

Socialist Worker

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Feather's talks with Tories spells danger for unions

WAGE FREEZE THREAT AFTER BUDGET FRAUD

by
JOHN PALMER

A FREEZE on real wages—that is what the Tory government is aiming at behind the smoke screen of Barber's 'give-away' Budget. The trade union movement has been warned: already talks have been held between Vic Feather, General Secretary of the TUC, and the government about a so-called 'voluntary' wages policy.

In order to win the co-operation of the trade union leaders in a campaign to hold down wages and allow profits to rise prior to entry into the Common Market the Tories knew they had to offer a few carrots.

The first was the 'initiative' of the Confederation of British Industry to ask 200 firms to 'try to keep price rises down to 5 per cent' over the next year. The second was Monday's summer mini-budget.

Both the Budget give-away and the CBI price 'restraint' are a fraud. Take the Budget first.

BIBES

Barber has given yet a further £150 millions of public money in investment bribes to big business. In comparison the working class shopper gets a few derisory crumbs.

HP controls are being abolished, but the finance houses will still be free to charge astronomical interest rates (up to 30 per cent a year) on loans. Purchase tax is down 10 per cent for jewellery and 2 per cent for clothes and furniture.

If you aim to buy a Phantom 6 Rolls-Royce limousine the purchase tax cut will save you £620, but the average shopper will gain by less than 1p in the £. And that assumes the full purchase tax cut is passed on by the shops and not kept to boost profits.

In any case the derisory effect on the rate of increase of prices will be swamped by the other measures the Tories have announced recently: the massive national increase in rents, the higher school meal and milk charges and increased health and welfare payments. Without a doubt, working class families will find themselves worse off as the months pass by.

SILENT

Barber's Budget is also a kick in the teeth for the unemployed. At best it will slow down the rate of increase in unemployment.

The total this winter is still likely to be close to one million. In fact if the figures for women workers made redundant last year who have not signed on at the Labour Exchange is added the total is already far over a million.

Yet Barber's Budget statement has left the Labour leaders strangely silent. The Tory Chancellor has pinched their own economic 'policy' lock, stock and barrel.

The signs are that big business is going to play it cautious. Barber is hoping that industry will go on a big investment spree.

But the bosses already have so much plant and machinery idle that they are going to think twice before adding more productive capacity. They know that economic 'stop' follows 'go' as night follows day.

They are sceptical that Barber's mini-

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Belfast walkout exposes sham of Stormont

SW Reporter

THE WALK-OUT by Opposition MPs at Stormont is one more nail in the coffin of the Northern Ireland state. This 'parliament' has rarely been anything but a machine to ratify decisions taken in the Unionist Party, the Orange Order, and at Westminster.

In the past two years it has become even more irrelevant than before, and has been by-passed on all issues. British imperialism had wished to make it appear to be a more democratic body.

Under instructions from London, Prime Minister Faulkner proposed the formation of multi-party committees. That task is now impossible without the Opposition.

Look to Dublin

Only weeks ago they greeted Faulkner's proposal as a serious attempt to reform Northern Irish institutions. Now Eddie McAteer, the leader of the Nationalist Party, looks vainly for assistance from Dublin, at a time when the Southern Ireland government is so anxious to appease the imperialist and Unionist establishment that it is again considering the possibility of introducing internment for republican and socialist militants.

The Social Democratic and Labour Party, which led the walk-out from Stormont, is an amalgamation of individuals who were previously contained in the Republican Labour Party, the Northern Ireland Labour Party, the Nationalist Party or were Independent (civil rights) MPs.

Like the proposal of alternative government, the walk-out was conceived in haste. It has succeeded in gaining support, mainly in rural areas with a Catholic-Nationalist majority. At the same time, it claims to be non-sectarian and to act in the interests of the working class.

In line with these claims, socialists in Derry have put demands to the planned alternative parliament that reflect the grievances of the working class and the issues which have been raised in the past few years.

They have called for a reduction of all rents to a maximum of £1, the nationalisation of the building industry under workers' and tenants' control, establishment of state industries in areas of high unemployment, and a ban on the export of profits from the area governed by the

new administration.

The SDLP has gained some momentum from its decision to leave Stormont. It will have to be seen to act. But the political ideas of the SDLP leaders will severely restrict the measures taken.

No longer 'impartial'

In a press statement the SDLP complained that the role of the British troops had changed from being impartial keepers of the peace to propping up the Unionist regime. The party calls on the British government to recognise its responsibilities.

It is likely that the walk-out from Stormont will have far greater repercussions than the Opposition MPs conceived, or could control. This new situation makes more important still the building of a revolutionary socialist movement that does not create illusions that the British Army can be impartial, that raises working-class demands now, and which seeks support not from a British government which cannot give it, but from the socialist and working-class movement in Britain.

Jailed — for being poor

AN unemployed Bradford man went to prison on Wednesday for the crime of being poor. He has been out of work for more than a year and could not pay £3-a-week maintenance money to his former wife out of the £12 dole money he has to support his wife and child on.

His case has been taken up by Joe Kenyon of the Claimants' and Unemployed Workers' Union. Mr Kenyon said on Tuesday that the man had a back injury and suffered from ulcers. He has a young child by his present wife and a son aged 15 who lives with his first wife.

When the man was instructed to appear in court for failure to pay arrears or face a six weeks' prison sentence, he did not fully understand the situation and failed to turn up. A warrant was issued for his arrest.

Mr Kenyon is now attempting to arrange a fresh hearing of the case.

Arab guerrillas face reign of terror from Hussein's army

by Chris Harman

THE REIGN of terror against the Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan has reached a new peak. King Hussein's army is determined to butcher them down to the last man.

The guerrilla movement in Jordan grew into major significance after the defeat of the Arab armies by Israel four years ago. Its mass base was among the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who had been driven out of their homeland by the Israeli army in 1948 and 1967, and who have lived ever since in miserable camps.

The leaders of the guerrillas argued that Israel was an artificial creation. Western powers had built it up by exploiting the desperate situation of European Jews in order to create a state in the Middle East that could only survive at the expense of the Palestinians.

This provided the Western oil companies with a natural ally to back up their exploitation of the wealth of the Arab world. The guerrilla leaders concluded that the only way to solve the problem of the Palestinian refugees and to weaken the hold of imperialism was to struggle to replace Israel by a Palestinian state in which Moslems, Jews and Christians could live and work side by side with equal rights.

Collaborate

But the leaders of the biggest guerrilla group, Al Fatah, refused to recognise that such a goal was opposed by all the existing Arab governments, as well as by Israel. These regimes collaborate to varying degrees with the western powers and they all fear any threats to that profitable stability.

And so when Hussein, backed by massive supplies of arms from the US, launched a civil war against the guerrillas last September, the other Arab regimes stood on the sidelines, doing nothing.

Now the rank and file of the guerrilla movement are learning a bitter lesson. The alternatives that await them—imprisonment, torture and death in Jordan or imprisonment, torture and death in Israel sum up the grim fate of the vast mass of the Palestinian refugees.

There can be no way out for them until socialist revolution in the Middle East begins to shatter the existing Arab regimes as well as the Israeli state.

Black Unity and Freedom Party
National Demonstration
Sunday 25 July 2pm
Assembly Acklam Road,
Ladbroke Grove London W10.

ULSTER RIGHT WING—REPORT p3

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Much binding on the Market, but not a glimmer of socialism

THE LABOUR PARTY's special conference on the Common Market was one of the most farcical, as well as the most boring, events of the year. The organisers made sure that no binding decision would be made by the delegates. The trend of recent years for Labour Party conferences to pass resolutions that the leaders then ignore seemed to have reached its logical conclusion with the decision not even to bother with the formality of taking a vote.

Another trend was equally marked at the conference. The number of genuine working-class activists there was smaller than ever. Of course, the trade union delegates were much as they have always been—men and women from working-class backgrounds, although usually with several years as time-serving, full-time officials between them and the shop floor.

The constituency delegates were quite different in character. Disillusion and despair with the record of the last Labour government seem to have weeded out the ageing

band of working-class activists who used to keep the local Labour organisations ticking over.

In their place is a new breed of activist, right wing in politics and springing overwhelmingly from the better-off sections of the middle class. Symbolic of the change was the sight of delegates arriving, not by train and bus, but more often by taxi, or even chauffeur-driven cars.

No reference

A third feature was also noteworthy—the almost complete lack of even the semblance of socialist politics. In the past the Labour leaders used to claim that they wanted socialism, or at least social reform, and that it could be obtained slowly, by using parliamentary methods.

Now even the rhetoric of socialism is absent.

This was not true only of the right-wing defenders of the Common Market. It was just as marked a feature of the 'left' opponents. Speakers like Michael Foot

treated the issue as if what mattered was a loss of the 'sovereignty of parliament'. You would never have guessed from his speech that for many years all major governmental decisions have been made by ministers after private consultations with top businessmen and financiers, with no reference to parliament at all until after the event.

Nor would you have known that the last Labour government carried through a whole series of measures—welfare cuts, increased unemployment, wage freeze and so on—in direct opposition to the wishes of the people that elected it.

The Labour 'left' have so much retreated from socialist politics that they are prepared to line up behind many of the ministers who introduced the anti-working class policies of the Wilson government. Both Tribune and the Morning Star have been praising in the strongest terms the speeches of Peter Shore, who was a wholehearted supporter of the last Labour government.

The special conference has revealed once again that it is a complete dream to believe, as a diminishing number of people

still do, that the Labour Party can somehow be 'won' for socialist policies. It has also underlined the inability of the official spokesmen for the 'left' to engage in a real fight against the present policies of the Tory government. Instead they put their faith in the very people who, only 18 months ago, were preparing the ground for these policies.

Our expense

A real fight against Tory policies can never succeed on such a basis. What is needed is a struggle against the policies pioneered by the Labour government and now implemented with added harshness by the Tories, that are cutting into working-class living standards—welfare cuts, attempts to hold down wages, rising unemployment, the Industrial Relations Bill.

The Common Market, as one more attempt to solve capitalism's problems at our expense, must be opposed. But only on the basis of opposition to all the other measures as well. And the only genuine alternative to them all is a socialist transformation of society.

Nixon's China trip: attempt to use Peking to extend and preserve grip of US imperialism

by Nigel Harris

SO President Nixon is to visit China. You can almost hear the gnashing of teeth in Moscow and in Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa. Supporters of Moscow everywhere will start talking of the unholy alliance of Chinese 'dogmatism' and American imperialism.

Didn't they always say Mao was basically rotten? They forget that US presidents have for a long time been meeting Russian leaders without all this fuss.

The visit is less important as a sign of change in Peking than as a change in Washington. The slight warming of the Cold War between America and Russia could always have included the third member of the triangle, China, if successive American and Russian leaders had wanted it.

It suited the book of the two 'superpowers' to keep China out. They forced China into isolation. As so often, China made a virtue of a necessity it could not change.

It was not always so. Towards the end of World War II, relations between the Chinese Communists (at Yanan then) and the US government were friendly. Successive official US visitors contrasted the corruption of America's official ally, Chiang's Kuomintang, with the dedicated war on the Japanese by the Communists.

Mao Tse-tung encouraged this attitude, hoping to break the US-Kuomintang alliance. He also hoped to get US support and help, partly to offset the dominant influence of the Soviet Union. He had long experience of Stalin, and Communists

'meddling' (as he called it).

In February, 1945, Mao requested a secret passage for himself and Chou En-lai to Washington so that they could persuade President Roosevelt to support them rather than the Kuomintang. If the US had not willed quite otherwise, Mao might have developed an independent 'national Communism' long before Tito did so in Yugoslavia.

It was not to be. The US-Soviet rivalry, wars, cold in general but hot in Korea, forced Mao's China into the arms of the Soviet Union. The American government pushed the Korea issue to the point where China could not remain uninvolved.

The Washington strategists hoped that the new Communist regime, having just waged a long civil war, would break itself in Korea. Then Chiang Kai-shek's regime, bottled up in Formosa, could return to the mainland in triumph.

China waged the Korean war triumphantly and proved how wrong US calculations had been. But by then the 'natural' and eternal split between West and East had been established.

Willing to compromise

Again, the situation was not of China's making. At the Korean peace, the Chinese leaders showed clearly their willingness to compromise. It was the same in south-east Asia. With the shattering defeat of the French in Indo-China at the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the Viet Minh liberation forces could have taken the whole of Vietnam.

It was Chinese pressure to compromise that forced Ho Chi Minh to pull back his triumphant armies and accept much less than they could have won. The Geneva Agreements of 1954 were the result.

Chinese willingness to compromise was not enough for Washington. The US attitude was symbolised in its refusal to sign the Geneva Agreements.

The US single-mindedly pursued a policy of presenting a continuous military



Nixon: off to see the Helmsman

threat to Russia and China. Washington created a chain of military alliances and bases round China.

China, as always, was wild in rhetoric, but very cautious in practice. In 1955, Chou deliberately said that China's differences with the US could be settled by discussion. Despite the military preparations, the US arranged a meeting with Chinese representatives in Geneva. Then began the famous talks between the US and Chinese ambassadors in Warsaw (the first was August, 1955).

The rhetoric and military preparedness continued. So did the talks. The two diplomats had met 48 times by May 1956, and 132 times 10 years later. They continued to meet and talk while the US escalated its war in Vietnam and while the Cultural Revolution swept China.

1965 was the key year of crisis in relations. It was the year the US vastly expanded its Vietnam war effort within striking distance of China's southern border. China could do virtually nothing except talk. China's own attempts to build alliances, an Afro-Asian anti-imperialist block, were in ruins.

China shifted to the Left. Marshall Chen

Yi (Chinese Foreign Minister) declared in February that 'Peaceful co-existence with US imperialism which is pushing ahead its policies of aggression and war is out of the question'.

Yet the ambassadors met early in 1966. Indeed, that meeting seems to have sorted things out. The US is said to have promised China that it would not make a land invasion of North Vietnam nor threaten China itself. Fear, if not honour, were satisfied.

Peking has always had a long-term interest in some kind of settlement with the US to remove US bases down the Pacific coast, secure Formosa, and get into the United Nations. That interest became particularly urgent once the quarrel with Russia exposed China to military threats not just from US forces in the east and south, but also from Russian troops and missiles in the north and west.

What has changed now is that the US for the first time is actively seeking some arrangement with China. Since 1969, the US has made successive changes as the preparation for this. Trade, tourism, journalists visits have all been eased.

Settle the war

The immediate reasons for the change are not far to seek. Nixon desperately needs to get an American evacuation of Vietnam without either loss of face or the immediate take over of the country by the National Liberation Front. Nixon has just proposed a visit to Hanoi in North Vietnam to talk about the US evacuation.

Kissinger, the US official who fixed Nixon's visit to Peking, has for some time been proposing a new Geneva Conference on Indo-China to settle the war in Vietnam without American embarrassment. In 1954 it was China that forced the Viet Minh in North Vietnam to accept a compromise settlement. The US is seeking a repeat performance.

Next year, there is a US presidential election. Even if Nixon has not been able

to end the Vietnam war, his visit to Peking will be seen as a diplomatic coup which goes some way to blurring the shame of the US defeat in Vietnam. In addition, the visit will pull out the mat from under his anti-war critics. In return for China's services, perhaps Nixon has already promised that the US will end its refusal to allow China to be seated in the UN.

There are other useful gains. The Russians and Americans have talked for 20 months on how to stop each others' arms race (the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, or SALT for short), so far without any useful results. Talks with China are a useful means for the US to frighten Russia into making concessions. For just as China wants to break out of a US-Russian encirclement, so also Russia fears a combined threat from the US and from China along its 6,000 mile border.

In the late 1950s, Khrushchev was delighted to reach a settlement with the US which left China out in the cold, the issue of Formosa not even discussed. Now China has the bomb and some of the missiles to deliver it. The Nixon visit has repeated the Khrushchev visit in reverse, leaving Russia out this time. If the Russians will not agree at SALT, Nixon hints, he has other—Chinese—cards up his sleeve. Peking is anxious to build a vote in the UN which will get it a seat. It is no more or less scrupulous than any other established government in the way it tries to pursue its policies.

Help to the West Pakistan military to murder Bengali revolutionaries, help to Mrs Bandaranaike to slaughter Ceylon's teenagers—all's fair in war. Ncw Chairman Mao is going to welcome most warmly and hospitably to his capital the paramount chief of world imperialism.

Change the record

For those supporters of China who believe that anti-Americanism is a first principle, Nixon's visit will be as hard to swallow as it will be for the rabid anti-communists.

Some of the supporters of China will just change the record, as their Stalinist forebears did before them. They will argue that Mao's agreement when Nixon asked to be invited shows the Great Helmsman's deep concern to safeguard world peace.

The talks of 'Great Men' rarely ever achieve any serious settlement of anything. The violent rivalries, the ruthless struggle for power, between the dominant ruling classes of the world cannot be settled by a polite talk over tea.

Nixon is trying to use Peking to preserve and extend American imperialism. Mao is trying to use Nixon in order to extend the power and influence of China. And Russia on the sidelines is longing to be there to use whoever can be used.

People everywhere pin great hopes on such talks. Yet they can only achieve at best a temporary stability, based upon a carve up. The only real means to overcome the rivalries of power is for the mass of the people to intervene and lay down their priorities, rather than cheering those two new comrades, Mao and Nixon.

THEIR WEEK

Professional Tomorrow's Men
agree that the economy is headed for the rocky. Last week the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development forecast rising prices for Britain (2.5 per cent over the next six months), more unemployment by the winter and a loss of half last year's balance of payments surplus.

The Machine Tool Trade Association, whose members produce today what the rest of industry needs for expansion tomorrow, admitted a decline in home orders by a third since last year and in export orders by a quarter. General engineering orders are down by 5-6 per cent. The Confederation of British Industry foresees a continued slip in investment spending, particularly on plant and machinery until next summer, and the Department of Trade and Industry confirm their view with a figure - 6-8 per cent. But

Today's Men

will have none of all this. They want to

climb their Europe deal which means that they need to defuse the Opposition's propaganda by deflecting our attention from the east. They might just manage if they can engineer an economic revival or, if that evades them, if they can provide a light-and-sound boom show for which tickets will have to be bought at the exits. The tickets are not going to be cheap. All government prices are going to go up. Last week's

White Paper

Fair Deal for Housing indicates what to expect. It promises an increase of at least £300 million a year in the total amount of rent paid in England and Wales from next April. In three years, five million council tenants will be paying double what they are now at present prices and 1.3 million controlled private tenants will be forking out a lot more than that. Afterwards, the 'fair' rent will be fixed every three years. The White Paper spends a lot of space

on a complex, expanded means-tested rent-rebate scheme which, for the first time, covers private tenants. What it does not say is that

1. The tenant, or poorer, half of the country's families is to be means-tested for their pitiful subsidies while the other, owner-occupier half gets a higher, non-means-tested cut through tax concessions on mortgage interest payments.

2. The rent officers who will have to assess the new 'fair' rents have so far been fully stretched on 100,000 private lettings. Now they will have to cope with eight million or so rented houses and flats, some of which are types they have never come across before.

3. In spite of huge publicity by the Greater London Council a few years ago, only one in three GLC tenants eligible for a rebate actually claim it. Some just don't know and some... well, what normal person would want a possibly

nasty-minded, loud-talking local bureaucrat sticking a nose into his private affairs? Besides

4. The most wretched and exploited of the three million private tenants—the half-million or so in furnished (or curtains and orange-boxes) accommodation—are not to be covered by the new Act and

5. Landlords now have every inducement to shift from unfurnished to furnished, hence unprotected, tenancies, and to pressurise unfurnished tenants to 'agree' a rent which will then be registered without official assessment.

Is Holland still there?

Elections took place on 28 April and resulted in 14 parties straddling 150 seats. It took until this month to form a government under Barend Biesheuvel. 67 days without government! Where does that leave parliamentary roadsters?

Orange backlash forces Northern Ireland Tories further to the Right



Paisley: a seat in the government—or leader of the opposition?

EVERY NEW clash in the streets of Northern Ireland and each further day in the existence of Brian Faulkner's government appear to widen the gap between the extreme 'loyalists' and the mainstream of the Orange Order and the Unionist Party.

The speeches and especially the heckling at last week's rallies on 12 July—the Protestant celebration of William of Orange's Irish victory over the Catholic King James—showed how rank and file Orangemen feel betrayed by those now in power at Stormont.

The Rev Ian Paisley has expressed his dissatisfaction with the present regime by calling for a general election on the failure to deal with the 'terrorists' and the plan to ban Orange marches. Along with William Craig, the former Home Affairs Minister, and others even closer to the leadership of the Unionist Party, he has continued to call for the re-arming of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the re-forming of the 'B' Specials.

These right-wingers are doing no more than re-echo the traditional message of Unionism: That 'Ulster' is a Protestant province, with a Protestant parliament and a Protestant police and that there must be no surrender to republicans.

But this attitude—at least in its less sophisticated form—has been discarded by those in the ruling class in the North who recognise that to maintain the co-operation of international capitalism they must attempt to normalise political and social relations.

Nine counties

The backlash against attempts to do this has gone further even than the demands mentioned. The Rev William McCrea, who led last month's Orange march at Dungiven, and who is a possible candidate for Chichester-Clark's seat in South Derry, has spoken of the need to win back the 'historical Ulster'—all nine counties. Paisley has also announced that he intends to build one of his 'Free Presbyterian' churches in Monaghan, just across the Border.

The demand for the recovery of the three counties 'lost' to the South was attributed two years ago only to 'drunken Paisleyites'. But now certain of the ideas put forward on the fringes are being adopted by the 'centre' of the Unionist movement.

Paisley's rise to prominence has shifted the Unionists as a whole to the right. There is every sign that support for his ultra-loyalist statements of opposition to the Unionist government is increasing.

He is far from isolated. His tone has moderated enough for him to be seen as a possible member of a re-vamped government. The Protestant Unionist Party, of which he is the leader, acts as a pressure group on the main Unionist Party.

William Craig has suggested that loyalists ought to work for the Protestant Unionists to ensure the loyal credentials of those returned to parliament.

The movement of the Unionist and Protestant right goes beyond parliamentary and pressure-group politics. It is armed.

Paisley himself has denied any connection with the Ulster Volunteer Force

by BRIAN TRENCH



12 July in Belfast: sashes, banners and placards that speak of betrayal

but his paper, the Protestant Telegraph, has urged its readers to hold on to their guns. The guns in question are the great majority of the 100,000 licensed guns held in Northern Ireland.

Many of their owners are organised in gun clubs—a cloak of legality for criminal activities. 2000 new licences have been issued to former 'B' Specials. One typical gun club is actually called the 'Ballymena Ulster Special Constabulary Association Rifle Club'.

Others of the former 'B' Specials are members of the Ulster Defence Regiment. Some loyalists have joined it to receive a firearms certificate, and then resigned.

The announcement that one unit of the UDR is to be full-time is clearly a concession to the Unionist right. While the control of the regiment is formally with the Officer Commanding of the British Army in Ireland, a full-time unit might very well steer its own path.

For many of the extreme loyalists, Paisley's dedicated advocacy of revivalist religious doctrines are faintly ridiculous.

The purpose of maintaining and asserting Protestant domination is paramount.

One of the songs in a song-book published by the Shankill Defence Association contains the lines: If guns are made for shooting, then skulls are made to crack. You've never seen a better Taig [Catholic] Than with a bullet in his back.

Many splits

That song-book was published by John McKeague, a former lieutenant and now rival of Paisley's. The rift between these two men is only one of the many splits that run through the extreme loyalist camp.

The UVF is not a single, united force. Many of the units that operate under this name do not have direct contact with one another.

Those who carved the initials UVF with broken glasses on the forehead and chest of young Catholics may not have been members of any organisation, but they used the initials symbolically.

The Orange Order is also divided. But its leaders are clearly trying to re-gain the ground lost to Paisley and others like him.

For this year's 12 July the Orange Order circulated a Covenant to be signed by all Ulstermen, declaring the will to resist any attempt to change the constitutional position. It contains many of the phrases and terms of Carson's 1912 Covenant, signed by nearly half a million people. The idea of a Covenant for the present-day has been canvassed for some time by Paisley.

Officially, the Orange Order denies that it plays any political role but increasingly in recent months its leaders have been making directly political statements. And these are predominantly anti-government.

Uniting the strands of the extreme loyalist movement are certain common features. One is the widespread use at this time of the Ulster flag in preference to the Union Jack.

The extreme right-wing backlash

must be related to social and economic developments caused by the changing role of imperialism in Ireland. This has made it necessary to remove some of the worst excesses of discrimination. It has meant, too, in some cases the removal of livelihoods through the collapse of small businesses.

Extreme loyalism therefore represents a revolt of the Orange middle class and parts of the Orange working class against the loss of their privileges under the combined pressure of Unionist big business and international capitalism. The normal response to such a situation is to step up the attacks on Catholics.

In order to keep their popular support, Paisley and others like him are forced to pretend to favour certain reforms. In Paisley's own constituency, 55 per cent of the houses have no toilets. Not surprisingly, he has criticised the government for its failures in the housing and social services fields.

Escape clutches

Paisley argues for the defence of the livelihoods of small farmers and some loyalist leaders even have to speak in favour of a form of workers' control—Protestant workers' control.

But it would be wrong to think that, as the economy declines and unemployment grows, Protestant workers will automatically escape from the clutches of the Orange men, whether moderate or extreme.

It is possible that the dislike of many Protestants for the recognised Unionist leaders may make them more open to socialist ideas, but the only guarantee that the steady decline of the economy will bring Protestant workers to recognise their class interests is the existence of a strong organisation that raises, socialist and working-class demands now.

Protestant workers are a key factor in the struggle for socialist revolution in Ireland. Their support must be won for socialism on the basis of clear working-class policies and opposition to nationalism, capitalism and clericalism.

The difficulty of the tasks facing socialists is matched only by their extreme urgency.

STOP KNOCKING BRITISH TROOPS, ANGRY READERS DEMAND

Soldiers' mother says: Tell the IRA to use rubber bullets like our lads

I HAVE bought your paper for some time outside the Austin Motor Co but if you continue to knock the British soldiers (poor devils) in Northern Ireland, I shall not buy it again.

You should be the first people to give credit where it is due. Our boys are doing a wonderful and very difficult job over there and, apart from a few, I doubt if any of them are enjoying doing this dirty chore.

Yes, I agree when you say 'withdraw the troops'. It would save myself and a lot of other mothers like me a lot of heartaches.

I am English. I am married to an Irishman from the Bogside. We have five sons in the British Army, three of whom have done service in Londonderry and now a fourth goes there.

How do you think I feel, knowing one of my lads may be killed or have to kill one of his father's people? Rubber bullets

are all very well, but tell the IRA to use them too. —JOAN MCCALLUM, West Heath, Birmingham 31.



WHY does your paper talk of murder when the people of Northern Ireland are shooting down the British soldier who is there in the role of peace keeper? 10 have been shot in their peace keeping role.

You are asking the soldiers to stand there and do nothing to hurt the civilians, but they can throw bottles, bricks, nail and petrol bombs and other explosives at troops and police who are there for the safety of civilians.

The only way we can stop the trouble in Ireland is to find work and everyone interested in building factories. But to pull out the troops now will start a bloodbath on a scale that will lead to war that puts the civilians in a shoot-out as in the days of the American gangsters.—W. EDWARDS, Norris Green, Liverpool 11.

THE EDITOR REPLIES: One good reason for demanding the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland is to stop the anguish felt by mothers like Mrs McCallum. Socialists get no pleasure from the death of ordinary soldiers, most of them from working-class homes, often forced into the Army through unemployment and low wages.

But the overriding reason for campaigning for the withdrawal of the Army is that it has no right in Ireland. It is not there to defend 'law and order' or peaceful civilians but to defend a system that has rested on the boot and billyclub ever since the province was put under the control of the Unionists.

Ireland was divided in order to help British capitalism keep its grip over both parts of the country. The uprisings in the North by people denied the elementary rights of jobs and housing threatened the stability of the whole of Ireland. That was why troops were moved in, in the interests of British big business.

While we may disagree with the methods of the IRA, there is a fundamental difference between people fighting to rid their country of foreign troops and the armed repression of a foreign power.

Building factories to create jobs raises the question: who will control the factories? Capitalists, Irish or British, build factories to make profits and if they can make them more easily by dividing workers along religious lines, then so much the better. The question of jobs is linked to the question of a united working class fighting for a socialist Ireland.

It is indeed tragic that Mrs McCallum's sons are shooting Mr McCallum's countrymen. That tragedy stems from Britain's centuries-old grip over Ireland. The tragedy can only be ended by working people here demanding an end to that grip—and doing something effective by fighting those responsible for the murder and bloodshed, the British government and its big business backers.



Workers' militia leaving for the Madrid front

FASCISM

BIG BUSINESS'S KNUCKLEDUST

Spain boss to Fr

Thirty-five years ago in July the biggest working-class rising of modern times took place in Spain. It is a rising whose achievements many people are still unaware of, partly because it was carried out in the teeth of a complex civil war, partly because of ferocious censorship at the time, and also to the distorted way the war was reported even when the censor wasn't busy.

Many writers contributed to the myth that the Spanish Civil War was just a 'dress rehearsal' for the Second World War. George Orwell is almost alone among British survivors in seeing through the complexities to the essence of what happened, and he was so appalled at the 'huge pyramid of lies' that was built up by Fascist and Communist Party sources around the war that he later based parts of his nightmare vision of the future, *Nineteen Eighty Four*, on the propaganda machines at work there.

Thanks to his own, and a few other analyses, it is possible, however, to disentangle much that happened there, though most of the details of the 1936 revolution remain unwritten, inside the heads of thousands of Spanish workers and peasants.

By July 1936 Spain was deep in the sort of crises we are beginning to see again in the 1970s—unemployment, low wages, trade deficits in the face of foreign competition. In the rest of Europe such conditions had already provided fertile ground for the growth of fascism among the victims of crisis.

In Spain, after the monarchy was swept away in 1931, the struggles of workers and peasants had sharpened, taking the form of big strikes and seizures of land. In October 1934, with unemployment at 1½ million and prices rocketing up, the workers' organisations called for a general strike throughout Spain against the far right wing government. The risings were mainly crushed but in the Asturias region the miners organised their province communally, under the control of the workers and the first troops sent there by Madrid went over to the workers.

by JILL BRANSTON

Legion on 17 July and most of the big industrialists, financiers and landowners as well as the Church fell in behind his rising, terrified at the threats now posed to 'their' property by workers and peasants. Franco's rising differs in some important respects from Hitler's or Mussolini's movements, but it was supported by the same class for the same motives.

Faced with the generals' rising—which the Popular Front government had known of for months—the government at first issued soothing messages to the effect that nothing had happened and then, more frightened by armed workers than a fascist takeover, refused to give out the arms the trade unions were now asking for. Fortunately the workers did not wait for anti-fascist orders from this supposedly 'left' government but seized the arsenals, stormed the barracks where the fascists had not already risen, and began a revolution.

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Franco: command

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WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



out the world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the

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

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen/Dundee/Edinburgh/Fife/
Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling

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

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

NORTH WEST
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham
Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/

Potteries

MIDLANDS
Birmingham/Coventry/Leamington/
Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham/
Northampton/Redditch/Telford

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/
Gloucester/Mid-Devon/Plymouth/
Swansea

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

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

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

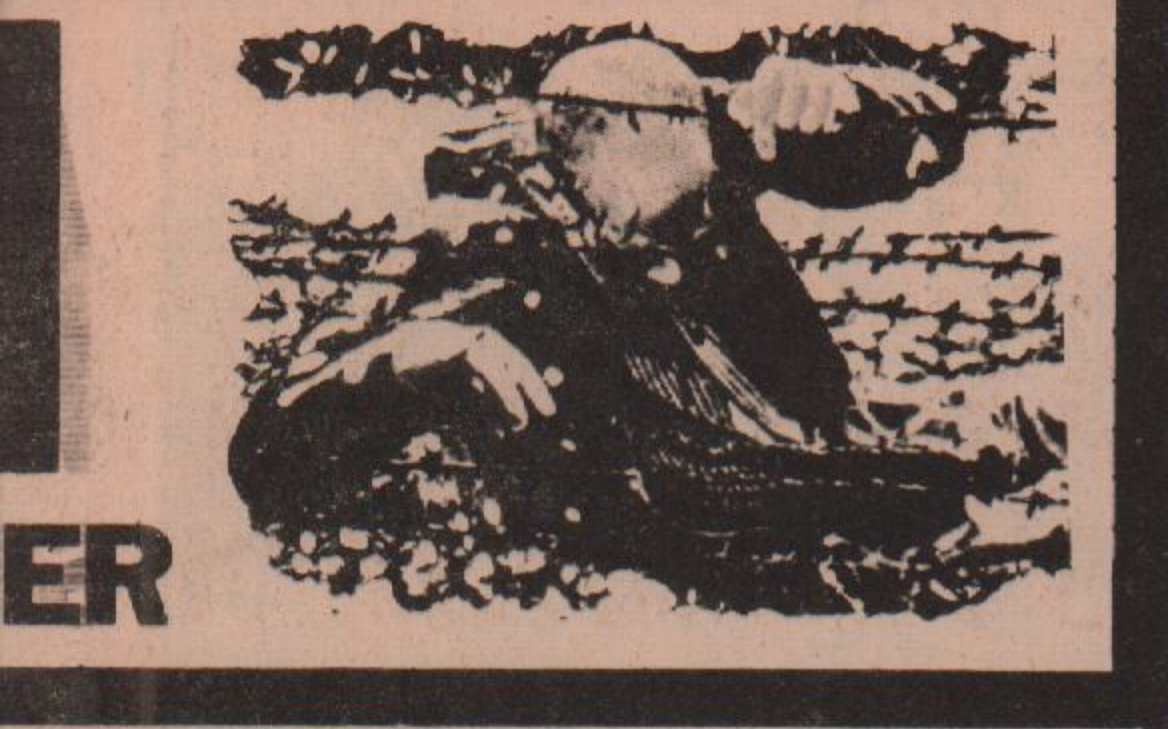
I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name

Address

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

NEXT WEEK : THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY



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navy and airforce stayed with the Republic. The old state machine lay in ashes.

What existed instead behind the Republican front lines was a system of dual power, that is, the remnants of official government at the top, and at the base the armed workers, controlling the land and the factories, fighting the fascists in their own militias, but not realising the need to do away with the old government system completely and replace it by the organs of the revolution.

For seven weeks this situation of dual power, one of the classic marks of a revolutionary situation, existed. Why was such a massive rising unable to complete itself into a socialist revolution?

COMPLEX

How could Franco's armies make a clean sweep across a Spain which only months before had seen the biggest revolutionary upheaval of modern times?

The answer is a complex one, and lies neither in the bare fact that a civil war was raging, nor in the argument that Franco's armies, with Nazi and Italian support, were better equipped than those of the Republic—though this last point is particularly true.

But the defeat of the Americans in Vietnam shows what can be done against sheer wealth and weapons. More important is the example of Russia just after the 1917 revolution, which was besieged on 22 different fronts, which made revolutionary appeals to the workers in the besieging countries so that the advance of Britain, France and Germany into Russia kept being delayed by strikes and mutinies against the invasion.

In Spain itself the method was tried with some success in Barcelona where the workers were the first to rise against Franco and won over the soldiers of the artillery by political appeals, even arguing them into firing on their own officers.

But the Republican government made no such appeal to the working class behind Franco's front line, or to his Moroccan conscripted troops, even though the Moroccan nationalist leaders had offered their help to the Republic.

Gerry Dawson argues that the attack on 'obscenity' is a threat to radical ideas and the growing revolt of young people

BOTH OZ magazine and The Little Red Schoolbook have been on trial for their 'obscenity'. They were accused under the Obscene Publications Act of 1964, an Act whose alleged purpose, said the Solicitor General in parliament, 'is to strike at and to hit what I might call the Soho bookshop and the importers of prurient pornography'.

Yet under its clauses, Spankers' Monthly, Leather News and the Soho novelettes that cater for sadism and self-hatred boom, while publications combining radical politics with sexual frankness are continually persecuted.

The long mackintosh brigade's need for maturatory excitement is discreetly and profitably attended to, but school children whose revolt really scares our rulers must stay in sexual ignorance.

The Little Red School Book puts a sensible and modern morality in plain and honest English. In sexual matters it urges mutual respect and gives unvarnished facts about masturbation and contraception.

There is no sanctimonious moralism and none of the preaching tone which puts so many kids off reading anything at all written for them about sex.

Crime

It explains about drugs in a straightforward and factual way, again avoiding the sensational and obviously exaggerated alarmism that causes so many drug warnings to children to go unheeded.

But its real crime in the eyes of the authorities is not its 'obscenity' but its outline of children's and pupils' rights and its suggestions for class-room democracy. The politics are a lot less than revolutionary but educational liberalism, put plainly and taken to its logical conclusions, is quite enough to terrify many of those who run our authoritarian school system.

In this case 'obscenity' means little more than encouraging people to disobey teachers.

In the OZ case, the issue concerned was produced by a team of mainly London schoolchildren who were invited by the editors to guest edit an issue of the underground magazine. The issue they produced centred on the school system with articles from various points of view on the need for reform.

It includes a brilliant account of the visits made by a Schools Action Union 'guerrilla theatre group' to present a play in the grounds of various North London schools.

The troupe, despite the interest and support of kids, were without exception thrown off the premises by the teachers, unable to deal rationally with the slightest threat to their authority.

Other articles deal with the politics of SAU, examples of 'school atrocities', including beatings, censorship and political expulsions. The only prosecution witness at school called spoke of his expulsion after the issue went on sale and subsequent police harassment.

He is now chairman of the school council in the comprehensive school where he now studies.

Searing

Asked about his opportunities for self-expression in the school magazine, he gave the example of a cartoon of a flying ant dropping bombs over South Vietnam. It was printed . . . minus the bombs and Vietnam.

The school kids also contributed some searing cartoons on the suppressed sexual sadism of corporal punishment and the repressions which churn beneath the gamesmaster's heartiness.

The prosecution insisted on discovering details of obscenity in the drawings, invisible to the normal eye. The judge, for example, insisted that a rolled copy of OZ in a drawing of a skinhead was in fact an erect penis, a suggestion for which no one else in court was able to see the slightest evidence.

The prosecutor refers throughout to oral sex and homosexual love-making as 'perversions'.

The archaic charge of 'conspiring to corrupt public morals' in fact means encouraging school kids to express their ideas with a free hand. Critical thought and sexual frankness become 'obscene' in a world which cannot stand up to either.

The debate on pornography can take place within a conventional political framework. The ideology of the

The politics of



Soho: where the police don't raid (Pictures Jeff Pick)

pornography

Tory rank and file demands of its leaders a self-righteousness on sexual matters which seems to imply that sex doesn't even exist except as an occasional and unpleasant transaction between a married couple in pyjamas to produce Tory babies.

Sir Gerald Nabarro's (58, MP for Kidderminster) recent attack on sex education films and The Little Red Schoolbook seem to have been inspired both by local electoral considerations and a genuine outrage at the thought that teachers of children might in fact possess genitals and make use of them.

Reality

The Victorian upper class hypocrite who eulogises the sanctity of the family while he makes sexual use of working-class girls after they have done a day's manual work was seen by Marx as embodying the reality of bourgeois family life: prostitution.

Nowadays the same hypocrisy is at work in the handlebar moustached censor who seeks to deprive women and girls of the knowledge and control over their bodies that science has made available. Guilt and self-hatred that arise from sexual ignorance can only serve to strengthen the ruling class, whose ability to influence

people's ideas about themselves has never been greater.

The porn of Soho reverses all the taboos of capitalism, allows its purchaser to imagine the most extreme moments of domination and submission. Its hoods and chains, its leather and boots, echo in the sexual situation the brutality which still lies so near under the 'civilised' skin of our civilisation.

Even in our imagination and our most private places, capitalism's relationships of power still hold. And since almost all erotic materials is supervised by men, the sexual domination is at the expense of the woman.

In pornography as everywhere else, man's distorted images of his own masculinity make him define himself at the expense of women.

Is hard-porn so different in this than the 'respectable' male novelists like Henry Miller and Norman Mailer, whose heroes pride themselves on their anal rapes, phallic murders and who describe the use of the female genitals as ash tray, urinal and punch-bag?

Wilhelm Reich, the communist psychiatrist, wrote in his paper Sexpol (an organisation founded after his expulsion from the Communist Party) of a Nazi mass circulation paper which featured sadism closely linked with anti-semitism, fantasies which includ-

ed biting through the necks of women, Jews as castrators and sexual murders where the corpses were disfigured by the Star of David.

Reich argued that for Marxists, shock and disgust were a natural reaction but not an adequate reaction. We have to understand how sexual needs are dammed up and misformed in capitalism.

We need to fight for the material conditions for sexual happiness which include housing which allowed people to be alone with their sexual partner, contraceptives made widely available to working-class women as a right, that children should not be made guilty about masturbation and erotic desire, that sexual clinics should be made available to those many people who are unable to find sexual release.

Above all, he argued, we must offer as part of the socialist struggle and future, a vision of erotic love far freer and more joyous than it can be in capitalism. The other side of the revolution, as well as the material changes which are so important for sexual security, man will have changed his relationship to other men, to woman and to nature.

There is a sort of erotic reformism which suggests that quite literally, 'all you need is love'. Its attractiveness is as considerable as its ineffectuality.

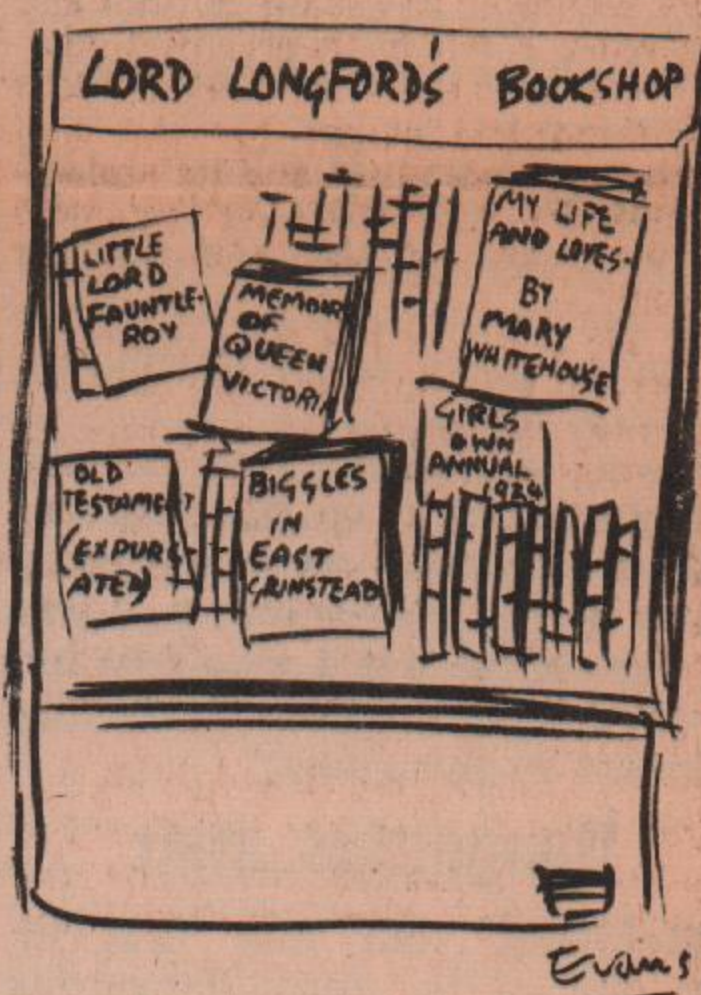
But in reaction against it, socialist puritans are in danger of ignoring one of the most intimate of capitalism's contradictions. Engels was right when he pointed out 'that with every great revolutionary movement, the question of "free love" comes to the foreground'.

Perhaps William Blake was right, too, to hope for a sexuality after the revolution:

'Embraces are co-minglings from the head even to the feet
Not a High Priest entering by a secret place'

It is that kind of loving which is our answer to capitalism's pornography of whips and leather.

LAST WORD



Vital reading for all socialists and trade unionists

The fight against racialism

by MIKE CAFFOOR

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McCarthy family fight on against legal lies

THE FIGHT of a North London family to obtain justice for their dead son, Stephen McCarthy, is continuing. The story of his death and his treatment, in turns brutal and indifferent in the hands of the police and prison authorities, was reported in Socialist Worker on 17 April.

500 people attended a protest meeting in Islington resulting in what the police called 'riot' and 18 arrests.

Over the last couple of months the defendants have been trickling through Old Street Magistrates' Court, the jurisdiction of magistrate Neill McElligot. The result has been a travesty of 'justice'.

Not good enough

A local journalist was asked if the crowd had been unruly, whether police intervention was necessary.

'Other than shouting, no, he replied. 'If I had been a police officer I would not have approached the crowd.'

This wasn't good enough for McElligot. 'This was not tea on the vicarage lawn. It was a very flammatory situation which obtained and which had to be got under control.'

Who said so? McElligot. And who else?

The police. Not one of the 500 or bystanders (which included the journalist) made such a testimony. Quite the reverse.

Chris McCarthy, one of the defendants, went to the heart of official hypocrisy when affirming before giving his evidence: 'I will tell the truth—but I won't be believed. I have no faith in the impartiality of this court.'

Dangerous man

McElligot told him that he 'was one of the most dangerous men ever to come before this court.'

Chris had gone to the defence of his brother and had earlier pointed at the police in court: 'There's over 30 stone standing there and I'm only eight.' He has one lung and a partially immobilised right arm.

He was fined. His brother Derek got six months while Derek's pregnant wife received a three months' suspended sentence for three years.

John McCarthy's case was dismissed, not without gratuitous insults from McElligot. This has been the story of all the defendants: fines, jail and one conditional dismissal.

Swamp of lies

One case remains to be dealt with. As the sentences have piled up so have the appeals and the legal costs.

So what started as a working-class family's struggle for justice has developed into a tortuous fight to break out of a swamp of lies and distortions.

They're still fighting. On 23 July there will be a dance at the City University, Northampton Sq., EC1 at 8pm, with Third World War and Don Partridge.

The dance is for the central part of the McCarthy's campaign, to finance an inquiry into Stephen's death and to bring a prosecution against the two men who started it all, PCs Kilshaw N385 and Leonard N456.

JOHN TELFAIR

COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMON MARKET

RED, WHITE AND BLUE SPECTACLE ON EUROPE

THE Third International was born out of the collapse of the pre-First World War socialist movement into patriotism and chauvinism in 1914. The world communist movement originated as an affirmation that socialism was international or it was nothing.

That movement no longer exists. One of the more curious aspects of that degeneration is shown today by the British Communist Party and its attitude to the Common Market.

For socialists the argument against entry hinges on an evaluation of what will happen to workers' standards of living and conditions of work if Britain goes into the Market. It recognises that the EEC is the Europe of the bosses and counterposes the United Socialist States of Europe as the only meaningful long-term alternative.

On the basis of these positions and arguments we oppose this particular Tory policy to solve the problems of British capitalism at the workers' expense.

THREAT

But what about the British Communist Party? The banner box on the head of the paper sets the tone: NO TO THE MARKET!

The central emphasis of the paper is, day in and day out, the threat to British national sovereignty. Lenin may be too mummified to turn in the Kremlin, but surely the living movement is not.

For example: 'More readers of the Morning Star every day means more people informed on the battle to

SW Correspondent

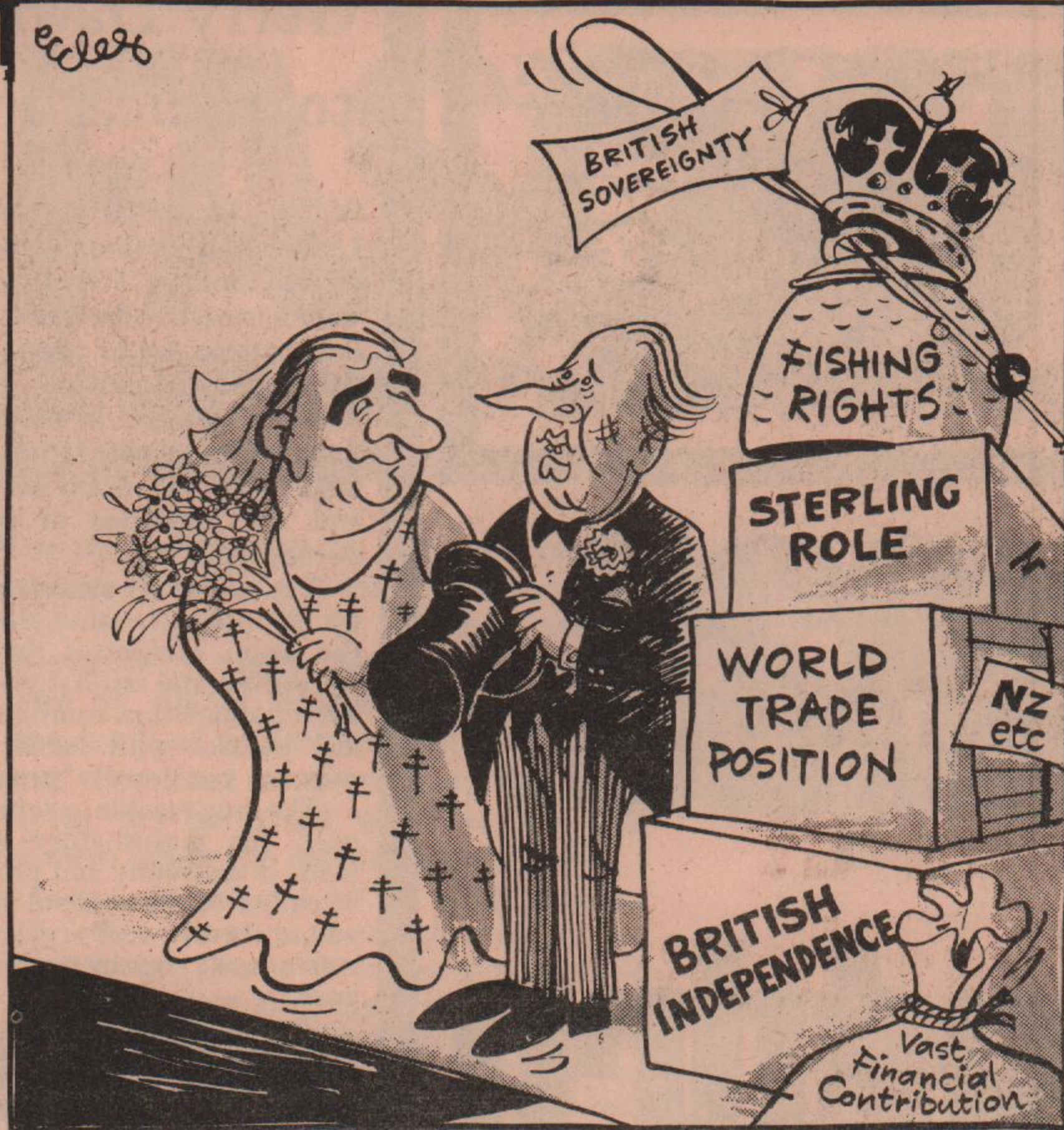
prevent national betrayal' (3 July).

On 8 July we learn of the 'clear surrender of the right of the British people to decide vital questions about their future'. On 12 July the front page leader starts off boldly with the statement that 'The alternative to surrendering British sovereignty to the Common Market was spelt out at the weekend'.

The next day the editorial laments that 'the British ruling class has repeatedly placed the country's national independence in jeopardy in pursuit of reactionary policies.'

Earlier still at the start of the campaign of opposition, Peter Zinkin wrote that the special Labour Party Conference would 'decide to reject membership on grounds of fundamental principles, including loss of sovereignty, as well as terms'.

The Midlands Communists spear-headed the campaign of opposition and 'are producing a badge for mass sale with 'Common Market NO' on a



Hands off the Crown! A recent Morning Star cartoon.

Union Jack background' (26 June).

National sovereignty is a myth. Seven years ago the Labour Party was already apologising for its betrayals because of pressure from the 'Gnomes of Zurich'.

Today individual Communists raise instead the bogey of the neo-fascists in Bonn (presumably meaning German capitalists).

What happens in Britain—in or out of the Common Market—is crucially dependent on the world economy and the international companies. Remember how during the recent Ford strikes threats of moving production to Genk and Cologne were used.

PLAGUE

The Communist Manifesto was right when it declared that the workers have no fatherland. Lenin was right when he raised the slogan of 'revolutionary defeatism'—fighting your own ruling class at home—in the imperialist war after 1914.

In inter-imperialist squabbles the workers cannot take sides. A plague on both your houses.

Our only concern must be to make demands to protect the jobs and living conditions of the working class. On that basis we can oppose entry—and on no other. Tail-ending the Powellites and the National Front, trying to outbid them in appeals to British nationalism, is a complete surrender.

Supporting the rights of oppressed nationalities to self-determination can not conceivably be applied to Britain—in its time the biggest imperialist butcher of them all.

It is a sad and gruesome spectacle seeing those who claim in some way to be heirs to the revolutionary socialist tradition peddling the lies and distortions of those who have consistently over a century and a half resolutely attacked—and sometimes mown down—workers fighting for a socialist world.

IDEAS IN SOCIETY

by DUNCAN HALLAS

Violence: it depends who's clenching the fist

MR BRIAN FAULKNER, the Northern Ireland Prime Minister, has been going on again about the 'evil men who will not hesitate to use violence to gain their ends'. A visiting Martian hearing him might suppose that Faulkner was one of those gentle pacifists who believe in non-resistance, in 'resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.' There are such people, but they are not to be found in the Orange Order or the government of Northern Ireland.

As a matter of fact Mr Faulkner, as a Tory politician, is in favour of the British and US governments manufacturing hydrogen bombs—the most extreme instruments of violence, and indiscriminate violence at that, in the whole history of mankind. He is a supporter of US intervention in Vietnam with all the bombings and massacres that it entails. He is the head of a regime that for 50 years has practised violence against the Catholic minority of the population.

In short, Mr Faulkner is a hypocritical scoundrel. He is for violence when it is used by the large and well-armed forces deployed to defend his nasty little government. He is only against the violence of the IRA Provisionals who, with few and primitive weapons, are attempting to resist it.

This kind of hypocrisy is common and nowhere more so than in British politics. Our rulers never tire of deploring the evils of violence in internal affairs and of 'aggression' in international affairs. This from the very people who, not so long ago, were fond of singing of 'dominion over palm and pine', of 'wider still and wider shall thy bounds be set' and of boasting that their flag flew over a quarter of the world's land surface. It had been planted there, no doubt, by the exercise of the principles of non-violence!

The pertinent reply to the next Tory or Labour MP who expresses his horror of violence is to ask if he voted against the military estimates. For of course armies, navies and air forces are necessarily and intrinsically instruments of violence. They exist to use violence in the interests of their masters.

It isn't small-scale violence either. A recent advertisement for a book called *The Science of War and Peace* by Robin Clarke contained the following statement: 'The human race has now accumulated sufficient nuclear explosive to eliminate itself 50,000 times over. If present trends continue 400 million people will be killed in wars in the next 50 years. One fifth of world scientific manpower is now employed by the military at a cost of over 200,000 million dollars a year.'

Interests threatened

There is only one thing wrong with this statement. It isn't the human race that has accumulated this vast arsenal. Most of the human race is not armed with anything more lethal than a walking stick. It is the governments, the ruling classes of the world, that have accumulated the weaponry, that go on accumulating it and that use it when they see their interests threatened. Ninety-nine per cent of the violence in the world is of their making. And they of course are the foremost advocates of non-resistance to their subjects.

Isn't there a difference, though, between violence used in what is euphemistically called 'national defence' and violence used against one's countrymen? Isn't it true that, in Britain at any rate, there are constitutional methods of resolving grievances?

These are quite separate questions which are commonly confused. The idea that it is all right to shoot someone in Aden or Derry but not in London is an expression of racialism. The logic

is 'but they are only wogs'—or only Irish. These ideas of national and racial superiority are one of the most important weapons used by the ruling class to divide and rule. They are poison.

The 'constitutional methods' argument is rather different. Marxists are not in favour of the indiscriminate use of violence. They are in favour of utilising all available legal avenues for propaganda and activity. But, as Rosa Luxemburg said, 'Every constitution rests upon a revolution'.

It was the English revolution of the seventeenth century—and its violent imposition on Scotland and Ireland—that made possible the development of British capitalism. It created the basic legal framework for capitalism to flourish.

The corresponding framework for a socialist economy cannot be built up piecemeal. It has to be created in the same way—by revolution. How much violence is involved depends on how effectively the ruling classes are able to organise minority violence against the majority. For socialism can only come, in Marx's words, 'as the conscious movement of the immense majority'.

This is why marxists are opposed to individual terrorism. Blowing up Mr Robert Carr does not help to develop class consciousness. It is not a moral question. Carr is a supporter of NATO, of the H-bomb, of war against the people of Vietnam. He is a supporter of violence for political ends. He has not the slightest moral right to object if opponents use the same methods against him.

Violence is built into capitalist society. We wish to abolish violence. It can only be done by abolishing capitalism. By peaceful means? 'Peacefully if possible, said James Connolly, 'forcibly if need be.' That is our position too.

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



Barren look at American desert...

FOR some amazing and unknown reason, the advance publicity for *Diary of a Mad Housewife* (Plaza) has linked the film with the women's liberation movement. I can only presume that, in the eyes of the film's publicity agent, any film that deals in any way with housewives must by definition be about women's liberation.

In any event, *Diary* is a film any women's liberation movement could well do without. It is about the alienated life of a New York housewife, lost among a bewildering array of consumer goods, a boring social climber of a husband and a sadistic lover who is a best-selling author.

More sensitive

The trouble is that it has all been done many times before and much better. American middle-class women certainly are oppressed and undoubtedly do feel alienated from any kind of real human existence.

But simply to state this fact is to repeat innumerable films of the 1950s, let alone the last decade. What is needed is some far more sensitive and perceptive view of the desert that is the American middle-class marriage, linking up the crisis in that institution with the overall crisis of American values.

Diary cannot do this or anything remotely like it. Carrie Snodgrass and Richard Benjamin struggle desperately to wring out some humour from the situation they have been handed but it is very hard going. Benjamin plays a husband whose main form of communication is declamation and giving orders and is so completely stylised as to be almost totally implausible.

More credible

Carrie Snodgrass is marginally more credible as the heroine of the whole piece, but her character is so riddled with contradictions that it is hard to take her seriously. Her relationships with both men, husband and lover, are basically so one-sided that it is even difficult to sympathise with her dilemmas, presumably the point of the whole exercise.

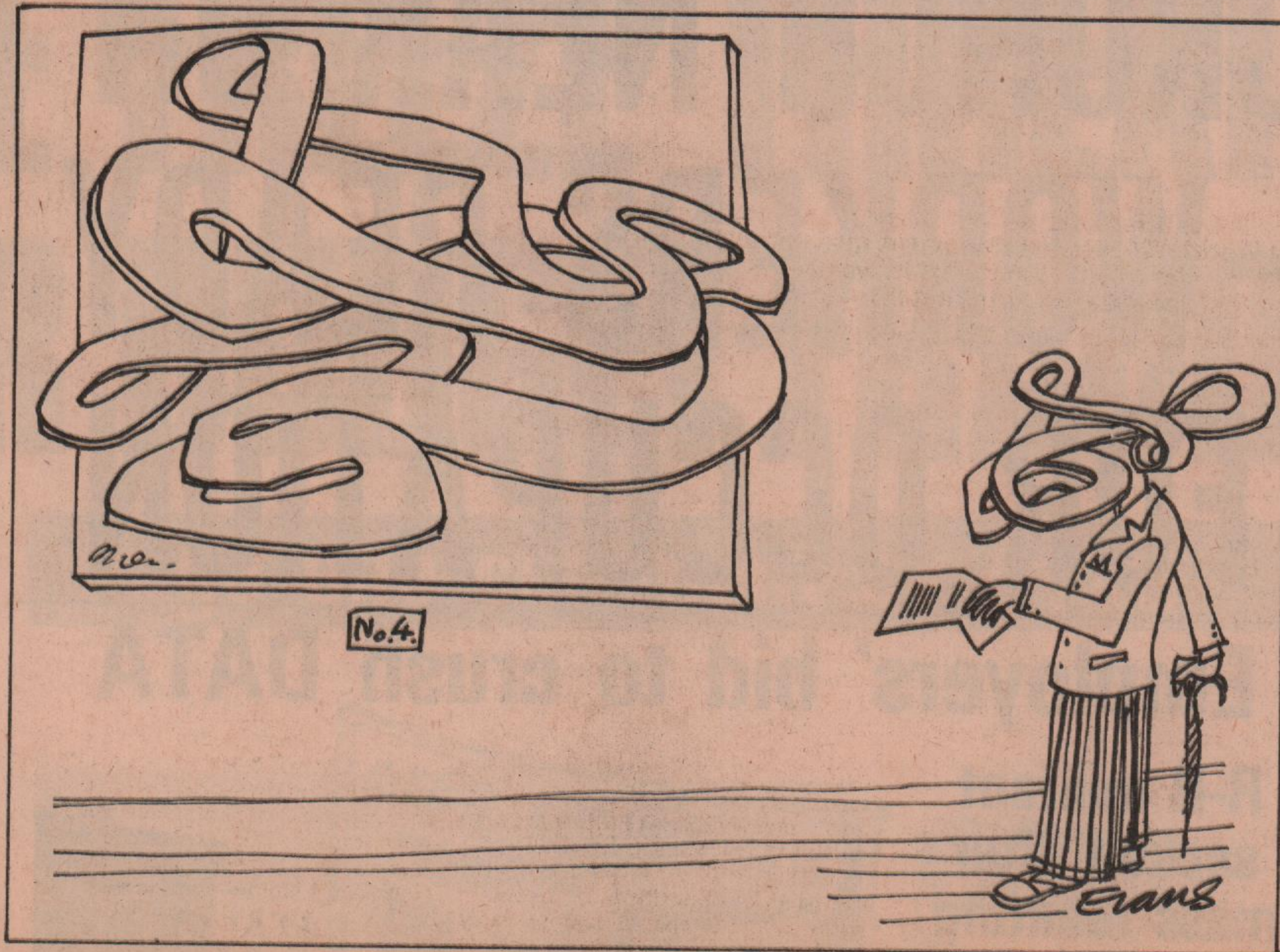
Satire is a double-edged weapon. At times, *Diary* seems to be moving towards a send-up of all the previous films of its type. But then it reveals itself as being thoroughly serious and pompous and as bad as anything of its kind.

Diary of a Mad Housewife bears about as much relation to the problems of women's liberation as a Bob Hope joke and is only marginally funnier.

Martin Tomkinson

SKEGNESS RALLY

International Socialists autumn weekend. Derbyshire Miners Holiday Centre, 15, 16, 17 October
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COTTONS COLUMN

REG GALE, chairman of the Police Federation, your cheerful bobby's apology for a trade union, came over all truthful when he spoke to Young Liberals at the weekend. The law certainly favoured the rich, he told the YLs at a summer school in York, and people with property tended to be considered more important than people without.

Gale blamed it on the 'feudal social system' that dictated that police would listen to complaints from the 'squires' rather than from poor people.

'If you misjudge your character and use the wrong sort of language to squire officialdom, they will complain and the police service takes note of these complaints,' he said.

He added that the police were not good at judging the character of people with black skins and that rich men did not need to worry about the kind of car they had as the police were more likely to stop a youth on a scooter or a student in an old banger.

And he concluded that there was more risk of breaking the law if one was poor. It might be, he said, because poor people do not have the education and did not realise they were committing an offence.

Our fashion correspondent adds: Trendy burglars, anxious to avoid arrest, are wearing deer-stalkers, tweeds and plus-fours this year and drive to work in Rolls-Royces. If apprehended by the Hobnail Brigade assume a posh voice and say: 'My pater is the Squire of Hoxton, doncherknow?' You will be released immediately.

SPEAKING of burglars, one of our acquaintances is complaining that he broke into Ted Heath's library and found only two books there. And one of those hadn't been coloured in.

Share cropper

OUTRAGE and indignation last week



Kearton: nice to hear

at the annual meeting in London of Charter Consolidated when it was suggested that shareholders in the firm, a big mining company with substantial interests in South Africa and Rhodesia, should go without a 1/2p per share increase in dividend.

The shareholder concerned, Mr Arthur Batty, said the funds thus released should be used to increase the meagre compensation paid to African miners forced out of work by a mining disease rather like severe asthma.

Since 1966, no fewer than 1309 workers out of 9100 at an asbestos mine had had their health ruined. Earning a wage of £2.40 a week, the black miner receives only £460 to live on for the rest of his life.

When he recovered from his surprise, the chairman of the meeting, Mr S Spiro, ruled the proposal out of order. He said that the necessary three weeks' notice of motion had not been given, brushing aside Mr Batty's protest that the papers had reached him too late to allow him such notice.

The chairman's instinct must surely have warned of the far-reaching character of the proposal. What would become of capitalism if shareholders began to allow human compassion to reduce dividends?

The Charter company is part of the giant Anglo-American Corporation's empire in southern Africa, where white miners get handsome compensation in glaring contrast with black workers, who are banned from forming trade unions.

From the top

AN honest boss, Lord Kearton, grand panjandrum of Courtaulds and

friend of fence-sitter Wilson, told the July issue of the *Banker*: 'The way company legislation works nowadays, there are certainly no prizes for honesty and straightforwardness and the penalties for obscurantism and presentation of accounts in a slightly misleading way seem to be minimal.'

'A company like ours, which tries to be very straight-forward, does not, and perhaps should not, get the slightest good marks for it. One also notices that some companies' accounts are full of doubtful areas and they certainly get very little condemnation. It can be argued that you cannot legislate to make people moral but I think that company legislation should try to achieve common standards of disclosure and common standards of presentation.'

'I find it very odd, for instance, that in an exceptional year, people can get favourable headlines for having increased profits when a glance at the details of their accounts indicates that they have chosen to write off as "exceptional" or "special" sums of money which if taken on the year's trading would have produced a loss.'

He means there are lots of crooks and swindlers around in big business. You knew it. We knew it. But it's nice to hear one of them say it.

THE FORD Motor Company, analysing crashes involving its cars, says that a large number of them concerned collisions with lamp posts. Ford's conclusion is that British lamp posts are badly positioned.

It's because they are on pavements, you understand. If only the planners were more sensible and stuck them in people's back gardens, Ford drivers would avoid these unpleasant confrontations. Meanwhile pedestrians are advised to watch out for drunken lamp posts, badly-lit lamp posts and learner lamp posts.



NEVILLE SMITH wrote and played the older son in *After a Lifetime* (ITV, Sunday). But just as important is that Ken Loach directed and Tony Garnett was producer.

They have brought us *Up the Junction*, *Cathy Come Home*, *In Two Minds* (about a schizophrenic girl) the film *Kes* and more recently *The Rank and File*, with a number of the actors who were also in last Sunday's play. But *After a Lifetime* was made first and rather suspiciously delayed for two years.

The 'lifetime' in the title was lived in Liverpool by Billy Scully—a militant and revolutionary and a great fighter. Yet he dies in a slum. In his lifetime the working class suffered many defeats and betrayals, particularly the 1926 General Strike which was made into the 'General Defeat' by the sell-out of the Rank and File by the TUC General Council and the activity of Winston Churchill (then Home Secretary). Churchill's massive funeral arrangements were rather more elaborate than Billy's.

But the point is that Billy has passed the tradition of fighting the bosses on to his elder son. His death awakens the political curiosity of the younger son and intensifies the fighting resolve of the elder son.

Billy's poverty, the lost opportunities for working-class power over society in his lifetime, suggest a deep bitterness, but not disillusion that capitalism can be overthrown. And that within the working class, the father who turns his considerable wit on his own son, practically making him a 'bloody idiot' can use his humour for better purposes. That real respect for the ideals of the dead can replace conventional funerals, like Bill's. That the real understanding of capitalism can be substituted for Catholic dogmas and Orangeism and so on.

Loach-Garnett TV plays combine documentary with fiction. The actors are encouraged to interrupt each other, which suggests real impatience to speak one's mind. Dialogue often sounds unclear; again to make it approximate to real dialogue.

Many of the camera shots, when focussing on a character, include the back of the head of the person who is talking to that character. The impression is that it could be you there doing the talking.

This kind of style is very good for giving a natural context for showing how people behave. Loach and Garnett avoid the danger, however, of just serving up loads of unrelated boring details of people's lives. With their semi-documentary method they highlight the issues that people face, in this case how to assess Billy's lifetime and what lessons to draw.

Individual characters necessarily tend to be presented more as types, though much less so in *After a Lifetime* than in *Cathy Come Home*, with its background information on homeless families like Cathy's, or *The Rank and File*. The semi-documentary play tries to combine the drama of fiction with the drama of reality. Such plays are designed to explore vital social issues and convince us with the strength of their socialist ideas and a compelling sense of reality.

Other sorts of plays, with different intentions, will rightly shift the emphasis towards the individual. In developing their own individual style, Loach and the others have helped advance good television as well as the communication of socialism.

REPEATS of Ronnie Corbett's superbly funny *No That's Me Over Here* (ITV, Saturday, 6.15pm), provide another chance to see the tribulations and contradictions of middle-class life.

Phil Hall

Socialist Worker

FREEZE THREAT

From page one

boom will last for long. Past evidence would bear this out. Barber's last two 'bribe the rich to invest' Budgets have produced no response.

If the Budget offers no excuse for any trade union to let up on the struggle for higher wages, the CBI 'prices initiative' offers less. Vic Feather has described it as 'a constructive move from the CBI'. But: 1 Industry has just enjoyed the biggest price rise spree since the war. Prices have already outstripped the rise in take-home pay. In other words average real wages have started to fall.

2 The permitted 5 per cent price rise will be on top of the massive benefits to industry of the strong increase in productivity brought about by speed-up, reduced manning and the other 'fruits' of productivity dealing.

3 The 'restraint' is purely voluntary and applies only to 200 firms. Food prices are not affected and are free to go on through the roof. And of course there is no attempt to include charges like higher rents, fares or welfare prices.

To sum up: Unemployment will still go up, if at an initially slower rate. And the government makes no pretence that it can get back to the days of even 500,000 on the dole. The cost of living will continue to rise.

In return for this the Tories and big business want to hold real wages down. They will now mount a massive publicity campaign to persuade union leaders to 'go soft' on their members' claims for higher wages.

But any reduction in the present all-too-modest level of wage settlements will only mean a further slide in the value of real wages. This is the 'hidden' price working people will have to pay on behalf of big business as it prepares to enter the Common Market.

The trade union movement must answer this cynical Tory trickery with one voice: 'Nothing doing'. Trade unionists must demand an immediate end to all secret meetings to hatch a wages policy between Feather and the government.

Feather must be made to account publicly for any undertakings he may have given behind closed doors. The trade union leaders must be told that their job is to fight to protect the living standards of their members and their families, not to save the bankrupt Tory government and its economic system.

Reyrolle labourers vote to strike

HEPBURN:-A mass meeting of 1100 service workers at Reyrolle's Tyneside electrical switchgear factory voted on Monday to submit 21 days' notice of strike action after the rejection of the latest pay offer by management.

The workers have banned overtime for the last three months following the redundancy of 140 labourers. The labourers' rate is £2.75 below the district level and the overtime ban has brought home to them the meagreness of their pay packet.

Management's latest pay offer was £1.50—but with job flexibility and mobility. The bosses want the labourers to pay for their own increase through productivity concessions.

At the same time, staff unions at Reyrolle—ASTMS, DATA and ACTS (Clerical section of the TGWU) rejected a 'final' management offer of 7 per cent.

Rebel airman flown to US

by R. K. Nelson

SOFTLY, SILENTLY, American Air Force authorities eased rebel Captain Tom Culver out of Britain on Tuesday.

Culver, found guilty at Lakenheath court martial last week for taking part in a GI anti-Vietnam war protest, was told to fly home—at his own expense—for his 'dishonourable discharge' from military service.

A few hours before he left, Captain Culver told me: 'I have fought, fought and fought to stay in Britain. But I aim to be back here in a few weeks' time.'

Meanwhile, American GIs in Britain are squaring up for a head-on confrontation with the US Air Force authorities—and the big clash could come in the next few weeks.

Members of PEACE—the USAF anti-Vietnam war movement—are planning a presentation of petitions to the US Embassy in London. It will be a repeat of the 31 May 'demonstration' which led to the court martial of Capt. Culver.

Culver, a 32-year-old lawyer working in the Judge Advocate's office at Lakenheath, was reprimanded and ordered to

be discharged from the service and fined a thousand dollars (£416) for his part in the activities of 31 May. Fellow servicemen are holding collections to pay the fine.

Culver took part in a gathering of about 150 US servicemen at Speakers' Corner on 31 May, went with them as they straggled in groups of six to the embassy, where they presented a series of anti-Vietnam war petitions, and then attended an open-air concert in Victoria Park, which featured a sketch satirising President Nixon.

CRUNCH NEAR ON CLYDE -WORKERS READY FOR OCCUPATION

by Peter Bain

THE PRESENT lull in activity over the liquidation of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders may well prove to be the calm before the storm. The jobs of 8500 workers are directly involved, with 25,000-30,000 other jobs in the balance.

On 16 July the government's advisory committee—a merchant banker, a shipping tycoon, a whisky magnate and Lord Robens—announced that they would be making their first report on the future of shipbuilding on the upper reaches of the Clyde within a week.

On 26 July, John Brown's workers return from their annual holidays, but the other yards will be closed until 9 August. The yard workers are guaranteed wages until 6 August.

DANGERS

This two-week period when Brown's men are isolated is the obvious time for the liquidator's axe to fall. The Joint Shop Stewards Committee is fully aware of the dangers and will be meeting on 26 July.

The stewards are still making it absolutely clear that the workers will occupy and run the yards if redundancies are announced. Should this happen, the yard men should call on other workers to demonstrate their solidarity and to attend a conference inside the yard to discuss the situation.

The stewards are coming under increasing pressure from the Scottish Trades Union Congress and union officials to abandon the occupation.

The special STUC conference on unemployment and UCS in Glasgow on 16 August should be the occasion for another massive strike in the West of Scotland. A lobby of the conference would show the union bureaucrats that under no circumstances will they be allowed to interfere with the proposed occupation nor to channel the workers' militancy into 'safe' methods of protest.

FREEZE

Those who believe in appealing to businessmen for help in the fight against UCS's closure received a slap in the face last week. One of UCS's creditors, Thomson Cranes, have taken out a writ to try to prevent liquidation and have asked the yard's 2000 creditors to support this move.

The creditors are demanding that the UCS workers accept double day-shifts, a two-year wage freeze with strikers disciplined by their unions or the unions to allow other workers to do strikers' work.

The yard workers can have no illusions about who their real friends are—the ordinary workers who understand only too well what redundancy and unemployment mean. The UCS workers' struggle has laid the basis for a militant campaign by the Clydeside working-class movement around the issue of unemployment.

Trade unionists should start to fight NOW for the following demands: 1. Full support for UCS workers and for a strike and lobby of the STUC on 16 August.

2. A 35-hour week.
3. A ban on overtime.
4. Work-sharing with re-training where necessary on full pay.
5. No productivity deals.
6. Work or full maintenance.
7. Nationalisation of UCS, without compensation, and under workers' control.

Employers' bid to crush DATA

R-R militant sacked after mass meeting

THE powerful Engineering Employers' Federation has declared war on DATA, the militant draughtsmen's union that is now the technical and supervisory section of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Circulars from the EEF to its members have urged a campaign to weed out DATA leaders in preparation for a major onslaught on the union when the Industrial Relations Bill becomes law.

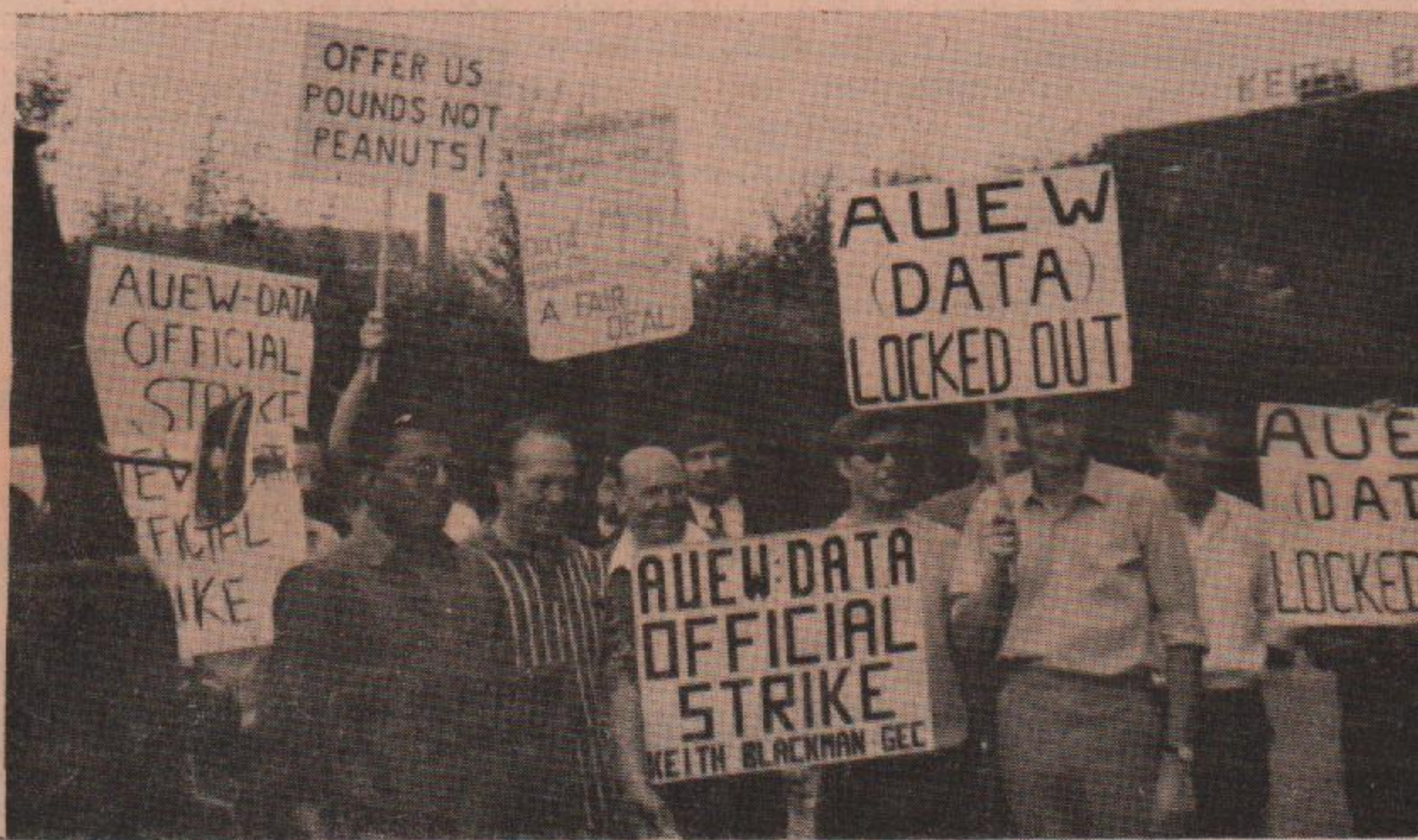
Just how tough the bosses are prepared to get became clear in two disputes this week.

At Rolls-Royce's Coventry plant, DATA office chairman Dick Jones has been suspended from work and physically prevented from entering the site.

A pay agreement between the union and the company runs out this month and talks on a new deal have ended in deadlock. Last Wednesday the company agreed to allow DATA members to use the works canteen for a meeting to discuss the situation.

On that day, representatives from the Fine Tubes strike committee in Plymouth were touring Coventry to raise support for their year-old dispute for union recognition. The convenor of the manual unions at Rolls-Royce invited them on to the site and Dick Jones asked them to address the DATA meeting.

On Friday Mr Jones, a member of the DATA executive, was told he was suspended on full pay pending investigation by management into his invitation to 'non-employees' to enter the works. He was told to leave the site immediately and works police prevented him from returning.



DATA pickets at Keith Blackman's this week: see story below

At a mass meeting outside the plant, the manual unions' convenor said that if anyone should be suspended it should be himself, because he was responsible for asking the Fine Tubes men to come onto the site.

A storeman told the meeting that management had asked him for the key to a cupboard at the rear of the canteen so that they could record the DATA works meeting.

Management told a deputation that Dick Jones was 'persona non grata' (un-

acceptable) as office chairman.

A further meeting of DATA members on Monday voted to take strike action to demand the reinstatement of Mr Jones. An emergency meeting of the union executive voted to support the Coventry men.

Shop stewards of the manual unions at Rolls-Royce met on Tuesday and decided that if the result of the investigation into Mr Jones' activities was unsatisfactory, all manual workers will be called out in support.

CRUDE BULLYING AT TOTTENHAM

DATA members at Keith Blackman's works in Tottenham, north London, have been on strike since Monday following crude management bullying and intimidation of their members.

Blackman's is part of the giant GEC combine. Two weeks ago, DATA members agreed to impose 'jobs sanctions', such as a ban on overtime and a work to rule, following the failure of pay talks.

The management called in one draughtsman and told him to do a job that was not included in his work specification. He refused and was suspended.

Eight more were called in one by one, given the same instruction and suspended when they refused. The ninth draughtsman

refused to talk to management without a union representative present. He was sacked on the spot for 'insubordination'.

Management say the men can return if they accept 'normal working'—which means agreeing to jobs not included in their specifications.

DATA general secretary George Doughty commented: 'This is a most significant move by a company that is part of one of the biggest combines affiliated to the Engineering Employers' Federation.'

'It takes place at a time when we have made public the tactics of the EEF. We hold not only Blackman's but the whole of the EEF responsible for this brutal decision.'

NOTICES

Notices must be pre-paid, 5p per line, six words per line. Copy deadline with cash: first post Tuesday. Notices will be accepted by phone on Tuesday but cash must arrive within 24 hours. Invoices can not be sent. Socialist Worker receives no revenue from commercial advertising and receipts from classified notices help to meet our weekly deficit.

WANDSWORTH IS public meeting on the Common Market. Spotted Dog, 72 Garrett Lane, SW18, nr Wandsworth Town Hall, 8pm, Thursday, 29 July.

Tues, 2pm-5pm; Wed 2pm-8pm; Thurs-Fri 2pm-5pm; Sat 11am-2pm.

LAMBETH IS public meeting. Roy Tease on The Development and Significance of the shop stewards' movement. Wednesday 28 July, 8.15pm. Tulse Hill Tavern, junction Tulse Hill and Norwood Road.

CAR REPAIRS: Left-wing cars only. Phone Stevi Merkk, 699 4408. Good value all departments.

SOCIALIST WORKER will not close down for a summer break this year, but the first two issues in August will be four-pagers.

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