, this unique political creature, an appendage of the imperialist system became, directly and exclusively, dependent on the US.

In spite of the fact that the June war was won mainly by the French planes of the Israeli air force, de Gaulle emerged as the "friend of the Arabs" for denouncing Israel's aggression. Wilson and Keisinger now do their best to make a similar short cut for regaining "influence."

Secret

The most significant local result of the war is the re-emergence of the Palestinians as a political entity. In 1948, due to a secret pact between Ben-Gurion and Abdullah, they were carved up socially into refugees and residents and politically between Jordan, Israel and Egypt.

But despite their disappearance as a political entity their invisible presence haunted the entire Arab world. It undermined the political status-quo established after 1948 and endorsed by Britain, France and the US—the Tripartite Declaration of 1950.

The Palestinians hardly participated in the wars of 1948, 56 and 67. Now, as a result of the Israeli victory, they are reunited under Israeli rule and share once again a common fate and aim.

Nasser, always considering them a burden, tried to keep them under his control by arming and financing the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Ahmed Shukairy, Nasser's man leading the PLO, was probably the greatest liability for the Palestinians. This racialist, one-time representative of Saudi-Arabia at the UN, hailed as the liberator of Palestine by Chou

This puppet, imposed by imperialism on the Palestinians, who even after the June war ordered to shoot, capture, and imprison all independently-armed Palestinians because they jeopardised his secret deals with Israel, is now forced to release them from prison and respect their armed presence on his territory.

The Israeli raid on the El-Fatah training camp in Karameh was planned to support Hussein, who was unable to stamp them out himself. But as it happened, it merely established El-Fatah's status as an independent adversary of Israel.


At present, neither El-Fatah nor the PLO have succeeded in gaining the support of most Palestinians under Israeli rule. The latter are still numbed by uncertainty, wondering whether the Israeli occupation is final or not.

The military parade through East Jerusalem on May 2 convinced them—as it was meant to—that the annexation of the city is final. It is bound to strengthen those who believe in armed resistance as the only way for liberation and independence.

Guerrillas

The political aim of imperialism in the middle east, as in every part of the unindustrialised world, is "stability" meaning stability for the status-quo from which it benefits. It is movements like the Vietcong and Che Guevara's guerrillas who actively undermine that status-quo between imperialism and the masses, that are the greatest danger to the system. In the Middle East the Palestinians are now the most probable candidates for producing such movements while Nasser is the most probable candidate for a Chiang.

Ironically, it is the most stable supporter of imperialism in the area—Israel—that has destroyed the previous delicate balance and plunged the entire area into a whirlpool of



leaving the Jordan

Public opinion, never a factor in Israeli politics, which are manipulated by an oligarchy of Zionist parties, probably prefers peace and security to territory, but it is unable to challenge the Zionist principles of the annexationists.

The Israelis suddenly realised that Israel is not the state of the Israelis, but the state of the Jews. The leaders consider Israel as the incarnation of Zionism, not as a state of its own population. Israel is not a population which produced its political institutions; it is a case of institutions

ing the PLO, was probably the greatest liability for the Palestinians. This racist, one-time representative of Saudi-Arabia at the UN, hailed as the liberator of Palestine by Chou En-lai in Peking in 1966, was deposed by his own people as a result of the June war.

Militant

The PLO is no longer under Nasser's control and has to vie with the more militant and independent El-Fatah in the struggle against the Israeli occupation.

The situation has wakened Hussein, the last remnant of the feudal monarchies, who survived mainly because of Israel's indirect support. Having lost the West bank to Israel his kingdom is deprived of its economic and social backbone.

Ironically, it is the most stable supporter of imperialism in the area—Israel—that has destroyed the previous delicate balance and plunged the entire area into a whirlpool of new instability. As the nationalist officers have already played out their anti-imperialist role, the choice for the Arab world is between a Vietcong-type struggle and Ky-type regimes. It will depend on the activity of the revolutionaries in that area which of the two will materialise.

**A letter
from Israel
—see page 3**

and lastly that requires massive investment in terms of capital, labour, and materials.

underlying economic crisis. Above all, now is the time to realise that the next 10 years can bring a fascist threat as well as a socialist hope.

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Bleak outlook for Clyde shipyards as bosses demand multi-shift working

by PETER BAIN (DATA)

FOLLOWING A WAVE OF MILITANCY in March, when Glasgow shipyard workers successfully defended their jobs against the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' plans for redundancies, the pattern of this new company's rationalisation strategy, has become clearer.

'SLAVE CHARTER' PROPOSED FOR BUILDING WORKERS

By TED RICHARDS (ASPD) THE BUILDING BOSSES' charter submitted to the unions as a prerequisite to any wage increase is enough to chill the heart of even the most wage-frozen worker.

These 10 points were presented at the National Joint Council meeting of October 27 last year. For those who do not understand the employers' double-talk, their demands and what they stand for are produced below.

1. "To increase productivity and to achieve maximum efficiency." Harder work for us more profits for the employers. Profits in 1967: Wimpey £11½ million, MacAlpines £6½ million. Speedup and faster working will mean more deaths and accidents; in 1966 there were 288 killed and 45,607 injured in the building industry.

2. "To eliminate wasteful practices such as absenteeism and unofficial stoppages and restrictions of output." The employer can decide how fast you have to work and can sack you if you go on strike or have a day off.

3. "To induce more stability in the industry by reducing the amount of voluntary turnover in labour." Simply, building workers lose the "right to sack" and employers still have the right to sack. What next—a ball and chain?

4. "To moderate, where possible, the high administrative cost of employing operatives." The blacklist and the personnel manager have to be subsidised by the workers.

5. "The placing of overtime on a weekly instead of a daily basis." Many building workers earn a living wage only by working overtime. This will mean that 40 hours will have to be worked before overtime rates are paid. If you have a day off sick you could work on Saturday, and Sunday for single time.

6. "Terminating the public holidays stamp/card scheme and instead placing on employers a simple obligation to pay a normal wage for days of public holiday." This will mean a reduction from £20 to £19 (less for labourers) for the six public holidays. If the holiday falls on a Saturday or Sunday we will get nothing. Many employers will take the opportunity to sack men before a holiday and re-employ them after to avoid paying them.

7. "Making entitlement to annual holiday credits dependent on completion of a normal week's work." So any time lost through lateness, sickness, wet time, etc, will lose that week's annual holiday stamp.

8. "Introducing realistic penalties for operatives leaving service in breach of the Working Rule Agreement. Fines for throwing in your job.

9. "Making improved arrangements for operatives to be laid off temporarily in times of shortage of work." Any delays caused by contractors, sub-contractors or architects will mean "lay-off" for the workers as will delays in delivery of materials.

10. "Providing for the suspension of the weekly guarantee in the event of dislocation of production through industrial action on the site." If anyone dares to oppose this slaves' charter by a strike, go-slow or work-to-rule they will be subject to still more severe penalties.

The building workers' claim has now been passed to the Press and Incomes Board and the employers demands will not fall upon deaf ears among Aubrey Jones and his colleagues, who have shown that they think efficiency and productivity must come at the workers' expense.

Will the unions oppose this vicious attack? Judging by recent experience this is very unlikely. George Smith ASW General Secretary, has just negotiated wage reductions for exhibition workers who were receiving "plus payments" due to shop floor pressure.

All the building trade unions are losing members at an alarming pace. Rank and file campaigning and organisation are a top priority of the workers in this poorly organised industry are not to suffer decided worsening of their conditions in the next few years.

Orders worth £16 m. have been announced since the formation of UCSL—an alliance of the old-established firms on the Clyde—and the workers have been told that if agreement is reached on "job mobility," then the 2,000 workers at Stephen's yard, whose jobs have been threatened by closure, will be retained until November. Originally they were only guaranteed employment until August. "Job mobility" means that the management will be able to shift men from yard to yard, depending on where the work is. At present, the bosses have no intention of bringing wages up to the highest existing level and a claim for equal pay for equal work must be one of the union's main demands.

Guarantees of further employment may be made to men faced with possible closures if they accept double-day shift working—6 a.m.-2 p.m. and 2 p.m.-10 p.m. Fairfield's boilermakers accepted redundancy last year rather than work these shifts.

Workers living in the vast estates on the outskirts of Glasgow would have to get up at 4.30 in the morning to catch the first shift. Their social life would be wrecked and once they agreed to two-shift working the bosses would move on to their ultimate objective—three-shift, round the clock work.

In spite of the rosy picture which the bosses have painted for the workers if they accept their offers, the prospects for UCSL cannot be abstracted from trends in world shipping as a whole.

SURPLUS

In a lengthy and penetrating analysis of the world shipbuilding industry, The Economist (March 2) estimated that by 1971 there will be between four and 10 million tons of surplus shipbuilding capacity. Britain's average output during the last five years has been slightly more than one million tons per year.

The seriousness of the situation is clear and the Upper Clyde group's future looks extremely bleak. It is thought that the demand for tankers will grow and 500,000 and one million ton ships will be the order of the day. UCSL are unable to build vessels of this size because of the width of the river, but the lower Clyde group (Scott-Lithgow) have plans to build a new dock which would enable them to construct the huge tankers. The eventual concentration of shipbuilding on the Clyde in the lower reaches is not out of the question.

This development in the size of tankers will make the present smaller versions uneconomic, while the intense competition induced by the introduction of container ships will make it more attractive to shipowners to convert tankers for merchant use.

ALTERNATIVES

It is in the field of merchant shipping that UCSL hopes to be successful, but it is clear that fewer new merchant ships will be needed in the years ahead.

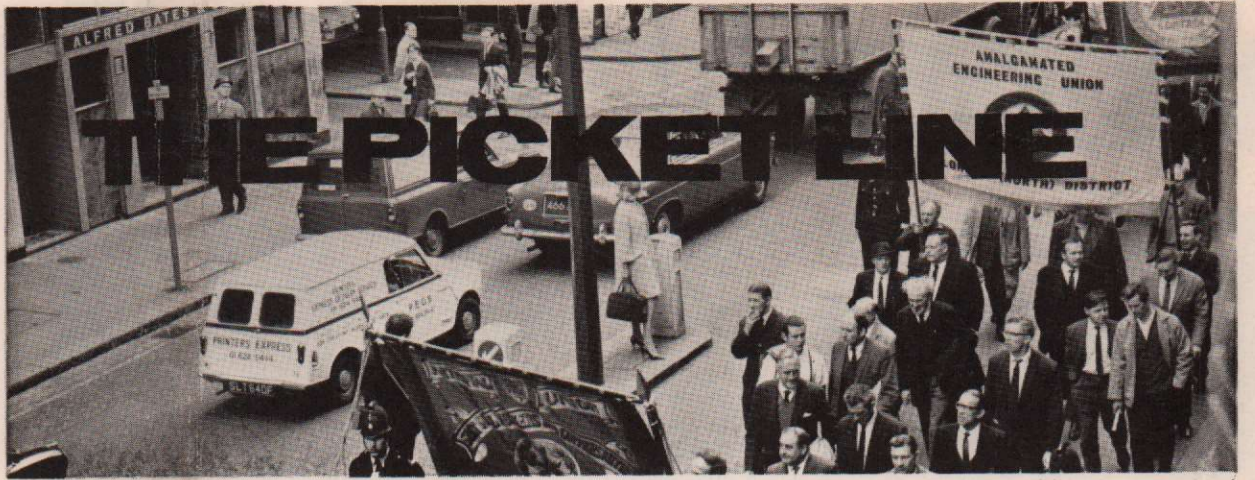
The present threat of redundancies are merely a taste of what lies ahead and must be strenuously fought. With struggles over redundancy, conditions, and wages, the workers must think of alternatives to the employers' demands.

Such alternatives must be framed with the aim of uniting shipyard workers and winning the support of the labour movement, for the problems confronting shipyard workers cannot be solved in isolation from the problems of the working class as a whole.

When redundancy is threatened, the likelihood of division among workers can be overcome by demanding work or full maintenance for them all. By linking this demand to a call for the nationalisation of the shipbuilding industry under workers' control, shipyard men can be mobilised for the struggle for socialism which offers the only alternative to the mounting problems of crisis-ridden capitalism.

Newcastle busmen go back

from DAVE PEERS NEWCASTLE'S 1400 municipal busmen returned to work empty-handed last month after a fortnight's strike. The strike was the outcome of months of frustration and anger over the government's blocking of their pound rise, and the weak-kneed attitude of the TCGU.



Engineers let off steam - but real battle still to come

ENGINEERS STILL HAVE a tough fight on their hands to win their pay demand, in spite of their massive show of strength on May 15.

The one-day strike showed the solidarity and determination of more than three million engineers—but it will take more than that to beat the bosses and the incomes policy. Those members of the AEF who called for a longer stoppage were right.

A one-day stoppage was a fine gesture, but little more. An all-out stoppage would almost certainly win. The government would have to give way if the key engineering industry came to a halt for a week or two.

In fact, the members of the AEF national committee who called for the one-day strike come from the right wing. It's very unusual to find them supporting any strikes at all.

Rejection

They knew that the rank and file were bitterly angry at the high-handed rejection by the bosses of the union's claim for an all round wage increase. That's why they called for a one-day strike—to head off the left in the union, to prevent a longer strike and allow engineers to let off steam by closing down the factories on May 15.

But that was only the start of the fight, not the end. Engineers must put pressure on their leaders and prepare for action at local level to step up the fight for their claim. Guerrilla tactics in the factories are the best way to show the bosses that engineers mean business; working-to-rule, banning overtime and measures of this nature can help bring both the em-

ployers and dithering union leaders to heel.

Hugh Scanlon, president of the AEF, has said that he is prepared to go to prison in order to defy the government's incomes policy. Engineers must make him live up to those words. If he does take decisive action against the incomes policy and is prosecuted by the government, he would be backed by such a show of strength by the entire working class that the government wouldn't dare jail him.

But heady talk of jail shouldn't be allowed to obscure the real issues. Engineers must be on their guard against any compromise package deal between union and employers, particularly if it includes talk of productivity. They should demand a straight increase—no more, no less. Workers have had enough of package deals that, because of the spiralling cost of living, leave them no better off in a year's time.

Productivity is the new siren song—sung by a motley chorus of bosses and government ministers—that is luring many trade union leaders, even some who are nominally opposed to the incomes policy. The irony of this about-face seems lost on men like Frank Cousins, but what Barbara Castle is after is quite simple—increased work for no more money, or, more subtle still, increased work for a small wage rise if workers agree to scrap many "outdated" agreements that protected them from gross exploitation, like speed-up, flexibility and redundancy.

Mention of the government is important. The days of simple bread-and-butter trade unionism are gone forever. Every struggle is now a poli-

tical one. It is the government that has intervened to smash collective bargaining, it is the government that threatens to jail militants, it is the government's Prices and Incomes Board, not just the bosses, that vetoed the engineers' wage claim.

Engineers are fighting a major battle, against a reactionary line-up of bosses and government. If they are to be successful, they must build strong grass-roots organisations at factory level and must link up their shop stewards' committees on a factory to factory basis. This is the only way to plan local guerrilla action to twist their union leaders' arms at the negotiating table and to stave off the threat of redundancy and closure.

Profits

And if any engineers have been taken in by the employers' pitiful tales of hardship, they should study the figures published by the Financial Times in April. Engineering companies that published their profits in the first three months of this year showed a rise of 3.3 per cent in trading profits and a rise of 5 per cent in ordinary shares.

These results relate to financial years ending from three to six months earlier and cannot have been caused by devaluation. The bonanza from devaluation is still to come.

So when the bosses hold out the beggar's bowl, engineers should ignore it. The bosses are doing well. They can afford a substantial increase now. can afford a substantial increase NOW.

Fight against lay-offs at doomed AEI plant

By WILL FANCY

3500 MANUAL WORKERS at AEI telecommunications, Woolwich, may have given up their fight to keep their factory open, but they are fighting strongly over redundancy terms and have raised the offer from their new bosses, General Electric Company, above what union officials said was possible. But they are still fighting for more.

The workers have banned the transfer of work, machines or information to the group's other plants. The ban seems to embarrass GEC, which has taken over AEI with government blessing. Senior executives are said to be smuggling material out of Woolwich in the boots of their cars.

Recently the Joint Trade Union Committee lifted the ban to discuss with the bosses new reasons for reconsidering the closure. Three days of talks only showed the bosses fixed in their decision; meanwhile they were using the respite to ferry out a good deal of material. The ban went on again.

On March 27 a mass meeting rejected a formula proposed by the union leaders (Hugh Scanlon of the AEF and Clive Jenkins of ASTMS as well as Les Cannon of the ETU) for a phased run-down linked with maximum efforts to find jobs for the redundant thousands. Later the shop stewards representing the manual workers found that ASTMS had started secret negotiations, along with other unions representing the 2,000 staff white-collar workers, for superior severance terms.

TRICKS

At the same time the management—who have missed few tricks in this tough campaign—were putting men off in the Scottish factories and announcing their intention of doing the same at Woolwich, because of the effect of the ban on transferring work. Another mass meeting was held by the

own factory. They collaborated to increase productivity and accepted substantial redundancies.

They admit they still have a lot to learn but have come on fast since the wholly unexpected announcement of complete closure in February.

Organisation is now extending in two directions. Efforts are being made to unite the national combines of AEI and GEC stewards. An action committee was set up by delegates of 50 shop stewards committees, branches, district committees and trades councils in the borough. Another was set up on May 8 in adjoining Bexley which is also suffering closures and redundancy.

ORGANISE

All London trades councils have been asked to organise supporting action in their areas. Stewards throughout SE London and NW Kent met on May Day to decide how best to help AEI.

All this may look like organising for a battle after it has been lost. The stewards don't see it that way. Bill Puttock, the AEF convenor, at the last meeting of the action committee, said that whatever happens at AEI most of them must expect to work in London for the rest of their lives. They have an interest in fighting closures, attacks on well-organised factories and growing unemployment wherever it occurs.

Their example is already having an effect. There is less defeatism at Norton Villiers, the Plumstead motor cycle factory where 650 were told, a few days before the AEI bombshell, that their factory was leaving London.

At Dewrance's, the Southwark engineering factory, 400 were told at the end of March that their factory was moving to Skelmersdale, Lancashire. They refused to accept it and linked up with the AEI workers.

In April, Stone's of Deptford (they make rivets, boilers, lighting, air conditioning and laundry equipment) an-

Otherwise the government—which takes 80 per cent of the output of Woolwich—must take the factories over. The telecommunications manufacturers, in spite of the ring of three companies which share 99 per cent of the Post Office's orders for telephone exchange equipment, are behind agreed delivery dates on 1350 of their 1700 current contracts.

The stewards back the demand for nationalisation and so do the Woolwich and the Greenwich Labour Parties.

* The South East Action Committee needs funds and support. Shop stewards' committees in the area are invited to send representatives. Details from the Secretary, Arthur Wellard, 14b Charlton Road, Blackheath, London, S.E.3. Urgently required donations should be sent to the same address.

Tenants candidates poll well in council elections

By JOHN TAYLOR West End Tenants' Association TENANTS' ASSOCIATION candidates fought two Labour-held wards in the local elections in Newcastle on Tyne last month. Sponsored by the West End Tenants' Association they revealed that the ruling Tories plan further council house rent increases this autumn, following rises of up to 12s. 6d. last year.

The tenants candidates polled a solid total of votes. Jim Brown, a capstan operator and AEF steward, got 243 and Reg Blair, an electrician, 178. Labour councillors were returned, but with reduced majorities. The one Communist candidate got 28 votes.

...is very unlikely. George Smith ASW General Secretary, has just negotiated wage reductions for exhibition workers who were receiving "plus payments" due to shop floor pressure.

All the building trade unions are losing members at an alarming pace. Rank and file campaigning and organisation are a top priority if the workers in this poorly organised industry are not to suffer decided worsening of their conditions in the next few months.

POWELL ON TRADE UNIONS:

"The unique privileges (private laws) and immunities which legislation has conferred during the last 90 years on the combinations of labour in restraint of trade and competition . . . are not compatible with the rule of law . . . The effect of collective bargaining was the same as any other restrictive practice . . . it makes everybody worse off in the end." (30.7.64).

POWELL THE HUMANITARIAN:

"When I see a rich man, I give thanks to God." (26.2.65.) "Aid to developing countries is both futile and harmful to the recipients." (13.12.64).

Newcastle busmen go back

from **DAVE PEERS**

NEWCASTLE'S 1400 municipal busmen returned to work empty-handed last month after a fortnight's strike. The strike was the outcome of months of frustration and anger over the government's blocking of their pound rise, and the weak-kneed attitude of the TGWU leaders.

The strike was completely solid—not a single blackleg—even though many leading members of the branch committee were lukewarm towards industrial action. The minimum demand of the busmen was to get an assurance from the government that there would be no interference with the payment or back-dating of the £1 increase they were demanding, but they also hoped to ginger the union into action to win the claim.

Neither of these aims has been achieved, and although the return to work was presented as some sort of tactical withdrawal, it had the appearance of a retreat in the face of economic hardship.

white-collar workers, for superior severance terms.

TRICKS

At the same time the management—who have missed few tricks in this tough campaign—were putting men off in the Scottish factories and announcing their intention of doing the same at Woolwich, because of the effect of the ban on transferring work. Another mass meeting was told by the stewards to choose between a full-scale strike against the sackings or lifting the ban and negotiating redundancy terms. By a small majority in a large meeting the decision was to lift the ban.

The reluctance of the management to meet the workers' demands on redundancy pay led to the ban being resumed again and the problem of large numbers being put off at Woolwich and at various factories it services is arising again.

AEI is Woolwich's biggest factory. For 50 years it was militant and helped organise other local factories. In recent years the stewards have been less involved in activity outside their

Norton Villiers, the Plumstead motor cycle factory where 650 were told, a few days before the AEI bombshell, that their factory was leaving London.

At Dewrance's, the Southwark engineering factory, 400 were told at the end of March that their factory was moving to Skelmersdale, Lancashire. They refused to accept it and linked up with the AEI workers.

In April, Stone's of Deptford (they make rivets, boilers, lighting, air conditioning and laundry equipment) announced that they were moving, mainly to Crawley, and many of the 1500 workers were not wanted. Although disappointed at the limited progress of AEI, the Stone's stewards decided to make common cause with them.

The Sydenham AEI factory is due to close this month and Woolwich by December. Redundancy notices are beginning to go out.

There seem to be two choices. The 160,000 workers in all the 75 main GEC and AEI factories could take industrial action and refuse to allow their London comrades to be put off. The AEI stewards have few illusions about their union leaders' attitude

lyne last month. Sponsored by the West End Tenants' Association they revealed that the ruling Tories plan further council house rent increases this autumn, following rises of up to 12s. 6d. last year.

The tenants candidates polled a solid total of votes. Jim Brown, a capstan operator and AEF steward, got 243 and Reg Blair, an electrician, 178. Labour councillors were returned, but with reduced majorities. The one Communist candidate got 28 votes.

The committee of the tenants' association had long discussions before deciding to stand candidates. The hesitation stemmed not from qualms about opposing the Labour Party, but from knowledge that electing a couple of councillors would not stop rent rises, and from fear of disillusioning supporters. In the end candidates were put forward, but the limitations of such action were made clear in the programme.

It was a useful propaganda campaign which brought the association a number of good contacts outside the area of multi-occupied slum housing where it has been operating since it started last summer.

Hardship and danger

increase for Durham miners

NORTH EAST coal mines are being closed down in line with Labour government policy. But the method of shutting pits and modernising the few that remain is not peculiar to the area; it is one that is operated throughout the country's coalfields.

The attack has taken place on two fronts. There has been wholesale closure of "uneconomic" pits with only lip service paid to the hardships caused to miners; and there has been a rapid speed-up in mechanisation.

The increase in the use of costly machinery has brought with it important changes in wage-bargaining procedure. Until recently wage rates were agreed at pit level and this gave great strength to the lay union officials at the pit-head. Wage rates varied substantially from pit to pit.

But the introduction of the new power loaders and other mechanised equipment, representing many thousands of pounds worth of investment, made it obvious to the Coal Board that any strike on a power-loading face would cripple them. They reacted by taking negotiating rights by a series of interim agreements from pit level safely to Hobart House—NCB head office—in London.

The National Power Loading Agreement provides a maximum national wage and has broken miners' power at the pit, reducing local organisation in many cases to that of a welfare club.

Another result of increased investment is that the NCB is not prepared to halt production, even for a few days, to eliminate safety risks. The fire in November 1966 that destroyed Lynemouth pit, the most modern in Northumberland, was known to officials and miners to have been smouldering for two years. Rather than allow their millions of pounds worth of machinery to lie idle, the NCB put the lives of 1700 miners at risk. When the fire eventually did break out it displaced hundreds of miners for several months.

Pit closures and redundancies have been introduced in a manner that would make most employers green with envy. NCB and government strategy on closures has been clever. Once a redundancy is announced the NCB industrial relations men move in, offering "secure jobs for all in the Midlands."

They foster the idea that the government and the NCB have the miner's welfare at heart. The truth is that the offer is based on a calculation that not more than 15 per cent of the men will take it up. If more men opted to move, the NCB would have to delay and refuse jobs.

For the majority who remain, the jobs policy is more clever. Men are transferred to other pits in the area.

Yorkshire - ghost town threat

"I hardly need say I've been a Labour man all my life, but I feel betrayed. They are more Tory than the Tories. At the next election I'll be staying at home (if I've got one to stay in) and I can tell you that goes for most of my mates."—A Doncaster miner.

ANGER AND BITTERNESS towards the Labour government, the majority of miners' MPs, the NCB, and many NUM officials is rising as the effects of the government's policy towards the industry works itself out. And nowhere is this felt more than South Yorkshire, until recently an area less troubled by the industry's contraction than many others.

Redundancy and closure are the main sources of concern, but miners are also angry about speed up, increasing numbers of accidents, harsher work disciplines and the steady disintegration of conciliation procedures.

Last month the NCB announced that during the current financial year, 70 pits would be closed, bringing the total for April 67—March 69 to 121, with 70,000 men affected out of a total labour force of less than 390,000. They blandly announced that it would be no longer possible to re-employ all redundant miners in the industry, and regrettably, of course, 30,000 would be sacked. By 1971 redundancies will be running at an average of 35,000 per year.

Then Chairman Brass of the York-



by JIM NICHOL

This seems reasonable, except that the NCB is carrying out a deliberate policy of overmanning, turning marginal pits into "uneconomic" ones and then closing them.

The results suit the employers. The men get fed up with being pushed from pit to pit (in the last two years many miners have worked in as many as five pits) and finally leave voluntarily, which is interpreted by the NCB as "natural wastage." Financially the NCB saves in redundancy payments and early payment of pensions.

Life is anything but easy for those made redundant. Most miners earn big money at the coal face until they are 55. After that age they are transferred to "light" work where earnings are only £12 or £13 per week. A large number of redundant miners are over 55 and have their redundancy pay calculated at the lower rate. Once again the NCB wins hands down.

In the White Paper presented to Parliament last November the government stated its intention of giving miners 80 per cent of their take home pay for three years. This sounds generous until it is worked out: 80 per cent of £13 less stoppages (say £11) equals £8 16s. Most men will get more from the Social Security.

It is estimated that the whole scheme will cost only £35 million over three years. Compare this with the £25 million given to the bosses of BMC/Leyland in one day to help with a merger.

CONCESSION

One concession is that the retirement pension is paid at 60 instead of 65, but from this princely sum miners have to pay rent to the NCB. After years of living in rent-free colliery houses redundant miners have to pay 33s. 9d. a week rent in addition to losing their free coal allowance and paying £10 per ton for coal.

The final blow is dealt when the miner is issued with a notice headed "Notice to Quit." The agreement which is then signed for payment of rent includes these terms in it:

- I understand and agree that I am only to be allowed to continue to occupy the said premises as your licensee and have no rights or standing whatsoever as a tenant.
- I also understand and agree that the Rent Restrictions Act do not apply to this temporary arrangement and that you are entitled

45,000 by 1975. In the same report, the Bevercotes "experiment" with its token workforce is described as, "the saviour of the industry." Whose industry? miners might well ask.

Having cynically created ghost towns in Scotland, Cumberland, the North East and South Wales, the Coal Board are now planning to bring the disease to Yorkshire, with the difference that the new ghost towns will be peopled by abandoned miners and their families who have nowhere to go.

From the frenzied drive of the management towards increased productivity, there is an upward trend in accidents. The majority of accidents appear to derive from speed up, as they are concerned with machinery. Since 1952, accidents have risen from about 120 per 100,000 man shifts to about 200—despite alleged improvements in safety conditions.

A miner at Hatfield Colliery said: "If you observed the safety regulations on my job, the whole pit would come to a stop in 10 minutes. Two men are doing three men's work."

A miner at another South Yorkshire pit said that there had been a breakdown in relationships because the manager had arbitrarily ordered a shift back down the shaft when, after working in wet conditions, they had exercised their customary right to come to the top 10 minutes early. The manager told the men that, as they had no right to be in the shaft, there was

to possession of the premises at any time you require it.

A redundant miner does not even have security of tenure. He can be pushed out when the bureaucrats think fit.

Often described by miners as the Public and Industrial Relations department of the NCB, the officers of the National Union of Mineworkers have been so preoccupied with unsuccessfully trying to increase the quota of coal to 200 million tons a year that they have failed to win even the most elementary demands like security of tenure.

Will Paynter, the "communist" general secretary, has consistently hounded miners for high absentee rates. At the Northumberland Miners' Gala in June last year, he said that the NCB could have seven-day working, three shifts per day, in return for a promise of "job security." He would sell the five day week for a vague promise.

Miners, including many militants, wrongly blame two factors for pit closures. First they say that interest payments are too high.

Although compensation payments should never have been made, the bulk of interest paid is not to former coal owners, but is interest on capital borrowed for new investment, a charge which many capitalist industries have to bear. Secondly it is claimed that the industry is top-heavy with officials and white-collar workers. Neither is true.

The NCB is in the process of becoming a highly competitive, automated and profitable industry. To succeed, it has to close uneconomic pits. Like any capitalist industry, it wants maximum profit with as few workers as possible.

Miners are more aware than any other section of the working class that in a declining isolated industry, industrial action often leads to defeat. Whatever the shortcomings of the pre-war demand for nationalisation as a solution for miners' problems it was essentially a political demand requiring political action.

The miners' last hopes were pinned to the Labour Party. As the most loyal supporters, they returned Labour MPs with huge majorities. Now the government has shown its colours and how little it cares for its supporters.

The need today for political action is blatantly obvious, but for miners extremely difficult. To say that miners should unite with other workers is all too easy but all too true. Miners' problems can only be solved by socialist policies in which miners control the coal industry for the benefit of themselves and the working class.

The management seem to hold most of the cards. With the assistance of the press they have succeeded in getting the idea accepted that the solution to the workers' problems is the solution to the nation's problems, namely increased productivity, and that the pursuit of this objective justifies any inroad into the workers' rights.

The union leadership, for so long almost indistinguishable from the management, plays the role of NCO to the Coal Board, confining its public utterances to attacking absenteeism.

It is clear that miners must fight against the inroads being made into their conditions, with or without their union leaders. Some of the traditional weapons will have to be put aside. Clearly they can no longer place any faith in parliamentary representation, or very much faith in the established negotiating procedure. The treatment of the new pay claim will no doubt give proof of that, if the last desirous 12s. 6d. has not done so already.

They must build or rebuild strong rank and file organisations at the pit level. The struggle over conditions could still be won, for in South Yorkshire in the near future redundancies will still be mainly of the selective kind, and therefore easier to fight.

In an area where coal is going to be mined for as long as anyone can see, strong organisation could still

New name for sparks - but no change in policy

by THURSO BERWICK (ETU)

THE ELECTRICAL TRADES UNION is no more. Following last month's merger referendum with the Plumbers Union, a number of major changes will occur, including the re-naming of the organisation. The new union will be known as the Electrical Electronic and Telecommunication Union-Plumbing Trades Union, or for short, the EETU-PTU.

Like the name, the bureaucracy will be larger and equally unwieldy. The line-up for the new executive will be 16 full-time officials with the present PTU general secretary and two others as appointees.

The probable cost of this circus will be in the region of £50,000 per annum, or more than three times the total amount paid out to ETU members last year in dispute benefit.

The cost of maintaining a full-time executive council rose to an astronomical £39,554 last year, compared with the £10,000 or so it cost when the running of the union was in the hands of a rank-and-file body. Electricians could have been excused for thinking that with the introduction of a full-time executive, other administrative costs would have been reduced. But during the last six years, the union has expanded strictly according to Parkinson's Law.

Lovers of statistics might ponder the following increases in costs during the term of office of the present executive:—

Head Office Salaries

1963	73,512
1964	81,033
1965	88,781
1966	101,175

General Office Administration and Services

1963	167,317
1964	177,159
1965	194,404
1966	196,650
1967	236,060

General president Les Cannon has had an increase in salary of 61 per cent over the 1965 rule book figure to £3,000. The justification given for this increase was that as the union now employed a number of senior clerical workers on a similar salary scale to that of the general president, a "realistic differential" should be established between senior officials of the union, and senior staff employed by the union.

This means in effect that during the period from 1962 to 1967 the salary for general president increased by 86 per cent, which makes the increases of 33½ per cent negotiated for electrical contracting and 45 per cent for the supply industry during the same period look sick in comparison.

ENORMOUS

Some members might think that the enormous expense incurred over the last few years was indicative of a fairly rapid expansion to service the needs of thousands flocking to join the union under its new leadership. In fact the only significant expansion has been in the number of bureaucrats employed.

The present executive was responsible for setting up a separate full-time recruiting department. In 1966 the cost of this department amounted to £24,324.

And by how many members was the union better off at the end of the year? Just 432, the lowest annual recruitment figure since 1945. At £56 per head ETU recruits are worth their weight in gold. Returns have not yet been published for last year but if the number of members in contracting and supply who have torn up their union cards is anything to go by, the executive will need every one of the 55,000 PTU members simply to make up for wastage over the next few years. Clearly members are questioning the value of belonging to an organisation which paid out in total benefits last year only 18 per cent of its total income.

Although the merger with the PTU went through in the ballot, it did so by only a small majority (2831) in what was a record vote cast (88073). Many members were unaware of the implications of a vote in favour of amalgamation, but the trend is encouraging. It means that an awful lot of people have consciously voted against the executive council on this occasion. This is the nearest the executive have come to a defeat in a large-scale confrontation with the rank and file.

Members will soon have another opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to the present leadership in the coming presidential elections.

We extend our support to Fred Margrave. Fred deserves your support as much as anyone. Vote for

SCIENCE



By STEVE BOLCHOVER

IN THE LAST 200 years medicine has eradicated most of the killer diseases from the advanced countries. This has meant that more and more people have been left to die of the disorders of old age, such as cancer. Cancer is not a disease in the normal sense of the word. In a disease, a germ or virus gets into the body and multiplies, releasing poisons into the blood as it does so. In a cancer there need be no invading organisms; what happens is that part of the body's machinery goes wrong. The cells making up some particular organ start dividing very rapidly, producing a lump, or tumour, which may block up vital parts of the organ.

Research has shown that tumours may develop spontaneously, or they may be induced by various agents. In this case there are usually two stages: a primary induction followed by a very long period of irritation which stimulates the growth of the cancer.

This explains why it takes as long as 20 years for the tars in tobacco to induce lung cancer—continuous irritation by cigarette smoke is needed before it grows to any extent. But, when it does start, it may grow very rapidly.

Connection

Other chemicals that can cause cancer include certain dyes. This was discovered when numbers of workers in one area suddenly started to develop skin and throat cancers. No obvious connection could be found between the men until it was realised they had all been working at the same dye factory some 18 years earlier.

Radiation can also cause cancer. Workers in the Scheerberg coal mines breathe a radioactive coal dust, and have a very high rate of bronchial cancer. The survivors of atom bomb blasts have frequently suffered from cancers, especially leukaemia, which is cancer of the bone marrow.

Cancers are very different from the tissues in which they grow. This is because the cells of tissue are specialised for a particular job, such as the production of digestive juices, which needs only a small part of the information stored in the cell's nucleus, where the necessary information to make all the body's proteins is coded on the complex substance DNA.

However in cell division all the DNA is used—an exact copy of the whole must go to each daughter cell. Specialisation and cell division cannot take place together. Specialised cells rarely divide; cancer cells divide rapidly, and lose all trace of specialisation. The problem of what starts a cancer can be restated as "what starts cells dividing?"

Nobody knows the answer to this question. But research into two other fields—fertilisation of the egg starting a very rapid cell division as the first step in reproduction, and the rapid cell division that takes place in wound healing, both of which are analogous to cancerous growth—may help solve the problem. Until it is solved, systematic prevention of cancer will be impossible, and attempts to kill the growth, either with dangerously high levels of drugs or radiation, or surgical removal will remain the only treatments for a distressing, frequently painful and lethal disorder.

POWELL ON NATIONALISATION:

"It is inexcusable that this great range of industries—coal, gas, electricity, civil aviation, rail transport and telephone and postal charges—should be owned and managed by the state." (25.4.68).

The previous official forecast of price rises by the end of this year given by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury on March 25 was: devaluation 3 per cent and budget

integration of concentration procedures. Last month the NCB announced that during the current financial year, 70 pits would be closed, bringing the total for April 67—March 69 to 121, with 70,000 men affected out of a total labour force of less than 390,000. They blandly announced that it would be no longer possible to re-employ all redundant miners in the industry, and regrettably, of course, 30,000 would be sacked. By 1971 redundancies will be running at an average of 35,000 per year.

Then Chairman Brass of the Yorkshire Division revealed in the annual report that the divisional manpower total must be halved from 88,000 to

"If you observed the safety regulations on my job, the whole pit would come to a stop in 10 minutes. Two men are doing three men's work."

A miner at another South Yorkshire pit said that there had been a breakdown in relationships because the manager had arbitrarily ordered a shift back down the shaft when, after working in wet conditions, they had exercised their customary right to come to the top 10 minutes early. The manager told the men that, as they had nothing in writing, there was nothing to negotiate about. Conciliation was ignored.

In a situation of rapid contraction,

The treatment of the new pay claim will no doubt give proof of that, if the last derisory 12s. 6d. has not done so already.

They must build or rebuild strong rank and file organisations at the pit level. The struggle over conditions could still be won, for in South Yorkshire in the near future redundancies will still be mainly of the selective kind, and therefore easier to fight.

In an area where coal is going to be mined for as long as anyone can see, strong organisation could still resist redundancies, or at least control the phasing, and obtain the best agreements.

But to fight the threat of closure, to provide long-term solutions, not only for the Yorkshire miner, but for all miners, requires a wider political organisation, centred on demands made of the state, like "work or full maintenance."

In the now emerging political situation, masses of workers everywhere will be faced by the same problem, and no other form of fight has any meaning.

**JOHN
CHARLTON**

amalgamation, but the trend of courage. It means that an awful lot of people have consciously voted against the executive council on this occasion. This is the nearest the executive have come to a defeat in a large-scale confrontation with the rank and file.

Members will soon have another opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to the present leadership in the coming presidential elections.

We extend our support to **Fred Morphew**. Fred deserves your support as much as anyone. Vote for him. You have nothing to lose but your chains—or at least some of them.

POWELL ON TRADE UNIONS: "Conservatives must take a long, hard look at union law . . . we cannot go on with the law as it is." (20.10.65). In a recent speech (4.3.68) in support of reforming trade union law, Powell referred to the "work-spreading, profit-hating, almost Luddite attitude" of British trade unionists.

POWELL ON SOCIAL SERVICES: In 1959, he said: "The council house system is immoral and socially damaging. It is time the government considered abolishing the £100 million a year subsidy being paid to council tenants."

POWELL ON NATIONALISATION: "It is inexcusable that this great range of industries—coal, gas, electricity, civil aviation, rail transport and telephone and postal charges—should be owned and managed by the state." (25.4.68).

The previous official forecast of price rises by the end of this year given by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury on March 26 was: devaluation 3 per cent and budget taxes 1½ per cent. Barbara Castle on May 1 added ½ per cent for price increases by the nationalised industries—gas, electricity, phones, etc, making a total of 5 per cent. But other cost increases have been taking place which will exert a pressure on prices. The Economist has suggested a rise of 7 per cent in prices by the end of the year.

The profits of industrial companies which published their accounts in April showed an increase, compared with the previous year, of 9 per cent (Financial Times, 1.5.68). Statistics of actual profits by all companies, seasonally adjusted, show that company trading profits jumped upwards by 5 per cent in the last quarter.

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FRANCE- STUDENTS SET FIRE TO WORKERS SMOULDERING ANGER WITH DE GAULLE

THE GENERAL STRIKE which paralysed the whole of France was the spontaneous result of the anger felt by the workers against the violence of the state against the students. The student demonstrations were the culmination of diverse, often unco-ordinated agitation in the universities by socialist students. When opposition to this agitation came from right-wing students violence began and became more widespread.

The university authorities reacted first by suspending political discussion and then by completely closing the Sorbonne university. This led to street fighting between students and the police when the students demanded the reopening of the Sorbonne.

Police brutality was the flashpoint for the accumulated grievances of the French working class against the Gaullist regime. Strike demands poured from the

union rank and file and a one-day general strike was called for Monday May 13- a day that also saw a million workers in the streets in solidarity with the students.

During the next two days, students went to the factories, discussed the situation with the workers, explained the reasons for their struggle and forged a link between their demands and the demands of the workers.

By Thursday, spontaneous demands for factory occupation were occurring all over France. The situation developed so rapidly that it is difficult to pin-point an exact sequence. It is clear that the union leadership opposed the strikes, but the determination of the rank and file presented them with an ultimatum.

When a student spoke to a factory gate meeting at the Renault factory on the outskirts of Paris, a union official suggested that the para-military police were waiting nearby, and that the student had called them there. Another argued that the workers were not strong enough and should wait another day to discuss a one-day token strike.

Little attention was paid to the officials and the young workers suggested factory occupation and machine-breaking. They were talked out of the latter, but the massive Renault plant was immediately taken over.

The strike spread by Friday to the factory police, security men and canteen workers, who struck only to remain and work all the harder to feed their comrades.

The most impressive feature was the spontane-

hotel workers; even the army and police were at breaking point and were opposed to any action against the workers.

Factory occupation is a crucial feature of the situation in France. It boldly asserts that the factory is not private property, and symbolises the possibility of socialism and production for use. It is a huge jump beyond the labour-withdrawal tactic, in which workers withdraw "our" labour from "your" factory. When the plant is seized the means of production are recognised by the workers as social property, as theirs to have and to hold.

Massive demands

Because of the spontaneous nature of the strike, there has been no real clarity of aims and the union leadership has been able to impose purely economic demands on the workers. These demands are reformist but massive in their range. They cover 25 per cent wage increases, the abolition of anti-strike legislation, the 40 hour week without loss of pay as against 48 hours plus, extended holidays for young workers (5 weeks) and massive increases in social security benefits.

The unions are being pushed to make ever wider demands, to begin to raise the issues of workers' control. Each demand indicates rank-and-file pressure which goes beyond reforms towards socialist reconstruction of society from the bottom up.

The most serious problem for the French workers is the complete absence of any revolutionary organisation capable of articulating and



RENAULT: the vast car factory seized by workers

wide open for the French Communist Party.

The CP's demands are reformist and basically bourgeois. Its political demands are for a democratic state wielded by a coalition of "popular" forces. The party lags way behind the economic demands of the workers, and is continually pressurised to extend its range.

The initial demands on CP handouts and strike posters were for a minimum wage of 600 francs per month. Everywhere in every factory, in every industry, the demand was for 1000 francs.

The CP's position can be seen from the following:-

"The workers, the employees, technicians, designers, the engineers must not only be represented in the councils of administration, but further have at their disposal real powers. For this to be possible, a democratic state is necessary. It is necessary that all other economic, social and political life conforming to the popular interests and to the national interest can be elaborated and applied" (Bulletin of the CGT on nationalisation of the car factories).

Strength and Weakness

Paradoxically, the great strength of the French workers is their biggest weakness. They are so strong that there is no opposition. The state machine is paralysed, the police and the army are divided and cannot be used to intervene. But this means that the workers become complacent and just remain in their factories which is a major weak-

ness. What is needed is a decisive thrust from the revolutionary left, providing the initiative to get the workers on to the streets and expropriate the capitalists. Local insurrections are needed for workers to take over whole districts. But the revolutionary left feels so small and insignificant compared with the mass Communist Party that they will probably be incapable of delivering the goods.

It is difficult to suggest what may happen next. A food crisis could develop in the cities and the workers will have to move on to the streets to requisition it. (At present workers buy food collectively through the factory committees for the occupation.)

Square one

Right-wing demonstrators may take to the streets in greater numbers and start attacking workers.

Even if the ruling class were to grant massive reforms temporarily (and for them temporary reforms, however big, are better than permanent expropriation), such reforms will probably disappear after a few months through an equally massive devaluation of the franc and the workers will be back to square one.

The danger of reforms is that it will give the ruling class and the far right time to regroup and may also lead to a demoralisation of some sections of the workers, even though the hard core of the revolutionary left will become even harder. But de Gaulle's speech on

countries are immense. The ideas of Henry Marcuse and those who look to the "third world" for the coming revolutions have been exposed as nonsense.

Revolution in the advanced countries is the order of the day. Today France is in turmoil, tomorrow it could be Spain, Britain or Italy.

The role played by the students has also become clear. Although they can never be the agents of social change they can act as a catalyst in the process. The activities of the French students provided the flashpoint for the frustrations of the workers; their demands for a new social order voiced the feelings of many workers.

Whatever the outcome of the upheaval in France, one thing is certain - it will stimulate an international financial crisis. If the franc is devalued then in all probability so will the pound and the dollar. This will lead to even greater inroads being made in the standards of living of the respective working classes, these inroads possibly stimulating situations similar to France.

Need for organisation

The main lesson we must learn from the French situation is the need for a large revolutionary organisation capable of giving direction to the demands of the working class. The sectarian tendencies of the fifties, which were undoubtedly necessary for survival at the time, must be thrown overboard.

Only by all revolutionary socialists, who share common ground on revolution in the west uniting in an organis-

the massive Renault plant was immediately taken over.

The strike spread by Friday to the factory police, security men and canteen workers, who struck only to remain and work all the harder to feed their comrades.

The most impressive feature was the spontaneity of the strikes. Large factories were seized and the process snowballed until the unions were forced to backing the strikes and even to help spread them.

Many sections of French society followed the lead of the workers - footballers, office workers, customs men,

workers control. Each demand indicates rank-and-file pressure which goes beyond reforms towards socialist reconstruction of society from the bottom up.

The most serious problem for the French workers is the complete absence of any revolutionary organisation capable of articulating and generalising the revolutionary implications of the mass strikes. The field is therefore

biggest weakness. They are so strong that there is no opposition. The state machine is paralysed, the police and the army are divided and cannot be used to intervene. But this means that the workers become complacent and just remain in their factories which is a major weakness of the sit-in strikes. Meanwhile, they give the ruling class time to recover and regroup.

The danger of reforms is that it will give the ruling class and the far right time to regroup and may also lead to a demoralisation of some sections of the workers, even though the hard core of the revolutionary left will become even harder. But de Gaulle's speech on May 24 indicates that little will be offered. The implications for Britain and the other advanced capitalist

capable of giving an action to the demands of the working class. The sectarian tendencies of the fifties, which were undoubtedly necessary for survival at the time, must be thrown overboard.

Only by all revolutionary socialists, who share common ground on revolution in the west uniting in an organisation capable of giving a revolutionary lead will that revolution be achieved in the shortest possible time.

by Laurie Flynn Ted Jones and Mike Heym

MEMBERS OF AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM DELEGATION to FRANCE
