

Bulletin of the Young Chartists

No. 11

4p

TUC - Prepare for a General Strike!

SUPPORT THE MINERS

AS WE GO TO PRESS, ALL seems set for the most bitter classbattle Britain has seen since the war. 286,000 miners—the entire workforce—have downed tools in the first national coal strike since 1926. The 289 pits are shut down, and, unprecedentedly, even the safety workers in many pits have joined in. Threats that some pits will never reopen find the miners un-moved. The Coal Board's threat to withdraw its shameless 7.9% offer (rejected 23 to 2 even by the largely rightwing NUM Executive) has only stoked the miners! anger. When they say they are prepared to strike for ever, they mean it. Miners feel they have been through the worst already they have nothing more to lose, and the chance of everything to gain by burning their boats and then fighting the Government to a finish.

THE MINERS! CASE IS OVERwhelming. What union can tolerate a situation in 1972 where 88,000 of its men have a gross wage of less than £20? Thousands of miners are taking home £13 or £14 a week or even less. As Lawrence Daly says, "This puts many of them below the Government level for Family Income supplement—the poverty line." It would take an across-the-board increase of over £5 per week even to restore the miner to the relative position he had in 1967. And these men are doing the most dangerous, dirty and difficult job in the country.

IT IS NOT WE BUT THE TORIES who have reason to fear this battle. In their attack upon the miners, the Tories are up against some of the heaviest guns of our movement, who have traditional pride of place in labour's ranks. Despite the treacherous shilly-shallying of the TUC (which should instruct its affiliates to black all movements of coal) confidence in the pits is high that the whole movement will follow the seamen in pledging support. At the merest word from their leaders, all dock and transport workers would enthusiastically refuse to move coal or oil and swiftly bring the power stations and all industry to a halt.

The granite determination of the miners could well be the rock which sinks this Tory Government. Heath and his crew managed, with no little help from our "leaders", to sail through the hazards of 1971 without serious mis-hap. But 1972 opens with a new mood in the working class, of which the flurry of workers' take-overs are but an indication. Under today's conditions, the miners' strike could—provided the NUM leaders stand firm—draw the whole labour movement into its orbit. It could become a General Strike. Frightening as it may seem, unprepared as we may be, this is an eventuality which we cannot rule out. Now the Government is staking its. all on keeping the miners within the bounds of its $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ "norm". It just cannot afford to lose. As long as it has the state power in its hands, the ruling class will use it to defeat the miners—even if it means using the troops to shift coal and arresting the strike leaders! But a General Strike paralyses the ruling class and offers us the opportunity to wrench the state power from its hands. Should such a strike develop, the whole situation would be rapidly transformed. Our strength as workers would multiply a million-fold overnight. All over the country we would find our trades councils, trade union meetings and even Labour Party G M C s transformed into seething forums and taking on the functions of government on a local level. Many of the "white-collar" workers and even the soldiersonce they were convinced we meant business and were likely to winwould move towards us and become "un-reliable" in the eyes of the Government. There would be no objective obstacle to our convening an emergency TUC and Labour Party Conference for the purpose of assuming the responsibilities of power. But subjectively, are we ready? Can we provide the leadership, and are we prepared? A General Strike like 1926 would be a disaster. As the following article shows, a General Strike means we must take power as a class. If we fail, we'll be crushed. If we are not prepared for what would amount to an armed insurrection, then neither are we prepared for a General Strike. We must hold back our forces and PREPARE!

Lessons of the Twenties



MASS MEETING OF DURHAM MINERS DURING THE GENERAL STRIKE

he main plague on all. past disputes, has been the failure of the NUM, TUC and Labour leadership to understand that the Tory attacks could only be defeated by POLITICAL action. Whether it be the TA (1914-21) or the General Strike, it was always envisaged that these mighty working class weapons would be invoked on a purely economistic basis, ie to force the Tories to grant certain concessions. Never did they appreciate: (1) the 1920's economic crisis meant that capitalism was incapable of even giving minimal concessions, indeed the Tories tried to cut back working class gains. Therefore, conditions could only be defended by challenging the very basis of Tory rule - its financial and industrial power. (2) Mass industrial action, particularly the General Strike, is a POLITICAL weapon that poses the question of which class holds power in society, and is always doomed to fail unless explicitly linked to a socialist programme of action that can strive for that power and place it in the hands of the

Labour movement.

hension by the Labour leaders, it was not so much a question of premeditated sell-outs, as defeat being implicit in their politics and their inability to challenge for power. In sharp distinction, the Tories and their capitalist backers have always realised the implications of General Strikes. When the TA threatened to strike in 1919, Lloyd George admitted the government might easily lose and went on to add:

"The strike will....precipitate a constitutional crisis of the first importance. For if a force arises in the State which is stronger than the State itself, then it must be ready to take on the functions of the State or withdraw and accept the authority of the State."

Having been told that the organised working class could replace the captitalist state, the TA leaders took the view: "From that moment on we knew we were beaten!"

(Smillie NUM leader.)

(Continued on p. 4 column 2).

Northern Ireland: YOUR news is being censored

WHO ARE THE

F YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH the directors of BBC and ITV in their public refusal to accept censorship of news from Northern Ireland—then you are being hood-winked. As any television worker will tell you, the news already is being censored. Special instructions forbid the interviewing of any IRA member without the express permission—which so far has never been given—of the Director General. On ITV a "World in Action" programme was recently banned because Ulster Televisionwhose managing director is staunch Unionist Mr "Brum" Henderson-refused to show it. It contained shots of an IRA meeting and of crowds supporting the IRA. Since all the Fleet Street papers are owned and controlled by willing collaborators with the Tory Government, the result is that you are not allowed even to hear the views of Republicans—who (whatever else you might think of them) have certainly the support of a significant section of the population in the North of Ireland.

Censorship

ALL YOU ARE ALLOWED TO know of the IRA is what their opponents say of them. Instead of being allowed to make up your own mind after listening to both sides of the argument, you are given one side of it only. Were it not for the existence of the left-wing press—including, within the limits of our resources, the Chartist—workers in Britain would have virtually no means of hearing the arguments against what the Tories (with, scandalously, the almost total backing of our own Labour leaders) are doing in Ireland.

'Officials'

WHO ARE THE IRA ? THE "Official" movement is a formally "marxist" one, largely dominated by stalinists, essentially reformist_but moving significantly in a leftward direction. Any British socialist who has met some of its younger working-class members (a few of them Protestant) will almost certainly have been deeply impressed by their class-consciousness and calibre—and moved by their fierce conviction that they can and ultimately will win over the Protestant working masses and end the sectarian divide. With few exceptions, they are not merely paying lip-service to class unity_they really mean it. It is also important that almost universally they understand the question of the soldiers, whom they are forced to fight but who, they know, are only workingclass kids like themselves. One lad, a staunch "Official", told the Chartist in some detail of the long discussions he had had with British soldiers, (despite the "Don't fraternize" call of "Frovisional" leaders) in the

earlier "honeymoon" period of the Army's occupation in the Catholic areas. He still had a high opinion of the individual soldiers' class-consciousness and potential—despite his experiences since the Tories changed the "tactics" of the Army and used it as a battering ram purely against Republican strong-holds (a policy whose germs were already devloping under the Labour Government).

searched for arms. Throughout this period, the "loyalist" working class areas lived in sullen resentment of the Army, with sporadic attacks on troops—while Catholic housewives cheered the soldiers on, brought them cups of tea and so on. It is of course true that the Labour Government was at that time merely acting under the thumb of the more far-sighted sections of the British

For all the talk of "keeping purce" between the two communities it is therefore perfectly clear to Army policy is deliberately to divide the people in order to rule them

Changed Röle.

UNDER THE TORY GOVERN ment, the troops have to an in



British troops invade the Falls—July '70.

WHEN THE BRITISH SOLDIERS were first sent in to the North in force, in August 1969, they were for some time led to believe that their purpose was to defend the threatened Catholic minority and to turn their guns primarily against the then rampaging Paisleyites. It was the failure of the IRA, or any section of the labour movement, to secure armed protection for the Catholics that led to their enthusiastic (if mistaken) welcome for the troops. They felt that there was no-one else to protect them from a pogrom. Even as it was, the Catholics of the Falls Road in Belfast were in August subjected to a fullscale armed invasion by police and Palsleyite hooligans, suffering over a hundred homes burned, five deaths and a hundred wounded. Protestant casualties were only one dead and a handful of houses burned. In the months following, the Army was used mainly against the Protestant working-class areas. In October the 3rd Light Infantry waged a fullscale battle along the Shankill against Protestants (enraged at the publication of the Hunt report proposing the disbandment of the 'B-specials') who were armed not only with rocks and petrol bombs but also machine guns and apparently limitless ammunition. The army won—at the cost of sixteen soldiers wounded by gunfire and two Protestant "gunmen" shot dead-and the whole street was

ruling class, who hoped the better to exploit an Ireland united on a bourgeois basis after the North had been reformed. But it is important to remind ourselves that the Army is, if not "neutral" as between the classes, at least neutral as to which section of the working class to attack at a given time.

Divide and Rule

IT WAS ONLY AS TIME WENT on that the troops began to be directed brazenly and exclusively at the Catholic workers—a policy which has found its culmination since the election of the Tory Government at Westminster. The main principal is to avoid antagonizing the whole working class at once. As the Guardian put it at the beginning of August last year when internment was introduced:

"Unofficially, the Army accepts that its first list of potential internees does not include any militant Protestants. It considered it bad tactics to detain both persuasions at the same time because of the prospect of having to deal with a violent reaction from two communities instead of one."

creasing extent taken on the functions of the former B-specials (although of course in a more disciplined, organized way). Overwhelming force has been used in a vain attempt to crush the relative freedom which the Catholic workers have succeeded in building up within their own barricaded local areas. Catholic resistance was met with ruthless invasions and house-to-house arms searches. More and more, the orders given to the troops coincided with the most extreme right wing Unionist demands for a final reckoning with the Catholics. The "reform" programme petered out. The Paisleyites began to refer to the troops as "ours" once more. And it was now that the Catholics began to turn to the IRA almost to a man__it the only force seemed actually capable of defending them.

Split

AT THE TIME WHEN MOST Catholics were welcoming the arrival of the British troops, the split within the IR A took place. The "traditional" Republicans—most of whom had not been active in the movement for years—blamed the lack of guns in August 1969 on the new "marxist" orientation of the

leadership. They disliked the idea of attacking the regime in the South and thereby "alienating" the flow of money and guns from non-socialist elements in the Free State. They broke away and immediately plunged headlong into the struggle against the British Army, without giving much thought to where they were going or why. Perhaps most distinctive idea in their programme is that the border has to be broken and unity achieved first, before there can be any question of "socialism". Of course, lip-service is always paid to the "ultimate" ideal of a 32-county Irish Workers Republic, but by relegating this to the misty future it is emptied of practical meaning. The left wing and doubtless many of the rank-and-file of the loose "Provisional Alliance" no doubt take it seriously, while the influential Mc-Stiofain-Kelly faction on the extreme right wing undoubtedly take all talk of "socialism" about as seriously as our own Jenkinses etc. in the Labour Party do

Reformist

ALTHOUGH MUCH FURTHER to the left, the "Officials" are by no means without limitations. It is true they have been responsive on many occasions to class-pressures from below—examples have been the organization of the stupendous rent strikes which increasingly threaten to bankrupt the Unionist housing authorities, and the December 30 attack and destruction of the files recording those in rent arrears in the Bogside, compiled by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive. For all their talk of "revolutionary marxism", however, the leaders of the "Officials" are reformists. Their principal demands are placed, not on the trade urion and Labour leaders (who both in Ireland and in Britain have the power to destroy British Imperialism once and for all) but on the British Tory Government. They want Westminster to enact a Bill of Rights securing "equality" for the Catholic community. They make this demand with what might seem to be the best of intentionsthey appear to think the Protestant working class will be more likely to support them if their immediate objectives imply the continued presof "Westminster" in the North, and consequently the continued existence of the British link and the border. They moderate their anti-Unionism, create illusions in the British Government (which will never do anything for the Irish people until the working class takes control) and soft-pedal on the border question (which is a couciel issue, even if not the main one in order to make their reserve seem more "British" and atteactive to the Protestants. The many they don't understand is that can the stepping up of the class strugger against British Imperialism and Unionism could possibly create conditions under which the Protestant workers would unite with them in a joint struggle against the common class enemy. The crucial instrument for the smashing of the border is the organized labour movement. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions comprises over 500,000 workers in 88 unions on both sides of the border. The National Counzil of Labour links the Northern reland Labour Farty with the Espublican Labour Party and the Tish Labour Party in the south. the North, the trade unions almost

universally embrace Protestant and Catholic workers without distinction or discrimination. With this all-Ireland machinery of working-class power already in existence, capable of uniting Ireland and overthrowing landlordism and capitalism tomorrow if only it were mobilized-with this in existence it is ridiculous to talk "civil rights" and of merely of "reforms" from Westminster as immediate objectives. The "Officials" who consider themselves marxists have a clear duty to integrate themselves into the trade union and labour movement as a revolutionary political force on a clear programme of action based on the need for the working class as a whole to seize power in order to complete the national struggle. They should place their armed force at the disposal of the trade unions; they should not only respect any barricades put up by Protestant workers around their own communal areas—they should be prepared to defend them against any attackers, including, of course, any right-wingers in the Republican movement criminal enough to defy them. They should stand one hundred per cent with the Protestant workers in every conflict—however small—with the employers or landlords, working in the North to mobilize the whole power of the labour movement in the struggle against unemployment, slum housing as well as the scandalous conditions suffered by the working people of both denominations. They should stop soft-pedalling on the question of the Catholic Church—the harder they fight that bastion of reaction, the easier will it be to win the respect of the Protestant workers. Above all, they should raise the slogan of a 32-county Irish Workers Republic and the nationalization of the economy north and south as an immediate demand, placing the responsibility for action now on the leadership of the labour parties, the trade unions and the National Council of Labour. Undoutedly the most urgent step to be taken by trade unions is the establishment of joint Protestant-Catholic workers defence committees. The "Officials" themselves correctly say,

"The call for a peacekeeping force drawn from the trade unions has been termed idealistic yet it is only through workers! action of this kind that a lasting solution to the Northern situation can be found."

(United Irishman, Sept. 1971)

But it is only by integrating this demand into a consistent marxist programme and carrying out a "united front" tactic towards the labour parties (including the NILP) that it can gain support and become a reality.

Provisionals

ASTO WHETHER WE SHOULD support the "Provisionals" against the British Army, we Young Chartists. have no doubts at all on that score. Those in the Labour Party who refuse to defend the Irish Republicans as a whole against the occupying forces of Her Majesty's Army in Ireland are collaborating with the class enemy. Into this category falls the entire leadership of the British Labour Party. It is true that the powerful McStiofain-Kelly faction in the "Provisional Alliance" represents a most dangerous development of right-wing nationalism and anti-communism which must be challenged, fought and smashed. But precisely because a decisive, long-term victory for British Imperialism in Ireland would allow such right-wing elements—thriving on the defeat of the working-class supporters of the Republican movement—the opportunity to develop into a semi-fascist (or even fascist) mass force in Ireland, we say quite categorically, alongside our comrades the marxist Republicans in Ireland—the task of smashing the "Provisional Alliance" is ours, not the British Army's.

Way forward

THE "PROVISIONALS" CAN only be defeated politically. To (Continued on page four, column 1)



Paisley - His followers were brutally smashed by the Army in Shankhill-1969.

5th Column



twho voted with the Tories on the Common Market) contain many of the hard core "Gaitskellites" who in the 1950s set out to revolutionize the Labour Party with their own "common sense" brand of socialism. Amongst the reams of garbage churned out in a vain attempt to prove that Karl Marx was all cock are some real gems of historical analysis. Take this prediction from Anthony (poor man's Bernstein) Crosland—it puts Maurice Woodruff to shame!

"One cannot imagine today a deliberate offensive alliance between government and employers against the unions on the 1921, 1925-7 or 1927 models... Instead the atmosphere in Whitehall is almost deferential, the desire not to give offence positively ostentatious."

(The Future of Socialism, 1956)

Perhaps the Industrial Relations Act is only a figment of our oldfashioned, dogmatic marxist imagination!

friends, the Tribunites, with all their grovelling to the sacred shrine of Nye can do much better. After all, it was the reaction to Barbara Castle's "In Place of Strife" which really shattered Crosland's little dream of employers and trade unionists sipping tea together as unemployment, poverty and all worldly evil was abolished by the mighty sword of Keynsian managed economy.

he prophet Crosland may have got his knickers in a twist but he is a Nostradamus compared to his old chums of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism. Their 1961 manifesto proudly proclaimed:

"We do not believe our mixed economy to be in serious danger of sudden collapse or massive unemployment."

All we can say is: Beware the Ides of March. These clapped-out old sooth-sayers actually "lead" our Farty.



We understand that soldiers at the Royal Green Jackets depot at Winchester, Hants, are getting fed up with the punishment fines which there as throughout the Army these days—are taking the place of oldfashioned "jankers" (confinement to barracks). They say that fines for minor infringements can take a week's pay and affect their wives and children. Although their commanding officer, Lieut-Colonel Mike Carleton-Smith, claims the modern punishment to be "more civilized"; the soldiers themselves say they are not renewing their nine-year engagements because of it, while younger soldiers are trying to buy themselves out. A 24 year-old riflemen cited three recent examples where men were fined £25—about = week's pay !

- Sleeping on guard duty.
- Firing an "accidental discharge" on a shooting range.
- Arraing ten minutes late for a midnight curfew in Germany.

Ciner fines ranging from £2 to £5 are necession percent offences such as unnitiness and lateness.

(Continued from page 3)

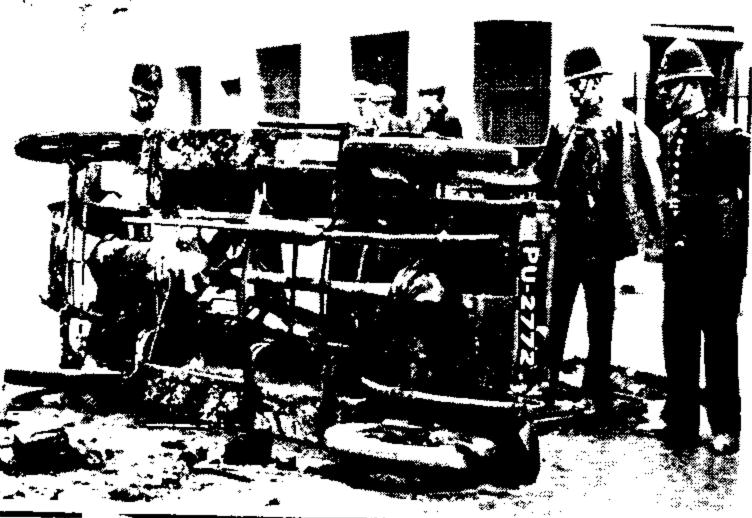
stand aside, to wave hands in despair, to condemn, "terrorism" in general and from the sidelines is to opt out of the struggle altogether. Of course it is a scandal that ordinary Protestant working people should be subjected to bombs exploding in shops dance halls and pubs in their own communal areas. While the majority of these incidents are blown out of all proportion or even fabricated by the British Press (with or without the help of the British intelligence service), we recognize that some scandalous sectarian attacks by the "Provisionals" have occurred. But we ask: where does the prime responsibility for all this lie? Does it not lie with the Tories and Unionists who divide Ireland by means of the so-called "Protestant ascendancy"—and with those "socialists" and "labour leaders" who refuse to support the absolutely just demands of the Catholic working people in the North, who actively collaborate in their repression by the British ruling class, who leave them without political leadership from the working-class organizations and so abandon them to the blind alley of sectarian violence and despair? In the North of Ireland today, nobody who is not fighting, alongside the IRA, against the British Army and the Stormont system and border can hope to play the slightest role in the development of the social revolution in their country or in leading the Republican workers out of the blind alley of nationalist and religious sectarianism and on to the road of working-class politics.

LESSONS OF THE 'TWENTIES

ccording to Bevan, "After this the General Strike was really an anti-climax". Indeed, for the Labour leaders it was! However, for the Tories it was the victorious culmination of their onslaught. For the working class it was a bitter defeat that burdened the unions with the 1927 Trades Disputes Act.

aving been forced by the rankand-file in 1925 to back the miners with a national strike if necessary, the General Council of the TUC made very few concrete preparations - least of all to discuss the nature of such action. In comparison, the Baldwin administration, fully aware that the strike posed the question of power and completely determined to break the Labour movement, created a breathing-space by granting an extra 9 months subsidy to the coal industry and proceeded to hoard essential supplies, prepare emergency organisations, and to recruit scab labour. As far back as 1920 in fact, when the Emergency Powers Act was passed, they had been working for this crucial showdown. Finally, they consciously provoked the strike by removing the coal subsidy.

FATE OF A STRIKE-BREAKING CAR





ON SUNDAY DECEMBER 5th, the London Co-operative Society Political Committee convened a conference to discuss the policy that the LCS had been carrying out over the past year. The LCS has lead many of the political campaigns within Greater London (against the Common Market, support for the UCS workers etc). This could have been an important event; however, as the conference was not allowed to take any decisions, it turned out to be a talking shop, albeit a useful one.

YOUNG CHARTISTS CALLED for the expulsion of Jenkins and his 68 henchmen from the Labour Party. This demand was supported by delegates from Constituency Labour Parties, LPYS branches, trades councils, district committees of the LCS, shop stewards from UCS, and even Communist Party members. In fact, it was only supporters of the Co-operative Members Association (the right-wing Labour front-organisation), and a couple of Southall Young Socialists who spoke against.

ON THE ISSUE OF THE Common Market, the Political Committee were called upon to fight for the United Socialist States of Europe, and not

to speak on the same platform as anti-Market Tories or Fascists.

Several Action Committees set up by the LCS reported on their activity fighting the Industrial Relations Bill and their preparations to resist the Tory-imposed rentincreases.

IN THE AFTERNOON, TWO shop stewards from the Upper Clyde spoke on their fight to keep open the yards. One of them was forced to admit that they did not really control | ernment, he was absolutely right to the shipyards—but only the gates. Several delegates urged the UCS leaders to turn the "work in" into a complete occupation, but the Communist Party supporters seemed more concerned with exposing the Tories as "evil men", than with really defeating this Government.

ALLIN ALL THE DISCUSSION was excellent-for the first time it was possible to link up all the many issues. Members of the LCS must ensure that next years conference has the power to accept resolutions and make decisions. At a time when our movement is being attacked we cannot afford simply to let off hot air. We must fight for a real programme of action—and we will not do this merely by holding "interesting" debates.

Phil Elliott.



ARMOURED CAR AT SMITHHELD MARKET, LONDON

hen they embarked on the General Strike the TUC leaders were extremely confused. They imagined the government would immediately capitulate to their demands. Unfortunately, the Tories were not willing to oblige. They grimly defended their power-using troop convoys to transport food supplies and even surrounding militant pits with machine-gun nests. Unwilling to carry out a struggle for power, the General Council could pose no alternative. Although the strike was becoming more solid and the rankand-file more confident, on the 9th day the Labour leaders threw in the towel without obtaining ANY COND-ITIONS, not even against victimisation. They had unleashed a mass movement with the delusion of persuading the Tories to be less "callous". So horrified were they by the strength of that force, so afraid it would spillover into something more "subversive", they were prepared to get the lion back in its cage at any cost! While the rest of the country went back to work, the miners stayed out for another 7 months until they were broken and forced to accept much more than a penny off the pay.

uite clearly, the position of our movement today is stronger than it was in 1926. The students have moved leftwards, the 'white collar' workers are organized, the working class as a whole has suffered no major defeats since the war and confidence is high. But none of this means that we are bound to win. On the contrary, the lessons of the 1926 defeat are relevant as never before. Once again the Tories are faced with declining profits and markets—which means that they cannot afford any concessions. And now as then, our leaders still blindly walk into confrontations without a strategy that can win.

iners' leader Lawrence Daly was correct when he said we must get rid of this Tory govpoint out that, now Jenkins & Co. have betrayed us in Parliament, only a General Strike can do this. BUT, at no time has he raised the question of power, at no time has he warned us of the inherent dangers of a General Strike that lacks a political perspective of removing Toryism for good, at no time has he demanded that the TUC prepare for the use of this ultimate weapon NOW.

et us make no mistake, me Tories are preparing! That are not stock piling coal for nothing, they are not training territorial army units in riot control for fun, they are not passing bills like the "Fair Rents" in the expectation that the working class will not resist!

nless we prepare too, the Tories may very well provoke a fight before we are ready. To prepare we must immediately campto unionize the army, to ensure soldiers are not used to strikebreak. It means planning in detail how the strike will be run, as well as discussing its implications and the tasks of the ensuing Labour government to implement a programme of nationalizing the commanding heights of the economy and basing state power on the Labour movement. At the same time we must not simply leave it up to our leaders. We must be developing the machinery of action ourselves at the bottom.

uring the 20's A.J. Cook, the miner's leader, talked much of "General Strikes" and "destroying capitalism", yet; a crippling defeat followed. This kind of empty rhetoric is no substitute for adequately discussing and concretely preparing for a General Strike. If we



A. J. COOK ADDRESSES MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION, 1926

are not prepared to finish off the Tories, once and for all, then we can expect many more "Black Fridays" coming our way.

John Henry.

The campaign to expel those Labour MPs who voted with the Tories on the Common Market issue continues... At the last meeting of Leyton Labour Party's GMC a resolution expressing no confidence in the MP, Patrick Gordon Walker, and stating that he would not be nominated for the next election was ruled out of order on "technical grounds".Instead, a left-sounding resolution was passed, condemning the MP and calling for "disciplinary action"___ in effect letting hum off the hook. In fact, the MP thanked the GMC for the attitude they had taken!

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