

## FIGHT ELECTION ON SOCIALIST PROGRAMME!

By PATRICK CRAVEN, Norwood CLP

The 1970 General Election is taking place amid the biggest wave of strikes for nearly a decade. The bitter struggle in the Pilkington's dispute at St. Helens has illustrated the seething discontent beneath the "economic revival", on the strength of which the Labour Government is seeking re-election. The very counting of the votes is put in jeopardy by the local government officers' threat to black this work.

Small wonder, then, that the Tories, the bosses' party, are centring their election campaign on the need to curb the power of the trade unions. They are making an open challenge to the Labour Movement. Linked to this is their ominous talk of "law and order" which threatens the workers' hard-won rights to picket and demonstrate. With higher food prices, more means tests and soaring rents, they aim to undermine the living standards of the workers, whilst promising lavish tax cuts for the wealthy. Faced with these grim prospects, it was inevitable that thousands of workers would move back to Labour, as the local elections and the polls have already shown. In Glasgow alone the vote actually doubled over a year earlier. Overall there was a swing of 10-15% to Labour compared to last year. According to "The Economist" "it was the most dramatic shift from one year to another in the history of municipal elections". This is a striking answer to those sects on the fringes of the Labour Movement who thought that the Labour Party had lost its traditional basis of support. In this situation, those who advocate support for the Tories by abstaining on June 18th are crossing the political picket lines. The Tories must be smashed for ever! Never again must the open representatives of the bosses be put in power!

The workers who vote Labour in 1970, however, cannot be expected to vote with the same enthusiasm as in 1964. Then it was hoped that the Labour Government would achieve a radical change in society. In 1964 and again in 1966, the propaganda of the Labour Party was along the lines of the leaflet which promised:—

Action to give us more and better houses and fair rents.

Action to give our children a fair chance.

Action to help the retired, sick and unemployed.

Action to create a better health service.

Action to protect the consumer.

Action to revitalise Britain's economy.

Action to make British industry really work for Britain."

### MARXISTS WARNED

"MILITANT" warned again and again that "there is only one snag in relation to this programme. On a capitalist basis it will be impossible to carry it out!" (April 1966.) Let us judge now who were the "impractical dreamers"—the Labour leaders, who thought that all the contradictions of British capitalism could be spirited away with a wave of the magic wand, or the Marxists who analysed the source of the crisis and offered a bold socialist solution?

According to the leaders' pipe-dreams as embodied in the ill-fated "National Plan", by 1970 Britain would enjoy all the above benefits, together with a standard of living 30% higher than five years ago. The harsh reality is that instead of the projected 500,000 houses that were to be built annually only 350,000 will materialise this year. (Last year the number actually fell by 47,000). The raising of the school leaving age and other urgent educational reforms that were promised have been postponed for years. Instead of abolishing

prescription charges—the "tax on the sick"—the Labour Government has in effect raised them from 2/- to 2/6d. The unparalleled rocketing of prices has reduced the value of the 1964 pound to 15/-. Pensions increases have been eaten away by the annual increase of 12.9% in food prices. And, far from removing the spectre of unemployment, the Government has presided over three years in which the constant rate of unemployment has been the highest for thirty years. In the "New Britain", 3 million people live in houses lacking in basic amenities, and up to 9 million people live at or below the officially-defined subsistence level. As always, the workers have had to pay the price of their bosses' failure. And with what effect?

The 1% of the population who own one-third of all personal wealth have been subsidised at the expense of the 60% with little or no recorded wealth. The capitalists have been bled out to the tune of TWO BILLION POUNDS A YEAR (according to "The Economist", 23/5/70). The result is "below-average growth and insufficient modernisation". Entire industries—such as "aviation, nuclear power, computers, modern machine tools—would fold if Government support were removed." About two-thirds of all research is provided by the Government. In addition to annual "investment grants" of £600 million, £1000 million of S.E.T. rebates to manufacturing industry, a 14% bonanza to exporters by means of devaluation, and other lavish gifts, the Government showers every year about £200 million in generous "national assistance" to individual firms with "special problems", like U.C.S., Rolls-Royce and Cammell Lairds. The State shoulders all the losses while the handful of rich shareholders collect record profits each year. The Labour leaders are propping up a system which could not survive another day without blood transfusions of this cha-



Pilkington's workers fight with police (see article back page)

acter from the State. Devaluation provided a breathing-space for British industry, but the fundamental task of modernisation has still not been accomplished, and the economy has grown by an average of only 2½% a year—even less than the pitiful record under the Tories, and more slowly than any other major economy in the world.

### BACKWARD SECTIONS ONLY VOTE WHEN MOBILISED

The Government borrowed the discredited Tory policies of deflation and wage-freeze to keep down the workers' share of the wealth produced by their labour. They even attempted what the Conservatives had never dared—to pass laws to restrict the rights of trade unions to protect their members. Only the massive pressure from the workers' organisations forced a retreat on this.

To many Labour supporters the Government seemed hardly different from the Tories. As one Labour M.P., John Mackintosh, blandly admits in "The Times", "both major parties are drifting in the same direction". The Party leaders pitifully illustrated their failure to pose any real alternative to the Conservatives by launching an advertising campaign, not against Tory policies but against Tory puppets. They should direct a campaign against those who pull the strings, the owners of the monopolies. Wilson cannot hope to mobilise support as the defender of the status quo: "I don't think", he said on T.V., "they want a lot of change and disturbance and shrill, and strident tones, and a lot of argy-bargy in the election or in the period that follows it. I think that they want quiet, strong government." Nothing could be less true! "The Labour Party," as "The Times" (21/5/70) pointed out, "has fringe supporters, particularly among some poorer working groups, who hardly take any interest in politics. These voters only turn out if the election is very exciting or if they feel that some direct interest is at stake." Wilson is playing

into the Tories' hands by not campaigning to arouse these voters with a fighting socialist programme. The "Financial Times" (14/5/70) has observed that "the basic fact about British political loyalties is their strong relation to class, yet in a nation which both by self-assessment and occupation is 70% working class, the Conservatives have been in power more often than not." The Labour Party can win the support of all this 70% and more if it will realise the truth of that statement and fight on class policies.

Unless the Labour Government is prepared to tackle the problem of the private ownership of industry, any new reforms will be insignificant. The owners of wealth will never sit back and let the Government legislate away their fortunes. Without an attack on the economic base of their power, the next Labour Government will pave the way for even worse retreats than last time, as its reforms are whittled away in the face of economic crisis. The present "strength" of the economy is built on very shaky foundations. And in the future, when the balance of payments surplus is threatened, the bankers will once again compel a Labour Government to clamp down on wages, tax increases, or deflation. Another devaluation will be on the cards, with a further threat to living standards. Unemployment could scale new heights, and faced with the inevitable opposition to these measures from the workers, the employers will again start buying for anti-strike legislation to shackle the trade unions. Once the Labour Government has outlived its usefulness to the capitalists, they will again clamour for a National Government in the style of Ramsay MacDonald to compromise the Labour leaders in blatant class collaboration. We had a foretaste of this in the vitriolic abuse of Wilson and the discreet suggestion that a coalition Government be formed under some other Labour leader, at the time of the last devaluation. One reason for their hesitation before embarking on

# AMERICA: RULERS SHAKEN BY CAMBODIAN CRISIS

By JULIAN SILVERMAN St. Pancras N.C.L.P.



Teamsters fight National Guard in Cleveland

American Imperialism has lost South East Asia and is in the process of losing the support of its own population.

Their terror at the rising colonial revolution has cooked them in their own juice. No H.Q. has been found. Scarcely a "Vietcong" has been seen. On the other hand a Cambodian village has been wiped out. They have found a huge arms and equipment dump, which will be replaced when the time is right from the same sources which gave the first one. In the process it has been proved that the N.L.F. are accepted willingly by the Cambodian peasants, that the Cambodian "junta" will not be able to hold out without U.S. support—and 2/3rds. of Laos is in the hands of the revolution there too. The "show of strength" has turned out to be no more than the uncontrolled convulsions of a degenerate social system. Legless veterans told the TIMES reporter; "It's just a politician's war, man... for a better world? they just talk about fixing up the slums. They don't do anything about it." The war is unwinnable when mutinies can scarcely be hushed up, officers are shot in the back by their own men, when troops "go into battle cursing Nixon and screaming obscenities and epithets that the paper could not print." When soldiers point "Give peace a chance" over their helmets, or openly on the trucks with sarcasm, "Cambodia today—China tomorrow". As THE STANDARD reporter commented, "how can you convince a tired infantry that the unending roar of the bombardment means anything, when even the gunners themselves are only firing 'on spec'?"

One of the first preconditions of a revolutionary situation is that the oppressing class should be unable to continue ruling in the old way, that it should not know which way to turn. In the United States, the State Machine itself is running amok, as society faces crack-up.

The students, faced daily by armed state thugs, are in a state of permanent physical rebellion. Even the most "conservative" colleges have been drawn into the struggle after the unprovoked murders. All talk in terms of some kind of anti-capitalist programme, however vaguely conceived. It has gone so far that the authorities of that rich man's university, Harvard, are closing down to allow enthusiasts to campaign for opposition candidates during the coming mid-term elections.

Six Negroes were shot dead by National Guardsmen in Augusta, Georgia during a demonstration. One more was shot for walking in the street. The Black Panthers have been striving towards a class answer to their problems and have gained the support of hundreds of thousands of Whites in their "appeals for justice for Bobbie Seale. It is officially doubted if a Negro militant "could" get a fair hearing in present day America." The jury has been forced to admit that the police lied in the case, which involved the police-murder of two Black Panthers in their beds, so great is the popular resentment which is building up.

The boomtime dream has been smashed.

There has been the greatest wave of industrial unrest since the pre-war armed clashes. The same National Guardsmen who shot down the Kent, Ohio, students, had faced bitter struggles with 65,000 Teamsters, who were armed and shooting back, in a strike which had spread like wildfire from one coast to the other: from Cleveland to Detroit to San Francisco.

The March-April rise in unemployment was the highest monthly increase for ten years. Already 3,900,000 are tramping the pavements. "Employment growth has almost reached stagnation-point, while the labour force continues to increase," writes the TIMES' U.S. correspondent.

## Left & Right

### WEST GERMAN YOUNG SOCIALISTS

At the height of the student upsurge in West Germany in 1967 all kinds of quasi-marxist sects clutched hold of this movement as the "key" to socialism in Germany. 'Militant' pointed out at the time that the student movement was a symptom of a growing social crisis in Germany and reflected unrest in the ranks of the working class. We stressed that the thousands of leftward moving students in Germany could only be harnessed as a consistent force for socialism by struggling within the ranks of the worker's organisations for a Marxist policy. At the time the "Marxist" sects dismissed out of hand the German Labour and Trade Union Movement, the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Unions. They spurned any suggestion that the movement of the German workers would inevitably reflect itself in these organisations first.

But in the last period this perspective of MILITANT has been graphically borne out. At the same time as the student socialist organisation (SDS) has dissolved, for lack of support, the youth organisation of the SPD has significantly grown both numerically and politically. It spearheaded the opposition to the pro-capitalist policies of the German labour leaders at the last SPD Conference... they were never able to rally more than a third of the vote for any of their causes ECONOMIST 16/5/70. The Young Socialists made it clear that they "want it (SPD) to return uncompromisingly to discarded Marxist principles: to socialise the banks and the means of production". These developments in the Young Socialists and the SPD clearly indicate the opposition that is maturing within the ranks of the SPD for a return to the basic ideals of social-

ism. What the ECONOMIST considers as "discarded" will be more and more taken up by the German workers. The decision of the 1959 Bad Godsberg Conference which deleted the socialist clauses from the SPD constitution will be reversed when West German capitalism can no longer afford to make concessions. In the 1966-67 economic downturn miners in the Ruhr marched with red flags demanding a socialist solution to the crisis. The development of the Young Socialists demonstrates how Marxism will be re-established as the programme of German workers when a similar situation begins to take shape in Germany again.

Share prices are zooming down, as a direct result of the new extension of the war. So far they are at their lowest since 1963, and the fall has been steeper than at any time since the great slump, except for the immediate pre-war period. Now Nixon prophesies a deficit of \$1,800 million instead of his February forecast of a £1,500 million surplus. The United States is the spine of the Capitalist World. Once the cancer sets in there, the limbs become paralysed. Already, with the first symptoms, the capitalist economic quacks shudder at the dreadful thought "1929", and prepare to throw all their patent medicines down the drain as useless after all. The I.O.S., the biggest international investment corporation in the world, is going through a catastrophic crisis. Wall Street and international big-business knows that the war is unwinnable, and is only a monstrous burden on the economy. Since the greater part of world trade is to and from the United States, and since 40% of European industry is in U.S. hands, this affects the boss-class everywhere. Hardly one of their government representatives has dared give the slightest support to the liberal U.S. senators, let alone to the vast popular movement of protest: 200,000 in France, millions in Italy (where the Mayday banners carried messages of support to the Cambodian People), hundreds of thousands in Australia, where a nationwide "moratorium", was called etc. International Big Business demonstrates a pathetic loyalty to some of the stupider Pentagon chiefs of staff. When they consider what is going to happen to their Malaysian rubber-plantations, or their Argentine beef-herds if the peoples of the world are going to be allowed to "get away with it", they begin to lose all reason.

The New York Times, and Mayor Lindsay revealed that the New York Police got \$15,000,000 from the "numbers" racket—illegal gambling, that the starving Puerto Rican shopkeepers were giving them \$6 a year in a kind of "protection" racket, against arbitrary arrest, that the police, at the least, stood by, while student demonstrators were beaten up.

Senators are trying to curb any further spending on the war. Within a day they collected tens of thousands of letters of support, and \$150,000 in small contributions "from people of modest means", to pay for their television appearance. One wrote, "I have been a member of the 'silent majority' for a long time, but after watching your programme I was silent no longer. I circulated a petition in my community, and got 50 signatures in two hours. This may not sound impressive, but in a conservative east Texas town it was grauiting."

Supreme Court Judge, William O. Douglas has reminded Americans of their right to revolution, guaranteed in the constitution, and made comparisons with the founding of America as a rebellion against George III. Governor Reagan cries out against the students "if it takes a bloodbath, let's get it over with. No more appeasement." Now he has come out with a scheme to "forestall revolution" which is openly modelled on British Imperialism's counter-revolutionary war in Malaya, only based on the most modern gadgetry.

Although gangster union leaders have held back the political development of the working class for generations—which resulted in the minor counterdemonstration of New York dockers and building workers—it should not be forgotten that over 4 million teamsters and auto-workers are united in the "Alliance for Labour Action", working for "real racial equality, an end to the war, higher wages all round, and ultimately to the formation of a Party of American Labour. Nor should it be forgotten that even the "hawk" Meaney, was forced to threaten the formation of such a party. The spirit which gave Socialist Presidential candidate, Debs, a million votes in 1912, is not dead: there is no other solution.

It is no exaggeration to say that the future of the world hangs upon this development. The colonial revolution has until now found itself in the pockets of bureaucratic national elites, because, unlike Russia in 1917, no appeals were made to the workers of the advanced countries to establish a worldwide international workers' democracy. Privileged elites have dominated backward peasants even while borrowing the economic forms of socialism from the experience of the western working class movements. With the gigantic awakening of the U.S. workers, the basis for these deformations would be gone. Bolshevism could be reborn.

In Britain we have had an independent workers' party for nearly a century. It is a crime that its leaders, in the government today, support the barbarism of America's oppressors. Let them give a lead to the U.S. workers and help them to a less violent and bloody solution than will occur if no clear direction is provided. The world is waiting for a clear uncompromising class lead. Auto workers union leader Reuther, before he died, approached Union leaders for international action against the "conglomerates", the handful of international monopolies which were strangling the economy of the Western World. Now is the time to act.

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### BUREAUCRACIES HELP DICTATORSHIPS

"RUSSIAN POWER STATIONS TO GREECE, POLISH COAL TO SPAIN: thus did Roger Garaudy bring to light a few months ago, at the French "Communist" Party Congress the secret trade deals of the Stalinist elite with the military dic-

tatorships in both countries. In the main, Garaudy's opposition to the French CP leadership was based on arguments opposed to the ideas of Marxism, but in the process he illuminated the rottenness of the bureaucratic elites. His revelations, reported in the MORNING STAR, confirmed the Marxist analysis as to the fear of the bureaucracy of social revolution in the West leading to political revolution in Russia, Eastern Europe, China and the other deformed worker's states. The Polish coal was supplied to Spain during the last great Asturian miners strike! Even in 1926, while Stalin pursued an opportunistic policy of allying the British Communist Party with the TUC "Left," at least when the General Strike broke out the Russian workers came to the assistance of the British workers with millions of roubles. Now all material support is given to the Franco regime to smash striking miners. So far have the Russian bureaucracy and their satellites become removed from the international-

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## SOUTH AFRICA

By JOHN SIMMONS (East Islington L.P.)

Four years after the successful Africans busmen's strike in 1961 the leaders were arrested and sentenced to four years imprisonment for their part in the strike. African workers who show any sign of insubordination—taking part in go slows, strikes etc.—are liable to £500 fine or three months imprisonment. Out of a population of 18 million, 15 million have no representation in Government—the vast majority not even the vote. An African needs an employers permit to be out on the streets after 6 p.m. He cannot use the same trains, buses, parks and cinemas as whites. These abuses and many others of rights we take for granted after one and a half centuries of working class struggle have moved thousands to express their disgust at the government's pussy footing attitude regarding the entry of the white South African rugby and cricket teams. The Irish T.U.C. recently called upon its members to actively boycott the Springbok tour, to refuse to transport members of the tour, to handle their baggage or serve them in hotels. The National Conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists demanded the banning of the tour, and called upon the Labour movement to black all trade with South Africa, and give every assistance to those groups fighting the South African regime. Throughout the Trade Union movement and constituency Labour Parties similar demands have been made. Under pressure, even some Tories, for instance, Edward Boyle, have been compelled to come out against the tour—on the grounds that the team is chosen on the basis of race and also that if it does take place it will prejudice the upkeep of 'law and order'.

Such is the rank hypocrisy of the capitalists that they condemn apartheid in sport whilst the £1,300 million invested by them in South African industry reaps them profits (£64.7 million in '67 from direct investment) from vicious exploitation of black labour. Of the top 38 British monopolies in fact 27 benefit from the near slave labour of the African working class. Three of the ten major mining finance houses are run from London. Not only has British Big-Business no qualms over where its money comes from. A quick glance at the history of South Africa shows that apartheid owes its existence to British Big-Business in its attempt, during the class struggles of the white miners in the early twenties, to break the movement through the introduction of cheap black labour. In fact Apartheid, with its pass laws, strike laws etc. has merely legalised the super-exploitation of non-white labour by British, American, and African capitalism and landlordism. To take perhaps the most glaring example—the gold mines—the African worker today earns less than £10 a month—twenty times less than the white miner, and all the time the ratio of white/black wages is increasing. African peasants were forced off the fertile land into completely barren reserves—now called Bantustans—in Transkei, land that would belong to one white farmer would have to support 700 Africans). Apartheid secured mining, farming and other industries with a constant supply of cheap labour. Unable to support themselves in the reserves, black workers have to leave their families for years in order to work in the most foul conditions, in the far off

urban areas. In this bosses playground, British investments have increased, and the economy has grown at an annual rate of 6 per cent. Even so, the reliance of the economy up to date, on the mining and selling of gold underlies its weakness. As well as this, South Africa's bosses, relying on cheap labour rather than updating factory plants, cannot compete favourably on the world market in consumer goods. With three quarters of the nation's spending power held by the white population, the small home market also restricts growth. More and more industries have been set up—chemicals, motors, uranium mining, breweries etc.—and the demand for skilled workers grows. Yet these cannot be provided because of the rigid reservation laws, which deny the right of Africans to take up skilled jobs. "Ill-educated whites fill jobs that would, without restrictions, be filled by more intelligent blacks." (Sunday Times 12/4/70). The one-time practical policies of Apartheid, keeping the Africans out of the urban areas, cuts completely across the path of the big industrialists who need nearby cheap and skilled black labour. Oppenheimer, the boss of the £2,500m. complex De Beers, puts profit before prejudice, and has called the policies advocated first by Verwoerd, and now in extreme form by Hertzog, that would force industry out to the Bantustans to keep South Africa racially segregated, "negative apartheid"! In fact, the governments' attempts have completely failed. The black urban population has grown far faster than the white, and capitalists openly flaunt the laws and regulations concerning employment of black labour. After all, the bosses say, "what is the sense of apartheid if you cannot exploit the cheap labour?"

Nevertheless, despite the desire of the industrial section of the ruling class to ease the more glaring restrictions of the 'master race' policy, it cannot hope to ward off the pent up anger of the coloured and black population, who have been denied all means of fighting their exploitation and oppression. Despite the strict illegality of strikes (even for white workers subject to contract) and demonstrations, the non-white South Africans have shown their defiance on many occasions—by striking, burning their passes, and by open revolt in the reserves. And it is the fear for profits that explains the colossal growth in South African defence, which over the last five years has increased 800 per cent! In other African states, imperialism has attempted to secure profits by buying off and installing native African governments. If this cannot be done in South Africa, the Tories have shown their true colours with their blueprint for a Southern African N.A.T.O. to defend British Capitalist interest, and which in the event of a popular uprising, would intervene to crush it. It is the international working-class that can give genuine aid to the South African masses in their struggle. In Italy, the workers, by striking, showed their willingness to lend their strength to the Greek workers against the military dictatorship. Mobilisation of the organised workers to black all trade—along the lines of the L.P.Y.S. resolutions—would strike a decisive blow for the African peoples, and working class internationalism.

## NEW PREMISES — APPEAL RAISES £1.400

£1,400 has been sent this year by readers and supporters towards buying and equipping the new 'Militant' premises, and extending our editorial staff. The outstanding response to appeals has enabled most of the alteration and equipment needed to be completed already, and the premises will be in full use soon—including use of our own press, which will be installed there.

Many thanks to the enormous number of readers and supporters who have sent money ranging from 2s to £200. But don't forget there is still time to send donations, if you haven't already, to help with the remaining work. The higher the fund rises, the quicker this will be completed, enabling the coverage of the paper to expand, the editorial board staff to be increased, and the paper to be more frequent.

Keep sending donations from your-

self, ask your friends, your CLP, your YS or your union if they will contribute. Help to expand sales of MILITANT in your area by taking a bulk order of papers to sell at your Labour Party, YS or union branch. Ask your friends to take out a subscription to help build a quickly increasing circulation.

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## Election

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this course is that it would give a mighty impetus for a movement to the left within the Labour Party.

### CONFLICT WITH UNIONS LOOMS UNLESS SOCIALIST POLICIES FOLLOWED

It seems likely that a Labour Government will again be elected, with a reduced majority. The strategists of Big Business themselves recognise that a Tory Government pandering to the basest middle-class prejudices against the unions, demonstrations, immigration and crime would constitute a dangerous provocation which could result in a General Strike. But a new Labour Government would come immediately under the closest scrutiny and vigilance of its rank-and-file. Jack Jones, leader of the biggest union in the country, has appealed to its 600 full-time officials to mobilise the members through factory gate meetings to do their utmost to defeat the Tories. But he issued an ominous warning to the Labour leaders: "We shall do our trade union job and not be afraid to disagree with the Labour Government before or after the next General Election."

### DEFEAT TORIES ONCE AND FOR ALL

The immediate task is to defeat the Tories. At the same time, the fight must be waged within the Labour Movement against any more concessions to Tory policies. No more wage-freeze! No more anti-T.U. laws! Equal pay now! A minimum wage of at least £20! The Young Socialists have shown the way forward in the policies adopted at their conference. Armed with this socialist programme

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### alist ideals of the October Revolution!

Nor do the "revolutionary" Chinese bureaucracy and their supporters fare any better. The Foreign Minister of Greece recently noted "slight signs of improved intentions from Albania... The Albanians were showing "understanding" by spontaneously returning Greek fugitives" TIMES 11/5/70. These facts, not publicly denied by the Albanian Government, demonstrate the hypocrisy of all shades of Stalinism and their hollow claims of "internationalism" and "socialism". But neither strike-breaking trade-deals, nor diplomatic horse-deals will be able to check the revolutionary upheavals in Spain and Greece. When that happens the CP rank and file will call to account the Stalinist bureaucracies and their mouthpieces in both countries.

not only could Labour crush the Tories today but they could end forever the system of exploitation and inequality which they stand for. By taking over the evershrinking handful of monopolies that dominate the economy, and carrying out Clause Four of the L.P. Constitution we could take a giant stride towards realising the dreams of generations of workers and building a classless world.

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# "GUN RUNNING" IRISH CRISIS — BLANEY TRIES TO STOP SHIFT TO LEFT

By PAUL JONES (Chairman), Derry Y.S.

Neal Blaney, head of the "Donegal Mafia", last month was given a rousing welcome in poverty stricken Donegal. 7,000 people greeted him in the small town of Letterkenny following his dismissal as Minister of Agriculture from the government, along with Mr Charles Haughey, Minister of Finance. This was for allegedly being involved in a conspiracy to run guns to the "nationally minded" people in the Catholic ghettos of N. Ireland, so that the latter could "defend" themselves this summer. How "nationally minded" Blaney was demonstrated by his recent statement in the Dail that he sells butter to British capitalists for 11d per lb while Irish workers pay 5/-!

## RIGHT WING OF I.R.A.

There is no doubt that both Blaney and Haughey are very closely tied up with the Provisional Army Council of the I.R.A. and its "political" wing, the Provisional E.C. of Sinn Fein, which split from the official organisations in February. The "Provisionals" as they came to be called, split on the issue of recognition of Westminster, the Dail and Stormont by the official organisations. But it is obvious that this was not the real issue. Under the influence of events, in particular the miserable disaster and failure of the last I.R.A. campaign in the late '50's and early '60's, the more advanced elements in the Republican movement began to orientate towards the workers, and small farmers. It was this issue of Socialism and a class approach which lay behind the split. Thus the first issue of "An Phoblacht" (journal of the "Provisionals") contained declamation after declamation against "Cuban style commune politics" and "Doctrinaire Socialism". This is similar to the Fianna Fail propaganda against the Labour Party. It is exactly aligned with the propaganda of the Fianna Fail financed "Voice of the North", in reality the voice of Neal Blaney.

But it was the failure and refusal of the Stalinist leadership in the majority organisation of Sinn Fein to make the issue of Socialism clear, that led to the confusion which enabled the "Provisionals" to take so many people away. Thus in Belfast, the Provisionals claimed "9 of the 11 divisions of the I.R.A. in Belfast went with the Provisional Army Council" (An Phoblacht No. 1.).

## 25% UNEMPLOYED IN DONEGAL

The main theme of the "Provisionals", as outlined by their spokesmen, is that of the "Time now to strike a decisive blow in Ireland's destiny". The Provisionals have also indulged in such activities as terrorising with guns and clubs, members of the official Republicans on the Falls Road, as they have admitted to the Irish Times. It is also widely reported that they were the instigators of the Ballymurphy riots, and they are reputed to be heavily armed.

On no occasion in the past has Fianna Fail or either of the dismissed ministers done anything about the plight of the Irish working class. In particular, neither Blaney nor Haughey has ever stood out against the policies of Fianna Fail. On the contrary, they have been active in perpetrating them. In Blaney's own constituency, which he has represented for 21 years, unemployment stands at 25 per cent, and the population has decreased by 25,000 since he came to power! Eighty per cent of the Donegal people have no education after the age of eleven, and throughout the South one in three

children live in conditions of poverty. These conditions exist while Tory politicians like Blaney live in luxury in expensive houses. Blaney himself lives in the upper class suburb of Rahenny in Dublin!

Discrimination against non-supporters of Fianna Fail is rife; jobs and houses are allocated on the basis of support. However, the capitalists in Ireland are faced with a dilemma. How to cope with the movement in the North which has awakened thousands to see the real class issues, begun to split the Catholic workers from the Green Tories and, though in a distorted manner, is beginning to split the Orange workers from the Orange Tories. Whether to maintain this movement in constitutional channels, on the basis of a new settlement, or whether to attempt to re-establish the old alignments that have been broken down in the North and South. Blaney represents a section of the capitalists who are deliberately setting out to stir up all the old religious divisions in order to head off the movement towards the Left both North and South. But this policy involves stirring up all sorts of sectarian feelings both North and South, and would mean in the present situation a severe and bloody Civil War which would engulf the island and destroy trade, (Ireland is Britain's second biggest trading partner), property and profit, and bring acute economic distress. Thus the Minister of Justice says "Fianna Fail will do everything in its power to stop a civil war" (Irish Times. 18/5/70).

## T.Us. HAVE ANSWER

As a result of the crisis in Eire, the capitalists are having second thoughts about the usefulness of a Fianna Fail government. As the Irish Times says "Fianna Fail has lost its one great asset—stability." (I. T. 18/5/70), and they are now toying with the idea of a Fine Gael Government or a coalition with Labour/Fine Gael to give them a more "stable" Government. Already some Labour leaders have called for a "coalition of the forces of sanity". The rank and file of the Irish Labour Movement must understand that this would be a coalition of the horse and rider and would not solve one of the problems facing them or the small farmers. They must say "no" to coalition. Instead, the Labour Movement, should link all the magnificent struggles of the Irish workers up into the need for a Labour Government on a Socialist programme. Such a movement would hold out its hand in friendship to the northern workers, and quickly shatter all the old divisions.

In the North, however, with the General Election to stir the passions to fever pitch, and with all the talk and fear of "attacks", "counter-attacks" etc., given fresh substance by the gun-running controversy and actions of the Provisional Army Council, the scene is set for a bloody summer, unless the Trade Union and Labour Movement acts now!

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The Labour Party rank and file must not lose any opportunity in explaining the real class issues and campaign on a socialist alternative to sectarian bloodbath in the election. The idea of a T.U. defence force must be clearly propagated. The policy of arming the minority or "nationally minded" people in the North (in reality it is the sectarian bigots who have guns), coupled with the statement about striking "decisive blows" etc. from the "Provisionals" and memories of the old I.R.A. terror campaigns, will have made the

likelihood of a sectarian bloodbath more inevitable. Both Catholic and Protestant workers will suffer the consequences (Neal Blaney will not be in the firing line). Instead of arming the 'minority' it should be the Labour Movement which is armed. Only through joint action of workers organised by the Labour Movement against the reactionaries and bigots is there any chance of preventing attacks on Protestant and Catholic workers alike. Only in this way is there any way forward for the Irish working people.

## Glass Workers — Stay in G & M & fight for change!

By a G&M.W.U. worker

(The following article was written while the Pilkington strike was in progress. We consider that the main points made in the article still apply—

Editor)

The attitude of the Pilkington bosses towards the glass workers who had been on strike since April 3rd, demanding an increase of £10 per week, or interim on the basic rate and further negotiation for the other £5—has clearly illustrated the vicious tactics they will use in order to split the workers from the unofficial rank and file leadership, and thus force a return to work.

The family concern that claims to care for its workers, with medical centres, free T.V. licences and coal for the retired workers etc., had police reinforcement brought into St Helens to 'protect' those workers who wished to return to work. The advertisement placed in the "Liverpool Echo" on Wednesday May 13th, by Pilkingtons, contained a paragraph that stated: "To prevent the violence and intimidation that occurred outside the factory gates last week, the Deputy Chief Constable of Lancashire has publicly stated that adequate resources are available to ensure safe conduct and law and order." That same advert also stated that the company had an agreement with the G.M.W.U. to the effect that any worker who ceased to be a member of the Union would be sacked!

The bitter anger displayed by the workers in St Helens, both towards the Management and the G.M.W.U. leadership led to fighting outside the gates; brother has been turned against brother. So far, a number of arrests have been made and one youth has been sentenced to three months detention and two men were sent to prison.

The leadership of the G.M.W.U. played a scandalous role by co-horting with the Pilkington Management in order to break the strike. A secret ballot was carried out by the Electoral Reform Society when it was absolutely clear that the majority of the strikers up and down the country were in favour of continuing the stoppage. The G&M never announced the result of the first ballot!

Before the second ballot took place, David Basnett, the G.M.U. National Industrial Officer, negotiated a £3 per week increase that was not to be put on the hourly rate. No consultation had taken place with the strikers, and Basnett announced publicly that it was the best offer the workers could hope for. When this was presented to the mass meeting the workers turned the £3 down flat. Instead of going back in to further negotiate with Pilkington (after all, Basnett has been classed as an "expert" negotiator) he stormed out of the mass meeting. This blatant display by the G.M. leadership to refuse to act in the interests of its members has led to 5,000 workers signing 'opting-out' forms and to start talking about setting up their own union—the Glassworkers Federation.

To make matters worse, the ultra-left grouplets on the periphery of the strike have handed out copies of the pamphlet "G.M.W.U. Scab Union" and have openly urged the strikers to pull out. Leaving the G.M.W. en bloc provides no answer to the fight that is needed in order to change the Union into a democratic organisation that will act 100 per cent in the interests of its members. Already the leadership is panicking because of the pressure that is being exerted by the workers.

At the G.M.W.U. Annual Conference in Scarborough last month, a National Officer stated, when talking about the plight of the low paid local authority workers, "the fight for improving the lot of these workers would be supported if necessary, by an officially backed militant campaign." (Financial Times 20/5/70). This is an indication that even the G.M. is being forced to sit up and take notice of the demands now being put forward by its members.

We have seen in the past what happens when a large section of workers pull out of a union because the leadership fails to act in their interests. In 1956, Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the T&G, refused to support the strike by dock workers in Manchester, Liverpool and Hull. A faction of dockers broke away from the T&G and joined the 'Blue Union' that was supposed to be the new 'Revolutionary Union'. In fact, it was nothing of the kind and the result was that a lot of dockers became non-unionists! The arguments used then were that the T&GWU was a "hopelessly Right Wing" that "it could not change etc." On the Devlin report, this 'revolutionary Union' turned out to be to the right of the T&G.

While I fully sympathise with the feelings of the Pilkington Glassworkers towards the G.M.W.U., it is imperative that they stay in and carry on the fight. Demand that all officials be elected and subject to recall; for a complete revision of the G.M.W.U. Rule Book; for the right of the shop floor representatives to be involved in all aspects of negotiation for improved pay and conditions. Only in this way can the G.M.W.U. be turned into a fighting instrument on behalf of its members.