FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Kuron and Modzelewski are on trial in Poland for writing

### A Revolutionary Socialist Manifesto from a Polish prison

Copies are obtainable (4s 6d pp) from IS BOOK SERVICE 90 Mountview Road London

# N Ireland and the British Left: the enemy is at hon

SOME READERS may have the lack of democracy in thought that Socialist Worker's definition of Northern Ireland subjected to beatings and intimidation from the Royal this.

EDITORIAL

extreme.

They have surely changed the complete support of events of the last few days.

Citizens who protest against in Britain is disturbed by course, is doution, of don't do it when press cameration, of don't do it when press cameration, of don't do it when press cameration, of don't do it when press cameration in the Royal this. Their solution, of don't do it when press cameration in the Royal this. Their solution, of don't do it when press cameration in the Royal this. Their solution, of don't do it when press cameration in the Royal this. Their solution, of don't do it when press cameration is course, is to tell the organistic to realise is that the Northern go on. The demonstrations must go on. The demonstration and is financed and supported by police. Their solution.

They don't object to the housing and unemployment quiet and systematic brutality of the police as long as they What it is vital for British of don't do it when press camera- socialists and trade unionists

What it is vital for British to realise is that the Northern Our job is to fight the

The British Left must act in solidarity with their Irish comrades by fighting to end

enemy at home, not to tell Irish socialists what to do. The geographical nearness of Ireland tends to confuse British socialists about their role.

The attitude of most British socialists to the struggles for national liberation in Africa and Asia follows the basic marxist approach of fighting to expose the comp-

lighting to expose the comp-licity of British imperialism in those parts of the world. But where Ireland is conc-emed, too many British soc-ialists unconsciously accept its 'colonial' status by ignor-ing the grip of British capital over the country and over the country and instead insist on instructing the Irish Left to call for a 'united workers' republic of North and South'.

### Repudiated

The National Committee of International Socialists, meeting in London last weekend. discussed the Irish situation at great length and repudiated any suggestion that in expressing our solidarity with our Irish comrades we should include demands

concerning the socialist reorganisation of the 32 counties.

That is for the Irish working class to decide. Our duty in Britain is to fight British capitalism and its hold over

The IS National Committee called for a campaign on Ireland based on public meetings The police then refused us permission to go back to Guladuff and march through Maghera.

On the Friday, January 3, we were stopped again by a police cordon at Dungiven, and warned that there was 'serious opposition' on the Foad to Claudy.

They blocked the road in front and hurled stones from articles in Socialist Worker and International Socialism. The campaign will be based on the following demands:

1. The withdrawal of all Britters of the emergency force drawn entirely is troops from Ireland.

2. An end to the supply of of the men have since been identified as members of the B-Specials.

British military equipment to the Northern Ireland Tory Unionist Party and its B-spec-

# ULSTER COPS MARCHERS

### MICHAEL FARRELL

Organiser of the 'Long March' from Belfast to Derry, Jan 1-4

THE PEOPLE'S democracy of Queens University, Belfast, decided early in December to sponsor and organise a march from Belfast to Derry in support of civil rights in Northern

The 'reforms' offered by the O'Neill government the previous month in response to demonstrations all over Northern Ireland, we felt, had no relevance to the demands of he demonstrators.

local elections.

For an end to gerrymander-ing in local authorities. And for the repeal of the

infamous Special Powers Act.
O'Neill had promised us in return an Ombudsman, a points system for housing allocation

Mark the description and the results as solution and the results are through country lanes.

One of our scouts told us there was no trouble of an kind on the road on which we have the results are through the results are throu and an appointed commission for Derry. Voting remains restricted and authorities remain

gerrymandered. So we marched.

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city in

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The march was not banned. At no time during the march weapon, offer any violence, or

SCREAMING
The reaction from the supporters of the Rev Ian Paisley, his commander-in-chief, Major Ronald Bunting, and the police indicated all too clearly the nature of the Northern Ireland police state

SCREAMING
The officer gave him exact details of the route we were taking.

James Chichester-Clarke, Minister, And I James Chichester-Clarke, Minister, and cousin of the Prime Minister.

Bunting asked Clarke to to get the march banned, and Clarke rang Home Secretary William Long, requesting him

We stopped briefly at the village of Gulladuff, and I William Long, requesting him

We met with no resistance at injury, but the second half of the march were driven off the march were driven off the march were stopped again at Cumber.

Bunting asked Clarke to to get the march banned, and Clarke rang Home Secretary William Long, requesting him

We stopped briefly at the village of Gulladuff, and I William Long, requesting him

The officer gave him exact details of the route we were the march banned, and Clarke to to get the march banned, and Clarke rang Home Secretary William Long, requesting him

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The officer gave him exact were driven off the march were savagely beaten.

On the final morning we have driven off the march were savagely beaten.

On the final morning the march were driven off the march were savagely beaten.

On the final morning the march were d Northern Ireland police state.

On the first day, New Year's Day, we marched to Antrim, where we were stop-ped well short of a screaming

would protect us through the crowd in twos and threes. We agreed.

Cramsie then went into conference with Major Bunting, who was marshalling his 'troops'. After some delay, Cramsie told us that the deal was off.

Also present was Mr. Nap

Also present was Mr. Nap
Minford, Parliamentary Under to join the protest at the Polish
Secretary to the Minister of Embassy in London this Friday,
Development, and MP for letter of protest will be handed Antrim, who refused to ask the government for police reinforcements for our protection or to ask the crowd to let us through.

In through. Antrim, who refused to ask the in:-

safely through.

Mr. Minford was later heard to tell one of the crowd where

Mr. Minford was later heard to tell one of the crowd where we were staying for the night.

The next morning we were been to speak the truth with ment. stopped again at Randelstown, absolute honesty. which were lent to us by



DERRY on Monday: Civil rights supporters march on police HQ to protest at attacks on Lecky Road

The chief demands were: stopped again. The County situation. For one man, one vote in Inspector of the Royal Ulster. The ro passage through any trouble bars. and re-routed us several extra

> One of our scouts told us there was no trouble of any kind on the road on which we were headed.

### DETAILS

At one of the cross-roads, At one of the cross-roads, Maghera, laying waste to the where a small crowd had town's Catholic area. gathered, a photographer from did any demonstrator carry a the Belfast Telegraph overheard a conversation between express any wish other than to walk down the road towards Derry.

| The content of the content o

At Toome Bridge we were drove on ahead to spy out the to ban the march. Long a few people who might throw

Inspector of the Royal Ulster The road to Maghera was Constabulary once again refused to guarantee us safe armed with cudgels and iron

No attempt of any kind was made to disperse the crowd. The marchers went on to their hall beyond Maghera in vehicles, intending to go back and march over the route the On the

following day. The Paisleyites, deprived of their prey, ran amok in

When the Catholics collected to defend themselves, they were baton-charged by

refused.

Chichester-Clarke who has a brother of the same name at Westminster, agreed to join the Paisleyites at a cross-roads on the next day's route.

The police then refused us make

The police then refused us mob.

### PUSHED

We were fed up by now and the police.

On Thursday night, Major Bunting went to visit Major James Chichester-Clarke, Minister of Agriculture, and ister of Agriculture, and is

stones.

emergency force drawn entirely from the Orange Order. Some

## important meetings and demonstrations

### This Friday (Jan 10)

Moving picket and protest against trial of Kuron and Modzelewski. Polish Embassy 47 Portland Place London W1. 6.30 pm. Called by IS.

### Sunday Jan 12

Rhodesia: Demonstrate solidarity with Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters. Assemble 2 pm Speakers' Comer, march to Rhodesia House.

### Saturday Jan 18

Rosa Luxemburg: IS commemoration meeting. Spkr Tony Cliff. Africa Centre, King St WC2. 3.30-6. Followed by social at New Merlin's Caves, Margery St WC1, 8 pm.

### Sunday Jan 19

Demonstrate solidarity with Irish Civil rights movement. 2.30 pm Speakers' Comer. March to Ulster Office.

# condemns Polish witch-hunt

mob, waving clubs.

The County Inspector,
Cramsie, suggested that he would protect us through the crowd in twee area of the crowd in twee area of the crowd in twee area of the crowd in twee area.

by these courageous men has

be built and wages cut and state cannot argue.

Tower echelons of the Party.

Yet these criminals remain contrast to the ideals of untouched; indeed, some are heaped with honours.

For the innocent, for those Your government is no for no greater courage than

that demand socialism, you more than the knout, and is long overdue for destruction. reserve crucifixion.

### Bankruptcy

At a time when Poland faces crisis, when the demands of the mass of the work-

But Kuron and Modzelew-

ski are the first sounds of spark which will finally conthe coming epoch that will sume the ruling classes of sweep away you and your fellows, ruling classes on both sides of the Elbe.

that Polish troops shall be sent to invade Czechoslovakia and paid for out of the earnings of Polish workers.

The small criminals speculate and racketeer in the latter and racketeer in the latter at the secret police. The knowledge of the policy of the state stands in total latter and racketeer and latter at the secret police. The knowledge of the secret police. The knowledge of the secret police and racketeer and latter at the secret police. The knowledge of the secret police and racketeer and latter at the secret police. The knowledge of the secret police and racketeer and latter and racketeer and latter and racketeer and latter and latte

self-sacrifice will dig the

Your government is no for no greater courage than Spark

In Poland they have lit the spark which will finally con-East and West in a common

estrongest possible terms in estrongest possible terms iled with the imperatives of your Moscow overlords, the trial of Jacek Kuron and arol Modzelewski.

The only crime committed these two men is a living demonstration of the bankruptcy of your governation. Whatever the judgement of the corrupt court, these two men will remain an inspiration—with Vorsky, with Tyska, with Rosa Luxemburg, with Radek, Lenin and Trotsky.

Whatever the judgement of the trial of these two men is a living demonstration of the bankruptcy of your governation. Who makes two fight against imperialism in Vietnam, against capitalism in Britain, against Stalinism in Czechoslovakia—we denounce the arrest of Kuron. ruin.
As revolutionary socialistsstopped again at Randelstown, absolute honesty.

In the state of Ruron and after an hour's wait, only see through a small crowd by through a small crowd by through a small crowd by without challenge.

The great criminals decide housing for workers shall not supposed to have abandoned in 1956, the Polish

The great criminals decide housing for workers shall not states of Ruron and the suprementation of the suprement

# ONE WORLD - NOT TWO

by Czech students and workers to the Russian occupation and the hardening of the Kremlin's attit; ude towards internal freedom within Czechoslov- Russia Find Common Ground' akia once again highlight the fundamental problem facing millions of workers in Western capitalist countries:

Can a regime which sends tanks to crush the aspirations for national independence of a people be called 'socialist'?

The press and politicians of both East and West are united in referring to Russia and the East European countries as such.

But for marxist revolutsocialism has ionaries, always meant social ownership of the means of product-ion under workers' control. Can it be said that Russia

and her neighbours are 'workers' states', in which the workers themselves decide the priorities of production,for economic example, whether to build more nuclear submarines and space rockets or more hospitals and schools?

### CONFLICT

The official propaganda agencies in both East and West are united in their doctrine that the fundamental conflict in the world is, and has been since 1945, the Cold War between the two opposing camps.

American imperialism in Vietnam and Russian imperialism in Czechoslovakia are each able to point to the danger supposedly represented by its rival superpower as a justification for suppressing genuine popular

However, in the weeks following the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia last summer, it became clear through a number of press reports that there was a tacit understanding between the two powers to collaborate as far as possible regarding each other's accepted 'sphere of influence'.

A report in the Sunday Times described how the Johnson administration had known about the Russian plans for many months and, had instructed American diplomats to play down the

In The Times of September 25, a headline read: 'US and Are the Western countries and the Eastern bloc separate and irreconcilable, based upon different social systems? SABBY SAGALL says no - and argues that, in spite of superficial differences, we live in one interdependent capitalist world

The report stated: 23rd session of the UN General Assembly opens today with the US and the Soviet Union apparently adamant against formal discussion of Vietnam and Czechoslovakia respectively; with both at odds with U Thant . . And the main headline in

The Times on October 18 was: 'Russia Backs US Move on Vietnam'. The report said: The Soviet Union, it was learnt last night, is cooperat-ing with the US in trying to to persuade North Vietnam to accept the latest peace initiative.'

### DISPEL

It seems, then, that the Cold War is not, in the long run, the basic struggle in the world. In fact it is vital to dispel from the outset the myth fostered by both sides that the world is divided into 'two camps'.

What we have in reality is a single capitalist world, though different forms of capitalism prevail in different parts of the world due to different historical circumstances.

In Russia and the other East European countries the system that prevails is statecapitalism in which the workers are, as in the West, the exploited class who do not own and control the means of production, but on the contrary, sell their labourpower to those who do control it-the state bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy consists of all those top party and state officials who constitute the ruling class by virtue of exercising complete control over the national wealth, which is state owned.

These controllers of the national means of production form a class in that they alone determine the priorities of economic production and the general political and cultural life of society.

Like the Western capitalist class, they also allow themselves preferential treatment in the distribution of the national product.

The Cold War, then, is a struggle between rival ruling capitalist classes which, however, have ultimately more

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Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin: they carved up Europe in 1945

than with the working classes to the bourgeois whom they exploit.

This could be clearly seen as early as February 1945, when Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill got together at the Yalta Conference to carve up strike. Europe into their respective spheres of influence'

The Russians had nearly completed their conquest of Eastern Europe and the new reality was recognised by the Western powers, who agreed that Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria should remain under Russian domination.

In return Stalin promised that Western Europe and Greece (where a fierce Civil War was raging) would remain under Western capitalist control, and that Yugoslavia should be shared 50-50 between East and West.

Stalin's refusal to aid the Greek partisans enabled them to be crushed by right-wing monarchist forces assisted by several British divisions.

### BETRAYAL

But the Stalinist betrayal of the world revolution was nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the policies of class collaboration pursued by the West European Communist Parties, especially the French and Italian.

In both France and Italy at the end of the war, the Resistance movements were armed and had sufficient working-class support to overthrow the existing bourgeois governments, replacing them with regimes of workers' power.

But instead of giving a revolutionary lead to the working class in both countries, the leaders of the Communist Parties, on Moscow's ordered instructions,

in common with each other workers to give up their arms governments and continue the wartime policy of national 'unity'. They entered the post-war coalition governments and denounced workers on

Had the Communist Parties ceased to embody the revolutionary aspirations of the working classes of the West?

The Western Communist leaders knew that if the bourgeois state apparatuses were to collapse, working-class social revolution would inevitably follow.

The whole of Europe was seething with the desire for revolutionary change in the wake of the Nazi defeat. It was the strongest revolutionare upsurge since 1917.

The point is that since the Red Army was not in command of Western Europe, and without its support the Communist Parties would not have been able to control the revolutionary masses.

One basic motive which united 'communist' and capitalist parties was the desire to prevent at any cost genuine workers' revolutions in

For 40 years, the Western Communist Parties have acted as a political dam, stemming any potential tide of working-class revolution. The reason for this is that their real, objective social basis is not the working class of the West, but the state-capitalist Russian bureaucracy.

Although they have in the past inspired militant industrial policies on the shopfloor, (now almost totally replaced by reliance on parliamentary, reformist channels of struggle), the Communist Parties have also been political 'ambassadors' in the West of the state-capitalist class which exploits and oppresses the workers and peasants of Eastern Europe in its own social and economic interests.

that the Western Communist Parties were used as tools of the foreign policy requirements of the Russian bur-

eaucracy.

This is one of the main points where Russian imperialism and Western capitalism must be seen not as fundamentally antagonistic but, on the contrary, as mutually supporting: the tacit understanding is that the Communist Parties are to be active agents of counter-revolution consciously or unconsciously helping to prop up Western capitalism while the Western powers turn a blind eye to what Russia does in Eastern

Official Russian propaganda would have us believe that the Red Army which swept the German forces out of Eastern Europe in 1944 also carried with it social revolutions in

these countries, the 'Soviet' government pledged its time the existing state-bureaucracies with in many cases same right-wing fascist officials in charge.

In countries such as Poland, Bulgaria, and Rum-ania, Stalinist policies were specifically aimed at crushing whatever independent working-class organisation and initiative had been spontaneously thrown up as part of the anti-Nazi struggle.

The state-capitalist bureaucracy thus formed alliances with the most reactionary elements in order to destroy all popular and socialist forces.

The Communist Parties were only able to assume complete control of the state machines in the satellite countries when all actual and potential working-class opposition had been finally eradicated.

### PLUNDER

Stalin's economic policy towards the satellites was to plunder their resources hrough the wholesale transfer of factories to Russia and through trade 'agreements' on erms that were ruinous to these countries.

The economic needs of the latter were completely subordinated to the Russian bureaucracy's interests of capital accumulation

The main reason for this looting was Russia's lack of capital. In 1917 she had been one of the most backward capitalist countries.

The industry that existed had been built up largely through foreign investment. And the Second World War destroyed roughly a third of her industrial base.

But the Ruscian bureaucracy's drive towards cease-less capital accumulation, which resulted in the imperialist plunder of Eastern Europe, must itself be seen in in a wider historical context.

The emergence of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the ruling state-capitalist class

revolution by the forces of counter-revolution.

The Russian working class was tiny in comparison with the vast peasantry. This was due to Russian economic backwardness, which was itself a product of the unevenness of world capitalist development.

Nevertheless, the working class was the driving-force of the 1917 revolution.

The counter-revolution was in turn able to destroy the working class in the They upheld for a long Civil War because of the failure of the Russian revolution to spread internationally.

For this, the German social-democrats bear an overwhelming responsibility. In 1919, they colluded with rightwing Army officers to crush the revolutionary workers' councils and murder the revolutionary leaders such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The consequences Russian economic backwardness and the isolation of the Russian revolution was the need to undertake rapid industrialisation if the new regime was to survive against a further onslaught from Western capitalism.

The point is that the capitalist bourgeoisie had since the late Middle Ages bound the world into a single system of social and economic relations.

It had absorbed the underdeveloped countries into its network, and transformed them into satellite economies. They became sources of raw materials, then markets for goods manufactured in the advanced world, and later outlets for the investment of surplus capital.

### DANGER

The Western bourgeoisie had important investments in Tsarist Russia, and clearly could not tolerate the existence of a revolutionary workers' state in the midst of its global possessions.

Quite apart from the

actual expropriation of their Russian assets, the living example of a socialist democracy was a constant danger to the Western ruling classes.

The Russian revolution either had to spread internationally or succumb to the pressures of the capitalist world market and become absorbed into it.

The declining reality of The emergence of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the ruling state-capitalist class is historically rooted in the destruction of the Russian the Western Communist The emergence of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the ruling state-capitalist class is historically rooted in the destruction of the Russian of the twenties inevitably meant that industrialisation in Russia would be under-

taken unde harsh condi For exar drop in t of which Ru her indust amme) was for the coll iculture, the and all the which accordicies.

The new therefore, into the twe develop forces to the and econom the West.

The soci by the deworking class meant that be carried ated in the leading pa officials, and army many forme and officials

These class whi twenties, g see itself social and apart from, opposition mass of wo

The goa ialisation to be regard end in itse production future cons

THE SOCIALIST WORKER expressed in the ownership programme refers to the blatant inequalities of capitalist society.

of the ownership of the means personal wealth) by a tiny minority of the population.

Inequality can be seen not only in wide differences in income between social between classes but in such fields as

according to Professor Meade, rose from £6,657 million on is owned by a mere 5 per cent of the adult population, on December 29 1967, which whereas 45 per cent (some 15 was more than twice the million people) have 15 million people) have no total wages earned by 15 property at all or only very million workers in that year.

small savings. support for the existing set-up which in each case meant an anti-working-class regime. In addition to this, the is concerned, while one-cohtrol of the productive fifth of adult male workers resources of the nation as earn less than £15 per week, sum and po

of ordinary shares is even nore highly concentrated.
Although there are two

pitalist society.

These are the result million shareholders in Britain, according to the Inland Revenue three-quarters of production of ordinary shares are owned (and of the greater part of by a mere 2 per cent of the population.

### Value

At the same time, the value of shares has risen much faster than real wages.

health, education and housing.

Three-quarters of all the ordinary shares quoted on private property in Britain, the London Stock Exchange

As far as earned income

DAVE the richest population poorest 33. and women are less

each.

The sha salaries in has increa compared v while the alone has from 40 pe cent While

people try pitiful sta pension of couple receive su

### SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant in-equalities, its periodic crises, wars and racialist hysteria must be replaced by one based on a planned economy under full workers' control; those who produce the wealth should own and control the means of production. International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers n order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members in their struggles for better wages and conditions and oppose all reliberties of the labour movement. We support all strikes in defence

of workers' interests with the de-

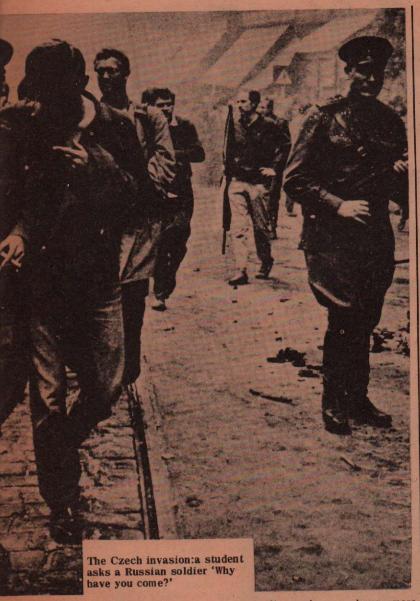
days work or five days pay. Shop labour movement and help create stewards organisations should a force that will lead on to workers'

fluence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national

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

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles with socialist ideas that will strengthen and extend their in- power and international socialism

the various countries. Nothing could be further from the truth. On entering



correspondingly

e, in 1928, the world market (on the export ia depended for lisation progr-he final signal ivisation of agr irst 5-year plan Stalinist rigours mpanied these

historical task, to drag Russia ieth century, to productive point where she p to any military challenge from

vacuum created imation of the in the Civil War s mission would by the existing s that predominsociety-i.e. the ty men, state ctory managers fficers, including Tsarist officers

oups coalesced state-capitalist h, during the adually came to s having overall conomic interests nd in increasing o, those of the ers and peasants. of rapid industrne increasingly d by them as an in contrast to for the sake of mption.

state increasingly detached themselves from any vestiges of socialist internationalismon the contrary, they felt obliged to set about systematically destroying what rem-nants of working-class democracy had survived the Civil War.

The interests of the emerging state-capitalist class lay in building up their national economic base so as to achieve industrial equality with the other powerful capitalist states and the capacity to compete with them on equal terms on the world

### SQUEEZE

To do this, the bureaucracy had to squeeze the max-imum production out of the masses at the cost of minimising their level of consump-

Clearly, the workers and peasants could not be relied on to accept such ruthless mobilisation on the terms laid down by the bureaucracy without considerable resist-

The growing need of the bureaucracy to keep the masses down inside Russia also dictated their need to discourage and undermine any independent foreign working-class revolutionary movements.

We can see how imperialism East and West objectively

These controllers of the | ruling classes have more interests in common with each other than with the workers they exploit and oppress.

Each side needs 'law and order' within its recognised sphere.

To the extent that it has this, it can get on with the job of driving its workers towards greater and greater accumulation of capital so as to be able constantly to strengthen its competitive

position on the world market.
The fact that the Russians supply the North Vietnamese and the NLF with arms does not detract from this analysis, not detract from this analysis, since clearly the Russians subscribe officially to a revolutionary ideology.

There is, however, a difference between actively initiating and fostering the

growth of revolutionary move-ments, and grudgingly jumping on the bandwagon for the sake of appearances once they have become an inescapable

The Cold War has provided each ruling class with an indispensable means of justifying to their respective working classes the perpetuation of the existing type of

Capitalism, East or West, only continues to exist because the workers accept it as the only possible and

legitimate form of society.

Each form of capitalism achieves this ideological justification by pointing to need and sustain each other. the other as the only conc-The Western and Russian eivable alternative to itself.

# ther 2 per cent live

### PRYNN

.6 per cent of the ets as large a l incomes as the per cent of men whose incomes an £500 a year

re of wages and he national income ed very slightly th 20 years ago. share of wages actually fallen cent to 37 per

illions of old to exist on the retirement 7 6s for a married one-quarter pplementary beng company direct-a tax-free lump nsions amounting product of an economic

### Sickness

bath, and a large proportion of families where the children have an inadequate diet.

Sickness among unskilled workers is twice as frequent and the infant death rate is

to two-thirds of their salary. system motivated by profit

There are numerous cases of directors receiving lump sums of £40,000 and pensions of £5.000 a year.

These glaring inequalities in incomes and the ownership of property result in the poor housing and poor nutrition of a significant proportion of working people.

system motivated by profit of a few at the expense of the majority.

In order to place the burden of the increasing problems of British capitalism on to the backs of the working people, the government is seeking to impose a wage freeze and is carrying out attacks on the standard of living.

of living.
It is only by mass class action and the development at Deir Yassin when 254 of a revolutionary understan- were murdered by the terror-There are 1.6 million people in British living more than three to a room, 2.6 million households with no mouseholds with no households with no households with no movement that these attacks can be defeated.

### Rosa Luxemburg

was murdered in Berlin 50 years ago this month. Next week JIM HIGGINS writes on the life and ideas of one of the great figures of international socialism

Palestine guerrillas fight for their homeland

# Arabs Israel:



# why Zionist state must go

SLOWLY, BUT WITH gathering momentum, the whole of the Middle East is moving into a final confrontation between Israel and thd Arabs.

The revolutionary Left in Britain must clearly face up to the issues raised by such a clash and decide which side deserves our support, however critical.

It seems clear that the Israelis are determined to hold on to the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and Sharm el Seikh which controls the Straits of Tiran and access to the Israeli port of Eilat.

Premier Eshkol also demands the demilitarisation of the West Bank of the Jordan.

If any Arab leader gave in to these demands he would be promptly overthrown by the anti-Zionist passionately

### People's interests

The emergence of the Arab commando groups of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and Al Fatah repres-ents for the first time the Palestinian peoples' interests in the recovery of their homeland

The guerillas are not racialists bent on exterminating the Jews as is claimed by such 'socialists' as Ian Mikardo, who see in Moshe Dayan the democratic socialist in arms defending a socialist state, dependent on the US and West Germany for maintaining its economy.

In an interview with guerilla leader Yasir Arafat

in The Times, he said:

'We are not against the
Jews. On the contrary, we are all semites and we have been living together in peace and fraternity, Muslims, Jews and Christians, for many

### Fearful insecurity

The enemy of the Palestinians is Zionism, a movement born of the fearful insecurity which Jews found in the twentieth century when nationalism fed on minority The Balfour Declaration

of 1917 unlawfully gave to the Jews the sovereignty of Palestine in return for Amer-ican Jewry's support in World War 1.

The birth of the state of Israel in 1948 was a direct result of British policies and the tremendous sympathy which the Nazi's criminal

policy of genocide had generated for the Jews.

But the Jews had their own policy of driving out the Arabs or massacring them as

were murdered by the terror-ist gang, the Irgun.

By a policy of force the
Zionists established the
state of Israel, driving into
refugee camps 580,000 Arabs.
Some 160,000 were allowed to remain living under military rule, with special passes— second-class citizens in a religious state which saw them as a potential fifth column.
In 1956 there were some

922,000 refugees in the camps

by TERRY BULL

and Syria. In the same year Israel joined with the French imper-ialists led by 'socialist' Guy Mollet and the British reactionaries under Eden to smash Nasser and Egypt in the Suez

adventure.

Pan Arabism and Nasser had to be contained. Zionism was revealed as a useful weapon against the growth of modern regimes in the Arab

The six-day war in 1967 stemmed directly from the Zionists' fears that the new states of Algeria, Egypt, Syria and the Yemen would strengthen the hand of the Palestin-

ians.
There can be no solution to the Middle East conflict without the destruction of the Zionist state of Israel and the building of a secular Palestine.

annexation of Jerusalem and West Bank have emphasised in their midst an affront to remains a Zionist state.

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at Gaza, Jordan, the Lebanon | that Israel's role as a Zionist state is of necessity an expansionist one, dependent on the West for help in return for playing the role of police-

man.

It could be argued that only neutrality is the correct response to what is a confused and confusing picture.
Syria is ruled by a ruthless

wing of the Baa'thists, opposed by Iraq, which is also ruled by another wing of the Baa'thists.

### Popular unrest

Algeria is run on a strict Muslim basis by an auto-cratic usurper, Boumedienne.

Egypt is in the throes of popular unrest presided over create a climate in which the by the Arab Socialist Union technology of Palestine could and Abdul Gammel Nasser—a cynical manipulator of the masses.

But there are 80 million

Israel has to draw in Jews from abroad to maintain the momentum needed to build a Jewish state. Dayan and others like Ben Gurion also see the need for a state of siege psychology which will one day, with the help of the Atomic Reactor at Nahal Soreq, produce the ultimate deterrent.

Meanwhile money needed for reconstruction is wasted on military hardware and thousands shiver and rot in the refugee camps.

The destruction of the Zionist state (not its Jewish inhabitants) by a popular armed guerilla war is a necessary prerequisite for socialist advance.

A new Palestine must be born, that will destroy Huss-

ein's pro-Western state and technology of Palestine could advance the lot of great numbers of the 80 million Arab people.

Zionism is the enemy of annexation of Jerusalem and he military occupation of the lion of a hostile state by force can be no peace while it

## Join the International Socialists

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Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the international socialists to

## N SEA FISHING: PROFITS AND DEATH **GO HAND IN HAND**

From DAVE CALLOW: Hull

men went down with the Hull trawlers St. Romanus, Kingston Peridot, and Ross Cleveland.

Their loss, now slowly being forgotten, gave some idea of the extreme conditions under which British trawlermen work.

Prof. R. S. F. Schilling of the London School of Hygiene revealed that there is a higher occupational death rate among fishermen than among any other group of workers (Trawlet Fishing:an occupation: Royal of Medicine, May 1966).

The death rate is twice as high as that among coal-miners. Between 1960 and 1966, 223 fishermen were killed on British vessels, one per cent of the total work

The Board of Trade Inquiry, which was set up in 1967 through publicity for Schilling's article and pressure from the Transport Workers' Union, has issued an interim report. As a result, the Orsino has been sent to act as 'mother ship' for the British fleet off the north coast of Iceland aptly named the 'fisherman's graveyard.

### Out of date

In spite of the Orsino's impressive range of medical facilities and technical equipment, only rank and file trawlermen can ensure safety for fishermen by struggling against working conditions which are out-of-date even compared with those endured by other workers in Britain.

On a three-week trip on a distant water vessel, a trawlerman averages 90 hours a week and works 126 hours a week while actually at the fishing ground.

In winter at the Arctic fishing grounds this involves working in almost perpetual darkness, the deck coated with ice and the men's hands numb with cold.

With resting time between trips sometimes as low as 48 hours, it is small wonder that accidents occur with men worn out and unable to concentrate on their work with dangerous and often unguarded

On top of this, the men must supply their own essential protective clothing-which means up to £200 per year out of their pay packets.

The earnings of skippers, said to be up to £10,000 a year, is thought to be a big attraction to young men thin-

king of joining the industry. But less than one in 50 actually become skippers and those who do have to be successful. If they have a couple of bad trips they could

Skippers tend to drive the

IT'S A YEAR SINCE 58 | 10 gale and endangered their lives by ordering the scuppers employers' organisation, the to be blocked to stop fish CBI. being washed overboard.

Scuppers allow washed on board to escape when they are open.

The skipper's power over the men is almost limitless under the 1894 Merchant shipping Act, under which trawlermen are liable to prosecution if they disobey orders at sea.

Central to the problem of of lack of power of the deckhands is the absence of any equivalent to the shop stew-ard on board ship to voice the men's grievances and demands. Until this situation is altered, safety regulations can be to demand increased wages ignored by skippers and men's while profits, prices and lives endangered in the dividends are shooting up. interests of profit.

Although Ross group, Associated Fisheries and Bostor Deep Sea Fisheries own 44 per cent of the fleet between them (and in 1965, 10 owners operated 74 per cent of the icial, can take place.
deep water fleet) there are
A ballot of union still a large number of owners with two to 10 vessels. There were 21 owners of single vessels in 1965.

The ownership structure is reflected in the age structure of the fleet. The four biggest owners controlled 20 out of the 25 modern freezers in the

situation in Grimsby where two pre-war vessels were

still in use in 1961.
Only the big companies can afford the £½m freezers. The smaller firms make do with older vessels which often lack modern safety devices such as stern-trawling facilities, de-icing equipment to stop overloading of the super structure and stabilisers.

### Longer journeys

Change in fish-storage techniques at sea—for inst-ance superchilling, antibiotics and boxing at sea—could mean longer journeys and a longer profit-making life for the very vessels whose design accounts for the greatest safety hazards.

Profits are the main con-

by the TGWU in its evidence to the Board of Trade inquiry.

It is claimed that the industry would be safer and more profitable if it was run by a few large firms..

But the industry will remain the most dangerous in Britain until the deckhands have gained power to improve their working conditions and to enforce safety precautions while at sea and isolated from the base port.

They must have these rights without fear of victimisation under the Merchant

# Militants must fight anti-union laws

PLANS TO ATTACK trade union militants were discussed by the cabinet last Friday after a week of talks between Mrs Barbara Castle, the TUC and the

Like the CBI, Wilson and company did not think that Mrs Castle's proposals were strict enough.

They are under great pressure from the international bankers to 'get tough' with the working class if they are to make the economy streamlined, competitive and prof-

And the Cabinet have also been listening to their polit-ical twins in the Tory Party, pioneers of the hysterical demands for action against shop stewards and industrial militants who have the nerve to demand increased wages

### BALLOT

Mrs Castle's two main proposals are:

A cooling-off period before any strike, official or unoff-

A ballot of union members

before a national strike
But now the Labour Cabinet want to add severe
legal penalties that will fine or jail trade unionists who break the new laws.

The labour movement must prepare to fight these measures every inch of the way. They are part and parcel of But 41 out of 116 distant water vessels based in Hull in 1966 were built between 1945-50. There is a similar situation in Grimsby where

But although a cooling-off period and ballots may not work, they are a sign of the rightwards drift of British who staged a protest.

turn the screws on their rank

Opposition to the new laws must come from the rank and file of the labour movement. It would be suicidal to rely on union officials.

They may utter faint squeaks of protest at the Castle plans, but when the government cracks the whip they will capitulate.

The new laws should not

The distribution of the subsidy will be related to the operating efficiency of vessels.

If the industry is to be made competitive with foreign fleets it will have to be organised into a few large operating units, This reorganisation was suggested by the TCWIL in its evidence.

CLASGOW IS: Public meetings: Thurs Jan 16, 7.30 Partick Burgh.

Thurs Jan 16, 7.30 Partick Burgh.

Labour Party and social democracy. Wed Jan 22, 7.30 Christian Institute Bothwell St Glasgow.

C2. Harry MacShane: Clydeside industrial struggles past and present.

LSE Socialist Society. Towards a critique of bourgeois ideas; a

Dresent.

LSE Socialist Society. Towards a critique of bourgeois ideas: a series of open lectures. Jan 13: Perry Anderson, culture and revolution; Jan 16: John Robinson, neo-classical economics; Jan 20: Raymond Williams, literature and society: Jan 27: Ernest Mandel, maryist accompanie theory. Mandel, markist economic theory and contemporary capitalism; Jan 30: Vic Allen, industrial relations and the working class. men to the limit even under dangerous conditions. There are numerous cases where men have been injured through skippers ordering them to fish in bad weather.

Ten crewmen made a complaint against skipper Harry Smith of the Hull trawler Kingston Sapphire in December. They claim that he continued fishing in a force



# 10 week lock-out at Ivy Bridge

Socialist Worker Reporter AFTER TEN WEEKS, 500 workers are still locked out of the Ivy Bridge development at Isleworth, Middlesex.

Labour politicians know the Castle plans will not work.

They see them as a useful device for putting pressure on trade union officials to turn the screws on their rack. Negotiations between un-on chiefs and management on

the Department of Employment contract.

backed by Barbara Castle's officials in Whitehall.

to win local support. Many Shellstar Site, £1; Mrs. Wilson, Lee Park, £1.

But the lock-out has far more than local significance. The eyes of many profithungry building employers throughout the country are throughout the country are on the Ivy Bridge dispute. We are not left to struggle on alone. Let tenants throughout the country insist that their councils take a similar step. 'Against a united oppostition, the government will not be able to continue with its

Workers have suffered considerable hardship through the ock-out. The local office of

the Department of Employment and Productivity is refusing dole payments on the grounds that the workers are involved in a 'trade dispute'.

Their decision has been bosses are successful they can be sure of even better things to come. things to come.

Profits are the main concern of the owners and government, and the industry is infericient in this field as well, in competition with more modern foreign fleets. Britain's catches have fallen in tonnage over the years (by 15 per cent between 1938 and 1965). The world catch rose from 21 to 52 million tons during the same planning a series of on the basis of a 40 hour week plus overtime, it works out to little more than 3s 6d an hour. Earnings are uncertain because part of them depend on the value of the catch sold on a fluctuating market. On top of this, the men must

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SOCIALIST WORKER Paxton Works Paxton Rd London N17



From RAYMOND CHALLINGR A LANCASHIRE COUNCIL has defied its treasurer and is refusing to increase council house rents.

Instead of taking extra money from its 2000 tenants, Ashton in Makerfield Urban Council has decided to tell the Minister of Housing that loan repayments will be stopped to cover the deficit on the housing revenue on the account.

Councillor George Harrison, chairman of the Housing Committee, said loan repay-ments amounting to £171,000 would have to be made to the government this year. £135,000 of this sum would

be interest charges. This means that each tenant is paying £67 a year in interests.
Cllr Harrison told the

monthly council meeting that he opposed high interest charges and high rents which create a situation where many people are denied a decent home. And those who did get a home had to pay through the nose to nameless money-lenders.

### PROBLEM

He added: 'Inis problem applies to owner-occupiers just as much as it does to council tenants. The rates are high because of government economic policy.

After the council had trade unionists in the area have already declared their solidarity with the Ivy Bridge men.

The trade unionists in the area confirmed the committee's decision, Councillor Harrison told me: 'It is important that we are not left to struggle on

be able to continue with its policy that sacrifices the interests of the people to those of the pound.'

## ULSTER COPS

trom page one

arm broken, by a couple of

thugs. At no time did the uniformed police attempt to restrain the mob and on one or two occasions they joined in the

beatings.

When Ann Devlin was carried unconscious to a police van, the police refused to take her to hospital. At the Irish Street (Protes-

tant) housing estate at the entrance to Derry, we were ambushed again by a well-prepared crowd, throwing We entered Derry under a

hail of stones. I was hit myself and had to go whospital with a broken head.

### RAN RIOT

That evening after we held a large, triumphant meeting in Guildhall Square, the police ran riot through the Catholic areas of the City, breaking every ground-floor window in the Lecky Road.

As I write, the Catholics of Derry have barricaded themselves against the people who are supposed to maintain That evening after we held

who are supposed to maintain law and order.

The meaning of that law and order in Northern Ireland is now clear.

If you are a Paisleyite thug, you can expect full protection and co-operation from the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

If you intend to walk down

the road in protest against a restricted franchise and a police state you can expect to get your head broken.

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LECKY ROA

STILL CUT DERRY-Wedne Lecky Road ar barricaded. No entered the are Sunday night.

STRIKE AT DONCASTER-V AEF National backing one-da at ICI plant in reference of pro to Prices and I

STEWARDS VIETNAM M

Shop stewar Sheffield, have meeting of all the labour move Sunday to plan stration agains war.

Convenor Mi of the stewards hopes the meet proposals for th stration to be h Sheffield on Sa 1st with the ma 'Victory to the 'End British co the war'.

Other plans the meeting wil setting-up of ad ees throughout to mobilise sup march, a mass i an NLF spokes the meeting.

Sunday's me