

CHARTIST

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As Phase 3 Confrontation Mounts:

PREPARE FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE!

AN UNPRECEDENTED BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT OF £298 millions. Food prices UP 3.3 per cent in one month. Basic materials UP 4.75 per cent. These figures for October (revealed last month) are not abstract statistics.

Taken with the oil crisis and the catastrophic fall in share prices on the Stock Exchange and on Wall Street, they are the living 'index' of capitalist crisis.

They predominate in every policy discussion of the Government and lie behind its every thought and deed. For this 'index' the Tories will make the working class pay...unless we stop them.

The phoney boom is finished. The class struggle will be brutally intensified as the Tories switch from a policy of fake 'prosperity' and 'growth' to a deflationary programme of recession. This will involve further sweeping cuts in public expenditure on schools, hospitals, building and other social services—Royal weddings, we understand, excluded. Economic pundits also forecast a drastic increase in unemployment. All this while prices continue to soar and while workers are deprived of their right to fight back.

Now the Tories have declared a State of Emergency. For their system, they smell the stink of death strong in the air. And so, like a skeleton in armour, they rattle their

bones in order to frighten us.

Whole sections of the working class are today ready to do battle with Phase Three. These are the main ones, with their claims:

Stage 3 claims

- Three million engineering workers: £10 increase on minimum rate to give £35 a week.
- 900,000 local authority manual workers: £5.15 claim to give £25 minimum basic weekly rate.
- 400,000 civil servants: special anomaly treatment by the Government and annual rise from January 1.
- 300,000 railwaymen: restructuring talks for special increases on January 1, plus normal annual pay rise on May 1.
- 320,000 farmworkers: £5.50 claim for a £25 basic minimum from January 1.
- 260,000 miners: £8 to £13 a week claim lodged for November 1 implementation but not due until March.
- 220,000 hospital workers: £5.52 (including 40p anomaly) to give basic £25 from December 13.
- 300,000 postmen: deal due from January 1.
- 170,000 bank staff: deal due on January 1.

But not one real breach of Phase Three can be made without UNITED action and a readiness to take on the Tory Govern-

ment and its state.

The coming confrontation can be won in only one way. If we are not prepared for a General Strike then the Tories will be able to stand firm. On the other hand, there can be no question of a General Strike unless we are ready to go to the end. In this sense, the question of power is immediately and directly posed.

Militants in the mines, in engineering and throughout the movement must insist on an emergency recall Conference of the TUC. It is essential that our "General Staff" be confronted with the task of framing plans to ensure that, in the event of a General Strike situation arising:

WE have control over the food-supplies;

WE have control over communications, printing, broadcasting etc.

WE have control over all road and rail transport.

We will also need workers' defence units, arising from flying picket squads, to maintain our control in each area in the face of the



ABOVE: Miners march in 1972 strike

hired thugs and strike-breakers of the ruling class. Above all, we will need a bold appeal, made with all the authority of our movement's commanding bodies, to the working-class ranks of the armed forces. Guaranteed trade union rights, and convinced we meant business, the overwhelming bulk of soldiers would swing to our side.

Along this road, we can smash Phase Three, defeat the Tories and conquer state power for our class. The only real obstacle is our own leaders. That is why we must back up our "demands" on these people with action: demonstrating that if they refuse the above steps, we can force them aside—and take over the leadership ourselves. To this course, the SOCIALIST CHARTER is committed.

THE CHARTIST

Monthly Journal of the Socialist Charter Movement.

Editor: Chris Knight, 120 Casenove Road, London N 16.

BACKGROUND TO THE MINERS' STRUGGLE

THE SEVEN WEEKS LONG miners' strike of 1972 marked a watershed in the post-war history of the British working class. For the first time since the 1920's a major section of the trades union movement was brought into direct conflict with capitalism and its State. That conflict was not peaceful. It brought into existence methods of class war long unused by the workers' movement. One such weapon of class warfare was the flying picket aimed at preventing the movement of coal and closing down the power stations. The strength of this tactic, exemplified by the picketing of Saltley Coke Depot in Birmingham, where 10,000 pickets were able to defeat police violence and close the depot, effectively defeated the Tories. They are still smarting from it today. Listen to the 'Sunday Express'... "This time the government cannot afford the type of miscalculation which during the last miners' strike led the Chief Constable of Birmingham to believe that he could ensure access through the picket lines to the Saltley Coke Dump."

Today the mines are on the threshold of another clash with the capitalist State, only two years after the battle of Saltley. Why?

The answer to that question is to be found at No. 10.

The demands of the 1972 strike were for £5 for surfacemen, £8 for underground men and £9 for coal face workers. The bitterness with which the rank and file pursued the claim brought the Tories to their knees. The Government set up an enquiry under Wilberforce which conceded £4.50 and £5. The leaders called off the pickets and accepted the offer. While the miners gained 20 per cent as against the Tories' norm of 7½ per cent, it was a partial victory. The Tories wanted a breathing space to organise their forces and agreed to pay a high price for it. This was no new experience. On 'Red Friday' in July 1925, the miners won a partial victory. For nine months the struggle was postponed and the employing class prepared. By May 1926, the Tories were ready. Coal had been stockpiled. Measures for martial law were available. Strike breakers were recruited. The police and the armed forces were standing in wait.

TORIES HIT BACK

In a similar way, the Tories have prepared since 1972. Moreover, what the miners won then

has been eroded. Under Phase One wages were frozen. Phase Two offered a miserable £1 plus 4 per cent. The latest Tory scheme for mass poverty, Phase Three, offers little better. In actual fact, miners' wages have been cut by the roaring price inflation. Prices rose by up to 13 per cent during Phase Two as against the miners' Phase Two increase of 8 per cent. Thus, wages were cut by 5 per cent!

Most recent figures released last month show that there was a 3.3 per cent increase in food prices alone — a rate of 39 per cent a year, 2½ times even what the Tories claim to have offered the miners!

On top of the price increases which have made bacon and eggs a luxury, the miners have suffered in other ways. Productivity has risen dramatically and so has the death toll. Thus, since March 1972, miners have worked harder facing more physical risk in order to buy less.

Every miner knows that his present demands are the minimum necessary to keep his head above

the rising tide of inflation. Every miner is determined to fight, as one put it, "to pole-axe Heath and his gang". And every miner knows that the oil crisis has given his union added strength to do it.

On the 10th. October, the N.U.M. executive rejected the Tories' pay offer. Gormley described it as 'completely inadequate'. The next day he admitted that the executive was prepared to accept an agreement from March 1st, 1974, instead of November and that it was not going to insist on the £8 to £13. By 26th. October, no improved offer was made and an overtime ban was recommended. Still, the leadership holds back from strike action and fishes in the muddy waters of productivity dealing. Therein lies the danger of a sell-out. The rank and file must watch the actions of the leadership very carefully and intensify the demands for an all-out fight to smash Phase Three and the Tory Government. If the leadership allows the Tories to win, the exodus — now 600 a week — from the industry will increase, more pit closures will occur and those who remain will be systematically impoverished.

Savage Sentences on 'Belfast Eight'

FIVE OF THE EIGHT young Irish men and women sentenced to 20 years in prison in the 'Belfast 10' bomb trial have begun hunger strikes to back their demand to be treated as political prisoners.

As Marxists, we would not— for purely tactical reasons—have chosen the methods of struggle against the ruling class which they decided to use. That does not for one moment excuse us however, from the duty to solid- arise with them fully in their fight. The ruling class has sent-

enced them to a virtual death-sentence. In this way it has shown its savage teeth—teeth which will be used against the whole working class in this country unless we act in time. The whole labour movement must— not merely for 'moral' reasons but as a matter of elementary self interest—defend these fighters come what may, and support to the full their demands to be treated as political prisoners and returned to Ireland to serve their sentences amongst their fellow Irish men and women.

MARIA COLWELL: A POLITICAL ISSUE

The scandalous tragedy of seven-year-old Maria Colwell has been ignored by the journals of the "revolutionary left". But its political significance is none the less for that.

Maria died at her home in Brighton after being savagely beaten by her drunken step-father. Yet she had for six years previously lived a normal and happy life with her aunt (whom she loved as her mother) from whom she was brutally taken by social workers on the grounds that her 'real' mother (who hardly knew her) wanted her back. The truth of the matter is that little Maria was murdered by a capitalist social order based on the "sanctity of the family". The social workers acted on the current belief, as Dr. Alfred Franklin put it at the Government inquiry

investigating the case, "that a mother has an absolute right of possession of her child regardless of anything that happens."

We CHARTISTS are not in favour of "abolishing motherhood", rearing babies in test-tubes or bringing up children in state barracks. But what we do say is this: no child is the "private property" of its parents. No woman can claim guardianship of her child on grounds of "blood" alone. Every child itself has inviolable rights, and it is up to the community to defend them. The most fundamental of all children's rights is the right to be loved, and if that conflicts with the absolute "sanctity" of parents "natural" rights to their children then this whole basis of the bourgeois family order itself must be overthrown.

Shrewsbury 24: Conspiracy Trial Continues

In mid-November, leading officials of UCATT and the T&G were brought into the case by the prosecution. Despite this, UCATT Gen. Sec. Smith still persists in denying responsibility for the flying pickets and, like the rest of UCATT's and the T&G's leadership, refuses to organise any solidarity for those on trial.

The case has taken over a year to prepare. It involves 95 charges (whittled down from 208), 246 witnesses, 15 barristers, a cost of over £500,000, and an employers' dossier on militants' "outrages". This shows the determination of the Tories to smash picketing. No worker or trade unionist can be immune. The TUC leaders must be forced to defend the 24—or be exposed for their treachery and thrust aside.

Local Government Workers' Claim: Leaders Run For Cover

By a G.M.W.U. Steward

The Local Government manual workers have submitted a pay claim for a rise of £5.19, four weeks' holiday and a 35-hour week. It was first submitted at the end of August, but is still no further towards being met. When they were last met, all the employers could offer the three unions concerned (NUPE, the T&GWU and the NUGMW) was a miserly £2.25—with a possible increase of one day on the holiday allowance. Forced by a 'wave of resentment from their members, the union leaders rejected this offer and adjourned to consider their next steps. Faced with a steady cut-back of Government assistance, and with pressure from councillors afraid of losing their seats if they had to put the rates up again, the Municipal Employers' Association is now living in deathly fear of industrial action—coinciding as it would with the miners' and the electricity workers' struggles.

of the 144 manual sections listed in the Government's Wages tables. For workers outside London and the other big cities, a gross pay packet of less than £19 is not uncommon. Even a £5 increase would only bring these people up to the level already fixed by social security as the minimum payable to a married couple with 3 children.

STRENGTH

Unlike the hospital workers last year, however, the municipal workers have a large amount of strength, covering as they do, dustmen, sewage workers, caretakers and workers in swimming baths and libraries. An all out stoppage for a fortnight would paralyse most communities and the Government simply hasn't enough soldiers to take over in the way tried in the ambulance-men's and firemen's disputes. For those of us involved, it remains to be seen whether we can force our leaders into calling such a stoppage, spreading it into the general movement against the Tory government which is now gathering momentum.

COLD COMFORT

All this is cold comfort however, for the bulk of council workers. They have now sunk to 141st out

MINERS TAKE ON THE STATE



INDUSTRIAL NEWS



by GRAEME ATKINSON

Monday 12th November saw the launching of an overtime ban by miners in support of their pay claim. Backing for this has been solid. Already broad sections of the rank and file are demanding more action in the shape of an all out strike.

The Tories have not been slow to react. A State of Emergency has been declared and the strike-breaking machinery is being revved up. Coupled with plans for the use of troops and police heavy squads to break picket lines, there has been a poisonous

Press and T.V. campaign against the miners. All this before a strike has begun! The 'Sunday Express', for example, shrieked that "a band of men totally unrepresentative of the country are seeking to usurp the power of Government. This is something which cannot be tolerated." The 'Times' was no less forthcoming with its warning that "this time the government must be prepared to move swiftly and with greater competence to counter the impact of a determined body of men insistent upon imposing their will

on the nation." The lessons of the last miners' strike have not been lost on these mouthpieces of capital. They blame the miners for the crisis and are preparing for a struggle which, in their words, 'could run on for months'. Every weapon at their disposal—from troops to black propaganda—will be used. The ruling class is eminently conscious of the threat to their power posed by a miners' strike. Hence, their screams for a ballot on strike action while at the same time they pour out a torrent of lies claiming that the govern-

ment's offer amounts to 13½ per cent. Rightly, the N.U.M. leaders have sliced through the drivel about 'unsocial hours allowances' and exposed the offer as worth only 7 per cent.

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE E.E.P.T.U.?

The rank and file of the Electrical Electronic Telecommunications and Plumbing Union are mounting a serious challenge to the union leadership. Since 1961, the union's leaders have been notorious for right wing policies, and fake pretensions to democracy. This state of affairs originates from the actions of the CP leaders of the union in the 1950s. They preferred vote-fixing to a principled struggle for their policies and paid the price with a High Court action and vicious anti-communist witch-hunt in which control was turned over to the right-wing.

General Secretary Frank Chapple is also President-elect having beaten off a challenge from National Officer, Mark Young. There is little evidence to suggest that Chapple will relinquish either post. This unprecedented situation has resulted in a major internal crisis.

DISMISSED

On 23rd August, Mark Young, (who by no stretch of the imagination can be thought a left winger) was dismissed from his post. No reason was given.

Young was requested to surrender to the union its books and documents and to vacate his office by the end of August. A letter from Chapple to Young tersely declared that "After a lengthy discussion the Executive Council in the exercise of their discretion contained in Rule 14, decided not to appoint you to the office of National Officer."

The importance of Young's case lies in the fact that he was elected in a union where elections have virtually been abolished and where power is in the hands of the General Secretary via the E.C.

This issue has sparked off the first stages of a rank and file revolt. The fight for union democracy is out in the open. Young has gained widespread support.

Even 'Flashlight', a Stalinist dominated rank and file paper, has been forced to mention it. However, the latest issue of 'Flashlight', while giving a factual account of the case, does not state where it stands on the reinstatement of Young. A principled defence of Young has been evaded.



FRANK CHAPPLE

The rank and file, including a good many members of the Communist Party, have not been as equivocal, and already a fight is under way for Young's reinstatement. Backing has come from electricians in BEA, BOAC, Fords, London Hospitals and lift maintenance. Nor is the fight confined to the electricians. On Tyneside, an action committee representing 6,000 plumbers has come out with demands for union democracy. The plumbers want the election of officials, re-introduction of district committees and greater representation on union national bodies.

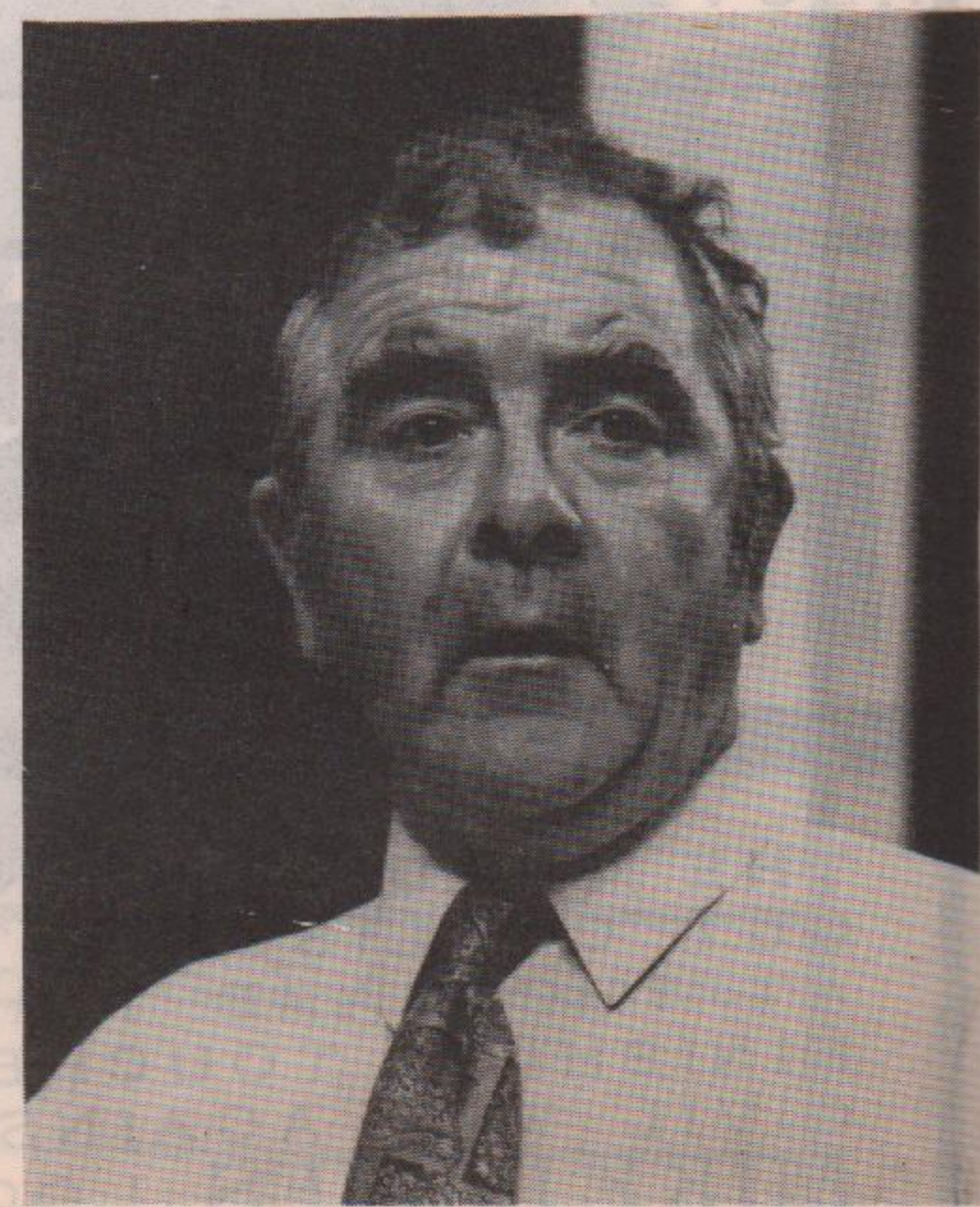
ISSUES

The issues of Young and the battle for union democracy have become intertwined. EEPTU militants in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow have set up committees to organise an open conflict with Chapple and his followers. The

era of wearing masks when opposing the leadership is over. Militants want action...and now! They see the case of Young as an essential part of the fight for democracy. They feel that an elected official should only be removed by the procedure of election and not by the bureaucratic dictates of the E.C. or the General Secretary. Militants in the Manchester area have been quick to demand, along with the demands above, a rules revision conference every two years instead of every six, as at present. Winning this demand would undermine Chapple's policy completely. In the same way, the demand for Young's reinstatement is a threat to the bureaucracy's policy of appointing officials.

The C.P.'s role is extremely unprincipled. Suspicion of the Stalinists runs high amongst many of the militants who know only too well what the C.P. refuses to admit: namely that the past role of the C.P. has been as bureaucratic and opportunist as the present gang in control. In fact, Chapple and the late Les Cannon got their training in the school of Stalinism!

EEPTU militants must assist the growing movement for rank and file control in every way. Without such control there can be no effective reply from the union to the attacks of the Tories. The absence of the EEPTU from even the pathetic T.U.C. campaigns against the Tories proves that. Equally, the fight for rank and file control cannot stop at Young's reinstatement. It must be fought through until the whole leadership is removed, rank and file control is asserted and serious policies of class struggle against the Tories and employers are adopted. (EEPTU member).



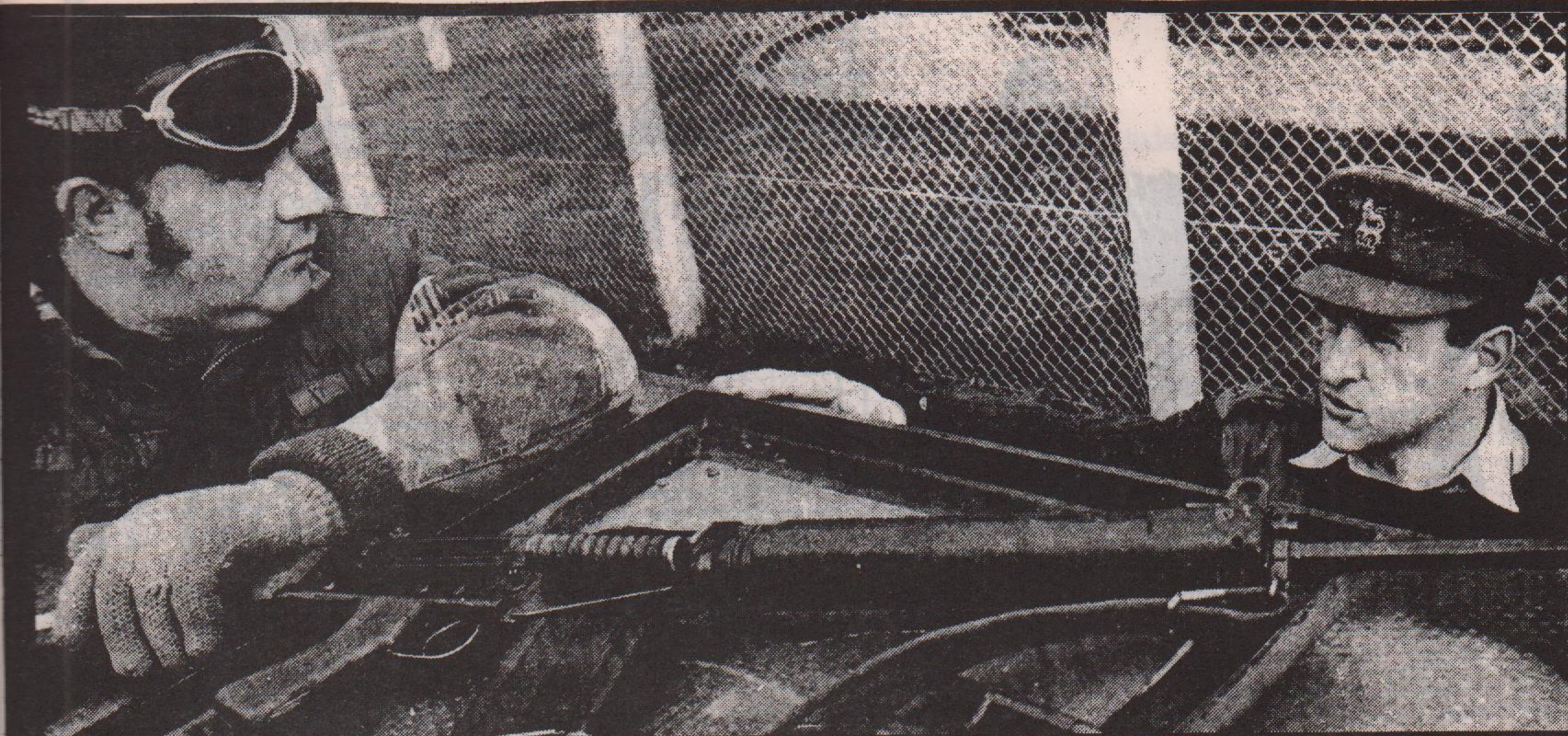
JOE GORMLEY

Without a doubt, the gloves are off. The miners will vote solidly for a strike. The capitalists want above all to inflict a violent defeat on the vanguard of the working class: the miners who represent the Tories' greatest enemy, historically and at present.

At this moment, the working class stands on the brink of its biggest and most violent ever battle with the employing class. Militancy alone will be totally inadequate in this conflict. The last strike was only won because the miners showed their willingness to meet the State in a head-on clash.

The crisis of capitalism has deepened considerably since then. There is even more at stake now. This conflict poses outright the question of power.

The maximum unity of the working class is the order of the day. Every section must stand behind the miners' claim for £35, £40 and £45. The Engineers, who have a claim which is also incompatible with Phase 3, must organise combined strike action with the miners and form joint mass picket squads. Labour Parties must render every assistance to the miners. Above all, the T.U.C. and Labour leaders must commence immediate preparations for a General Strike to smash the Tories and open the road to workers' power. The job begun in the 1971 strike must be completed. This Tory government of racketeers and wage cutters must be destroyed once and for all.



THE GOVERNMENT'S EM in order to defeat a General the regulations themselves. black-legging on a scale u following are the contents of November 14:

- Section 8 : Provides for the permit unlicensed of road passenger without conductor number of passenger
- Section 9 : Provides for the icles which do regulations.
- Section 10: Provides for the ers of heavy g drivers' license of 21 for drivers
- Sections 17 and 18: Permit his behalf, in p essary force, f the maintenance
- Section 30: Permits the re vessels.
- Section 31: Authorizes the r

ABOVE: BRIGADIER FRANK KITSON, Commandant of the School of Infantry, Warminster

TORIES PREPARE FOR CIVIL WAR

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS ON COURSE FOR AN ALL-OUT COLLISION WITH THE TORIES OVER "PHASE THREE". AT THE SAME TIME, THE RULING CLASS ARE PUTTING THE FINISHING TOUCHES TO THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR WAGING CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS. IN THIS ARTICLE, MIKE DAVIES LOOKS AT THE IMPLICATIONS.

"We must recognize a new threat to the peace of nations, indeed to the very fabric of society. We have seen in the last few years the growth of the cult of political violence, preached and practised not so much between nations AS WITHIN THEM. It is a sombre thought but it may be that in the 1970's civil war, not war between nations, will be the main danger we will face."

TED HEATH

(Speech to the United Nations, October 1970)

A STATE OF EMERGENCY has been proclaimed by the Queen. This gives the Government dictatorial powers to use at any time. These include rule by decree, the mobilization of troops and the establishment of a special strike breaking force to 'maintain services' in the event of a General Strike.

Since coming into office, the Tories have been gradually building up to this confrontation. They have declared a "State of Emergency" on no less than four previous occasions. In this way they have tried to "prepare public opinion", softening the initial impact on our minds of the draconian powers they have taken now.

Behind the Emergency Powers Act

The Tories are gripped in a desperate oil crisis, the worst trade figures ever and an inflationary spiral which threatens the very fabric of their social order. Smashing down their backs are the trade-war pressures of a

world capitalist system which now has its back to the wall. For Britain's capitalists to capitulate to our unions this winter would have disastrous consequences for their system on a national and international scale. Our rulers in this country have no choice but to stand up and fight. And when cornered rats fight—they do so with no holds barred.

Armed Bodies of Men

The legislation passed by the Tories since 1970 has been designed with a General Strike in mind. But on their own, laws such as the Industrial Relations Act, the state pay laws, the use of Conspiracy laws against picketing and the whole paraphernalia of the Courts mean absolutely nothing. They have the power of bits of paper. The Tories know this. That is why, to enforce their paper laws, they are building up their state machine. A state machine, as Marx and Engels—the theoretical founders of

communism—pointed out, consists in the last resort of ARMED BODIES OF MEN.

Testing the Weapons

For three years now they have been testing out the instruments of civil war in Ireland. They have used against our Irish comrades torture, internment without trial, CS riot gas, CR gas (long-term effects unknown), rubber bullets, crack murder squads, provocation, infiltration and spying.

At the same time—and on the basis of their experience in Northern Ireland—they have been gearing the Army to 'counter-insurgency' in Scotland, England and Wales. Foremost here have been the ideas of Brigadier Frank Kitson, Michael Calvert and Richard Clutterbuck. Calvert, with his experience in the SAS ("Special Air Services"), the most sinister of the branches of the Armed Forces, wants to see data banks monitoring "subversives", cities designed to resist

and buildings. Section 32: Makes interference with sabotage.

urban unrest and para-military special patrols to deter a "stronger enemy than the IRA".

Preparations Since 1970

In a General Strike situation, the Tories' entire military-state machine would be mobilised and ultimately called into play. Some of what this would involve can be judged from the precautions taken by the Tories already in the last year or so:

- The arming of sections of the police with new man-stopping pistols and high-velocity telescopic rifles. The latter can blow your head to smithereens and penetrate three brick walls.
- The training of all regional police forces in the use of pistols, CS gas and the latest "riot control" techniques.
- The development of techniques of provocation which almost certainly lay behind the most recent 'Irish' bomb-scares in this country and were in part revealed by the Tories' use of the bank-robbing Littlejohn Brothers in Ireland to help discredit the IRA
- The raiding of political groups such as "Workers' Fight" for the purpose of "information-gathering".

EMERGENCY POWERS HAVE BEEN TAKEN
 l Strike. Anyone who doubts this should read
 Each one is geared to the task of organizing
 known since the General Strike of 1926. The
 some of the sections of the Act brought in on

Minister of State for the Environment to
 persons to act as drivers or conductors
 r vehicles, to allow such vehicles to be used
 and to waive statutory limits of the maximum
 gers.

Minister to permit use on the roads of veh-
 not comply with the Construction and Use

Minister to waive the requirement for driv-
 ods vehicles to hold a heavy goods vehicles
 and to waive the minimum age requirement
 of heavy vehicles.

Minister to authorize persons to act on
 rticular, to enter premises, using any necc-
 r purposes connected with his regulations on
 f electricity and gas supplies.

quisitioning of motor vehicles, aircraft and

quisitioning of land, including parts of houses

IL WAR

e with essential services an offence of



ABOVE: TROOPS GUARD FOOD CONVOY, General Strike 1926.

- Massive state-organised bug-
ging and phone-tapping (of
which only a glimpse was
given during the "Railway
Gazette" affair).

- The compiling of dossiers on
building militants and others
through surveillance and spy-
ing on an unprecedented
scale.

- The expansion of the Territ-
orial and Volunteer Reserve.
This was being run down by
the Labour Government. It
has now been raised to a
strength of 59,000—6,000
more than last year. Its
purpose would be to help
break the coming General
Strike by moving supplies,
escorting black-legs etc.

- The unprecedented mush-
rooming of private security
firms, with armoured or
reinforced vehicles, of which
over 1,000 now exist. Such
vehicles, manned by thugs,
were employed during the
Chrysler 'dirty-jobs' strike
and the St. Thomas' Hos-
pital strike earlier this year.

- The increasing deployment of
troops in industrial disputes.
This is not something which
"might happen in the future".
It is happening now, through
the establishment of certain

precedents in situations when
public outcry is calculated to
be least. The Air Force,
for example, was used in
Scotland during last year's
docks strike, ferrying black-
ed cargo to the Northern
Isles. Even more ominous
was the use of the three
Armed Services against the
Firemen's strike last month.
During last year's mines and
docks strikes, the deployment
of troops was being
canvassed in official memo-
randums circulated around
the Cabinet. We can be cer-
tain that contingency plans
for a massive deployment of
troops are today being pre-
pared under cover of the
State of Emergency declar-
ation.

'Intelligence Bureau'

When, earlier this year, the
existence of an armed police
"Special Patrol Group" became
generally known, the CHARTIST
warned of its significance. After
a Pakistani boy with a toy pistol
was brutally shot dead in the
Indian Embassy, the Tories in-
sisted that the Special Patrol
Group's function was only "to
protect embassies". We explained,
on the contrary, that its prime
target was to be the organised
working class. At that time, to
many, this may have seemed "far-
fetched." But today we have been
completely vindicated—even to the
extent of a virtually open admis-
sion in the columns of the bour-
geois press. The TIMES informed

its readers on November 13:
"An intelligence bureau has been
set up at Scotland Yard to give
police forces throughout the
country early warning of when
industrial unrest may turn into
violence." It added that "reports
of potential trouble spots will be
sent to Scotland Yard, where
contingency plans will be form-
ulated," and that certain units
from the Metropolitan Police,
"probably the Special Patrol
Group, could be available to
assist in the Home Counties".

The announcement was made
directly in connection with the
threatened miners' strike and
"the possible danger to power
supplies".

No Time to Lose

Our readers are warned. The
ruling class is not playing games.
It is putting on the war-mask,
battle-regalia and weapons of civil
war. All workers, trade unionists,
tenants and youth must respond at
once. There is not a single day
to be lost. As the ruling class picks
and tries out its weapons, our
leaders just ask them for more
"talks". Since they won't them-
selves prepare for the coming
General Strike, we must replace
them with leaders who will.

Build the Revolutionary Party!

The key issue in a General
Strike is the issue of power. In
the last analysis, this boils down
to the question of the Armed
Forces. We can win over the

working-class ranks of the Army
to our side provided (1) prep-
aratory work to win trade union
rights for them has been done,
(2) when the crunch comes we
are sufficiently armed to be able
to defend ourselves against them
for a limited period at least and
(3) our own movement shows
itself united, invincible and det-
ermined to seize state power,
establish its own Government and
enable the soldiers to arrest any
officers engaged in anti-working
class activity with impunity.

The precondition for all this,
however, is that we have built
up for ourselves a revolutionary
party in time. We mean a real
revolutionary party, i.e. one
which has politically-defined itself
against the reformist and centrist
leaderships above all on the issue
of state power itself, and is no
less ruthless, disciplined, central-
ised and representative of the
interests of our own class than
is the present state apparatus in
the service of the bourgeoisie.



Above: Armoured car outside
Smithfield Market, 1926.

ERAL STRIKE.... LABOUR, TAKE THE POWER!

FORWARD TO THE GREEK WORKERS' REVOLUTION!

Greece stands on the brink of a revolutionary explosion. As we go to press, nine un-armed demonstrators—mostly students—have been cold bloodedly shot down by troops. President Papadopoulos has declared martial law throughout the country. This savage repression is an attempt to prevent massive student demonstrations, supported by workers, from

escalating into an all-out workers' uprising and General Strike.

Behind the upheaval lie the recent tortured attempts of the colonels' regime to introduce certain superficial formalities of "democracy". The abandonment of martial law, a partial amnesty, a promise of elections, a 'civilian government' and a slight relaxation of press censorship—all

these measures taken earlier this year enabled the revolutionary movement to regain much of its strength. But the "concessions" were not the result of a sudden generous change-of-heart on the part of the colonels. They were forced from the regime by student riots this spring, a naval mutiny early in the summer and above all by a growing economic crisis caused in some part by the inhibiting effect of the European organized labour movement in preventing open and unashamed collaboration with the colonels on the part of the European Economic Community. Desperate to avoid economic collapse and a collision with the working class at the head of virtually the entire Greek population, the Colonels felt forced to adopt a more 'liberal' political mask as a means of facilitating

more open economic support from European and American capitalism

Now everything has come unstuck. This year's events have shown that even the slightest concessions to 'democracy' lead directly and immediately to the threat of an uprising by the entire Greek working class. The colonels will not have missed this lesson. It is essential that the leadership of the Greek working class does not miss it either. The search for a 'middle road' is based on an illusion. There is no alternative to military dictatorship—short of the violent overthrow of the whole capitalist system itself and the forcible establishment by the working class, standing at the head of the peasants and petit-bourgeoisie, of its own undivided class rule.

INTERVIEW WITH A PALESTINIAN SOCIALIST

(Ali Salem, a revolutionary socialist, was born and has lived all his life within the Zionist State of Israel. His family were amongst the 400,000 Palestinians who remained in the land of their birth after the expulsion of 1½ million Arab people by the Zionists after 1948. Even though he is not a Chartist, we would wish to express our complete solidarity with the fundamental political points Ali makes)

Q Could you say something on the condition of the Arab people who live within the state of Israel?

A The whole attitude of the Zionist authorities is summed up in their definition of Israel as the "National Jewish State". It is a state that denies full citizenship and civil liberties to the 400,000 Arab people who remained after 1948.

According to Zionist ideology, Israel was founded in "a land without people for a people without land". However, 1½m people lived and worked this land prior to the mass settlements of post-1948. They had to be removed.

Steps had been taken to do this under the British "Emergency Regulations" of 1945. Whole areas of Palestine were declared "prohibited". Those working on these lands were removed. This led to the destruction of crops. The Emergency Regulations then stated that if cultivated land was not worked for a certain period of time, it was to be confiscated and disposed of by the authorities.

The result of this was a "Catch 22": both for the Palestine peasant farmers and for many early Jewish settlers. The British army first threw people off their land, and then forbade them to return because the crops had not been gathered.

In 1945, many Jews themselves rose with arms in hands against this vicious oppression. A young Jewish lawyer declared that these regulations had "...no parallel even in Nazi Germany".* That young lawyer is now the Zionist Minister of Justice, Ya'acov Shimson Shapira. He now exercises these self-same repressive laws against the Palestinian peasant-farmers!

After 1948, Zionist terrorist groups such as the Stern gang and the Irgun waged an all-out war against Palestinian villages, destroying 384—a figure verified by the League of Human Rights

within Israel itself. The most notorious incident was the indiscriminate massacre of the entire population of the village of Deir Yassin—240 men, women and children. Begin, the terrorist commander and now leader of the ultra-right wing "Herut" (Freedom) Party, said of this mass-murder in his autobiography "It is true that Deir Yassin was a human tragedy. But without Deir Yassin we could not have a Jewish State".

You can see the intention of the founders of Israel. They sought first to condemn to intolerable misery a whole people and today they perpetuate that misery in order that a purely Jewish state can exist!

Q What political rights exist for the Arab people within Israel?

A Quite simply, we have none. The Emergency Regulations of 1945 allow the authorities to make "administrative arrests for an unlimited period". These have frequently been used against Arab political activity.

For example, between 1957 and 1958 a group of Arab intellectuals called "Al Ard" attempted to form a political party that would contest elections in opposition to the Zionist parties. This effort was promptly outlawed.

All the major parties in Israel are Zionist, with the exception of the Moscow-line Communist Party. But even this limits its programme to a demand for the enactment of Security Council Resolution 242. This entails merely recognising the boundaries of Zionist repression, without challenging them.

Several anti-Zionist groups of the Marxist left exist. These operate for the most part clandestinely and, as recent experience shows, in the face of increasing repression from the authorities and the "Sherut Bitahon", the Israeli secret police. Take the arrest,



trial and ten year prison sentence of Rami Livneh, an Israeli comrade of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance. His 'crime' was to 'contact a Palestinian refugee in June of this year. This is only the most blatant example of the new state terror.

Outside of the non-Zionist left, the Arab people are permitted by the Meir regime to support state-nominated, quisling Sheiks. The system has much in common with the Bantustans and Tribal Trust Land systems of the other racist states of South Africa and Rhodesia. The Palestinian people naturally have little regard for their 'right' to vote for these feudalistic representatives of imperialism.

A final point to be made is on the question of trade unions. Until 1961, the corporatist 'Histradrut' (a would-be T.U.C.) totally excluded Arab workers from its ranks. Since that date admission has been through a special department for Arabs. Thus, even in what would like to pass for trade unionism, racism and the Zionist hierarchy predominates—splitting and dividing the common cause of Hebrew and Arab workers in their daily struggle against capitalism.

Q What should be the attitude of British socialists towards Israel?

A The myth of a "progressive" or even "socialist" Israel must be dispelled. The Israeli state does

not belong to the workers but to the forces of world imperialism. It is a state that has not justification for existence other than the maintenance of a military presence in an area of the world that is poised to destroy imperialism's assets. It is country where the production of tomatoes is subsidised at as much as six times the price on the market simply in order to provide a pretext for maintaining a militaristic "kibbutz" on Arab territory.

Zionism lives like a parasite on the back of the misery of Jewish people throughout the world. Wherever there is most reason for revolutionary struggle by Jewish workers against their oppressors, then the reactionary utopia of a 'National Jewish State' is used to divert them from the revolutionary path.

I and my comrades stand unconditionally for the defeat of the Zionist state. At the same time, we recognise that the petty-bourgeois and feudal leaders of the Arab countries will not fight for this. The rule of Sadat, Assad, Hussein and Fiesal is similarly dependent on imperialism. The last thing these rulers want is a defeat for Israel which would upset the power-balance throughout the area and undermine their own rule. Whilst they can be compelled to wage war on a limited scale, real victory—which would involve winning the Israel working class to our side—is not something they are capable of. That is why they must be fought to the finish.

The Jewish workers of Israel will have good reason to break with Zionism and join us in this struggle. A blow against the imperialist backers of Israel will be a blow against the oppression of Jews throughout the world.

* Speech made at a meeting of 400 Jewish Lawyers in February 1946

◀ The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen for what it is, a tragic mockery of the Jewish people... The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system. — Leon Trotsky, June 1940.

THE RISE OF HITLER

(CONCLUDED).

by Peter Gold



Survivors of Nazi Concentration Camp, Buchenwald

THE GREAT CRASH of 1929 shattered German capital, whose stability since 1924 had only rested on loans from the USA and the treachery of the Social Democrats. When Wall Street had stopped, US capitalism could no longer bail out its German counterpart. In the world trade war only the fittest could survive. Germany was not in that category.

The crisis ruined whole layers of society. Factories closed. Savings were wiped out. Small firms and big monopolies went bankrupt. The Darmstadt and National Bank collapsed, while the massive steel combine Vereinigte was forced to auction its holdings.

Unemployment rocketed from 1,320,000 in 1929, to 3 million in 1930. By 1933, 7 million were jobless.

All this added up to a desperate situation for the German ruling class. No more concessions to the working class could be afforded. Direct assault on the workers was the order of the day.

Under the intensity of the crisis, the Social Democratic Coalition government of Muller fell and was replaced by a right-wing government led by Brüning, whose regime could not command a majority. Elections took place in September 1930. The class divide was reflected in the votes. The Nazis—previously on the fringe—polled six million votes, an 800 per cent increase on 1928. This indicated the extent to which the crisis affected the substantial middle class of shopkeepers, traders and smallholders for whose anti-Jewish and nationalist prejudices Hitler's programme catered.

The working class on the other hand was little influenced by the Nazis. The workers voted for the Social Democrats and Communists, seeing in these organizations the framework for a struggle against fascism. In the elections, these parties polled 13 million votes.

Still unable to get a majority, Brüning's regime became openly Bonapartist, ruling by decree through the state and balancing between the contending classes. Article 48 of the Constitution was the government's main weapon.

It was also to be an epitaph for the Social Democrats who formulated it. The Article read: "In the event that public order and security are seriously threatened or endangered, the Reich President may take the measures necessary for their restoration... if necessary with the armed forces. For this purpose he may abrogate... the fundamental principles laid down in Articles 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124, 153"—the articles which allegedly guaranteed personal liberty, privacy, freedom of speech and the right to industrial and political organization among other things.

Taking cue from these laws, the Brüning government slashed wages and the dole. A 'red scare' tactic was begun to frighten the middle class. The Nazis capitalized on it, pretending to be 'men of action' who would protect the 'small man crushed between capital and labour'.

Lavishly financed by industrialists, the Nazis built up private armies. By December 1930, 100,000 fascist hoodlums were roaming the streets, attacking workers' districts and murdering trade unionists. The crisis worsened. The dole queues lengthened. And the middle class—Hitler's mass base—became more desperate. Capitalist like Krupp, Thyssen and Kirdorf equipped Hitler's thugs, cynically using the middle class as a battering ram against the workers.

For over two years an unstable equilibrium prevailed with no single party able to get a majority. Politics was transferred from Parliament into the streets where trades unionists fought bitterly against Fascist marauders.

A key plank in the Nazi platform was the sacking of Brüning, who had imposed a ban on Nazi private armies. In March 1932, Hitler allied with von Papen and the senile President Hindenburg to remove Brüning. Von Papen replaced him. His first act was to lift the ban on the Nazis. In July, the central government dismissed the Social Democratic administration in Berlin... under Article 48. Five policemen ejected the reformists from state office, without a shot being fired. Yet, all over Germany, in factories and outside union offices, workers waited for the order for a General Strike. It never came.

The lack of organised resistance only emboldened the Nazis and their capitalist backers. Within six months they were in power and the powerful German workers were smashed to pieces—a disaster for which millions of workers would pay in concentration camps and the Second imperialist world war.

To grasp the lessons of 1933, we must examine the failure of the Social Democrats and the Communists to fight. The Nazis took power not because of their own strength but through the betrayals of Stalinism and reformism.

The unique nature of fascism as a form of capitalist dictatorship consists in the fact that it completely eliminates all forms of independent workers' organisation, physically destroying them—trade unions, Social Democratic and Communist Parties alike.

To defeat fascism, the maximum fighting unity of workers' organisations must be established. The vehicle for this unity is the workers' united front, a tactic elaborated by Lenin and Trotsky during the early years of the Communist International. This was a tactic through which the Communists could find a road to the masses, break them from reformism and unite them under revolutionary leadership in a struggle for power.

The Stalinist German C.P. refused to do this, actually working with the Nazis to overthrow the Social Democratic government in Prussia, thereby walling itself off from millions of Social Democratic workers who wanted to fight.

THE UNITED FRONT

Only Trotsky and his supporters saw the danger of a catastrophe and fought a bitter struggle against the Stalinists who designated the Social Democrats as the 'main enemy', 'social fascists' and 'twins of fascism', blithely ignoring the fact that fascism would not distinguish between Social Democrats and Communists when it wiped them out.

Without dropping his hostility to reformism, Trotsky advocated the immediate establishment of a united front against fascism, in which the Communists would not

renounce their independence nor their right to criticise their temporary allies. This was a practical necessity if fascism was to be defeated and the reformist prop for capitalism was to be kicked away. The united front, said Trotsky, was a vital step towards the creation of Soviets, the highest organs for that front. This was the only road for the German workers: to begin with a defensive struggle against fascism in order to transform it into a struggle for power. As Trotsky explained: "The logic of events is such that the struggle for 'Parliament' and for 'democracy' becomes for every Social Democratic worker a question of power..... The question of power is the question of the revolutionary unity in action of the proletariat." Tragically, the German C.P. persisted with Stalinist policies of concentrating all fire on the reformists and chalking up Nazi victories as successes for the working class. 'Pravda' spoke of the 'rousing successes for the working class, successes of the German C.P.' while the Party was being exterminated.

After the Nazis took power, the workers still displayed their will to fight. In the last legal elections, conducted amidst massive fascist terror, eleven million voted for the Social Democrats and Communists, who still did nothing. On May 1st, 1933, the trade unions participated in stage-managed demonstrations. On May 2nd, the unions were declared illegal.

Everything that the German workers had fought for and built was wrecked by leaderships which avoided confrontation with capitalism and its thugs.

LESSONS

For workers in Britain today, these lessons are vital. Like their German counterparts of 1933, the Labour and union leaders do nothing except collaborate with the ruling class. Power is the issue at the heart of every struggle. But the Labour Party leaders and TUC do not prepare the class for power. These leaders must be told: "Break from the capitalists! Take the power!—or make way for those who will." This was the essence of Trotsky's policy of 1933. It is the essence of Chartist policy today.

young socialist NEWS

BOOST FOR SPANISH YS DEFENCE EFFORTS

ON SATURDAY November 3rd over 200 delegates (including many from trade union branches) attended the Labour Party Young Socialists conference on Spain. The movement of the working class against the decaying Franco dictatorship has now assumed such massive proportions that the eruption of a revolutionary situation now seems nearer in Spain than any other European country. This places a weighty responsibility on the socialist activists there whom the LPYS has been organising support for. Peter Taaffe of MILITANT, opening the discussion pointed to the tendency since 1970 for all major strikes to develop into local and regional general strikes - as at Vigo, El Ferrol and Pamplona. Comrade Taaffe denounced the Spanish Communist Party (PCE)'s fraudulent scheme for a "liberty pact" of the workers and the so-called progressive capitalists as opening the way for Chile-style disaster.

In the afternoon other speakers, including John Simmons (secretary of the Spanish Young Socialists Defence Campaign) explained the direct relevance of the Spanish struggle to workers here. Last year ICI sacked 8,000 in the UK and replaced their labour with that

of low-paid Spanish workers. The meeting resolved to expand the efforts to publicise these issues in the trade unions and to help unionise Spanish immigrant workers here.

Unfortunately it must be said that the organisers of the conference failed to raise some of the main issues by their uncritical focus on the activities of the UGT and the Spanish Young Socialists. As Glyn Beagley (ASTMS delegate) pointed out, the sectarian refusal of these comrades to work in the Workers Commissions (underground committees representing most political groups among militant workers in many areas) can only isolate them from the mass of Spanish workers. As the Bulletin of the Defence Campaign has pointed out, it is these commissions (potential "soviets") which have formed the nucleus of the spontaneous mass organisation of workers in strikes as in the Pamplona region. A comrade from the UGT attempted to justify their attitude by referring to the relative decline of the PCE and its policy of working in the state-run sham unions. But the commissions still represent far more among Spanish workers than the UGT.

Martin Cook.

YOUR YS BRANCH

For details of branch activities write to:

Brent East: Kevin Knight, 7 Park View, Olive Road, NW2.

Norwood: Paul Moore, 61 Selsdon Road, SE27.

Streatham: Elaine O'Neill, 47 Amesbury Avenue, SW2.

Vauxhall: Kevin Moore, 170 Wandsworth Road, SW8.

Woolwich: Phil Elliott, 82 Woodhill, SE18.

Rotherham: John Connelly, 22 Bradgate Road, Rotherham, Yorks.

LAMBETH'S CHRISTMAS SOCIAL EVENTS

As usual Lambeth YS plan to celebrate Christmas holiday in style. The new social committee has proposed the following activities. Christmas Eve: Booze Up at the King's Head, Elder Rd, Norwood. Boxing Day: Party for comrades at 229 Norwood Road, SE24. 29th: Netball...Lambeth YS versus Pauline's team. New Year: To be arranged! 5th January: Disco dynamite mak II.

DEFENCE CAMPAIGN

SHARP RESPONSE TO POLITICAL SUSPENSION MINERS, TRADES COUNCIL OPPOSE THE BAN

Forty-five people showed up to lobby in defence of Dave Douglass at the 'investigation' by the party executive held in Goole on November 17th. Dave, who has been suspended on account of his politics, lead the singing of the International before marching into the enquiry. Statements opposing this attack on workers' democracy came from Hatfield lodge, NUM, Thorne Trades Council, Crofton Park Ward, Deptford Labour Party and Clanna h'Eireann. Although they sometimes profess to oppose these political exclusions no comrades from



MILITANT attended the lobby. However, the Yorkshire delegate to YS national committee, who turned up afterwards, did offer the following advice to the RWP of which Dave is a member: Stay out of the campaign, keep a low profile!

YS LEADERS SHUN DEFENCE OF COMRADE ATTACKED BY YORKSHIRE BUREAUCRATS

DESPITE repeated calls to the YS leaders for action it was left to a handful of branches to 'go it alone' and organise the lobby and campaign in defence of Dave Douglass. Was the refusal of the YS leadership to take up the vital issue of the suspension of a YS member some kind of accident or oversight? On the contrary! As the CHARTIST has consistently explained, the lack of action by the MILITANT supporters who lead the YS is part and parcel of their whole abstract approach to a revolutionary socialist programme. It was this approach which lay behind the dismal shopping list of missed opportunities in the recent period. Their opposition to the demand to throw out the Labour MPs who joined the Tories for the Common Market votes lead them, logically enough, to cringe from any campaign against Taverne at the Lincoln bye-election. Their opposition to the demand that the workers' leaders should prepare for a general strike lead them into the TUC's political camp at the time of the Pentonville 5 events in calling for a 24-hour protest. They continue to prove incapable of mounting convincing solidarity with key anti-imperialist struggles. Their opposition to the victory of the NLF in Vietnam is matched by a refusal to defend the IRA as against the army of occupation. They continue to counterpose campaign-

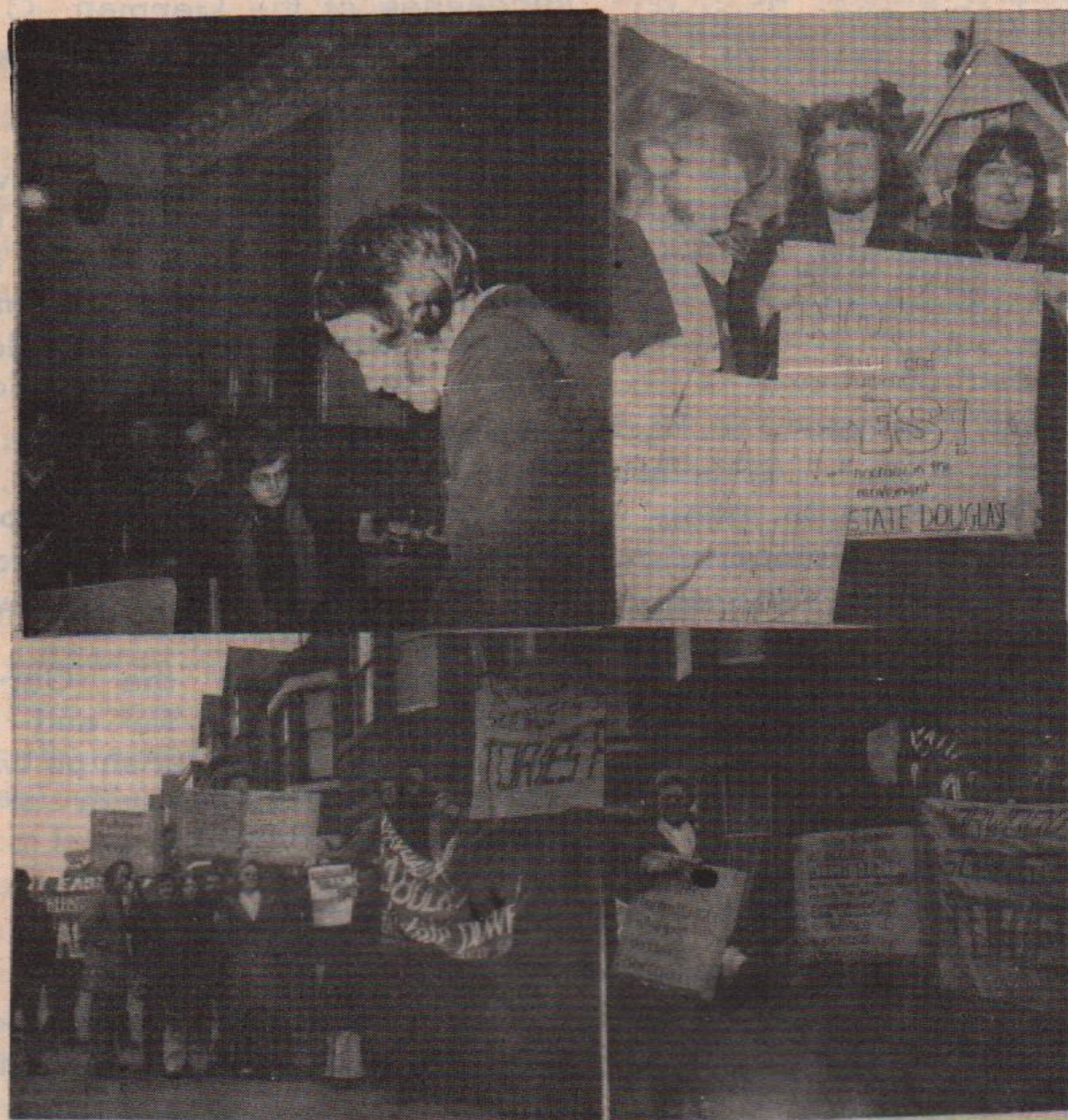
ing for a socialist programme to the seizure of state power.

Their refusal to go on the offensive against the Labour bureaucracy has shown itself once again. The Labour Party Young Socialists faces the re-emergence of the bureaucratic witch hunt as a method of silencing opposition to the reformist Labour leaders and their policies of non-opposition to the Tory government. The response to our campaign in defence of Dave Douglass gives an indication of the potential strength of a campaign taken up by the YS leadership nationally. Resolutions of support are already known to have come from the following YS branches:

- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| Hull Central | Rotherham |
| Norwood | Islington |
| Streatham | Battersea |
| Woolwich | Greenwich |
| Brent East | Vauxhall |
| Goole | |

Norwood Labour Party gave full support to the initiative of the party's YS branch in starting a campaign for a lobby and backed the resolution from the management committee with a cash donation. Other donations were received from branches above and supporters in Stoke Newington, Stockport and Kent.

YS NEWS ROUND-UP



Top left: Our comrade Paul Moore speaks at a defence meeting in Goole held while the investigation into Goole YS was actually in session. Other photos show the lobby outside.

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