

The Red Mole

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Pay Laws: Our Tasks

The urgent task of the working class today is the fight for *united action to smash the pay laws*. Every tendency in the working class must be judged by how it matches up to this task.

The General Council of the TUC has so far completely failed to take a single step towards united working class action and has thus opened up the chance for the Government to divide the movement and pick off isolated sections as they go into struggle against the laws. The fight must therefore be waged for those unions currently engaged in wages disputes to *unify their claims and actions* around the central demand for an end to the pay laws. At the same time militants must support the demand for the TUC to be recalled to prepare all out action to smash the pay laws.

The Communist Party has set in motion a call for a conference of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of the Trade Unions, open to representatives of trade union branches and shop-stewards committees. This conference must be supported but a fight must be waged to transform it from a talk-shop into a really democratic conference within which a fighting policy can be thrashed out for action independent of the trades union bureaucracies' manoeuvrings. So far the Communist Party leadership has blocked such efforts rendering the LCDTU useless as a means of unifying the activity of militants nationally along a common line.

Already initiatives have been taken against the freeze locally and within rank and file organisations such as the hospital workers and teachers rank and file groupings. Such activity must be generalised through local activities and demonstrations and through the setting up of local action committees to co-ordinate the fight against the pay laws and generalise solidarity with those sections already in struggle.

But within this struggle to build united action against the pay laws, socialist militants must fight for a programme that can form the basis for drawing all sections of the mass of people into a united struggle to overthrow the Tory Government. Such a programme must offer a *real solution* to the problems of rising prices and declining living standards of the mass of people. Central to such a programme should be the following:

* Direct working class action to fight companies putting up prices which affect working class living standards.

* A National minimum income and the fight for that income for all who currently fall below it.

* Equal pay for women.

* The fight for social benefits which cannot be eroded by rising prices: shorter hours, free transport, company subsidised nursery facilities.

* The demand for automatic pay increases for rises in the cost of living under trade union control and in addition to the regular wage demands.

See centre pages: 'A Strategy Against The Pay Laws'.

For a **UNITED SOCIALIST VIETNAM**

By TARIQ ALI

The "peace plan" has now been signed by the United States. The war in Indochina, however, is by no means over. In South Vietnam it has entered a new phase. In Laos and Cambodia it continues with the same intensity as before.

Nevertheless the signing of the treaty has led to one important gain for the Vietnamese revolutionaries: the United States has, for the first time since the beginning of the war, stopped bombing both North and South Vietnam and arrangements for the withdrawal of American troops are reported to have been completed. The real significance of this retreat will be felt and understood in the coming months not only in South Vietnam, but also in the rest of the world.

DUAL POWER

The situation in South Vietnam today is a situation of dual power. There are two contending armies representing two opposing class interests confronting each other throughout the country. The fighting in the first week after the "ceasefire" will probably stop for a few weeks, but it demonstrates the impossibility of a compromise. It is impossible for 3,000 foreign observers to agree on which side actually fired the first shot. Thus "violations" of the "truce" will continue to take place up and down the country. What we are likely to see developing is a situation which alternates between "neither peace nor war" and open civil war.

The Thieu regime is clearly confronting a desperate situation. The morale of the puppet army is going to deteriorate still further with the withdrawal of its American overlords. In addition NLF propaganda asking puppet

soldiers to return to their homes in the liberated areas, where landlordism has been totally liquidated and where the peasant-soldier can till their own land, will also have a powerful impact. That is why Thieu has been sending his soldiers to burn down villages on the outskirts of Saigon where the NLF has mass support, why he has been shooting down communists in the cities and why he refuses to release the 200,000 political prisoners incarcerated in South Vietnamese prisons.

WAR WILL GO ON

Dual power by its very nature cannot exist indefinitely. Either one class or the other has to assert its authority sooner or later. Given the fact that the NLF has explicitly refused to retreat, leave alone disarm its soldiers, and that the North Vietnamese have refused to withdraw any of their troops, it is obvious that the war will go on, regardless of which side "violates" the "peace". Even if the Russians and Chinese (as part of a secret agreement) stop supplying the Vietnamese with military hardware, provided the Americans stay out (and it would be *tactically* extremely difficult for them to resume the bombing), this will not be a major problem for the liberation forces. Once the civil war resumes, the puppet regime will not be able to exist for long without international support.

A great deal, however, depends now on the rise of a new mass upsurge in the cities and in the countryside. The masses in Southern Vietnam have shown an amazing resilience over the last three decades. A resurgence of the mass movement would bring the masses into direct and open conflict with the Thieu regime in the cities and provide the basis for a final NLF offensive to overthrow this corrupt and wretched puppet administration. This is why the combativity of the South Vietnamese masses and the orientation of the Vietnamese Communist Party are going to be the two decisive



Part of IMG contingent on massive Indochina demo 20th January - see report on page 2.

Photo: Peter Harrap (Report)

factors in the months which follow.

In Laos and Cambodia no official "ceasefire" has been signed. American planes are therefore concentrating on unloading their bombs on these two countries to make up for the loss of target practice over Southern Vietnam. In both Laos and Cambodia the puppet regimes of Lon Nol and Souvanna Phouma are extremely weak militarily and politically. Both the Pathet Lao and the Red Khmer control nearly two-thirds of their respective countries. An end to the bombing would in their cases lead to quick victories.

That is why the plan for a new Indochina Conference with China, Russia, France, Britain and the United States has to be condemned outright. None of the Big Powers has any right to dictate terms to the Laotian and Cambodian people who have waged as heroic a struggle as their Vietnamese comrades and are approaching victory. The lessons of Geneva in 1954 are obvious to all concerned.

MAINTAIN RED ALERT

The international solidarity movement must, in these circumstances, maintain a red alert not only in relation to Vietnam, but also to Laos and Cambodia. We must be ready at short notice to come out on to the streets if any attempt is made at the conference table to take away from the Laotian and Cambodian liberation forces what they have already won on the battlefield.

The last few weeks have shown us the power of the international solidarity movement. Any effort now to turn this movement into small propaganda/discussion clubs would have a demobilising effect on the militants who have once again begun to appreciate the importance of this revolution. This is why more demonstrations have to be planned for the future. Not on the absurd basis that Nixon should adhere to the "peace plan" (this is a legalistic argument which Nixon will use against the Vietnamese to justify another intervention if the need arises), but on the basis of carrying on our solidarity till the final victory. We should, therefore, combat any false optimism or illusions which could once again disarm the solidarity movement.

**SOLIDARITY TILL FINAL VICTORY!
ALL POWER TO THE PRG!
FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST VIETNAM!
VICTORY TO THE INDOCHINESE
REVOLUTION!**

MERTHYR KICKS OUT ARMY

Merthyr Borough Council have banned both the British Army and the RAF from holding recruiting drives in the town. The Council said that they do not want to encourage young people to join the armed forces and that the majority of the members could not give support to any function connected with aggression.

the fact that both of Wales's home based regiments, the Royal Welch Fusiliers and the Royal Welch Regiment have served in Ireland.

Col. John Davies of the British Army Careers Office described the Council as 'narrow minded'.

Page 2: Bloody Sunday demos

A monster rally which packed the Camden Town Hall, with an overflow of thousands spread out into the surrounding streets - this was the high point of the Anti-Internment League activities in Britain calculated to use the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, on Sunday, 28 January, to rejuvenate the solidarity movement in this country.

At two simultaneous meetings, one inside and one outside the Town Hall, speakers ranging from one mother and four wives of internees, James Wray, father of one of the victims of Bloody Sunday, through Provo, Official, PD, Gery Lawless (IMG) and Paul Foot (IS) and including Fulvio Grimaldi (editor of *Lotta Continua*, the Italian left-wing daily) and Mike Cooley of the AUEW (TASS), urged the need for solidarity with the struggle in Ireland, and explained the connection between this struggle and the political conjuncture in the world anti-imperialist struggle.

STEP FORWARD

A significant fact in the meeting was the enthusiastic applause when speaker after speaker welcomed the success to date of the NLF in Vietnam and declared the identity of interest between the two struggles. This represents a tremendous step forward from the traditional confusion among the Irish people in relation to US imperialism.

In the weeks and months preceding the demonstration, following an appeal made by Bernadette Devlin, the Anti-Internment League had organised mass distribution of leaflets and posters, and over 30 local meetings had been called to mobilise support. In most cases, the meetings were organised by local AIL branches, but in some areas, where either there was no AIL, or the AIL itself was not sufficiently representative of the potential support, then *ad-hoc* committees were formed on the initiative of the IMG.

The result of this unity in action and careful preparation was reflected not only in London.

In Scotland, with its peculiar difficulties for work in support of the Irish struggle, the Derry Bloody Sunday Commemoration Committee was able to organise a meeting which

Rosemary Sullivan on the Anti-Internment League 'After Bloody Sunday'



Part of the 4,500 AIL Bloody Sunday demo en route to Camden Town Hall (Photo: Mike Cohen) filled the main hall of Shettleston Town Hall, with supporters travelling from Stirling, Edinburgh, Fife, Coatbridge and other centres to hear Harry McShane, Brian Trench, Gery Lawless and Gerry Doherty address the largest anti-imperialist meeting on the Irish question in Scotland for many years.

CONFUSIONS

The mobilisation was not without its confusions. Despite the fact that all the main organisations working on the Irish question had agreed to the idea of one demonstration in London and one in Scotland, a series of minor commemorations were organised in a number of areas, including Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham, which detracted from the central effort. This effect was increased by a number of active supporters of the AIL deciding to

travel to Derry for the main commemoration in Ireland.

Top marks politically and organisationally for the mobilisation must go the Coventry area. Here, strong united front action by IMG, IS and Irish exiles is reflected in the existence of two AILs, one in the University and one in the town, capable of strong initiatives on the Irish question. This was reflected in a whole number of actions in the seven days preceding the commemoration.

A welcome change from the last AIL demonstration was the large turnout by IS, who for the first time in a year outnumbered the IMG on the march, and contributed in no small way to the overall success. The same unity had applied in Scotland, confounding the

pessimism on the question of mobilisation on Ireland displayed by the official IS speaker at the mobilisation rally in Sheffield.

The Communist Party failed to mobilise a single branch, and had to content itself with photographs of the rally in the *Morning Star* the next day which distorted the total composition, attempting to give it a peacenik image. They made the false claim that their Irish front organisation had participated, although in fact it failed to take part.

BREADTH OF VIEWS

The breadth of views represented on the main platform in London reflected the range of organisations which had supported the demonstration, and drove home the first important lesson - that there does exist a large and slowly growing base of support for a solidarity movement on Ireland, but that no one of the Irish emigrant organisations, or the revolutionary groups has the status *on its own* to mobilise these people who have consistently voted for unity with their feet by marching or not marching. They can be mobilised, they will turn out, and they can be organised, but only when they see that the haphazard and exclusive organisational methods of the past are broken from. Only the broadest principled united front can attract them.

The Bloody Sunday Commemoration showed that in England and Wales the AIL, with all its faults, is alone capable of providing this lead.

The rally can now serve as a springboard for an upsurge of activity on Ireland between now and the crucial period of the White Paper. The impressive £500 collection at the rally provides the lubricating oil for such a campaign, and now makes possible the achievement of the next two tasks for the AIL: the publication of a paper to act as a mobiliser and organiser; and the organisation of a conference called by the AIL which will attempt to organise the full breadth of the solidarity and anti-war forces in Britain.

As we go to press, reports are still coming in of international activity on the week-end of Bloody Sunday.

INDOCHINA SOLIDARITY STILL HIGH ON AGENDA

Between 12,000 and 15,000 people marched through London's crowded streets on Saturday, 20 January to demonstrate on the war in Indochina. This march was part of an international day of action to coincide with Nixon's inauguration as President. It was held at a time when the whole world was waiting to see if the Paris accords and the 23 point agreement would be signed by the principal participants.

The British demonstration was preceded by two separate rallies, one by the British Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, (BCPV) the other by the Indochina Solidarity Conference (ISC). This state of affairs arose because the BCPV refused to have a joint rally with the ISC with shared speaking rights.

The International Marxist Group took a contingent of about 1500 militants down to the ISC rally on Charing Cross Embankment. Speakers included Dick Jones from the AUEW (TASS), Tom Culver from the Union of American ex-servicemen, Althea Jones from the Black Panther Movement, Ralph Miliband, and Gery Lawless from the Anti-Internment League.

TAKING SIDES

Althea Jones said, "The Vietnamese are not passive victims - they teach us how to resist as international revolutionary socialists. This is the country which has forced us all to take sides between the rulers and the oppressed."

Gery Lawless reminded the 5,000 strong gathering that after breaking from the servile traditions of the British Labour movement, in taking a clear position of solidarity with the Indochinese people, it would be inconsistent and wrong for them not to solidarise with those fighting their own bourgeoisie in Ireland. Judging from the numbers on the Anti-Internment League demonstration a week later this call did not fall on deaf ears.

Ralph Miliband said that it was our clear stand in solidarity with the NLF and for the victory of the revolution in all of Indochina which brought us together at the Embankment instead of in Trafalgar Square. He finished by saying, "If the Paris agreements are signed our solidarity must not end because the struggle will not end. The signing will mark a new phase in the struggle ... what the US can't achieve in one way it will attempt by other means. The Viet-

namese will need us then."

SOLIDARITY

The ISC regrouped virtually every political organisation to the left of the Communist Party, as well as Irish organisations, groups in solidarity with other anti-colonial struggles (such as Dhofar and Palestine) and many colleges and universities from up and down the country. Although the ISC majority supports the 'Sign Now' position, it was crystal clear that this was posed within the framework of active solidarity with the NLF and not from a position of 'Peace in Vietnam'. This was evidenced by the slogan which dominated the whole march - 'Solidarity Till the Final Victory'.

The demonstration of the BCPV was separated by the police from that of the ISC behind. Its preparation had been the main focus of activity for the Communist Party for a month previously, and it proved to be the largest demonstration of a non-industrial issue organised by them for some time.

The International Socialism Group brought a sizeable contingent of some 750 people to the ISC rally, demanded a speaker and were refused one. They turned right and marched to the BCPV rally.

An estimated 7,000 people marched behind the BCPV to the slogans of "US Go Home", "Yankee Murderers Out" and "Peace and Socialism In" with here and there, especially from the General Union of Arab Students, the cry of "Solidarity with the NLF".

In Grosvenor Square, while BCPV supporters were trickling off home there was a tense moment when the police threw a cordon in front of the IMG's contingent, thus blocking most of the ISC section of the march from entering the square. But, threatened by other demonstrators on the other side, they had to relent and the march ended with a speech from Tariq Ali, the shouting of slogans and the singing of the Internationale.

TASKS

The fact that a movement in clear solidarity with the revolutionary process in Indochina is emerging is a very welcome event in the context of British politics. But a demonstration is a wasted event unless it can fulfill two tasks: the first is to provide a focus for the political

work in work-places, colleges etc. which has preceded it; the second is to arm and prepare the people mobilised by the demonstration for the political tasks they will have to undertake in the future.

While it is self-evident from the numbers involved that this demonstration fulfilled the first task, the second task has still to be done. Already we have seen that the ceasefire deadline on Saturday 27th brought no silence to the guns or planes. As the civil war continues in Indochina, as the dual power in that country is seen to be what it actually is - the confrontation of two fundamentally opposing classes around alternative organs of state (including military) power, we will see what those people whose only ideological armaments were 'Peace in Vietnam' will have to say and do. We will see what those who really thought that peace and unity in Vietnam could result from the strokes of four pens, will do when the bourgeoisies of the entire world mount their ideological offensive against the NLF and the North Vietnamese regular army claiming that they have broken the accords. Will they retreat

into playing the same game as those bourgeoisies, into producing counter-evidence of similar actions by the puppet army? Or will they do not *only* that (for it is necessary) but also come out openly for the destruction of the Thieu regime, for the Provisional Revolutionary Government to power, for the release of all political prisoners, for the establishment of workers and peasants committees? And will they carry on their propaganda and agitation until these goals have been achieved, until the 'Final Victory'?

These are the tasks which face the solidarity movement today. These are the issues which must be taken up with all those sincere and hard-working militants who marched with the BCPV that day, and also into wider layers of the labour movement.

The question of Peace in Indochina can only be decided by the victory of the revolution there. Until that time the need for building and strengthening the solidarity movement here in Britain must remain high on the agenda for all revolutionaries.

John Weal

21 DAYS LEFT TO MEET £10,000 FUND DRIVE TARGET

The Fund Drive today stands at:

£6,700

There are only three more weeks to go before we reach the target date set for our Fund Drive last November. Up till now the response from our readers, from militants in the labour movement and from IMG comrades has been remarkable. However the last spurt always requires extra effort. If we are to move to a weekly by Easter, the Fund Drive must be successfully concluded by 21 February.

We would therefore urge all our supporters and, in particular, all IMG units to make a special effort to help us collect the remaining £3,300 within the next three weeks.

Further signatories from the labour movement

to the appeal "to help make the newspaper into a weekly and contribute to the £10,000 Fund Drive" are (in a personal capacity):

Trevor Digby (BISAKTA shop steward)

Eric Savage (T&GWU, member Executive Committee, Widnes and Runcorn Trades Council)

If you would like to contribute, please fill in the form below.

Fill in this form and send to: **FUND DRIVE**, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. (Cheques should be made out to The Red Mole).

I am enclosing £.....p.....for the Fund Drive.

NAME

ADDRESS

.....

CAV: THE BEGINNING OF A CRITICAL PHASE

By PETE CRESSWELL
and BRIAN SLOCOCK

For the past four months the workers at CAV, Fazakerley, have been occupying their factory in an heroic struggle to resist the rationalisation plans of their employer, the giant Joseph Lucas combine, and save the 1200 jobs on their site. In that period the extent of support they have received from the rest of the working class movement has been sufficient to keep the struggle going. They have received financial support from many sections of the trade union movement, and co-operation from Birmingham transport drivers and workers in the CAV factories in the South East who have refused to handle any work normally done at Fazakerley. But they have not been given the kind of powerful industrial action that could have brought the Lucas combine to its knees and actually won this important fight.

The only effective industrial attack against the Lucas combine has been that carried out by the CAV workers themselves. Because of this they have been subjected to increasingly heavy pressures both by the Lucas management and, unfortunately, by sections of the trade union movement itself.

SHUTDOWN

The first important step by the CAV workers to extend their struggle was to force the shutdown of the Lucas Industrial Equipment (LIE) factory that shares their Fazakerley site, and prevent Lucas from utilising the transport vehicles that normally operate from that site. This resulted in the closure of the LIE factory. Despite repeated invitations from the CAV workers to support them and join the occupation, the LIE stewards preferred to cross over to the other side and started a campaign within the local trade union movement against the workers at CAV. A creditable exception to this class-collaborationist path was Bill Hunter, SLL member and steward at LIE, who has recently been deprived of his steward's credentials because of his opposition.

At the same time workers in other factories of the Lucas combine on Merseyside failed to extend any real support to their brothers and sisters at CAV. When pickets appeared at their gates this apathy turned to outright hostility on the part of many (although once again a number of militants were prepared to extend the hand of class solidarity) and the stewards did nothing to assist the CAV pickets, a few even openly encouraging the crossing of the picket lines by transport drivers.

The Lucas management saw its golden oppor-

tunity in this division among the workers. It immediately stepped up the pressure by threatening the permanent closure of LIE unless it were allowed to reopen. At the same time it manoeuvred to split the workers at CAV by offering the members of the staff unions guarantees of jobs elsewhere in the combine on Merseyside (perked up by immediate transfer on full salary until the new jobs are arranged). These were, of course, admissions of weakness on the part of the Lucas management: they would not have played these cards if the occupation and the CAV pickets were not starting to pinch.

DEMORALISATION

The Lucas ploy with the staff union members succeeded - they accepted the company's offer and left the occupation, leaving substantial bitterness and some demoralisation among their former comrades. In the wake of this coup by the management, the Occupation Committee then finally gave in on the question of LIE: it was decided to allow the plant to resume operations, to allow Lucas to use the transport vehicles from the Fazakerley site, and to lift the pickets from the other combine factories in the area. These recommendations were referred to a mass meeting of those involved in the occupation, which accepted them after a full and heated discussion.

It should be stressed that these concessions by no means amount to the end of the struggle. Both the Occupation Committee and the vast majority of the workers in the CAV occupation see this as a tactical retreat to allow them to carry on the fight to save 1200 jobs for Merseyside. This is most clearly shown by the treatment given by the mass meeting to a motion that the occupation should abandon the demand for reopening of the factory and simply seek better redundancy terms: this was defeated by an overwhelming majority of over 90 per cent.

It must be said that, in our opinion, the concessions on the question of LIE, the pickets, etc., were tactical mistakes on the part of the Occupation Committee. The very fact that the company were putting so much pressure on is proof that they were worried: it would have been better at this point to step up action, rather than make a retreat. There are three serious dangers associated with such a course of action: 1. the management will see this as a crack which they will try to open even wider by pressing further demands; 2. those involved in the occupation could see it as a defeat, thereby weakening morale; 3. it could weaken the ability of the occupation to gain industrial

support from other groups of workers.

While these dangers are very real the last two, at least, can be overcome. The commitment of the CAV workers to the occupation is firm, and will undoubtedly be kept up no matter what tactical adjustments or errors are made. A more difficult, but equally necessary, task is to convince the rest of the labour movement that tactical concessions by the CAV occupation committee do not let them off the hook: on the contrary, these concessions were forced upon the CAV workers because of the lack of support they were receiving from the rest of the trade union movement, and thus other workers must accept responsibility for these concessions and struggle even harder to launch industrial action against the Lucas combine. If they do not do this then they are strengthening the hand of Lucas management and forcing the CAV workers towards further compromises which can only lead to a serious defeat, not only for the workers at CAV, but for the whole British working class.

As far as the first point goes, the Lucas management have already proved its correctness: they have refused to agree to a return to work by LIE unless the CAV workers are willing to give up control of the site gate to the Lucas security police. This shows that, once having gained a small advantage, they are dedicated to pushing for as much as they can squeeze out of this situation. We say that the CAV workers have already conceded too much - they should not concede an inch more. They should use these tricks of the Lucas management to expose the ruthless methods of this company to the whole labour movement. They should reply by spitting in the eye of Joseph Lucas and calling on the trade union movement to stand solidly behind them.

Every trade union militant, regardless of what concessions are forced on the CAV workers, must say:

Solidarity with the CAV workers!

Hands off all Lucas products!

All messages of support, donations, requests for information to: CAV Occupation Committee, 46/48 Mount Pleasant, Liverpool 3.

STOP PRESS: We have been informed that from Monday, 29 January, the workers of LIE will be staging a 'work-in' in protest at the Lucas management's refusal to allow them to return to work unless control of the gates is handed back to management. It is too early to judge the significance of this development, but we will be carrying a full report in our next issue.



Hosiery Workers Fight Continues

Red Mole Reporter

The strike of Asian workers at the Mansfield Hosiery mills in Loughborough seemed to end in victory with the signing of an agreement giving Asian workers the right to train as fully-fashioned knitters. But the struggle has still not ended.

The white knitters have now demanded that of the 28 trainee Asian workers, 8 must withdraw or they will refuse to train any. This is a further attempt to preserve the best jobs for white workers. As the strikers' bulletin stated: "It is precisely these sort of pressures from the knitters that the Asians have had to put up with for ten years". At a mass meeting the Asian workers made it clear that they would not give up one trainee post. After ten weeks on strike they were not prepared to abandon the principle for which they have made such sacrifices.

Throughout the strike the Asians' position has been that any division between black and white workers only plays into the hands of the management. They have, therefore, continually called for united action against threatened redundancies, and even allowed the imported white scabs to remain in the factory to avoid future divisions in the factory.

But while the union officials' response has been to seek an agreement satisfying both sides, the Asian workers realise that now they must stand firm and united. United action of the workers will remain impossible while that unity is based on the subjection of the Asian workers. The union officials have only shown their bankruptcy by refusing to force the white knitters to give way.

The racist attitudes of the white knitters have been strengthened by the presence of 15 members of the Powell Supporters Group, a National Front-based body, in the factory. This has reinforced racial prejudices based on fears of unemployment or loss of status. But only united action of the workers, called for by the strikers, will enable them to banish these fears in a struggle against the threat of redundancies caused by rationalisation in the industry.

In an industry with a high proportion of women and immigrant workers it will be a hard task to bring about united working class action. But the fight of the Asian workers in Loughborough for no compromise with racism is a signpost for future struggles.

"THE COD WAR"

Carl Gardner looks at the British-Icelandic conflict

In July 1971, shortly after the new, centre-left coalition government came to power in Iceland and announced its intention to extend its fishing limits from 12 to 50 miles, Antony Royle, spokesman for the British Tory government justified its opposition to the projected move in rather interesting and undisguised terms. He said that if such a policy was successful against British fishing-fleets "...only to a limited extent could the loss be made good by switching to other grounds. Most of these are already fully exploited..."

What he was saying in effect was that the blind, unplanned plunder of the North Atlantic fishing-grounds had exhausted them and that Iceland's coastal shelf, on which cod spawn and to which herring migrate in large numbers, was the major remaining area from which the British fishing industry could extract its profits, using its antiquated and dangerous trawlers and its over-worked and under-paid labour force. The objections of a small country, whose whole economy virtually depends on those same fish (80% of Iceland's exports are products or by-products of fish) were to him of little consequence.

As revolutionary socialists we should defend and maintain positions which are in the interest of the whole working-class, in this case in Iceland, as well as in Britain. Let us look then at the subjective responses and objective situations of the workers in the two countries, in relation to this issue.

REACTIONARY HOSTILITY

The Icelandic government began to actively defend its policy by force in September 1972 using its very small coastguard vessels to cut the trawling-wires of British and German boats found fishing within the 50-mile limit. The response of the workers in and around the British fishing and fish-processing industries

(who number about 100,000), egged on by the capitalist press and their "socialist" leaders in the Labour Party and the unions has been one of reactionary indignation and chauvinistic hostility.

Such a response can be shown quite easily to be short-sighted and directly opposed to the long-term interests of the workers involved. It is the section of the British ruling-class involved in the fishing industry, who have brought about the present situation by their policy of over-fishing in the first place. What hostility against the Icelandic actions means, is that the trawlermen are being misled into endangering their lives by fighting the ruling class's battles imagining them to be their own. What is clear is that given this policy, whatever happens, the trawlermen and the fish-industry workers will suffer. If the trawler-owners, backed by the British government, manage to smash the 50-mile limit, then over-fishing of this last vital fishing-ground will soon reduce the total stocks of fish in the Atlantic and there will be a cutback in the industry. Exactly the same thing will happen if the Icelandic government is successful in maintaining the limit.

ATROCIOUS CONDITIONS

The trawlermen of Hull, Grimsby, Fleetwood, etc. should be organising themselves to defend their real interests against the fleet owners, not attacking the Icelandic government and the Icelandic workers, who face exactly the same fate as they do for exactly the same reasons. The demands they should be raising and fighting for now, concern the improvement in their conditions (which are atrociously dangerous) and a basic rate of pay, and no redundancies, instead of the periodic lay-offs and piece-rates they work for now, which set one group of workers

against another and cause them to bear the brunt of lower catches, which are inevitable given the situation outlined above. These are the only moves which can maintain their interests as a section of the working-class.

ECONOMIC BASE

In Iceland, the workers support completely the actions of the coalition parties in power, to defend the fishing-grounds around their coasts. While being in no way revolutionary, they are certainly necessary as a precondition for maintaining the economic base of the whole country, without which the future development of any society, be it capitalist or socialist, would be impossible. The move is engineered in the direct self-interest of the small Icelandic ruling-class, and is supported by them. A philanthropic desire to maintain the ecology of the oceans plays no part in their thinking, though objectively such moves must be critically supported by socialists, especially those in one of the main capitalist countries responsible for the plunder in the first place.

The issue of self-determination, in the context of Iceland, must be seen in the broader sense of present and future control of the resources on which that nation depends, even by the national capitalist class. Only by recognising this fact and defending the right of Iceland to the 50-mile limit can the British working class movement assist the struggle of Icelandic socialists to overthrow the capitalist system in that country. What we are ultimately faced with is the necessity for total social ownership of the world's resources and their coordinated use in a natural and controlled manner. By fighting for the above positions, the British working class can play its part in this process.

A STRATEGY AGAINST THE PA

On Sunday, 21 January, the *Observer* newspaper began a long survey of the Government's proposed pay laws by stating what it considered to be a generally accepted truth: "The one thing absolutely clear about Phase 2 is that it will not stop prices rising." The only people for whom this truth is not "absolutely clear" are those inclined to believe what the Government writes in its official document on pay policy, the White Paper issued on 17 January. For the White Paper begins by declaring that: "The Government's policies are directed towards attacking the rise in prices."

Nevertheless, by examining the document's subordinate clauses and more importantly, by examining what it *does not* say, we can even get some idea of the real policy of the Government through reading the White Paper. For example, the document states in passing that "some prices are beyond our control"—namely those of imported food and raw materials, and 50 per cent of all food in Britain is imported. Therefore, since the Government considers that nothing should be done about these price increases, they can be expected to go on rising.

As for other prices, the White Paper states that, "the Government are determined to press home the attack on the domestic causes of rising prices". The document is quite explicit about what these "domestic causes" really mean: "Pay is the largest single element entering into prices which are under our own control or influence."

The White Paper does make some mention of other 'domestic' causes of price rises: for example rate increases, land speculation pushing up house prices, etc. But none of this is taken very seriously by the Government. At his press conference on 17 January Heath evaded a question as to whether he would introduce legislation on rate increases. The consequences of this were spelt out by the *Guardian*, whose main front page story on 27 January stated: "A massive rates increase throughout the country, now being put as high as 30% to 40%, will fall hardest on council house tenants and other people in lower-valued houses." To another question on whether he would introduce legislation against land speculation, Heath was also evasive, stating that he had been "working intensively" on land speculation.

On pay, however, the Government's proposals are firm and clear cut, provided we remember whose pay the proposals are directed against. At the press conference Heath was asked about "the type of agreement that many salaried employees have whereby their salaries go up by a predetermined amount over the next few years". He replied that, "where it is a proper incremental agreement . . . then this continues".

Thus we see that if we cut through all the verbiage and legal jargon the Government's policy will not block price increases. Nor will it block all pay increases. It will attack wage increases. These are to be held below £1 plus 4% increases per year for any group of workers involved in a pay claim. Various proposals are made allowing the lower paid to have slightly higher rates of increase than higher paid workers. But the Government's proposals mean holding down all wages well below what all sections of the working class have been demanding over the last year. Meanwhile, of course, food prices will continue to rise as they have been during the last two-months of the 'Freeze': since November food prices have gone up by a cool 6%. And as for fresh food prices, the *Grocer* magazine reports that in the first 11 weeks of the freeze they went up by no less than 10.2%.

FORCE OF LAW

But the Government's measures must not simply be viewed from an economic point of view. The proposals are backed up by the force of law. In other words, any group of workers which tries to defend living standards by fighting the Government's proposals will be threatened with the violence of the state. As the White Paper puts it: "Striking or threatening to do so to force an employer to contravene a notice or order; refusing to supply information or supplying false information; all these offences are punishable..." The draft Bill is even more explicit about what will be considered criminal: "(a) calling, organising, procuring or financing a strike, or threatening to do so, or (b) organising, procuring or financing any irregular industrial action short of a strike, or threatening to do so." For those not used to legal jargon, the word "procuring" apparently means "advocating", presumably in a newspaper article, at a shop-stewards meeting etc.

Thus the Government's proposals also amount to an attack on the right to strike and an attack on freedoms of speech and of



Wilson and Feather: their new package has nothing to say on how the working class can defend itself now against the present Tory attacks.

the press: it marks a further step from the Industrial Relations Act in attacking the labour movement's rights. Already the working class is beginning to take action against the freeze and against the Tory Government which has produced it as part of its general attack on the labour movement to emasculate its organisations.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

But to work out what is really at stake in the fight against the freeze requires more than just reading the text of the White Paper. The real meaning of the Government's pay laws only becomes clear in the context of the economic and political positions of the different classes in Britain today.

The Government itself argues most strongly that it is not possible to look at the pay laws in isolation, but only in terms of the general state of the economy and British society. Echoing this sentiment, the *Daily Mirror's* front page declared: "THE ONLY WAY!", explaining that although the measures were tough there was no other way of dealing with the economic crisis. The *Mirror* consequently urged trade unionists not to concern themselves with their own narrow interests (a "selfish attitude") but instead to do what is best from the point of view of society as a whole.

It is indeed essential to examine the real nature of the economic and social situation in Britain today, in order to work out a clear position on the pay laws. And what we find is that the main problem for the 'economy' is the standard of living of the great mass of the population! If only the tens of millions of working class people took less of the national output then the economy would be in excellent shape! This is the Alice in Wonderland logic which says: "If you make things worse for the overwhelming majority, then you make things better for the 'nation'". This is exactly true of the British economic system because it functions like any other capitalist system. The trick of course is to proclaim the interests of the capitalist class to be the interests of the 'nation', and to speak about the needs of the 'economy' as though it meant the economic welfare of all classes in British society when it really means the economic needs of the capitalists.

OPPOSING INTERESTS

In fact, what the *Daily Mirror* refuses to admit is that the economic needs of the capitalist class are diametrically opposed to those of the overwhelming mass of people. Every capitalist survives by paying his workers much less than the value of the goods and services which the workers produce, and then realising his profits from this exploitation of the working class through selling the goods on the market against the competition of rival capitalists. Some of the extra value squeezed out of the workers' labour by capital is then taken by the state in order to finance the social services and dole out starvation rations to those too old or sick for exploitation and those unable to find work. The rest of the profits stay in the hands of private capital.

In such a situation it is ridiculous to talk about pay laws being 'fair' to everybody. The British capitalist class is in an economic crisis; it cannot compete effectively with its rivals abroad and must therefore increase its exploitation of the working class. Workers have, over the last few years, been strongly resisting the various attempts of individual capitalists to step up their rate of exploitation. It has been fighting the Alice in Wonderland logic of 'rationalisation' factory by factory, refusing to give up the struggle for a living wage. Therefore the force of the state has to be called in to impose a cut in living standards through defeating

the working class politically.

As far as the strongly organised sections of the working class are concerned, their resistance to the capitalist offensive in the last few years has been relatively successful in defending their living standards. But what about the less well organised workers — those in sectors of the economy which are not central; those who are unemployed; or too old or sick to work; women workers; those employees like civil servants, teachers and hospital workers who previously thought of themselves as different from other people who had to sell their labour power in order to survive; or groups that are not directly

By OLIVER MacDONALD

involved in capitalist production like the students? It has been these layers which have been hardest hit. The Tory Government, and the Labour Government before it, continually try to blame the strongly organised sections of the working class for the declining living standards of these weaker groups. But it is the capitalist class not the workers who are responsible for the ravages which are hitting these layers of the population. And the solution to their declining living standards is to struggle alongside the working class against a common exploitative and bankrupt enemy.

A POLICY FOR THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST INFLATION

But socialists will not defeat the freeze, let alone capitalism, simply by making propaganda to explain what the real problems of the mass of people are. It is necessary for socialist militants to offer practical solutions here and now to the problem of the rising cost of living as it affects not only industrial workers but all sections of society oppressed and exploited by capitalism.

In the first place, militants must fight the ridiculous idea that the people who benefit from rising consumer prices should be in charge of holding prices down, and organise a campaign of action against price rises by the people who suffer from them: working people must organise to fight price rises, particularly those on food. Trade union militants should work for the establishment of local action committees against food price rises, either on the initiative of Trades Councils via trade union branches or through the call of local shop-stewards organisations. The demand should be raised for full information about price changes to be made available to such committees and all sections of the working population should be drawn into the struggle against the suppliers and retailers which raise prices. Efforts should be made to win over small traders to this campaign since they also suffer from the monopoly suppliers. The trade unions must be won over to support for such actions and solidarity action should be organised among workers in the industries putting up prices. Such a campaign will be a thousand times quicker, more efficient and more thorough in bringing results than any policy which relies on action by the bureaucrats in Whitehall, never mind the empty gimmicks of Heath's phone-in pantomime.

Secondly, the principle that the capitalists must pay for price rises should be written into all wage settlements: wage agreements should include a clause giving automatic pay increases for any increase in the cost of living. The cost of living increase should be worked out under workers' control. Secondly, such cost of living increases cannot be a substitute for wage negotiations: they must be seen as additions.

Thirdly, the struggle for the lower paid cannot be left in the hands of the state. Full support should be given for across the board increases which reduce pay differentials: the trade union

movement should organise a struggle for a National Minimum wage for every person in the country who currently falls below this national minimum. The fight for equal pay for women should be taken up in every industry. Claims by higher paid groups of workers should include demands for social benefits — shorter hours, free transport, company subsidised nursery facilities. Such benefits are gains for the whole work force and cannot be eroded by price rises.

POLITICAL SITUATION

For many militants, however, it would seem much more important to get rid of the Tory Government than simply to hold down prices. Such a programme would seem to be simply economic — acceptable, but secondary to the decisive task of throwing out the Government. This would be quite true if the programme of demands is put forward as an alternative to the fight against the Government, instead of using it as a means of developing the fight to bring down the Tories. But to see how this fight can be developed we must analyse the political situation in Britain.

The Tories have suffered a whole series of political defeats at the hands of the working class over the last year. 1972 was planned by government strategists as being the year of decisive victories on the road to electoral triumph on an openly union-bashing ticket. Instead it turned out to be the year of bitter defeats for the Tories, forcing them to scrap their previous tactics and plan of campaign. As we wrote just after the freeing of the five: a period of stalemate in the class struggle.

When the freeze was introduced Heath regained the tactical initiative: largely because there was no force within the working class movement which was able to exploit the previous victories that the class had gained. Heath had gained the initiative only by retreating and manoeuvring with the TUC General Council. However since that time in November, the course of events has once again very rapidly started to slip out of the Government's control. First, the economic situation has turned sharply for the worse. Secondly, the freeze itself has mobilised new and wider layers against the government — a whole backlog of pay claims by previously weakly organised sections of workers like the hospital workers, civil servants, gas workers, etc., has brought these new layers into active opposition to the Government. Thirdly, the Government's own demagoguery — absolutely necessary in order to effect the regaining of the initiative through playing games with the TUC — began rapidly to backfire: all the talk about the need to effectively stamp out rising prices has been shown to millions to be nothing but hot air. Fourthly, the Government is now faced with claims from some of the heavy battalions of the working class.

The government therefore faces an acute contradiction: a much more urgent need than ever for strong action to revive the capitalist class's economic fortunes through cracking down on the working class. And at the same time, an urgent need to avoid another confrontation with an outcome like that of the miners' strike, while the working class's militancy and awareness of what the Tory Government's policies represent have actually deepened since the miners' victory.

POLITICAL STRATEGY

But this acute problem for the Tories is a problem of how to decisively defeat the working class's ability to engage in defensive struggles to safeguard its living standards. And the fact that the Tories have had difficulty attacking the working class does not mean that the working class is politically strong enough easily to get rid of the Tories. In fact the reverse is the case. The one great advantage of the Government is that the working class has no political strategy and or-

LAWS

organisation for defeating the Tories other than those of social democracy.

The essence of the politics of social democracy is to fight the class struggle according to the rules of the game laid down by the bourgeoisie. What this means in relation to the freeze was made only too clear by Wilson when the White Paper was announced: he categorically refused to back any attempt to break the law thereby telling the working class that it must not lead any open struggle against the Government. The consequence of this "strategy" is not simply to end the fight. It means that the weakest sections of society hardest hit by inflation will have no choice but to turn to the Government's pay board and price commission and be thankful for the few crumbs they can get from it.

COMMUNIST PARTY

It is true that the C.P. stands to the left of the Labour leadership and does call for industrial action to smash the freeze. The Communist Party can be expected to play a leading role in organising solidarity action in support of those workers who try to smash the pay laws. But what answer has the C.P. got for those who have been forced by their economic circumstances to turn to the state for the few crumbs offered in the pay package? It is here that the question of offering an alternative practical solution becomes crucial. Either the working class must offer an organised alternative to the state machine for the mass of working people, or they will be won over to political support for the Tory Government and will oppose the action of workers against the freeze. The Communist Party refuses to deal with this problem, for the simple reason that it would have to be prepared to fight the awe and majesty of the parliamentary state: the forces at the disposal of the Tories to enforce the bourgeoisie's rules for the class struggle onto the working class.

But by dodging this issue the C.P.'s answer to the problem of strategy is not qualitatively different from that of the Labour leadership.

To both these strategies we must counterpose the fight for our practical solution to the problem of inflation. But secondly, we must combine that programme with the struggle to organise all sections of working people in such a way as to enable that programme to be implemented independently of the bourgeois state and against its fierce opposition. In this way the struggle against the Tories can take on an explosive force.

UNITED ACTIONS

But such policies can only be implemented in the course of developing the present struggle through united actions to smash the Tory government's pay laws: the overriding task of today is to establish the broadest possible unity of action of all those prepared to struggle to defeat the government's pay laws and to destroy all legal shackles on working class organisation. In order to pull all possible forces into the struggle we must use every conceivable lever. Whatever our differences may be on other key issues, organisations prepared to participate in and develop such actions must be welcomed into the ranks of those engaged in the struggle.

If bureaucrats like Feather or, for that matter, Wilson offer to join the struggle we must not reject their interventions. Of course we know that Wilson and Feather are mainly interested in the electoral prospects of the Labour Party and subordinate everything else to achieve that aim. Hence they will always attempt to divert that struggle into reformist and electoralist channels. But neither this fact nor the knowledge that Feather, Wilson and other bureaucrats are reactionaries must prevent us from supporting demands for the recall of the TUC or pushing forward a campaign for action projected by the TUC General Council.

Those sectarians who reject these tactics are profoundly mistaken. What they fail to realise is that the number of workers who look to the revolutionaries in the labour movement for a lead are extremely small, while the TUC General Council can bring into action large sections of workers who would not be mobilised in other circumstances. In the actual struggle itself it is the revolutionaries and the militants who will be able to prove that it is they who have the policies which could take the movement further and not the Feathers and the Wilsons of this world. But the broader the masses involved in the struggle, the easier this task will be.

But secondly, we must not rely on the official leaderships, we must not depend on them, we must not wait for them to give a lead, before we start the struggle: instead, the work of

ISRAELI REGIME LAUNCHES WITCH-HUNT

At the end of last year, the world press was filled with the story that the Israeli police had uncovered a 'Syrian spy ring', which was composed of both Arabs and Jews. In our last issue we published a report of the methods being employed, including torture, in the hunt against the Israeli revolutionary left. Below we publish an important editorial from the January issue of *Matzpen*, the newspaper of the Israeli Socialist Organisation (Marxist), the Israeli sympathising organisation of the Fourth International. The editorial, published on the tenth anniversary of *Matzpen*, both analyses the current situation in Israel and maps out a revolutionary strategy against the Zionist state.

Witch-Hunt is an understatement to describe the hysterical and McCarthyist campaign being conducted these days in the Israeli Press after the discovery of what is called the "Jewish-Arab Spy and Terror Network". Contrary to the general opinion, we believe this hysteria to be real and not fictitious and artificial.

For the first time since statehood, sensationalistic arguments fill the newspaper columns claiming the active participation of Israeli Jews in the Palestine national liberation struggle. It is clear that if all of the detained were Arabs, the Israeli Press and public would not have been so panicked over the matter. The arrests of tens and hundreds of "saboteurs and terrorists" (the current term used by journalistic charlatans) and their detainment in prison for long years does not shock anyone and does not become front page news. The fact that Israeli Jews together with Palestinian Arabs have been accused and arrested by the government is the factor which gives rise to the Zionist Establishment's panic.

The sole source of the "facts" brought to the public knowledge is the regime and its tool of oppression - the Shin Bet (the Israeli Secret Police) and the Police. We do not accept these "facts" and we do not believe them. Moreover, from the clear contradictions in the various "official sources" reports, it is clear to all whose eyes are not blinded by "the new patriotic blaze" that the Shin Bet (Secret Police) have committed a frame-up and provocation of the first degree. Agents of the Shin Bet, so boasts the police spokesman, penetrated the "network" from the beginning and vigilantly observed its actions...only observed? It is well known that in similar cases in other countries, when "Security Agents" have penetrated extremist groups they have not been just passive observers. On the contrary, these provocateurs have been the most "extreme"; the most "militant"; those who have planted the incriminating "evidence"; and afterwards became the chief accusers and state witnesses. So it was in Germany in relation to the Baader-Meinhof group; so in the U.S. with the "Weather Men" and the "Black Panthers". And in Israel?

We know of at least one Jewish provocateur who during the years has seriously harmed organisations of the anti-Zionist left. This instigator, making calls for "action" and "picking up the gun", openly slandered many of *Matzpen*'s members as being "Shin Bet Agents", confusing many naive youngsters who were fooled by his "revolutionary" banalities. In the last months he was seen circulating around the "Red Front", and now, while his friends are in prison, he is walking around free...giving interviews to journalists and continuing his vile farce.

Moreover, considering it from the political point of view, the government's accusation is patently absurd. We do not accept it. True, there are political programmatic differences

organising locally and nationally must be started at once so that the struggle can go on whatever the trade union and Labour Party bureaucrats do. Some may argue that by starting action at an unofficial, rank and file, level we are jumping the gun and by assuming for ourselves an organising initiating role we will drive away the official leaderships into opposition to the struggle. In fact the reverse is the case. For this is to concede that the fight against the pay freeze, the fight for working class interests must be subordinated to the narrow tactical interests of the official leadership. In fact of course the only way to guarantee the participation of the trade union bureaucracy in any struggle is by action which threatens to leave them behind and lose them the support of their memberships.

All those forces which declare themselves in

between the I.S.O. and the "Red Front". The reciprocal arguments and critiques of the two organisations were published in their respective journals. However, their world-view was based upon Socialism and Marxism. And in no way can Socialism and Marxism be compatible with the "individualistic terror" and "spy networks" of which the government accuses members of the "Red Front".

But this is not the principal question. The crucial question is: Should the struggle against Zionism be solely an Arab struggle?

The whole existence of the Zionist regime is based upon national discrimination. After establishing the Israeli State on expropriated land, transforming the Palestinians into a landless people, residents of wretched refugee camps - Israel continues to exercise a regime whose basic principle was, and still is, national discrimination between Jews and Arabs. The Israeli Arabs are victims of systematic oppression; expulsion, expropriations, administrative arrests, confinements, discrimination in all spheres of life, explicit and implicit racism - are just a few aspects of national oppression suffered by Palestinians under Israeli rule. According to the racist logic of the Zionist State, the simple fact that you are a Jew grants you a certain immunity even if you are a member of a revolutionary organisation. Arab and Jewish members of the same organisation are treated differently by the government. The first is confined, arrested. The second - free. Up to a point, it is permissible for a Jew to be against the Zionist Regime, and only after that is brutal repression used. (Remember the expulsion orders and the preventive arrests used against the "Black Panthers", the back-to-work orders, the courts, and even military trials used against striking workers - all in accordance with the infamous Emergency Security Regulations). But this is nothing compared to the brutal oppression that comes down upon Arabs who participate in political struggle against the regime. It is enough to recall the example of the 800 Arab Rakah (New Communist List) activists who were detained prior to the 1969 elections and the fact that the majority of Arab members of anti-Zionist organisations are detained and administratively confined to realise the extent of discrimination and political oppression. The "principle" is clear: *What is permitted for the Jew is forbidden to the Arab*, even when we are speaking about anti-Zionist political organisations.

On the other hand, it is "natural" that Palestinians who have been expropriated and oppressed under Israeli rule will fight against Zionism and for national liberation. But, when Jews who were born and raised in the country, who have been forced-fed the Zionist poison and then have vomited it up, rise up and declare: We are fed up with Zionist Israel! We are tired of oppression! It is up to us to abolish the Zionist regime that oppresses and expropriates the Palestinian Arab Nation and leads the Israeli Jews into a death-trap of eternal war against the Arab masses - this, the racist logic of the government and the Zionist establishment is incapable of grasping. The mere idea that a common struggle of Jews and Arabs against the conquering and oppressive Zionism is possible - even on the basis of a mistaken political line - makes them shudder.

Therefore, government spokesmen, "liberal" types, and the Palace Guards of the Zionist "Left" have banded together in a common denunciation against "Jews who have dared to raise their hand against other Jews". The whole of the racist Zionist logic is contained in this denouncement.

The hypocritical stance of the government spokesmen, that "we should not generalise from the actions of isolated individuals to all

'leftist organisations'", does not stem from liberal and democratic principles. Let's not fall into that trap. The devious strategies of the government are not intended to "cleanse" and vindicate the Left. Their purpose is to prove to the alarmed public that the Jewish detained suspects are "deviants". "If they are examined," declared Golda the Great, "it will become clear that they are insane". This fixed response is necessary for her as it is for all the Zionist Establishment from the Right to the "Left". Because without this "Truth", a horrible danger lurks for them - the "threat" of a common revolutionary struggle of Jews and Arabs. If an organisation like the "Red Front" brought out the whole Zionist Camp from its arrogant indifference, it is easy to imagine what danger and what threat confronts them in a mass Arab-Jewish struggle against Zionism, Imperialism, and the Arab Reaction.

The violence of the oppressed against the oppressor is just and therefore, we support it; the struggle against the oppressive and expropriative Zionism is just and therefore, we support it without reservation. However, every justified way is not necessarily an effective way. We have repeated time and time again that the victory in the anti-Zionist struggle will only be achieved through the path of revolutionary struggle, i.e. the conscious struggle of Jews and Arabs for a Socialist Arab East.

Today, the Arab masses, and even more so, the Israeli Jewish masses, are far from realising this. Facing the arrogant, seemingly victorious Zionism, occupying the conquered territories and enjoying the support of the most powerful imperialist force in history, facing the decline in the revolutionary consciousness of the masses of the region. There is no doubt that there are naive youths - that are fed up with the horrors, the "deviance", the oppression and expropriation - who are looking for a "short-cut". They are looking for a way to exchange conscious actions of the masses for actions of isolated individuals. But, every "short-cut" hinders and obstructs the advancement of the real anti-Zionist struggle. Against the violence of isolated individuals, the Zionist Regime will always come up on top. Not only is the regime capable of defeating easily such actions, but they also use them for their own interests, by instigating the public against all the anti-Zionist left and strengthening the "national unity" consciousness.

But, against the revolutionary violence of the masses rising up against their aggressors and exploiters, the situation is completely different. Against this, even the strongest, the most predatory regime with the most sophisticated means of oppression cannot stand. The revolutionary objective is the building of the only tool capable of realising the revolutionary potential contained within the Arab and Jewish masses of the region. On the agenda stands the task of building the All Regional Leninist Party that is the indispensable tool for a victorious struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and the Arab Reaction.

This is a long and difficult path. This is the path we have chosen and from which we shall not be deterred. In spite of the witch-hunt that is being carried out against leftist groups in general and *Matzpen* and Siah particularly; in spite of the outcries of the institutionalised "Left", and faced with the terrorising campaign carried out presently in the Arab Sector by the authorities against anyone who is not ready to become a submissive servant of Zionism, we will intensify the anti-Zionist struggle and the efforts to build a Jewish-Arab Proletarian Party - the irreplaceable tool for the defeat of imperialism and its local lackeys - for the victory of the Socialist Revolution in the Arab East.

favour of unifying the organisation of the rank and file nationally and locally must be taken up. The Communist Party and the trade union leaders who support its line have gathered together representatives of shop-stewards committees and trade union branches on a national scale in the past. Such an initiative is called for urgently in the struggle to smash the freeze, not simply to stage a rally to protest against government policy or pressurise the General Council, but to hammer out lines of action and organise the struggle on a rank and file level whatever the trade union bureaucracy does.

A number of unions are moving into struggle for claims which exceed the legal limit. A fight must be waged within these unions for the leaderships to prepare national industrial action to smash the freeze and to unite nation-

ally and locally with other unions fighting the freeze.

Already rank and file unity is being established locally between members of different unions through joint meetings, demonstrations and the establishment of action committees. It is within these bodies that socialists must raise policies such as those mentioned above for drawing into the struggle those who are not organised in the trade union movement: tenants' associations, housewives, unemployed workers, students, etc., should be drawn into a common front to generalise the movement.

In this way the struggle against the pay freeze and the Tory Government's whole policy of attacking the working class can be turned into a struggle for a working class solution to the social crisis.

Black Book of Political Police

The Black Book (available from Red Books, 25p)

Given the lack of seriousness with which the Left tends to treat security in general and the police in particular, this is a valuable pamphlet. It is mainly an investigation into the Special Branch, using authenticated information from various sources.

Only a few examples can be given here. For instance, it was the Special Branch which prepared the 'special dossier' on the seamen's strike in 1966 which the Branch handed over to the Labour government and which gave rise to the strike-breaking attempt about "the small group of politically motivated men". It was the Special Branch which conducted the hundreds of raids preceding the 'Angry Brigade' and Aldershot bombing trials - helped in the latter by the recent Criminal Damages Act which allows the police to get a search warrant even where no crime has actually been committed. It appears the Branch is organised in quite a sophisticated way with different sections having specialised knowledge of Irish groups in Britain, black groups, Trotskyists etc.

The pamphlet though does not deal only with the Special Branch. There is information on the Special Patrol Group set up in 1964 to provide, it seems, a mobile force to carry out searches and manhunts (most of the arrests on the Irish demo after Bloody Sunday were made by their snatch squads). Again, there is a useful account of the private police forces hired out by firms like Securicor and Complete Security Ltd - with the latter offering companies the service of "reporting on any person who may be suspected of causing dissension or inciting employees to defection".

INTENSIFIED ATTACK

A number of points can be made in connection with this. First, though it is wrong and dangerous to believe that fascism rules in Britain - workers organisations still operate openly - yet it is equally wrong and dangerous not to see that the machinery of the state is intensifying its attack on trade unionists and revolutionary socialists. In the last year there have been several major political trials - Prescott and Purdie, Stoke Newington 8, Mangrove 9, Metro youth, Saor Eire 5 (accused of organising arms for Ireland), Aldershot bombing case, Tony Soares. Likewise five leading docker militants were imprisoned, thousands of pounds were confiscated from union funds and police have regularly attacked trade union pickets. None of this ought to surprise any militant. Right through the history of capitalism, the state has defended itself against every attack by unleashing its 'bodies of armed men'.

We should expect this intensification of the

state machinery against militants to increase even more. Thus the Black Book quotes such 'high up' people as Brigadier Frank Kitson (head of the Infantry School in Wilton) who in his book *Low Intensity Operations* states among other things that "The law should be used as just another weapon in the government's arsenal and in this case it becomes little more than a propaganda cover for the disposal of unwanted members of the public". In fact the law always has been used in this way - what Kitson is saying is that the bourgeoisie, in order to stop anyone getting through the net, shouldn't even bother denying it. Various tactics suggested in Kitson's book have already been tried out in Ireland - for instance, terrorism against civilians in order to weed out revolutionaries in their midst.

It is also worth mentioning the sort of laws this government is now contemplating. The Black Book does not discuss the recent Criminal Law Revision Committee's proposals that (i) anyone accused of a crime must answer questions asked in interrogation by the police; (ii) that any confession obtained under threats will be admissible. The main reasons given for these proposals is the need to break 'organised crime'.

However the police are already able to break up the large London gangs - Krays, Richardsons, Tibbs. What they have not been able to do is break the resistance of trade union militants and revolutionaries. Similarly the Diplock Commission Report on Northern Ireland has advocated that there should be no trial by jury in 'terrorist' cases and that the army should have virtually unlimited powers of arrest. It is not difficult to see that such proposals are relevant to Britain as well - especially given the acquittals of half the defendants in the Stoke Newington trial. Diplock was one of the judges who confirmed the £55,000 fine on the Transport and General Workers Union in the Heaton case.

CRUCIAL QUESTION

The crucial question for militants is how to fight these attacks. In the first place, it is useless to rely upon the machinery of the bourgeois law and bourgeois democracy as the means of defence against repression. The sole guarantee against the repressive wave lies in the strength of the working class movement and its preparedness to defend all victims of class attack. And the conclusion of this must be that it is not a reformist activity to campaign within the Labour movement against repression. On the contrary, through such activity, wider layers can be brought to an understanding of the fact that it is only the working class that can establish a state which provides real democracy for the broad mass of the population.

Steve Cohen

Politics and Militancy

Rent Strike, St. Pancras 1960 by Dave Burn (Pluto Press, 15p)

The strength of this pamphlet is that it is the most comprehensive and carefully documented account of the 1960 St. Pancras rent strike available. Its account of this long struggle provides inspiring glimpses of the militancy and organising ability of the working class in action:

"The UTA (St. Pancras Borough Council United Tenants Association) organisation was thoroughgoing and effective. Committees were set up in every block and every week some 200 tenants would meet, representing all the associations in the borough. These meetings decided UTA policy, and in this sense the tenants themselves were the real leadership. Masses of people were involved on a day-to-day basis in keeping the struggle going. At one stage the UTA were putting out leaflets three times a week..." When the eviction order expired for two tenants:

"...well constructed barricades had gone up, both at Kennistoun House and Silverdale. Don Cook had 12 pianos in his flat barricading various doors, as well as other old furniture and doors put against windows, and barbed wire and an old bedstead on the roof to discourage bailiffs from entering that way. There were also plans for human barricades; tenants and trade unionists were to be involved in a 24-hour picket of both flats so that in an eviction attempt, defence and warning could be simultaneous. Preparations were made... for a bell to be rung and rockets fired if the bailiffs arrived...workers all over the borough were prepared to down tools and rush to the assistance of the two beleaguered tenants. An intercom system was set up..."

"Around five o'clock in the morning...bailiffs supported by about 800 police attacked...the pickets put up a two hour defence against the bailiffs and the police; oil was poured over them as they tried to get up the stairs...and one...was seriously injured and had to be taken to hospital; but the great mass of tenants were unable to reach the flats to defend Don Cook due to the large numbers of police and mounted police who had cordoned off the block with lines at least three deep."

"Arthur Rowe and his son held out for about an hour, but eventually bailiffs smashed a hole in a four and half inch brick wall to get in".

POLITICAL LESSONS

Militants who read this pamphlet will want to draw out to the full the political lessons of such a fierce struggle. This the pamphlet does only partially. The role of the Labour Party both at a national and local level in attacking and sabotaging the struggle of the tenants, is clearly shown; what is not dealt with in sufficient detail is the role played by the Communist Party and the way the tenants were defeated. The

pamphlet begins to take up these questions by pointing out that the Communist Party (which was in the leadership of this struggle) was hampered by its electoralist strategy:

"...once the direct action had turned into the anti-eviction struggle, and the police had started to attack demonstrations, the Communist Party began to see direct action as 'adventurism' and their members advised caution in private meetings, while still saying publicly that the struggle must continue."

And after the evictions took place, the Communist Party put forward a different method of 'struggle' for the tenants. As Don Cook explained the new policy:

"Our position has altered in the light of previous experience. We cannot see other tenants thrown out on to the streets...We must work to see there is a defeat for the Tories in the coming LCC elections and above all we have got to work for the return of a Labour council next year. We are not withdrawing from the battle. We are going to fight in a different way."

A Labour council was indeed elected, but as the law relating to council rents was interpreted and enforceable by the District Auditor through surcharges on councillors, the council (just like Camden council today) could do nothing to change the hated rent scheme.

TURNING POINT

Clearly the Communist Party failed to lead the tenants to victory; but how did this happen? Communist Party members, unlike some Labour councillors who paid their rent throughout the struggle, were fully involved in building the struggle at every stage. Don Cook, one of those who physically fought eviction, was in the Communist Party. Such genuine working class militants (with or without parliamentarianist illusions) do not after ten months of struggle suddenly make a conscious decision to 'sell out'.

The crucial turning point came when the 800 police and bailiffs had evicted Cook and Rowe. Clearly, when either side in a struggle decides to raise the level of violence as the state did dramatically against the tenants, then what becomes decisive is the ability of the opponent to respond meaningfully to this new level of attack. One possible way forward for the tenants after the evictions would have been for the tenants to reinstate Cook and Rowe in their flats. This would have rallied together the tenants around a meaningful and very practical response to the evictions. It would also have shown the trade union movement, sections of which were beginning to support the tenants, that they were deadly serious about denying the right of the state to impose the new rent scheme. After the evictions this course of action was indeed supported by some of the tenants, but the Communist Party militants involved, including Don Cook, tragically failed to understand this and instead led yet another demonstration to the Town Hall.

Given this lack of perspective at a critical turning point in the struggle, there was of course no way out of the demoralising descent into campaigning for the return of a Labour council which implemented the hated rent scheme.

REAL LESSON

The introduction to the pamphlet, by Hugh Kerr, is noteworthy, if only for its ingenious ability to completely misunderstand the lessons made clear in the pamphlet:

"The most important lesson which comes over from the pamphlet is the amazing strength and initiative of working people when they go into action."

The real lesson of the pamphlet, however, is the opposite: that even the most militant struggle is open to defeat if a wrong political strategy gives the State the opening it needs.

Jack Lewis.

RANK AND FILE Technical Teachers meeting - Sunday, 4 Feb., 7.00pm at the Roebuck pub in Tottenham Court Road - discussion on Constitution, and the current wage claim and the Freeze.

INDOCHINA: Class Coalition or Class War? IMG public meeting, Monday, 12 Feb., 8.00pm at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (Holborn tube). Speaker: Pat Jordan.

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP RED FORUM

A series of introductory discussions for those in the London area on the politics of the Fourth International. Every Tuesday at 8.00 p.m.

General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (five minutes walk from Kings Cross tube).

ECONOMICS AND IDEOLOGY

A new regular series which aims to combat wrong or confused ideas about the nature of capitalism.

3. Labour Theory of Value

By PAUL MOREL

A favourite line of attack against the revolutionary Marxist movement is that which portrays Marx as a great champion of the oppressed who just cooked up a weird and useless brand of economics to justify his political stand. A central target of this attack is the Labour Theory of Value.

This theory lies at the core of Marx's economic thinking. And it is perfectly true that bourgeois economists manage to bumble along quite well without the labour theory of value. But this is because of the nature of their business: tinkering with the surface, immediate problems of the capitalist economy, as they appear to the board of directors of a firm or to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But this was not the concern of Marx. He developed his economic theory in order to "lay bare the economic laws of motion of modern society" And it is for this task that the law of value is an indispensable tool.

COMMODITIES.

As Marx pointed out, capitalism appears as great quantities of goods and services bought and sold on the market - the term he used for these goods and services was 'commodities'. He began by examining the nature of these commodities and saw that they have two fundamental features: first they have a useful quality - a use-value. Without that use-value no one would wish to buy them. And secondly, these commodities have an exchange

value - that is a value in relation to other commodities in the market. This exchange value is expressed in terms of price.

Marx then asks the question: what is it that makes x quantity of socks the equivalent value of y quantity of beer? And he answers that it is the common substance: human labour. And the question of whether a given quantity of one commodity equals in value a given quantity of another depends upon the amount of labour-time expended upon each.

Does that mean that a worker who takes twice as long as another worker to produce a pair of socks produces socks twice as valuable? On the contrary, Marx pointed out that what determines the value of commodities is the quantity of socially necessary labour-time required to produce them. In other words, value was determined by the average amount of labour-time required to produce them in a given society. The conclusion which Marx draws from this is that prices are basically determined not in exchange, but in production. The value of a commodity appears to be decided by the variations of supply and demand in the market. In fact the value of commodities is determined by the social relationship between men engaged in productive activity.

In short, prices and profits are determined by quantities of socially necessary labour time. This does not mean that prices are exactly proportional to values. Many interpreters of Marx forget that he discussed how prices deviate from values in the third volume of

Capital. Despite this it is very frequently asserted that Marx had a crude price=values theory. In fact the deviation of price from value is not transitory but permanent. It is not true that prices tend to hover around values, and that on average prices remain proportional to values. The labour theory of value is not directly a theory of relative prices, although it leads to an understanding of the real mechanisms of price determination.

MECHANISM

The labour theory of value therefore shows the mechanism by which the social product is distributed in society. It is not a moral law about what should happen in a socialist society. Such an interpretation was given by Stalin, but presumably he ran into theoretical difficulties in justifying the high income received by himself and the bureaucracy! The theory concerns exchange values in a commodity producing society, and particularly in a capitalist society - in other words one dominated by generalised commodity production. In a socialist society the social product is distributed by other mechanisms than socially necessary labour-time - namely by planning.

The labour theory of value turns the world of bourgeois common sense upside down. It uncovers the real, underlying mechanisms of capitalist development. Without the labour theory of value, economics is locked in superficial appearances. And these are no foundation for a revolutionary strategy to overthrow capitalism.

"Independence means for us much more than acquiring a flag to wave and an anthem to sing. It must mean the liberation of the productive forces of our country, the liquidation of all forms of imperialist and the liquidation of all forms of imperialist domination in our country and the taking of every measure to avoid any new exploitation of our people." —Amilcar Cabral; murdered by agents of Portuguese colonialism on January 20th in Conakry, Guinea, West Africa.

Amilcar Cabral was the founder and leader of the liberation movement of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, a territory on the West Coast of Africa lying between Senegal to the north and the former French colony of Guinea to the south. In 1956 Cabral founded the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (the P.A.I.G.C.) and became its General Secretary. Since that time P.A.I.G.C. has been leading the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and its imperialist allies (including Britain). Starting with the organisation of urban workers, particularly the dockers in the capital, Bissau, the P.A.I.G.C. then began armed struggle in the rural areas in the early 1960s. Today the movement controls well over two thirds of Guinea-Bissau with only the major towns and garrisons remaining under precarious Portuguese rule.

Despite Portugal's continued aerial bombardment (with weapons supplied by its NATO allies) P.A.I.G.C. have developed the social structures of the liberated areas; economic production, education, the organisation of health facilities and political training are all closely integrated into the armed struggle. In the past few months P.A.I.G.C. has been organising elections throughout the liberated areas (and also as far as possible in the towns) for the first general assembly which would form the basis of a provisional government and demand recognition as the legitimate government of Guinea, in which the Portuguese army is an occupying force. There is no doubt that this recognition will be granted by all but those states, like Britain, which are directly involved in propping up Portuguese colonialism and in general imperialist activity in Africa.

The situation for Portuguese colonialism is therefore becoming increasingly desperate. This is particularly so given the growing threat that they face from the other liberation movements, FRELIMO in Mozambique and MPLA in Angola. It is in Southern Africa that there is most pressure on Portugal to maintain its

Amilcar Cabral



Picture shows frightened Portuguese Consul confronted in his Manchester offices by militants who occupied in response to the news of Cabral's assassination after holding an impromptu meeting at the University Students Union, which was attended by over 100 people.

position militarily rather than seek some form of neo-colonial solution. Their assassination of Cabral (and attempt to kidnap other leading members of P.A.I.G.C.) was an attempt to weaken and eventually destroy P.A.I.G.C., thus making it possible to impose a puppet black administration in Guinea, retain some military presence in the strategically important Cape Verde Islands and concentrate their military strength in Angola and Mozambique where the economic stakes are higher.

The assassination of Cabral will not weaken P.A.I.G.C. in their future political and diplomatic initiatives nor will it diminish the intensity of their armed struggle. Cabral certainly had political skills which it will be difficult to replace in the short run. But the successes of P.A.I.G.C. are not the result of charismatic individual leadership, — an explanation that

bourgeois theorists are so fond of using, thus denigrating the intelligence and self reliance of the peoples that they have colonised and super-exploited. The victories have been achieved by a party with a high level of political development at all levels and strong leadership cadre. Cabral's theoretical contribution, developed in the context of the problems faced by P.A.I.G.C., deserves to be far more widely studied on the left. He has contributed much to developing firstly, the theory of revolutionary strategy in the third world, secondly, the theory of guerilla warfare, and thirdly, an understanding of race and culture in the context of colonial domination.

An important collection of Cabral's writings has been published in *Amilcar Cabral: Revolution in Guinea*, produced by Stage 1 and available from Red Books at 45p.

German Trotskyists

Fuse

A new German section of the Fourth International, the Gruppe Internationaler Marxisten, was created over the New Year weekend at a fusion conference of the old GIM and the youth organisation RKJ (Revolutionary Communist Youth).

The major discussion at the conference took place around an analysis of the European situation and the tasks of revolutionaries, presented by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International as part of the discussion for the 10th World Congress to be held later this year. Particular stress was laid in the discussion on the crucial role of Germany in the European revolutionary process, and on the profound effects that a social revolution in West Germany would have in both capitalist and Stalinist Europe.

It was noted in this respect that Germany had not escaped the deepening of the crisis of European capitalism, its growing political instability, and the failure of its attempt to integrate the working class. The enormous demonstrations of support when the Brandt government lost its majority were the first sign of a new combativity. The extent of the youth radicalisation was also shown last October when 15,000 revolutionaries demonstrated in Dortmund against the banning of the Palestinian organisations. A period of social explosions on the scale at least of those of May 1968 is potentially on the agenda today, in Germany as elsewhere, and Marxist revolutionaries must work with this in mind.

Finally, the fusion conference discussed and passed a series of reports on Vietnam, on the programme for action of the GIM, and on its organisational tasks. The central apparatus will be reinforced politically and materially, so that in the next period the GIM can begin to assume a national role in combatting through this centralisation the fragmentation of German economic and political life which has always until now prevented the revolutionary left from playing a central political role.

TURKEY PREPARES FOR EEC

By JOHN KEMAL

On March 12, 1972, the Turkish army took direct control of the country. Despite the bogus facade of parliamentary trappings, all significant political and administrative powers are firmly in the hands of the army, which is directing operations against the Turkish people via a National Security Council.

The military regime in Turkey has been carrying out the most brutal repression to be experienced in the recent history of the country. There are between ten and fifteen thousand prisoners in Turkey today, of whom nearly 2,000 have been subjected to the most vile tortures imaginable and in the course of which numerous prisoners have been killed.

A CAPITALIST SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN IN EUROPE

A very considerable solidarity campaign with the Turkish military dictatorship has been launched in capitalist Europe. The British Foreign Secretary, Home, recently went out of his way during a visit to Turkey, to justify the regime's actions, praising its commitment to "law and order".

The Guardian, a bourgeois newspaper with liberal pretensions, has provided further support to the Turkish regime (as it did in the past to the Ayub dictatorship in Pakistan!) and its "special correspondent" in Turkey (who really pays him?) recently provided us with the following gems: "The purpose of the army intervention was not to destroy the democratic system, but to restore it." . . . "I think life in general is not affected." The Turkish Information ministry must have wondered why all the imprisoned Turkish journalists were not as servile and sycophantic as *The Guardian's* "special correspondent". Despite the efforts of Amnesty International and the occasional article in the *Sunday Times*, allegations of torture have been dismissed by the European

apologists of the regime as part of "a slander campaign".

Information which has recently come to our notice leaves us in no doubt that Turkey (as its neighbour Greece) has become a veritable torture-chamber. The most important document is an affidavit of a defence lawyer defending victimised revolutionaries.

On April 13, 1972, special police came to his office and arrested him. He was driven to a building, photographed, undressed and manacled. What happened next is described in his own words:

"Facing me were a man in a civilian suit and a general. Some others, too, were present, but they were behind me and I was told I'd better not look back, or else I'd be killed . . .

"The general first asked me where I thought I was. I said I thought it was the MIT (National Intelligence Agency) that I had been taken to. They said that I was not in MIT, but I was a captive in the hands of a counter-guerilla organisation. They said I was their prisoner and there existed neither Constitution nor things like law or legal rights; for them, my life had a value inferior to that of a dog. Their staff would decide whether I could survive any more. It they decided to do me to death I should be killed and my corpse thrown into the sea. Various insults then followed."

They then made a number of accusations and encouraged the prisoner to make a false confession:

"I rejected all the accusations. Then the general told me I would be handed to a commando group and left the room. I was blindfolded again and my hands and feet were chained. Then they began beating me and swearing. Their blows were skilled karate hits. . . . They beat the soles of my feet

for a long time Then when I still would not admit their accusations they connected my body to electricity. . . .

"When they began connecting electricity to my head through my ears I felt I was about to go mad. The suffering was such that it appeared as if my brain would explode. There were no breaks this time. They kept it up continuously, regardless that I was throwing myself to the ground in the armchair to which I was tied. . . . They were also pouring water on my head when they applied electricity to my ears to increase conductivity.

"Under these tortures I sometimes became so breathless as almost to die. At these moments I realised that their threats to kill me were not bluff and I decided that further resistance would be useless. I told the torturers that I might accept their terms except that if I conceded anything they surely would ask for more. They promised that the interrogation would end if I conceded to what they wanted. Thus I admitted that I saw the fugitives after they escaped from prison, in accordance with the demands of the torturers.

"All the while I had to listen to the sounds of other prisoners being tortured, and also, I think, tape-recordings of my own interrogation. This experience lasted 23 days. . . . when they returned my clothes I realised I had lost 10 - 12 kilograms of weight during my imprisonment. . . . However they forced me to sign a written statement claiming that I had been "treated nicely. . . ."

This is the "law and order" to which Douglas-Home and *The Guardian* give their unashamed approval. There are hundreds of other cases where prisoners have undergone even worse experiences than the one described above.

Torture is used primarily as a deterrent rather than to elicit information. It is aimed at creating apathy and despair within the mass movement. Special "counter-guerilla" torture centres with their own chain of command have been set up throughout Turkey. Their officers are drawn from the military, police and intelligence services and are answerable to no court or any other civil structure. In fact their very existence is denied by the Turkish regime and those in the pay of its information ministry like certain "special correspondents."

TORTURE FACILITATES ENTRY INTO EUROPE

The torture and mass arrests are linked to the "development policy" of the Turkish bourgeoisie which will facilitate entry into the Common Market — a policy which will seriously cut down the already low living standards of the workers, poor peasants and certain petty-bourgeois layers. That is why the left (the only serious focus of dissent) has to be liquidated or "neutralised" (a word which Thieu also uses in South Vietnam). The policy openly favours the industrial bourgeoisie and foreign (i.e. European) investors. The public sector is used to finance investment with low profit rates, while the more wealthy areas are under the control of private capitalists. European capitalism thus aids the economic and political "development" of Turkey. What is an attractive investment for the capitalist of Europe has become a concentration camp for the Turkish people.

Turkey has joined the ranks of Spain, Portugal, Greece and Northern Ireland to reveal in all its nakedness the "other" face of capitalist Europe, which symbolises terror, repression, brutality and concentration camps. The working class in bourgeois-democratic Europe should study this picture carefully lest they themselves fall into a similar trap.

WARWICK STRIKE BROKEN

By JIM CLYNES

On Thursday, 18 January, the Transport and General Workers' Union members at Warwick University followed the lead of their shop-stewards and went on strike in support of a pay claim. The workers had been in dispute with the University authorities since the beginning of November over a claim for £2.40 and the imposition of the Government freeze had blocked any progress towards a wage increase.

In the *Morning Star* of 24 January, under the headline 'ANTI FREEZE STRIKE CONTINUES' the Warwick strike was reported and the solidarity of the students extolled. Unfortunately, as the paper was appearing on the streets that day, the workers were just about to suffer a major defeat.

STUDENTS' VITAL ROLE

From the beginning the role of the students was crucial to the self-confidence of the workers fighting the administration and the Government freeze. But at first the majority of students, led by the International Socialism Group and the Communist Party, based their support on the fact that the struggle was a straightforward wage demand, not linked to the freeze. However, when the Department of Employment declared that the strike was against the freeze, the IS and CP student leadership were faced with a dilemma: in order to maintain the level of student support, let alone extend the solidarity, they would have to change the political basis of that support: from moral sympathy for very low paid workers trying to get higher pay, to support for a struggle against the freeze which was in the objective interests of both students and workers.

But instead of doing this the IS and the CP took the view that the workers' could not win against the freeze and that they therefore had to be persuaded to put forward demands that were 'winnable'. The two political organisations got together to draw up a list of such 'winnable' demands — such as recognition of basic trade union rights — and then recommended to the stewards that the matter of the wage claim should be referred to the London Head Quarters of the T&G which might be able to find some 'loophole' through which the claim could be 'legally met'.

CALLED OFF

Faced with this 'advice' from the student leadership, the stewards drew the conclusion that they were isolated in the struggle for their wage claim, and therefore felt that they could not recommend the continuation of the struggle. As a result the trade union officials succeeded at the union branch meeting in getting the strike called off even before the 'winnable' demands had been won.

Of course, no one can guarantee success in any struggle. But to recommend calling off the struggle for the wage claim does not avoid defeat. On the contrary, it merely makes defeat more likely. The action of the IS and the CP was a major, if not decisive factor in contributing to the defeat of the workers in Warwick University.

The very afternoon before the IS and the CP approached the stewards with their proposals, the T&G workers had decided to go for an indefinite strike. They had done so following the Department of Employment's announcement that it was not prepared to budge because of the Government freeze. But the student leadership's meeting with the stewards completely changed the situation and the next day the strike was called off.

GOOD POSSIBILITIES

The student leadership had one single overriding task: to take action which created the best possible conditions for victory. The

struggle needed to be generalised to the widest possible extent, and as a matter of fact there were very good possibilities for accomplishing this.

In the Coventry area around the University, we have already seen the car workers on a one day strike directly against the freeze. At the time of this struggle, the gas workers were on a work-to-rule also directed against the freeze. The CPSA was moving towards strike action for the same reason. And the hospital workers who have been involved in intermittent rank and file activity against the freeze sent £20 immediately as an initial donation that they heard of the struggle of the University workers. There is a similar story nationally.

What is lacking in all this, is the absence of any organisation outside the control of the bureaucracy which could centralise the struggle. However, a political focus could have drawn these other workers into solidarity. The students at the University could have provided this, if the mass of students had taken up some militant form of struggle in solidarity. Within a framework of occupation, demonstrations, mass pickets, etc., students could have utilised their resources to begin a campaign which could have begun to draw in the local labour movement and beyond. Moreover if presented in a correct way, they could have utilised the fact that students are currently involved in rent strikes and other forms of militant activity for an increase in student grants to draw in students nationally on the side of workers against the freeze. This would then have really made practical the struggle of the workers against the freeze.

Such a political perspective for freeing the University workers from their isolation was consistently put forward by the International Marxist Group in the University. It was the failure of the International Socialism and the Communist Party to adopt such a perspective that led to their defeatist activity.

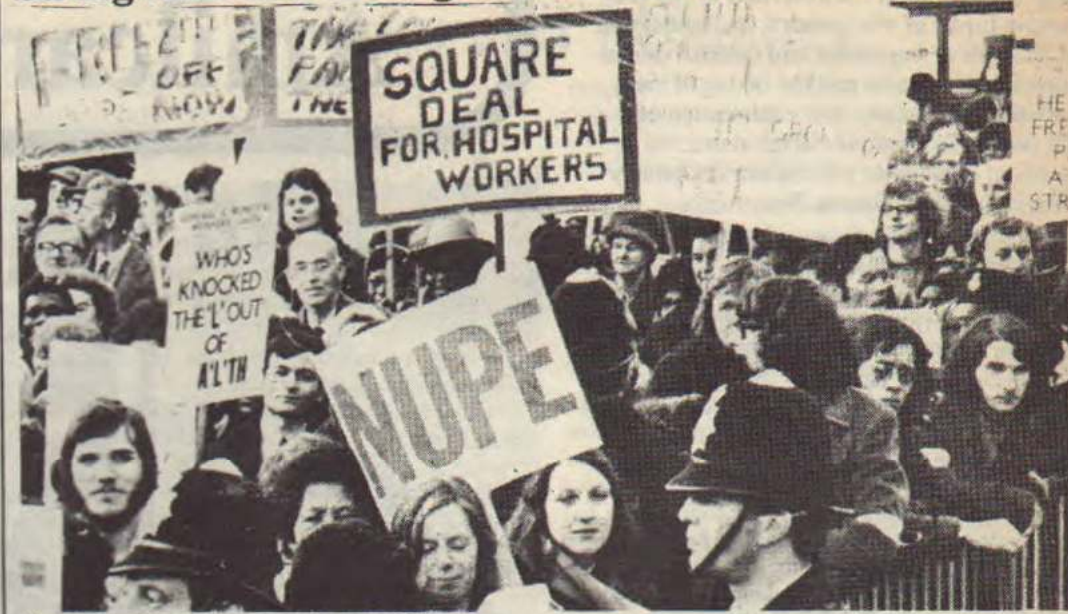
POULSON : More to come

The bankruptcy proceedings against the "international architect", Poulson have caused grave embarrassment in certain ruling class circles. The British ruling class has always prided itself on keeping all instances of bribery and corruption well away from the public eye. Of late, however, things have not been going too well.

Paul Foot's brilliant exposure of Maudling's relations with the Real Estate Fund of America crooks led to the former's resignation from the Tory government, and the Poulson affair has discredited a number of leading Labour Party politicians and supporters. Antony Crosland may well return the silver coffee pot and try and laugh the whole matter off, but for workers in Britain, who were attacked by the last Labour Government and who are feeling the whip hand of the present Tory government, the matter is beyond a joke. Whatever politicians like Crosland may say now, whenever they're in power they accept bribes (or "gifts" in polite language) and free holidays from rich businessmen in return for services rendered just like the Tories.

Further revelations in the Poulson affair could embarrass a number of other M.P.'s. That is why the *World in Action* programme scheduled by Granada Television for Monday, 29 January was not screened. This is the second blatant example of censorship in recent weeks (the Warhol film was the first) and shows the concern of the ruling class, in this period of social crisis, to prevent a further erosion of its credibility in the eyes of large numbers of workers.

Strong rank and file organisation needed to channel



Hospital workers demonstrate against the freeze

HEALTH WORKERS MILITANCY

On Sunday, 21 January, shop stewards and health service militants met for the second conference of the National Alliance of Stewards for Health Workers (NASH). There was a comparatively low attendance, reflecting the difficulties in organising this traditionally passive and unorganised sector, and also the success of the manoeuvres of the Union bureaucracies both nationally and locally.

However, the result of the ballot held by the National Union of Public Employees showed that a militant feeling still exists among health workers — a majority voted for what would be the first all-out strike in the history of the N.H.S. The problem is that for the most part the actions of these workers still depend on the Union bureaucracies.

The Conference reaffirmed the previous decision to press for an £8 claim. Such a claim becomes ever more necessary as health workers see their standard of living further reduced by the effects of the freeze. The Conference recognised that no demands would be successful until the freeze is smashed, and its most important decision was to call on its supporters to work towards the setting up of rank and file alliances of all public sector workers (teachers, gas workers, civil service

workers etc.) caught in the freeze.

Such a move becomes all the more important when we note the reaction of the NUPE leadership to the results of the ballot. On the very day that the majority decision for all-out strike action was announced, the Union negotiators while refusing the miserable offer of £1.84 were arranging yet another meeting with management on 16 February. It is clear that they prefer the cosy farce of 'negotiations' to any attempt to organise along with other sections of the labour movement to smash the freeze. With typical contempt for the decisions of their membership they intend at most to indulge in what NUPE leader Alan Fisher referred to as "something more than token action". Such a policy can only isolate the ancillary workers and given their weakness is the best way to ensure their defeat.

This attitude is a clear indication that only the building of a strong rank-and-file organisation across all the health service unions will enable ancillary workers to win even their most immediate demands. Particularly important in this respect will be the launching of the national rank-and-file paper projected by the NASH Conference.

Letter to Worker's Fight

The following letter has been sent by the IMG to the leadership of the Workers' Fight group:

25 January 1972

Dear Comrades,

Following the decisions of our National Committee meeting of 20-21 January, I am writing to inform you that we consider that the political basis for continued negotiations with a view to unity does not exist at the present time. Since the expulsion of Workers' Fight from the I.S. group there has been the prospect of strengthening the forces of the Fourth International in Britain through the adherence of Workers' Fight to the world movement. The IMG has consequently attempted for more than a year to work towards such an objective. However the precondition for meaningful negotiations is that all secondary points of difference between the two organisations should be subordinated to the task of attempting to reach agreement on the crucial, primary issue: the relation of Workers' Fight to the political programme and activity of the Fourth International.

However, the negotiations have been obscured by a rising tide of attacks by the Workers' Fight leadership, many of which do not go beyond the level of slander and rumour-mongering, and others which at best represent attacks on tactical questions facing revolution-

aries in Britain. We do not for one moment deny the existence of differences on these questions. What we do insist on is the need to concentrate upon the main fact which brought the two organisations together in negotiations: the fact that Workers' Fight has declared itself in solidarity with the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. However we have had a completely negative response from Workers' Fight even on the question of your organisation's preparedness to have a speaker from the International leadership to address a meeting of your membership on the Fourth International.

In these circumstances, we see no further purpose being served in continuing negotiations with a view to unity. The likely outcome would simply be to exacerbate relations between the two organisations, given the approach exhibited by the Workers' Fight leadership.

At the same time we wish to establish the closest possible unity in action of the two organisations in the fields where there is scope for joint work and we hope to maintain close contact locally and nationally for that purpose. On the basis of such common work, the factional atmosphere surrounding the recent negotiations can hopefully be reduced.

Yours fraternally,
Tariq Ali



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INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP

(British Section of the Fourth International)

182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

I would like more information about the IMG and its activities.

NAME

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RED BOOKS: SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT
Due to building alterations, Red Books is closing its bookshop at 182, Pentonville Road, London N.1. as from Friday, 2 February. We regret this inconvenience to our customers and hope to have new premises in the near future. In the meantime we will be operating a mail-order book service from the above address.

WRITE FOR OUR FREE CATALOGUE

CEYLON SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN
PICKET: Saturday 3rd February, from 12 noon till 2 p.m. outside Ceylon Tea Centre, Lower Regent St.—near Piccadilly. To express solidarity with the struggle against the regime of Mrs Bandaranaike on the 25th anniversary of Ceylon's "Independence".