

CLASS WAR'S THEORETICAL MAGAZINE

THE HEAVY STUFF



NUMBER 3

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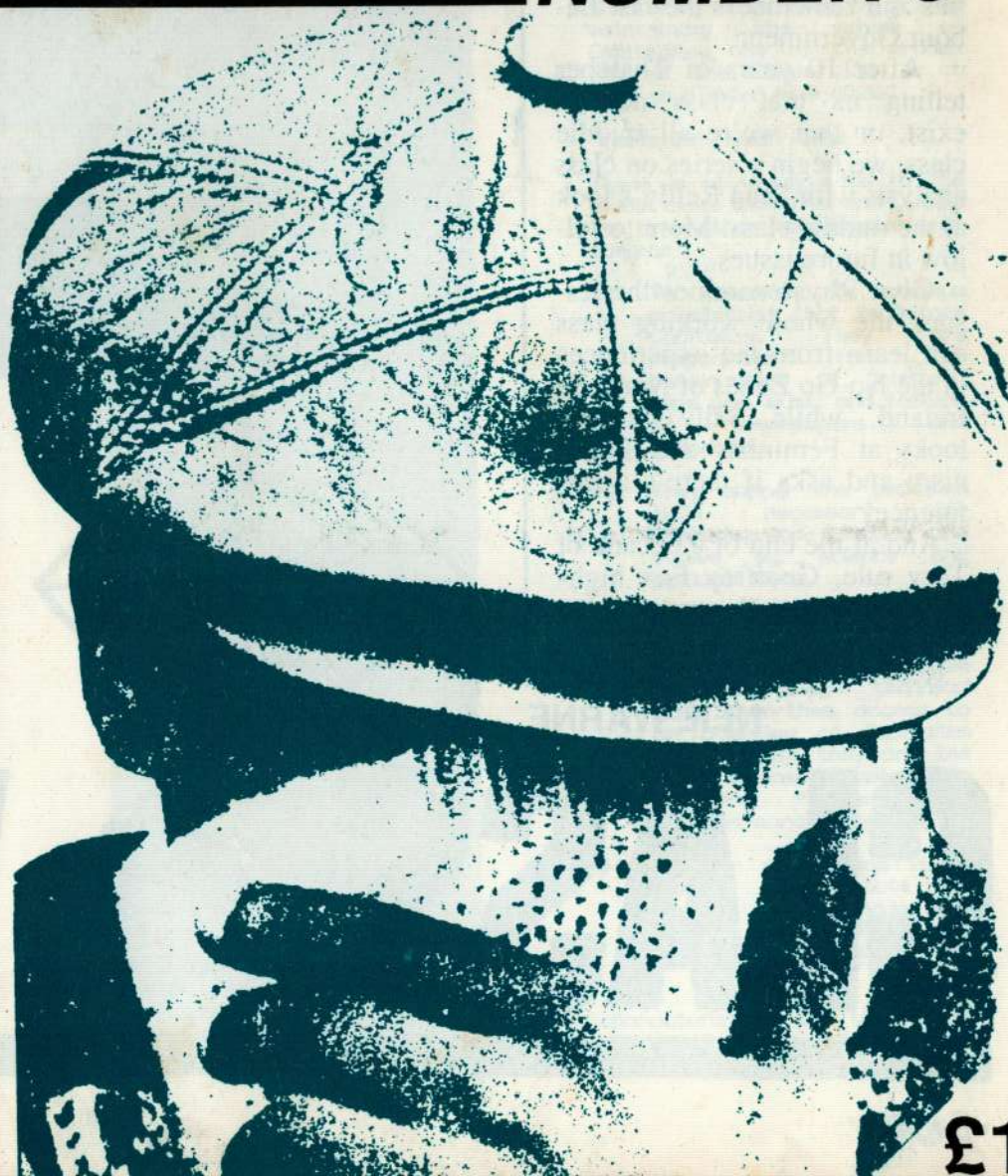
The Middle Class
by Sean Reilly

Soft Porn or Hard
Core
by Sally Starkey

Taking The Bull
By The Horns
by Geoffrey Fox

The No-Go Zones
Of Northern
Ireland 1968-72
by Glyn Rhys

The Seventies
by John Casey



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THE WRITE STUFF

INTRODUCTION

Now is the time for CLASS WAR's theoretical magazine to come into its own - we have a bigger, better and more successful paper, and more interest in CLASS WAR than ever before. Here is the more in-depth politics and analysis to back up CLASS WAR, the paper.

With CLASS WAR as a populist newspaper, the HEAVY STUFF stands alongside as a magazine for people who want to read more.

In this issue, as we head into the 1990's with talk of a Labour Party election victory, John Casey looks back at the Seventies and remembers the last Labour Government.

After 10 years of Thatcher telling us that class doesn't exist, or that we're all middle class, we begin a series on class analysis with Sean Reilly's look at the middle class. More to follow in future issues.....

Glyn Rhys examines the lessons the whole working class can learn from the experiences in the No-Go Zones of Northern Ireland, while Sally Starkey looks at Feminists and Feminism and asks if there's a difference!

And at the end of a decade of Tory rule, Geoffrey Fox highlights the developments that may be in store for our class.

Read on.....

NEIL WARNE

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The views expressed in these articles are those of the person who wrote the article and not necessarily that of the Class War Federation.

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P.O. BOX 467
LONDON E8 3QX

CLASS



WAR

THE MIDDLE CLASS

OBJECTIVES

This is to present a survey of the middle class that is useful to those who want to understand the workings of the class system in this country. There will be two other articles dealing with the rest of the British class system namely the working class and the ruling class.

This article is just one part of a social survey, it does not pretend to be a blueprint for a revolution, neither is it suggesting that the working class does not exist any more - I will not side with the various renegade Marxists exemplified by the likes of "Marxism Today" who proclaim that the working class is finished. Make no mistake, the working class is here all around you and will not go away until Capitalism is completely destroyed. Indeed, they are the only class capable of doing this.

WHY?

One of the reasons for the failure of the British Left is their inability to understand the nature and functions of the middle class as a class within Capitalism. In fact many of them fail to see them as a distinct class at all, or if they do they see them as somehow neutral in their relations to the working class, (this no doubt has something to do with the vast majority of the left being composed of middle class people). I hope to show here that the middle class have certain functions and self interests that set them apart from the working class and from the ruling class in the day to day running of Capitalism.

The middle class are not important from a revolutionary point of view except in so far as they hinder the working class from becoming a revolutionary class. This alone is a good enough reason to write about them, but I do have other reasons.

I have met many people both within and outside of Class War who have confused notions about class in general and the middle class in particular, one group even came to the conclusion that the ruling class had ceased to exist and that the middle class was now 'the enemy', this led to the most stupid romantic notions about the working class and a sort of Pol-Pot attitude towards the middle class in general.

The length of this article is a measure of the confusion I have met with on this subject throughout the Left and Anarchist movement in this country.

The next article will be on the working class - the really important class in society. In that article I will have a go at outlining my points of agreement with Mr Karl Marx and my differences.

IMPORTANT CLASS HEALTH NOTE

This article examines the function and role of the middle class and its various components. It is vitally important that to understand that this class has a long history of producing courageous fighters against Capitalism. In any revolution the middle class splits and part of it sides with

the working class, just as the working class splits and parts of it side with the Bosses.

KICKING OFF

The middle class and other classes can only be understood and explained within the context of Capitalism and its class society. Trying to understand them in any other way just leads to confusion.

THE FUNCTION OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

The point I'm trying to make here is that the middle class as a class, and not as individuals has a certain function to perform within present day Capitalism. That function is outlined as follows:

• "Between the ruling class and the working class stands the middle class whose job is to manage us in the interests of the ruling class. They do this by maintaining the values of Capitalism, one of the crucial jobs of the middle class is to keep us divided as a class".

"Inside Out" Ewan Riley.

There is obviously more to the middle class than this and I would list their other main functions as follows:

1. To research the various possibilities that lie before Capitalism. They are responsible for the continuation of "culture" from pop music and fashion to newspapers and philosophy.
2. They supply the technical skills necessary for Capitalism to function and evolve eg. science and political ideas.
3. Another main function is to act as the 'conscience' of Capitalism. This is possible because their technical skills give them access to an overview of Capitalism and because they are the main people involved in providing religion which involves moral judgement.
4. Another crucial job is to monitor the state of society and provide and analyse information for their Capitalist masters.

These are the crucial characteristics of the middle class and will be referred back to as this article progresses.



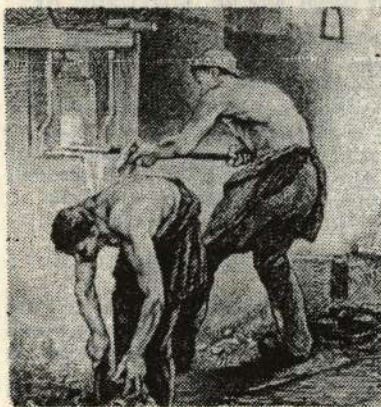
A LITTLE HISTORY

THE PRE-CAPITALIST MIDDLE CLASS

Even under feudalism there was a class of people who could be identified as middle class. They were a very small but important group comprised of the administrators, managers, scholars etc. and were often drawn from the ranks of the church. In the Middle Ages as the merchant class expanded into the forerunners of the Bourgeoisie they required more people to be managers, keep records and investigate technical problems of production. In other words they needed more people to carry out the tasks associated with the middle class today. As Capitalism has advanced and become more complex it has required a larger middle class.

THE MIDDLE CLASS UNDER CAPITALISM

Back in the 18th and 19th centuries at the start of Capitalism, in the words of Marx, there were two great classes in society that stood opposed to each other and often came into violent conflict. On one side the Proletariat or working class, the vast majority, who have nothing



but their labour power and who lived in pretty dire poverty after having been forced out of the countryside in the 18th Century into the growing industrial towns. On the otherside the bourgeoisie or ruling class, who owned the "means of production and distribution" in society - the factories, mines, land, banks and railways. They were a tiny minority who exercised immense power.

At this time there was a third class - the petit-bourgeoisie or middle class. These were the owners of small businesses such as shopkeepers and tailors, doctors, teachers, civil servants, administrators and engineers. This class was bigger than the ruling class but still tiny in comparison with the working class.

These three classes continue to exist today but their size, content and relationship to each other has changed a fair bit since the 19th Century through the 'dialectical process' - a big word for a simple idea. This is the to and fro of the conflict between these classes, the class war that has gone on since the start of Capitalism. That these



FORD'S FIRST PRODUCTION LINE

changes have taken place is a fact, but much of the Marxist left and anarchists carry on as if we are still living in the 19th Century.

SO WHAT HAS CHANGED ?

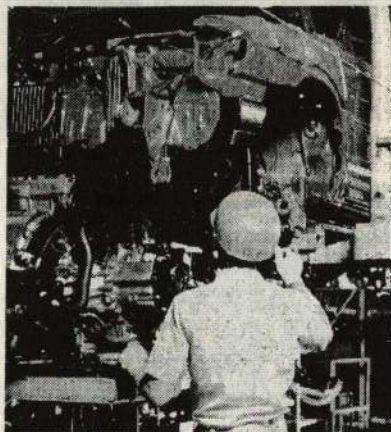
•1. THE MIDDLE CLASS

The middle class has increased in size a fair bit. I reckon they now number about 11 million or about 20% of the population. A simple method is used to arrive at this figure:

By looking at the returns for the last census covering employment and identifying the types and numbers of jobs that the middle class hold and calculating their percentage representation in the working population as covered in the census (which goes from the very top of society to the very bottom). Then translating this into a percentage of the population as a whole.

•2. THE WORKING CLASS

The working class are in purely material terms much better off than their counterparts of the 19th Century and even compared to just after the Second World War. We own cars, fridges, TV's and live in much better housing. Of course Marx's analysis is not demolished by this, at the end of the day or rather the mortgage and hire purchase we have nothing but our labour power and when we lose that we really do have nothing as the old and the unemployed know quite well. These are the two main changes in the British class system to date. These are facts. If you disagree, this is probably the place to stop reading.



BACK TO THE MIDDLE CLASS

Where do they all come from? This is an uncomfortable question for those of us who would like to live in a sort of "Chas 'n' Dave" version of working class history. The middle class did not spring out of the ground. Most of them originally came from the working class and of course there are well established middle class families that go back for generations.

As the cities grew rapidly and Capitalism expanded, the need for the middle class grew.

THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

The middle class right from the start were associated with jobs like management, research, planning and technical work as well as teaching and religion. But the present size of the middle class was arrived at in two great steps, both associated with changes made in the education system in Britain. The Education Acts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries yielded a larger middle class. But it is to the massive expansion of secondary and further education after World War II that we can trace the biggest expansion of



the middle class. This was connected to a world wide boom in Capitalism that for Britain was part of the spoils of war like guaranteed access to certain markets with little competition, a situation that has of course changed since the early 70's. During this boom phase there was, believe it or not, a shortage of labour in countries like Britain at all levels from the shop floor up.

As the economy grew, the need for middle class skills grew and capitalism had to recruit direct from the working class in numbers hitherto undreamed of. This was the period of large (larger than before!) numbers of working class people going into further education including the elite bastions of Oxford and Cambridge. New universities were also being built all over the place. The British Communist Party at this time was sending its kids to grammar schools and universities as fast as they could in the belief that they would be able to influence the course of events (see their "British Road To Communism" for their reasoning). Instead as we know now they only succeeded in

turning out middle class people with a treacherous line in class politics and a well turned sense of guilt. The magazine "Marxism Today" represents the fruits of that generation.

NEW MARKETS = BIGGER MIDDLE CLASS

In Britain during this period, Capitalism entered a new phase. Basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter were within the grasp of the working class, as was basic health care unlike the period before the Second World War.

It is important to note here that this industrial boom was to a large degree linked to the more intense exploitation of people and resources in the third world, a pattern which has continued and intensified to the present day.

The post war industrial boom required even more middle class people to fulfil their traditional jobs, as has been pointed out earlier - New jobs connected to the new problems that Capitalism was facing. Put simply, this was the need to find new markets to invest the massive Capital accumulated during the war.

These new markets fell into two kinds:

①. The third world to where manufactured goods were sold, the massive expansion of products such as transistor radios and Coca Cola into the poorest parts of Africa for instance, is a classic example.

②. The so-called first world, in countries like Britain where entirely new markets were found by either identifying new needs or creating them in the population. In effect the minds and bodies of the population became the new markets. Here's a short list of the new markets that opened to Capitalism in the 50's in Britain, TV's, cars, fridges, internal bathrooms, pop music, teen culture, fashion and so on. This great boom needed a much larger middle class than ever before, especially in the fields of planning and research as Capitalism became more organised.

Another reason for the growth of the middle class was the growing tendency for countries like Britain to act as administrative, planning and research centres for the expanding "global economy" that is tied to no particular country, but invariably bases itself in the old colonial countries.

THE PRESENT

So, this roughly brings us up to the present. We have a middle class that is larger and perhaps more influential than ever before. But this is precisely at a time when Capitalism is going through a major reorganisation and in the 'first world' like Britain no longer requires as many middle class for the manufacturing industries which



were being moved to other parts of the global economy. The traditional privileges of the middle class are no longer guaranteed. Going to college is not enough.

They have to compete for what is available. All but the most wealthy are affected by this. But before we get into the present state of the middle class, let's look at what it is like to be middle class.

THE EXPERT OPINION OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

This is probably a good place to see what an expert on the middle class has to say about their position in the class struggle.

“...the working class stands to gain most by a decent reconstruction of society. Unlike other classes or categories, (the middle class), it can't be permanently bribed... the struggle is against the lords of property and their hired liars and bumsuckers.”

"Homage To Catalonia", George Orwell.

THOSE WHO ARE BORN TO 'GREATNESS'

It's easier to begin with those born into the class like the children of social workers, doctors and businessmen. They have numerous advantages over the working class - better diet, better health care, better

education, the confidence that is implanted in them in order that they can order others around, a wide range of contacts in their own class that pays off in later life, the right accent to gain respect and leniency from the police and courts, the knowledge of how to use 'the system' - after all, it is their class which runs the whole show for the ruling class, and last but not least money in the form of inherited wealth and an income that is, say, 3 or 4 times higher than the average wage.

It is a common mistake amongst lefties, especially those from a working class background to assume that the middle class are all lily livered cowards (true some are, especially the "alternative" middle class - see later). But reality is unfortunately different. The upbringing of the middle class gives them not only confidence but toughness. In fact the distinguishing feature of the middle class childhood and education is the brutality involved, both physical and psychological. This brutalisation process is necessary to produce the leaders that Capitalism requires. Because they are required to take unpleasant decisions they need to be tough. They act as the hit-men of the ruling class like the officer corps of the armed forces, the higher civil servants, the managing directors as opposed to the owners etc. So, to see this sector of the middle class as 'soft' is foolish in the extreme, they are mean nasty bastards.

THOSE WHO ACHEIVE 'GREATNESS'

Let's look now at the other part of the middle class who have arrived from the working class, the nouveau-riche. Most of these owe their present position to the changes brought about by the post war boom that made it possible for working class people to progress up the class system by merit rather than birth. This



has been described earlier. The words 'meritocrat' and 'meritocracy' are used to describe the process by the 'experts'. Education, hard work and judicious arse licking are the main methods used by this group. Common occupations for such people are teachers, middle management, salesmen, scientists, engineers and of course social workers etc. Once they have entered this class they tend to adopt its values with a fierceness that often upsets the 'established middle class'. This group will often hang on to their privileges tenciously, knowing what awaits them if they slide back down the social scale. Again it is a mistake to see them as 'soft'. To get where they are they often have to change their accents, disown their families and go through great hardship and stress.

One important point that needs to be made here is that money is not the sole distinguishing feature of the middle class. Some working class jobs pay more than their middle class managers. I would say the main characteristics are attitudes and power ie. control and influence over others - see the summary at the end of the article.

BACK TO THE PRESENT

To return to the present state of the middle class, I mentioned earlier that the economic decline in the U.K. economy was affecting them as much as the working class. This had some curious effects, Thatcherism represents extreme middle class values and her appeal is to that class and the section of the working class who aspire to those values. Yet it is Thatchers policies that have shaken up the middle class the most. The words 'competition' and 'enterprise' were once dirty words to much of the middle class, but are now the guiding principles of all middle class existence. These values are

those of the young aspiring middle class who are fed up with the old fagey one nation Tories of the 50's and 60's. The radical and extreme nature of these ideas are best summed up by a recent quote by Thatcher.

•"There is no such thing as society, just individuals and families."

This change in the middle class outlook and position helps explain recent changes in middle class behaviour. Gone are the days of living out in the country, the young middle class want to be in the cities where the action is, where the work is, where the possibility of success is. Gone are the days of only doing certain kinds of work. As work itself is in short supply they have tended to drift into traditionally working class jobs in significant numbers. This is because in pure Capitalist terms, there is an over supply of middle class people at the moment, which is why the Tories are moving to restrict the numbers of working class entering further education, by introducing student loans and by cutting back on state secondary schools. The new and old middle class are moving to protect their position



and are closing ranks to newcomers, although there is always room for the odd wide boy and girl.

This more adventurous attitude has given rise to the phenomenon of gentrification in inner city areas. This happens mainly in the South. Until recently, booming property prices can mean that run down inner city housing is a money spinner for young middle class people at the start of their careers. They spot a 'quaint' area, do a house up and flog it for maybe twice what they bought it for to another yuppie who wants to live in that area because that is where the trendy young things now live.

This is how gentrification works. The profits for the 'pioneers' can be handsome and some middle class people make a full time job out of it. Essentially, gentrification is property speculation wrapped up in a lot of bullshit.

The effect that gentrification has on working class communities can be drastic. In the country,

villages are taken over and locals are priced out, while inner city areas are turned upside down like the dockside developments in London's East End and elsewhere round the country. It could be argued that gentrification has done more to 'pacify' inner city areas like St. Pauls in Bristol and Brixton in London than the police have ever achieved, these areas are now described by local estate agents as "up and coming areas".

THE ALTERNATIVE MIDDLE CLASS

This is an important and often confusing part of the middle class. They need to be dealt with thoroughly and that is what I intend to do here.

In order to understand this group it is essential to have grasped the points made about the middle class so far and summarised at the beginning of this article as the 'functions of the middle class'. Some sections of the alternative middle class might be without money but money is not only what being middle class is all about.

The Alternative Middle Class are those members of the middle class who appear to be opposed to some or all of present Capitalist society. Of course this is not really the case. What they are really about is described well below:

•"A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society".

The Manifesto Of The Communist Party (1848).
Karl Marx.

The old fucker wasn't always wrong.

Some examples of this sort of 'opposition activity' are CND, green politics, feminism, animal rights, lifestyles such as back to the land hippies, inner city bohemians or posers and of course the various left-wing political parties.



SINGLE ISSUE POLITICS

Let's take the more 'respectable' single issue politics such as CND or Green Politics. The people involved in these are concerned about these issues because they are literally the only thing which threatens to fuck up their lives.

Environmental or Nuclear disasters can really ruin a nice cosy middle class life. These people have the education to appreciate the various concepts at issue. This is also a good example of the middle class acting as unpaid researchers to develop 'nicer' forms of Capitalism. For example, look at the huge amounts of research that such groups put into nuclear power-plant enquiries. Obviously Capitalism and class society are not an issue for these people. The future development of the society that gave them their privileges is however.

•"At this moment, capital is obviously testing out two possible futures: a risky, capital intensive nuclear version and a labour intensive, low energy version. Neither is very tempting though there will always be, after the priority is set, a combination of both. The choice we are offered is one between cancer and misery".

"Strange Victories".
Elephant Editions.

It's interesting that the Greens make no fuss about the fact that the coal industry worldwide still kills 10,000 people a year in extracting coal, 50 in Britain last year. Or that every year in Britain 500 people die of pneumoconiosis contracted in the mines.

This sort of political activity also represents the middle class acting as the 'conscience' of Capitalism. Groups such as Amnesty International and Animal Rights represent this 'high moral' ground that the middle class try to capture for themselves the latter probably being the more extreme in this regard. One thing that seems to unite these groups is their attitude to the working class. Because they take little or no interest in these single issue politics they are written off as stupid or 'insensitive'.

THE WORKING CLASS AND SINGLE ISSUE POLITICS

The fact is, that for the working class such issues bear little relevance to their daily lives where they are much more pre-occupied with more pressing problems like getting or keeping hold of a job, low pay, finding a place to live and generally trying to make the best of life within a pretty unpleasant society not of their making. In fact in what spare time working class people do have they are targets for the most intense propaganda through the media and advertising.

But these small details don't stop the middle class politicians of various single issue groups holding the working class responsible for some of the worst excesses of Capitalism, from pollution to oppression of women, when in fact members of their own class (the middle class) are far more responsible.

FEMINISM

Feminism is important enough to merit separate treatment. Of course what we are talking about here is middle class feminism. This is concerned solely with the liberation of middle class women within Capitalist society. The re-emergence of women's politics in the '60's promised great things, but it quickly became clear that the main objective was to open up the career opportunities for middle class women amongst their male peers. Consciousness raising and assertiveness training were the necessary tools to overthrow the hold of male competitors within the 'alternative' middle class where the feminist movement started and still exists today. The results of the 'feminist revolution' can be seen in lower and middle management of many firms and institutions where middle class women are in the majority.

Of course the vast bulk of working class women were untouched by feminism but have had to continue to fight in their own way against Capitalism and a sexist society. History overlooks the achievements of middle class women, as feminists never tire of telling us. Their 'movement' in turn 'overlooks' the struggles of working class women who are far more militant and angry, the working class lesbians, the working class women who beat up violent husbands with their mates, the women who bring up kids on their own in shitty council estates that the middle class can't even imagine, the raped and abused women who don't have the advantages of 'sisterly support' who carry on and fight back, the women who stand up at work when the 'men' are busy kissing the bosses arse. These are our feminists. I know which I prefer - do you?

Feminism is the ultimate proof that single issue politics not linked to class are reactionary. On one hand the 'professionalisation' of feminism has actually reduced things like rape crisis centres from being open round the clock with volunteers in the '70's to a 2 hour a day service in the '80's staffed by professionals with a "proper career structure" usually justified by a hazy socialism that stops at self interest.

Feminists are now picking up the ruling class propaganda and sticking it down working class women's throats, marriage is in, abortion is out, enterprise and competition are the watchwords.

The 'movement' is now an integral part of Capitalism and threatens nobody except the working class. Middle class feminists are quite literally obstructing the way for working class women. Why should we be grateful for the crumbs from their tables in the form of the odd battered wives refuge? The message from





working class women is simple:

"Get out of our fucking way!"

Any way, thats enough on feminism for now, but remember, we'll be back! Thanks to the vigilante sisters for help here, Morag and Meghji.

LEFT-WING POLITICAL PARTIES

The vast majority are run by middle class people with the exceptions of Militant who have a good base in the working class and the old Communist Party who used to. Underneath the revolutionary rhetoric lies the same old middle class values. They see themselves as the 'managers' of the future revolution. Their role is to educate the masses (while strengthening their hold on traditional privileges). They hold out the offer of the Communist paradise but neglect to fully explain that the 'intervening period' will entail their party taking control of the state apparatus for our own good. In other words all the middle class politicians are guaranteed cosy jobs as commissars in the new state, and of course there will be plenty of room for working class recruits to the new middle class - Stalin was a good 'ol working class boy! This is where all the Marxist-Leninist parties lead to at the end of the day - State Capitalism. Mr. Marx definately got it wrong there!

During the '84/85 miners strike a miner on picket duty remarked to me that he was sick to death of lefties coming out to tell the miners what to do:

"They want us to fight the revolution for them so that they can take over."

That just about sums it up.

LIFESTYLE POLITICS

So, on to lifestyle politics of the 'alternative' middle class. The origins of this lie back with the bohemians of the 19th Century and the romantic poets. The various 'radical' lifestyles grew alongside the middle class in the 50's and the early 70's.

REBELS WITHOUT A CAUSE

The various 'lifestyles' usually co-exist with single issue and lefty politics in a sort of 'alternative' ghetto.

The roots of this movement are based in a rebellion against middle class values. The offspring of the middle class are rightly disgusted with themselves and their families. Unfortunately they don't do anything useful with their rage. Instead they expend their energies on creating a lifestyle within Capitalism that lets them live out their fantasies and mixed up bourgeois ideas, their mothers and fathers call them drop outs. Amongst the various lifestyles are the back to the land hippy, mystic feminists, lefty politicians and inner city posers.

HIPPIES

The back to land hippy often adopts various mild single issue politics such as feminism and green politics as well as 'personal growth' therapies. Often they come from a very well educated background. Appearing to rebel they are in fact quietly carrying out their middle class task of trying to improve Capitalism.

"Capitalism has always had problems in controlling its intellectual labour force, mainly because the profit returns are indirect and slow, particularly for

disciplines like philosophy, literature and art. The loose tie between intellectual work and capital does not imply that it stands outside of Capitalism. There is no such thing as 'outside of Capitalism' in a Capitalist society: From a long term perspective, the 'back to the land' intellectuals are just testing out new Capitalist possibilities of dealing with certain problems of cheap production."

Strange Victories.

They are being quite successful too. Look at the following additions to mainstream Capitalist society that have come from this part of the middle class: Windmills for power generation, organic food, vegetarian food in Tesco's and alternative therapies in cancer treatment and last but not least 'alternative' methods of management, for example IBM and Volvo are using 'autonomous' work groups (see the magazine "Solidarity" for an examination of the 'anarchisation' of Capitalism). Obviously some of these are beneficial but none of it changes anything radically for us.

INNER CITY POSERS

(or macho hippies)

The inner city posers are interesting. At their most extreme, they often act as the shock troops of gentrification, usually taking the heavier drugs, dressing up in rags or some wierd cliché of the working class - big boots, dirty clothes, tatoos etc. Their behaviour is also a parody of the working class - lots of shouting and swearing. The aim of this behaviour is to make sure that they are left alone, a well thought out strategy. As a rule the more dirty and scruffy these people

are, the richer their family background.

A favourite haunt of such people are inner city areas particularly near or in black areas, there is usually a supply of empty houses to squat, police activity is lower here and the black community have enough problems on their plate without bothering with the dregs of the middle class. They are most numerous in the South as this is the closest to their well off families.

Why should the children of the middle and upper class do this? As I remarked earlier the main motivation is self disgust. A black plasterer from St. Pauls in Bristol who I used to work with, talking of them put it better.

"They don't seem to like who they are, so they try to be someone else".

Self-destruction is all too often the end result of this lifestyle.

Unfortunately their rebellion against their background does not challenge the ideas and values of their class. The vast majority of this group either consider the working class as stupid or have the most naive and sentimental ideas about them.

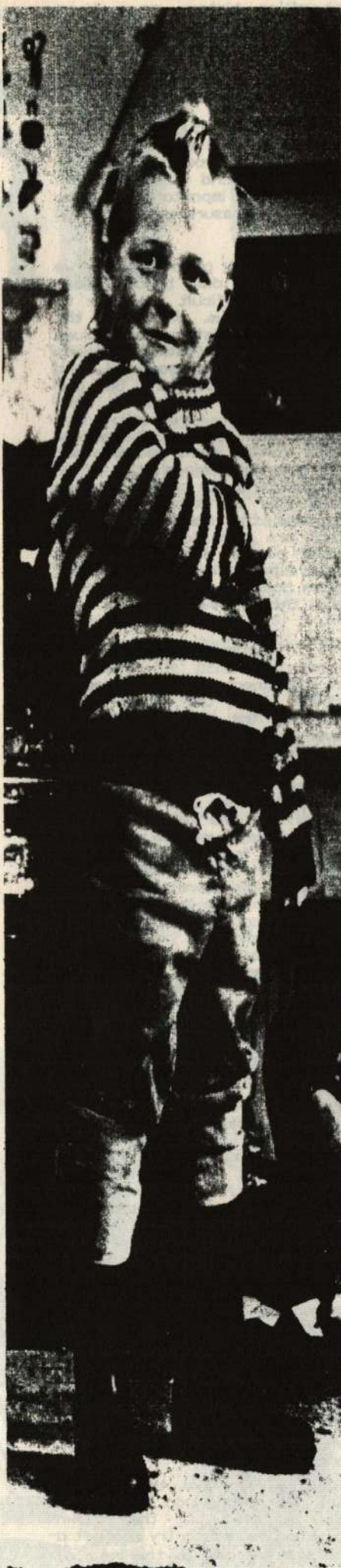
The convoy are the mobile equivalent of the inner city posers they are usually better off and more sussed, beloved of the middle class liberals who whine on about how great it is to live 'outside the system', the fact is that most of them are either well off or are involved in 'alternative' forms of Capitalism.

These lifestyles do not represent a challenge to Capitalism instead they represent a way of coming to terms with it.

'ANARCHISTS'

Here is the place to talk about the British Anarchist movement, at the arse-end of the lifestyle section. It is a very middle class movement dedicated to individualist ideas and is really a set of single issue politics within a general lifestyle that can be called drop-out. Class politics appear as just another item on the 'anarchist political shopping list'. The original anarchist politics have been distorted and made into a sick joke. There are some small anarchist class struggle organisations who do not appear to see the reactionary nature of the 'movement' they are operating in.

An example of this reactionary nature was a recent 'anarchist-feminist' conference in my part of town - held in a black community centre. These 'flowers of the bourgeoisie' trashed the place, stole the kitchen equipment and left the building so filthy and infested with fleas that Rentokil had to be called in to clean the place out.



These are the sort of reasons why Class War has kicked the British Anarchist movement into touch. Seems fair enough to me!

THE WORKING CLASS IN THE ALTERNATIVE SCENE

We should have a brief look at the working class people who become involved in the alternative middle class. They become attracted to various issues and groups because they appear to be 'doing something'. For instance, for the youth who became involved in animal rights or lefty parties, moralism plays a large part here particularly in the former. Another reason why working class people get involved in things like hippy lifestyle is a desire to belong to something, to get out of their unpleasant life - I have met a number of ex-soldiers who have ended up in this scene attracted by pacifism after being sickened by the killing they have been involved with in places like Northern Ireland, Aden and Biafra. These are the only pacifists I have any time for, and it's interesting that they express non-pacifist emotions towards the ruling class.

The alternative middle class forms one of the conduits by which working class people can go up in the world. Here they learn the skills and tricks necessary to move on up. The hippy lifestyle and anarchist scene are particularly good at this.

Of course working class involvement in the alternative middle class can end in tears. The burnt out cynics who have been discarded by lefty parties for instance, the youth who are revolted by the excesses of the hippies and 'anarchists' try to get back to a vision of the working class that never really existed and are doomed to live in limbo for ever. Others end up as class 'mutants' with a foot in each class, mental illness can result from the stress that this generates. Some see through the alternative illusion and just get on with living, turning their back on the scene.

SUMMARY

So that's the middle class. They are more than just the dogsbodies of the ruling class, they help guide the development of Capitalism and look into the future possibilities. They are crucial to the running of the advanced Capitalist economies like Britain's. Sometimes they come into conflict with the bosses but essentially they are on the same side.

From our point of view, their most important role is to control us, to persuade us that the present state of affairs is permanent, that we can only change things as long as we work within the limits they set whether they be Parliamentary or pacifist protest or within "the party". Their job of cutting and

re-writing history as well as persuading us of the permanency of Capitalism and its values is, perhaps, the single most powerful tool that the ruling class employ. The fact that they are spending more and more money and time doing this through the media, advertising and education shows just how dangerous they think we are. They and their masters realise how important it is to keep the pressure on us screwed down tight.

The absurdity of the society we are living in daily becomes more and more difficult for them to justify to us. At first the monolith of history and values that they construct seems perfect and all-powerful and impossible to overturn. But our daily lives contradict their messages of prosperity and contentment and submissiveness. Once working class people start to question things, the whole facade tends to crumble into an avalanche of class anger. This explains the enormous efforts that are made to stop working class people thinking and just what a precarious hold the ruling class have on society, something that they are well aware of.

FIGHTING BACK

In the miners and other recent strikes like the printers at Wapping, the change that came over the communities involved was rapid and far reaching; issues like the position of women and the use of violence against the police were being discussed. These sections of the working class were overcome by being separated from the rest of their class - the main means used to achieve this were the military methods of the police and the complete control and censorship of the media. The power of the media was illustrated to the miners when they found that some of their children who were watching the news on TV were convinced that their fathers were mindless yobs who attacked the police all the time. They had to explain to their children that the films had been cut and swapped around to show the miners attacking the police when in fact they had been responding to police attacks on them. The importance of overcoming the middle class view of the world was and is crucial.

The miners and the printers realised that they had to build a 'counter culture' of pride and struggle against the prevailing values and ideas (the hegemony in jargon shorthand) that are provided by the middle class for our consumption. This partly explains why miners were involved in blocking motorways and the highly successful 'hit-squads' and why the printers were involved with sabotaging distribution of papers.

They realised that they had to pull off propaganda stunts for the morale of their own communities and to try too get a message across to the rest of

their class across the divide created by ruling class propaganda. Of course after such epic struggles as those of the miners and the countless others we never even hear about, the tendency is for the hegemony to re-assert its hold over us, that is until the next time. One of the central tasks of Class War and similar organisations is to play a part in constructing a genuine working class culture that has as its central themes, confidence and struggle.

The role of the middle class is to mesmerise the working class. Our task is to help break this hold and to build a self confident fighting attitude amongst the members of our class.

THE FUTURE

The backers of Thatcherism and the previous Labour Government obviously want us to feel that another 10 years of the same is inevitable and that the youth who have grown up in this period will see anything else as impossible. This is a huge gamble, the possibilities of a massive class confrontation are becoming clearer. This has been clear to the British ruling class since at least 1974. The ingredients are all in place, cuts in pay, the poll tax, rising inflation, deepening cuts in services, housing shortages, the continuing decay of the manufacturing industries, the balance of payments time-bomb, the growing regional and nationalist opposition to the rule of Westminster, the continuing and escalating war in Northern Ireland, the decline in revenues as North Sea Oil runs out. All these point to an attack on the working class that will make the last 10 years look like 'the good old days'. The middle class are certainly going to have to earn their money.

THE END

This ends my survey of the middle class. I hope it clarifies the position of this often confusing class in the larger scheme of class society in general. The real test is whether it helps you to understand individuals and groups in real life.

At times the power of the middle class hegemony seems crushing and unstoppable even to old hands in the class struggle. But in reality it is quite fragile.

•"When I went through the factory gates for the first time I had the feeling of being small, that this factory had been here for ever and would continue long after I was gone. Now twenty years later the factory is gone and this site has been landscaped it's as if it was never there. Now I see that things can change and quickly too, I don't feel small anymore".

A Worker, Bristol 1988.

SEAN REILLY



SOFT OR HARD CORE

Women are bombarded every day with images - in advertising, on television, in magazines and newspapers - all showing the perfect woman: confident, slim and good looking, with a career, house, husband and family. Now I see myself as a confident, sensible working class woman, so I see these images for what they are. I can make up my own mind about the way I look or dress, and what's important in my life - or can I?

Being politically active and involved with CLASS WAR, I came into contact with a lot of other groups, such as Anarchists and Feminists, and unfortunately this has led to my introduction to the "right-on" woman. Usually middle class, these women insist on another set of images - the 'right' way to look and act if you're on the political 'scene'.

A good example is the Dressing-Down Brigade. In their opinion, women should wear big boots, baggy trousers and have crew-cuts. Anyone wearing high heels, a

miniskirt or make-up is positively frowned upon ("she's doing it for a man"). If you look a bit deeper, you will usually find that these women are the daughters of middle class Feminists, who support women's liberation like some sort of Tuesday keep-fit class or a badge that states that they are "credible". These women have little to be liberated from, their salaries (as teachers or social workers) mean that they are cushioned from the realities of life; neither economic liberation, social liberation or sexual liberation could improve their lives - they've all read the Female Eunuch and The Joy Of Sex.

But back to the Doc Marten Brigade, with their Separatist tendencies. These women are positively frightening with their disassociation from other women who are involved with men. This seems to range from petty ridicule/sniggering at heterosexual women as some kind of oddity because they aren't "proper" Feminists; to the sort of abuse hurled at

women who work in the Porn or prostitution industry, for daring to 'use' the fact that they're women to earn a living. Most strippers, go-go dancers and women who appear in films and magazines have more class consciousness and more idea of what women's liberation means than all the rest of these "Feminists" put together.

They are not sordid, sorry, misguided or thrill-seeking sadists, who love to see their own sex degraded. They're just earning a living. How different are they from office workers, counter assistants, barstaff or restaurant workers? We all perpetuate Capitalism just the same - the Porn industry is just another product of Capitalist society.

It is the overthrow of Capitalism which we should be working for - to free all our class, not sneering or pointing at those women who, because of need, have to work within it while it exists. Separatism, lesbianism, fatism, ageism and Feminism are all side issues which, although important, cannot over-



shadow the real issues in our society. Under Capitalism concessions can be made to one group or campaign, but only at the expense of another. Wages for housework, for example - an excellent idea, but where would the money come from? Not from where it should do, you can safely bet. More like less money for the NHS, pensioners or less money for Housing - not out of the pockets of the rich, their pockets will stay fat and happy like them.

As a working class woman, I'm fighting for the liberation of all my class - men and women, fat and thin, black and white, right-on or right-off. As long as we fight amongst ourselves we cannot be free. A disunited working class is no threat. It cannot be denied that



some of our class can be (or can appear to be) racist, sexist, small-minded or just sometimes downright ignorant - but how deep does this really go, most of it wouldn't stand up to a good argument over a few pints in a pub. But we cannot put ourselves up to be perfect - wholesome - and expect others to follow our shining example.

Most of all we must not oppress ourselves, fight amongst ourselves or hate each other because of petty politics. The real divisions in this society can only be overcome by and for the majority - the working class. Don't be side-tracked by single-issues, individual causes or petty differences, but let us unite to fight the real enemy.

SALLY STARKEY

TAKING THE BULL BY THE HORNS

For almost ten years now, the vast majority of the British working class have inexplicably turned cheek after cheek as regards the latest bout of politically determined social and (for us anyhow) economic decline. As a result, this now bloody-faced mass, and those working class people who have fought back will soon be witness to the emergence of a new and even more noxious breed of Conservatism - a type which will make even the abnormal ideals of the likes of Tebbit, Boyson and Co. seem deeply red-hued. In power this nouveau reactionary parasite will pull the plug on the life-support machine to which the beleaguered NHS is presently connected, causing those very few who can afford it and those in dire need of medical care, regardless of their financial circumstances, to subscribe to private health schemes, making their already wealthy Tory directors and consultants even richer.

It will slash unemployment benefit and 'family credit' and force the unemployed to work for what pittance there is left. It will repeal the few remaining laws and regulations relating to the rights, health and safety of workers, to placate its greedy paymasters in the Institute of Directors (who see all such laws as obstacles to even bigger profits). They take their cue from the work practices of Asia and the Far East - low wages, obedience, very long hours, sweatshops, child labour, instant dismissal - the sort of medieval conditions they've been drooling over for years.

It will legislate against homosexuality; forcing our already hard-pressed gay brothers and sisters back into a ghetto existence, where they will once again have to bear the full brunt of profound ignorance and baying tyrants riddled with double standards.

It will return capital punishment -

and not just for murder - and severely curb the freedom of the 'independent' press and the media - whilst of course, hypocritically condemning the Eastern Bloc "communist" States for identical behaviour.

This is not idle rhetoric, or some Orwellian fantasy - the foundations have already been laid for such a time. As a prelude to its own draco-



nian schemes the present Conservative regime increased the pay and powers of its servants; judges, civil servants, the armed forces - those who are always highly pampered so they will serve the State well in times of civil unrest, civil unrest caused by the callous implementation of repressive policies, including the use of that cosh of the ruling class, the Police; intentionally distancing the lower ranks financially and socially from their working class and lower middle class roots. This de-sensitises them from the aspirations and hardships of their class, making it all the more easy for them to bully, intimidate and brutalise (and in some cases murder). All the time safe in the knowledge that their working class victims still have practically nil punch as individuals or small groups, isolated from the rest of our class.



NEW YORK

This clever ploy has worked - and savagely - with the brutal putting down of the miners, the print-workers and the inner-city riots as solid proof of this fact. Then along came the Public Order Act, another convenient tool to keep us all gagged. Since then the Tories have been freely hacking away at anything they deem beneficial to the working class, with little opposition from the pathetic Labour Party and all the other non-entities in Parliament (not that we'd expect any, they're all part of the same ruling class anyway).

So, the groundwork for a hard fu-



PARIS

ture has been well prepared. The next generation of ruling class scum to be drawn from the ranks of today's young Tories will take possession of the reins of power with the path ahead effectively clear of their class enemies...or will it? Its still up to us, *each and every one of us*, not just the few solitary souls who have been fighting the State all along. Our class united would be an all powerful and sweeping force; with one swipe it could obliterate utterly the retrogressive forces of reaction - think of the future then. A future determined by ourselves and not by a handful of immaculately dressed, money-grabbing morons, nor a tiny, manipulative, middle class clique of Marxist loonies: a future in which our children could grow and develop free from the crippling disdain now heaped upon us because (due to no fault on our part) we have so little.

But we've got to haul ourselves completely out of the wretched quagmire of apathy first. We've got to wake up fully, really face reality. **Fact:** things are not going to improve, won't get better, if most of us sit on our arses all day tutting and whinging about the sorry state of the country and the drudgery of our lives. **Fact:** the so-called radical politicians don't care. As politicians they never have and never will, they're far away earning their thousands and having a good time getting pissed, getting their ugly, sneering mugs plastered all over the newspapers and the TV, and jetting off to exotic spots in the sun to renew the fading tan in time for the back-slapping Christmas knees-up. No spark of hope there. We must **fight back** - hard, and with unswerving determination - have faith in ourselves, in our very real ability to forge a radically new era - and we have to act **now**, whilst theres still time. Its insane to await the crowning of hardliners before making a move, by then it will be too late, our class needs no leaders. So, stand up and be counted. Walk tall, alongside those who are already making a stand. Don't be frightened, the more who join in the struggle the less likely that individuals can be targeted by the State's lackeys; for us thats strength - for them its demoralising.



LONDON

Initially, it won't be easy - though no-one in their right mind has ever said it would be, the ruling class will throw everything they've got at us. But the alternative for us is an ever-downward spiral, towards unending hopelessness and rewardless toil - is that what you want? Do you want to watch your friends, lovers, relations and children slowly decay into mindless, empty shells? If so, forget all you've read so far and wait, it'll soon happen - just carry on as usual. Remember that the Tory rich, the ruling class, are few and weak; weakened by gross privilege and centuries of being bone idle - depending on others to think for them, kill for them, feed them, clean and carry them along. When their foot-soldiers have been dealt with they'll be left, naked and alone, scurrying behind. Then, quite simply, its in for the kill - and won't they deserve it!

GEOFFREY FOX



MUNICH

THE NO - GO ZONES OF NORTHERN IRELAND 1968 - 1972

Twenty years ago this August, British troops moved onto the streets of Belfast and Derry in their thousands. Not that they'd ever left Northern Ireland, always an integral part of the British State, but this time their presence on the streets was to stay. They were sent in to prevent the breakdown of the N. Ireland "Statelet" as the security forces and Protestants waged a war on the Catholic ghettos. Though welcomed initially by many of those ghetto dwellers - as a victory against the Protestant pogrom - most knew their presence was merely to keep this 'Orange State', in existence, and as part of Britain.

There are dozens of books, pamphlets and articles about N. Ireland - Why Britain remains, analysis of the Orange establishment, why you should or shouldn't support the IRA, why the troops should leave etc... etc... Most view the situation from the view of the mainland working class and the role they could play. However to my knowledge there is not a single available work which looks at what happened in those ghettos under attack in 1968-72, or since and shows up experiences which are of interest to working class people everywhere, on resistance, crime and so on.

1968: THE FIRST BARRICADES.

Derry was probably where the last 20 years of Irish history started. A city of high unemployment, slum housing and although, at the time, split evenly by religion, had a two thirds Protestant council, which passed on the worst housing and jobs (or lack of them) to the Catholics. Like elsewhere in the world the late 1960's was a period of unrest. Civil rights and protest were spreading like wildfire, much of it on the back of a newly educated section of the working class, promised so much but getting nothing. In few places was this so frustrating as for those Catholics in N. Ireland. In Derry some Students and local working class youth began organising against the corrupt council on housing - squatting empty housing etc. through an housing action committee. The group was strongly Socialist and made great effort to involve neighbouring protestants. After a number of small stunts and invasions of the council chamber the group organised with the Civil Rights Association to march in Derry on October 5th. A small committee (mainly Eamonn McCann) printed thousands of leaflets on the duplicator of Derry Canine Club and hundreds of posters demanding "Class War Not Creed War."

On the day only 2000 turned out but an hysterical attack by the police

(over 100 were hospitalised) provoked a riot in the Bogside. A Small token barricade was erected on Rosville street - dual power in Northern Ireland, (which has never really gone away) had begun.

The small group of Socialists would show their influence again over the next few years but as the streets were cleared, a new traditional leadership quickly took control. A Citizens' Action Committee (C.A.C.) was quickly set up - a collection of right wingers - Mich Canavan a millionaire bookmaker, Ivan Cooper, John Hume and others. As McCann said - "Middle aged, middle class and middle of the road". However at this stage they had the influence and called demonstrations of up to fifteen thousand people against the Unionist state. As the demand for purely 'Civil Rights' rose (as opposed to "Workers' Power" or "Class War") the Protestants whose marginally higher standard of living depended on Catholics not having civil rights, got frightened, angry and vengeful.

FREE DERRY #1 JANUARY '69.

"Peoples' Democracy", a group of mainly Socialist students from Belfast started a 'Civil Rights' march to Derry - modelled on a march in Alabama in 1966 which had exposed racism to such a degree as to force reforms in Washington.

The march was blocked continually by Paisleyites; Ian Paisley had been organising anti-Catholic violence since the 1950's and major rallies in the 1960's that provoked riots in 1964. He set up the Ulster Protestant Volunteers in 1966 and was jailed after leading mob attacks which led to further rioting and attacks on Catholic streets. In Spring 1966 there were dozens of petrol bomb attacks on Catholic property and two Catholics (and a Protestant) died in attacks by the Ulster Volunteer Force - though Paisley dismissed joint members with his UPV just before a number of UVF were jailed.

At Burntollet Bridge the Civil Rights marchers were attacked with Iron Bars and Petrol Bombed on the outskirts of Derry. A massive and angry crowd of supporters greeted the march into Derry and soon riots broke out. The Riot moved back into the Bogside - the Catholic Derry ghetto, and died out. Later that night Police mobs rampaged through the streets for an hour's worth of smashing lights, windows, doors etc...

On the morning of the 5th Jan '69 Crowds gathered in the Bogside. Vigilante squads were set up in case of attack, barricades were erected and Free Derry was born. The famous "You Are Now Entering Free Derry" mural was painted and "Radio Free Derry" began broadcasting a mixture of propaganda, rebel songs



THE CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH AT BURNTOLLET

and on one occasion the Bogside was treated to two hours of 'The Incredible String Band' (Maaan) and whispered injunctions to "love one another and keep cool" by "a believer in the potential of revolutionary underground music"!??

The barricades had lasted five days, when the liberals of the Citizens Action Committee, judging that the people had reached a deadlock over the status of the no-go-zone (was it symbolic?, was it permanent?, Does this mean war? etc...), descended on the barricades and persuaded the vigilantes to remove them.

FREE DERRY #2 APRIL '69.

Trouble again broke out in Derry and barricades were built...

"The barricades we built were very poor ones. They were built of planks and stones from a building site. A mechanical digger was used to lift loads of rubble, which were dumped in the middle of the road. The barricades, though high, had little base or substance, and in the end it took only one police truck to burst through them".

Bernadette Devlin.

Bernadette Devlin was the youngest ever M.P., 18 when elected she was the only rioter ever to reach Parliament and renowned for punching the Home Secretary after Bloody Sunday.

The radicals felt it was better to concentrate on defence than attack and argued not to throw stones but to build up piles of ammunition for when necessary. "At first it was hard to get people to agree with this defensive policy. The argument was roughly that dead policemen couldn't come into the Bogside anyway..."

With only two streets left to barricade the police - hundreds of them - broke through. As they milled around, every house turned on radios and record players playing and singing rebel songs and The Internationale. With the police occupying, the Bogside left and concentrated on Creggan Hill. The police were given two hours or the crowd would force their way home - the police left with fifteen minutes to spare.

FREE DERRY #3 AUGUST '69.

That Summer saw the situation in N.Ireland slip further towards civil war, with the Orange State and the Protestants on one side, and the Catholics on the other.

August 12th saw the traditional annual march of the Apprentice Boys in Derry. Everyone knew it would be, and it was, the showdown. The Bogside knew if there was trouble they would be the eventual victims and set to organizing their defence. The liberal C.A.C. had virtually collapsed, their non-violence totally irrelevant to meeting the needs of the ghetto. Three weeks before August 12th, right-wing republicans set up the Derry Citizens Defence Association. Along with some of the old C.A.C. liberals, it also included Socialists like McCann.

Barricades were erected on all entrances to the Bogside. The march was stoned from behind the barricades, the R.U.C./Protestant mobs attacked and the siege began. The police used tear gas for the first time ("It's OK once you got a taste of it", Bernadette Devlin) while locals responded with thousands of petrol bombs - having great success from the top of a tower block in Rossville Street - That weekend local dairies reported the loss of 43,000 milk bottles!

Radio Free Derry returned to the air encouraging more and more resistance.

Three first aid stations were set up, a fire brigade organised, and the community spontaneously co-operated to do the jobs necessary.

"...kids of seven and eight who couldn't fight made the petrol bombs, kids of nine and ten carried them to the front line and the girls, boys and men fought on the front line against the police."

Bernadette Devlin.

McCann stated "The Defence Association had no effective existence during the fighting...really there was no organisation involved and none needed. Those bearing the brunt of the fighting were the stone throwers and petrol bombers of weekends past and they did not need instructions on what to do and would not have been amenable to it had it been offered"

"Barricade Bulletin" - the mouthpiece of the Left shouted "The enemy is weakening. One last push!" and on August 14th they were in fact retreating back into the city. But with the RUC on the retreat the N.Ireland state had no choice but to use the dreaded B-Specials, basically an armed, uniformed Protestant mob. They had rioted before against Catholics, this time the Bogside believed there would be a massacre. But with the B-Specials taking up positions, British troops appeared between them and the Bogside. Though many knew the real reason why they were there - to prevent the breakdown of N.Ireland and the break up of the U.K.

Their appearance was seen as a victory - the RUC had been beaten. Barricade Bulletin No 2 said "This is a defeat for the Unionist Government. But not yet a victory for us."

FREE BELFAST AUGUST/SEPTEMBER '69.

The siege of the Bogside of course didn't go unnoticed. Sympathetic rioting occurred, taking the pressure off Derry, all over Northern Ireland. Belfast had been little different to Derry over that summer, simmering discontent breaking out every now and again into riots. Many Catholics had been driven out of mixed areas. On the night of the 13th August, Catholics attacked a police station in solidarity with Derry. The next night, large Protestant mobs including R.U.C. and B-Specials gathered in loyalist Shankill district. Catholic crowds built barricades and lit fires in the streets, fearing the mob attacks they knew would come from Shankill. Initially rioting started between the R.U.C. and the Catholics. Then the Protestant mob swept in burning most of the Falls Road and half of Dover Street and Percy Street. An IRA gun was eventually fired at the mob and a protestant killed. The streets cleared as gunfire took over, and two Catholics were shot dead. Protestants with thousands of guns shot hundreds of rounds at random at Catholic houses and flats. That night



In N.Ireland, one hundred and fifty Catholic homes had been burnt out and six people killed.

The next day bigger barricades were erected, and in the afternoon troops took up positions in the falls road. At the same time a Protestant mob burnt out the whole of Bombay street in the Catholic Clonard district. As the army moved into the Clonard another whole street was burnt out.

BEHIND THE BARRICADES.

With the army moving into Belfast and Derry rioting stopped and a month of no-go-zones began. In Belfast in the Falls and Ardoyne the barricades were strong. The army stayed out and the IRA had regained its support from when its withdrawal of arms to Dublin and its inability of resisting mob attacks had left its reputation at rock bottom. "People's Democracy" was running a radio station and a daily paper. In the Falls a fire engine was commandeered and raced around throughout the night of the 14th putting out fires the "regulars would have been happy to leave alone" an army officer said.

A Central Citizens Defence Committee was set up, but was non-elected and soon fell totally under the influence of the Catholic church, right-wingers and the middle class. On 11th September the CCDC met Prime Minister Callaghan in London to help get rid of the barricades, against major opposition from the local people. Eventually the barricades came down on September 15th, after hours of local confrontation against the CCDC and the army.

The Belfast Defence Committee, made up of representatives from most streets within the barricades, organised vigilante patrols and set up checkpoints. The streets were quiet as few cars could move around and groups gathered around fires on the barricades.

Back in Derry the Defence Committee was added to by representatives of Street committees and tenants groups. Although the left radicals organised both within and outside of the Defence Committee, there were a number of conflicts between them. One radical, Seamus O'Kane said... *"The role of the Defence Association throughout the fighting was to recline in their comfortable armchairs and to watch the fighting on T.V."* He added *"...a broad based alliance [of revolutionaries was formed] to examine the politics of the situation and tried to involve the mass of the people of Derry. This was achieved by holding street meetings, opening a poster workshop and running Radio Free Derry"*.

The Defence Committee demanded that the Derry Young Socialists shouldn't hold public meetings and threatened them with violence. "Barricade Bulletin" carried news of instances of intimidation of free speech.

The Left produced "Barricade Bulletin" every two days on a duplicator and silk screen posters.

They held public meetings every few days on top of the Wellington Street barricade. McCann said that they saw evidence that "revolutionary consciousness" was developing in the Bogside as crowds applauded. Soon they realised the crowds just approved of their "violence of the tongue".

The Defence Committee met daily, helping people move from the fringes inwards, into squats. A 'police force' was set up - with little work to do. Punishment usually consisted of a lecture on the need for solidarity. Vigilante patrols based in three areas were organised from halls where food and fags were dealt out to volunteers. The clog allocation caused a short lived revolt/U.D.I by the Bogside vigilantes after they heard that the Creggan force were receiving a higher allowance. The Bogsideers were bought off with an increased allocation.

The situation calmed, and after the Belfast barricades came down, so did Derry's to be replaced by a "white line" - patrolling soldiers were not armed.

About this time the IRA split into the Official's (containing the left wing Dublin leadership) and the Provisional IRA (younger, less "political") over the need for the armed defence of the Catholic community.

For a few months barricades remained down. The Two IRA's now served as an invisible barricade. In June 1970, the Provos defended Short Strand, a cut off ghetto, against a mass petrol bomb and gun attack, after the army withdrew claiming too few men. For the next eighteen months the country slipped further into civil war, and class war slipped further into "creed war" - the old war that the UK government was all too happy to see.

As the army, RUC and Protestant mobs took increasingly paramilitary actions against the ghettos, the PIRA developed a strategy that their demands would only be met if they began blowing the N.Irish economy to pieces. Bombings and shootings increased through 1971. At a Provo rally in Derry young men queued to join the IRA.

INTERMENT.

In the early hours of the morning on the 9th August '71 troops moved into the ghettos and began arresting people - 350 by night fall - Many were beaten and tortured. Many of the arrested were old IRA men who had been inactive for years.

As the swoops began, women rattled dustbin lids on the ground and called out for resistance. Rioting broke out and the barricades went up again, fierce gun fighting followed resulting in twenty two deaths. The Bogside and Creggan were sealed off and a region-wide rent/rates strike started which soon had 26,000 participants. The Stormont - the regions 'parliament' ordered rent/rates to be deducted from Social Security and sent commissioners into councils



where anti-Internment councillors were in the majority.

THE SAFEST SPOT IN ULSTER.

In 1970-71 civil disturbance had continued week after week. The young radicals had tried to organise a Socialist movement, anti-Orange, anti-nationalist and anti-capitalist. The "hooligans" as the young street fighters were sympathetically known, wanted "action not words". They formed a 'young Hooligans Association' with a committee and badges and a trip to Belfast to meet counter parts - it collapsed, as did the other revolutionary groups,



couldn't be used.

McCann's Left now quickly got together and called for No-Go-Zones, an industrial strike, rent strikes and the resignation of all anti-Unionist politicians. They printed thousands of "Rent Strike Here!" posters, distributed sometimes over enthusiastically - "It's up to you Missus, which will you have in your window, this sticker or a brick"! - 95% were sold from day one though.

The Provos had three HQ's, the Official IRA had two, dealing with Civil and military business, (and arguing with each other). Both patrolled the area in hijacked cars - only hire or company cars though. According to McCann "...the local branch of the biggest hire car company in the World agreed to supply each wing of the IRA with a free car each week in return for safe passage for the rest of the fleet."

A Free Derry Police was set up, it was led by Tony O'Doherty (an international footballer) and was independent of both IRA's. His popularity was said to be the reason there was no petty crime for weeks. They were also "...Obsessional about speed limits and many motorized visitors left the the area outraged by an on the spot fine." (McCann).

As the council refused to send workmen into the No-Go-Areas local people maintained their own areas. Electricians living in a street would look after the street lighting, for instance. Creggan football pitch became a matter for the Free Derry Police of course!

The Official IRA with their brand of Communism, pushed to create a network of street committees. Street meetings were held but few committees appeared. No one was sure whether the Official IRA saw the committees as "Soviets" or as just for rubbish clearance etc..., which was happening without the committees anyway.

The Provos rejected the idea of street committees on the grounds that they were an official plot to initiate "Moscow-Style Communism". No one including the Provos themselves took this allegation seriously. What they meant was that they were not going to support any project thought up by the Official wing.

The same principle saw the "Officials" reject the Provos "Free Derry Council" - proportional representation with political groups offering slates of candidates. A "FDC" did appear but very late and soon disappeared.

Solidarity in the area declined partially through the way the IRA conducted their campaigns. Many felt unhappy at the mass bombings and civilian deaths. McCann said "In Catholic areas there was a widespread feeling of simple human horror". In Derry this feeling was less as the Provo's there had been bombing Derry centre to pieces without civilian casualties.

The Officials' killing of Ranger Best (a

squaddie on leave in his Creggan home) caused much upset. Four hundred women marched to the Officials' HQ in protest. As usual all the scum jumped on the bandwagon, attacking all militants. The controversy caused the Officials to give up the gun forever - arguing that military actions were just causing civil war between Catholic and Protestant workers. This left the total mantle of republicanism on the Provos' shoulders.

The No-Go-Zone lasted till July 1972 when in "Operation Motorman" hundreds of soldiers with armoured cars (and for the first time heavy tanks) broke through the barricades at 4 a.m. on the 31st. There was little resistance - it was too overwhelming. The Derry Left quickly produced 7000 broadsheets...

"Our area was an insult to Tories everywhere here we had a community which organized and ran itself without any help from all those institutions which are supposed to be necessary and we managed well enough... The only thing we demand of them or want from is that they get the hell out of our area and out of our lives so that we can build our own future in a free Socialist Ireland."

CONCLUSION.

Operation Motorman was the end of No-Go-Zones in the UK, until short lived situations during the miners strike in 1984/5 and riots in England in 1981 and 1985. Of course dual power of a sort remains in N.Ireland. The Provo's now deal with crime in the ghettos. Transport - the Black Taxis - are an independent institution for the ghettos. There is loads waiting to be written on what's happened since 1972 in the ghettos - democracy, crime, kneecapping and punishment etc... And also I've completely ignored the No-Go-Zones in Protestant areas. To be fair, positive things have arisen here but it was unusual and not on a scale that compares with Catholic ghettos.

Most will see little good in the way that the ghettos are run now compared to the efforts made in 1969-72. But what can you expect when these small communities have fought alone for twenty years. The aims of Sinn Féin and the tactics of the IRA are down to the history of the Left, Stalinism, sterility, bureaucracy and arrogance meant there was no real revolutionary alternative in Ireland which could have prevented the return to Nationalism/Republicanism. There is little point in laying blame for what has arisen in the laps of Sinn Féin/IRA, these organisations arose due to circumstances within our control. It is more relevant to see the resistance of the Catholic ghettos and of most importance to see the need that class politics must be built in this country and Ireland. It must give us confidence to see a community undefeated after twenty years of British state attack.

quickly.

The links with Protestants had long collapsed and more and more people just saw themselves being attached as Catholics, by Protestants. Many of the leftists were forced by circumstances into joining the IRA for defence reasons.

This was the situation in August '71 - the Left disappearing but ghetto defence perhaps stronger due to the guns of the IRA. However it was the mass resistance of people on the streets that stopped the sweeping arrests that the army hoped for on the morning Internment began. So many people filled the streets that guns

GLYN RHYS

the SEVENTIES

Places like China are not the only countries where history is rewritten. It happens everyday here in Britain. What follows is one persons account and impressions of the 70's, how does it match yours?

The main aim of this article is to stimulate interest and curiosity about the recent history of the 70's and history in general. The control, by the media, of history is crucial to the continued dominance of the ruling class - It's very important. So we should be more interested in the past and how it moulds the present, we owe it to ourselves and to our class.

This article is aimed at people who know little or nothing about the seventies, it does not aspire to be a detailed account of economics, politics, the Irish war, music or the machinations of the ruling class in plotting an armed coup or the downfall of a democratically elected government. These things have been recorded far better elsewhere. What it does try to do is give an idea of what it was like and to show the main

themes that developed.

BACKGROUND TO THE 70'S THE POST WAR PERIOD, 1945-70.

This period is often referred to as the post war boom. It certainly was a period of long and sustained growth in the developed world. After the second world war the world and its markets were carved up by the major powers, they then settled down to a long period of rebuilding and expanding their economies.

As usual, Imperialism in economic and military terms was closely associated with this process. The second and third worlds got the shit-end-of-the-stick, commodity and crop prices stayed static or low, whole countries were reduced to servicing the developed world with materials and to providing mass markets for western manufactured goods. The price was (and is) high in human terms - disease, poverty, famine, war and military rule was the result as the major powers continued their competition for markets and influence throughout the

world. More people have died in wars in the 'underdeveloped' world since 1945 than in the whole of World War Two, more than 50 million.

Here in the UK although the working class in general enjoyed a level of prosperity higher than ever before, it was unevenly spread and plenty of the working class continued to live in poverty. It was not quite the "you've never had it so good" days that it was made out to be.

But the British economy did boom to such an extent that there was a shortage of labour, the trade unions enjoyed a high degree of power and influence as part of the deal struck with them by the ruling class to rebuild the British economy after the war. In other words the working class were in a position of advantage, and realised it, they used it to the full in strikes, work to rules etc... In some factories you literally could not walk through the door without joining a trade union. Unfortunately the unions converted this position of

DIARY

1970:

May.

In America students demonstrating against the vietnam war are shot down by the national guard.

June.

Ft Share Index reaches it's lowest point since January 1962. Britain begins negotiations with EEC over entry. General election - Tories win with overall majority of 30, Ted Heath is the new Prime Minister... Followed by national dockers strike.

Anthony Barber does a mini-budget resulting in cuts in public spending and dropping of income tax and corporation tax.

October.

Polish Workers riot after 20% food price increase.

Generally this year saw inflation rise sharply throughout the industrialised world, the "rising militancy of workers was responsible" commented one economist. Labour's economic theories of Keynes went out of favour and this year saw the appearance of monetarism. Monetarism was not given a warm welcome because its stated objective was to increase unemployment.

Jimi Hendrix dies in London in September and Janis Joplin in October.

1971: January.

Post Office strike begins in Britain. Rolls Royce Aero Engine Division collapses.

strength and confidence solely into demands for better wages.

Politics were kept out of the work place - that was what the Labour Party were paid (literally) to do. Throughout this period though, the ruling class kept up a constant stream of propaganda aimed at the unions and working class, all of it negative. TV series such as "The Rag Trade." and "On The Buses." and films like "I'm All Right Jack." with Peter Sellers, portrayed the working class as stupid sentimental buffoons and militants as mindless trouble makers. This together with the Labour movements lack of politics was to have dire results at the end of the '70's when the Tories cashed in on their years of propaganda.

Its worth remembering that during the boom people could put two fingers up to the boss one day and get another job the next. Strikes were common over the slightest thing - tea breaks, stropky foremen etc... There was a whole series of jobs in the 60's over something call "demarcation" - although you never hear of it now. This was the strict separation of jobs by the skills involved. This meant, for instance, that labourers could not change a light bulb because that was

an electricians job! This had many advantages for the working class and the unions, it meant more jobs were created, that those with skills kept a higher wage level, and that the unions kept their power base in particular skills and industries. This of course



drove the bosses mad, they were pulling their hair out in rage! Every attempt to introduce new machinery, or new methods of work was met with a seamless wall of non-cooperation and apathy. New equipment was in mothballs for years before it could be used, if ever. The printers were one of the last examples of this era to be crushed by Thatcher. Its worth reminding ourselves just what a strongly

organised work force can screw out of the bosses. The printers were getting paid more than their managers, their conditions were good, new labour saving (i.e. labour cutting) technology was delayed by five to ten years and of course the practise of 'ghosting' (at least I think that was the right name) was common. In Fleet Street this meant that every issue of a paper printed at night had to have a set number of casual workers taken on per night, the wage for these casuals or ghosts was very high and untaxable, the signatures of these casuals included such classics as D.Duck and M.Mouse. The unions were effectively holding the newspaper bosses to ransom every time they went to print. The Financial Times muttered darkly about these "Spanish Practices" in British industry - I still don't know what the fuck that means, perhaps its some sort of Masonic curse. Anyway the gist of my argument is that the working class were screwing the bosses for everything they could get, which is just fine by me.

But back to the 60's, the working class made advances in health care, housing, education and some joined the lower ranks of the middle class. And still the boom continued. Some Lefties

1971

- March.** 1.5 million workers on strike in Britain including shipyards and car plants. The Post Office strike ends. The firm Vehicle and General Insurance crashes in the City Of London along with others.
- April.** End of Ford car strike.
- May.** 15,000 Vietnam veterans 'raid' Washington and Seven Hundred medals are thrown away in front of the TV cameras.
- June.** Upper Clyde shipbuilders go into liquidation.
- July.** Britain has its highest unemployment since 1940 at 829,181.
- August.** Ted Heath's Industrial Relations bill gets through Parliament. In Northern Ireland internment without trial is introduced.
- September.** 4 days of riots at New York's Attica prison ends when the army are sent in. Thirty prisoners and nine hostages are killed.

In Britain there is a glut of unemployed graduates.

thought this was going to go on for ever and that the working class was disappearing because they were buying their own houses and even owning cars - shock horror! The lesson to learn here is that as long as there is wage labour and capital there will be a working class - don't expect us to roll around in shit and wear clogs.

But as time went on deep economic changes were happening and the ruling class were making plans. Sections of the underdeveloped world were developing into industrialised nations with money from the Western ruling class. Countries like Brazil, Korea, Hong Kong, S.Africa, the Philippines and India had far cheaper labour costs and often governments that would brutally suppress demands for higher pay. By the end of the 60's these countries were producing manufactured goods like steel and textiles that were set to demolish Britain's traditional dominance in these fields. The Northern textile industry crashed early on as a result of this change and was practically wiped out by the early 70's.

Of course the economies of West Germany and Japan were rebuilt from scratch with new plants and new labour methods. The seeds of the

70's and 80's recession in the British manufacturing economy can be seen in this earlier period.



Towards the end of the 60's, student unrest appeared as the new and growing middle class bit the hand that fed



them. The ruling class's values were being questioned and apparently rejected by those whose job it was to ensure that those values were obeyed - the middle class.

This also pissed off the ruling class but they felt out of control of the growing tide of the 'permissive' society which seemed to go hand in hand with the boom.

Throughout the whole of 1945-70, right wingers like Margaret Thatcher, Norman Tebbit, Keith Joseph, Airey Neave, David Stirling and Uncle Tom Cobbley an'all sat on the side lines watching in horror unable to do anything. Their experiences then are the key to understanding their actions now. If you listen to Thatcher or Tebbit speak about the 60's for instance you cannot help but be impressed with the venom of their emotions.

THE SEVENTIES-AN OVERVIEW.

This section is based on one person's views and memories during a conversation on a long motorway journey.

The 70's are important to us because they saw the definitive end of the post-war economic boom and with it the so-called period of 'consensus' politics. The 50's and 60's were a period when both Tories and Labour agreed on broadly the same political programme for the country, e.g.. Nationalisation, public investment, broadening education and health care.

1972: January.

British troops kill 13 people and wound 49 in Derry on "Bloody Sunday". Unemployment reaches a million. The NUM calls a national strike.

March.

British tea estates in Ceylon are nationalised. In Northern Ireland the Stormont parliament is suspended by British government, direct rule is imposed.

June.

First ever multinational strike is called by workers in Dunlop-Pirelli plants in Britain and Italy.

July.

National dock strike begins. Operation Motorman in Northern Ireland starts to clear nationalist No-Go areas, this requires 20,000 troops and tanks.

August.

National dock strike is called off.

September.

Britain joins IMF.

1972 was Britain's worst (Best!) year for strikes since 1926, with 16,622,000 working days lost and over 3 million days lost in protest strikes against Heath's industrial relations Bill. During the miners strike, coal reserves ran low and power cuts occurred. Railwaymen worked to rule. This was the year Britain joined the EEC.

1972

The 70's are important to younger people because this period saw a dramatic growth in unemployment and an end of an era of full employment and high wages. It also saw the openly anti-working class policies of the last Labour government and present Tory government. In 1971 unemployment had gone up to 830,000 - the highest since the war. By 1972 it had risen to 1,000,000. Inflation was running away and firms were crashing in the city. 1972 saw the highest number of working days lost through industrial action since the general strike of 1926.

This change was a great shock to many people especially to those who had grown up through their teens in the 50's and 60's. They had been led to believe that the post war boom would go on forever. For many of these people being made redundant was a real personal crisis, which is hard for younger people to understand. For those who were not made redundant, they continued in a bubble of complacency, effectively isolated from those unemployed; a division which led to intense conflict between generations in working class families, which was encouraged by the media. Parents in their 40's and 50's simply could not understand why their off-

spring were unemployed. They believed it was their children's fault, an attitude that the state has encouraged, shifting the blame for unemployment from British Capitalism to the British working class individually.



The 70's saw some quite remarkable events. Perhaps the most obvious of which, to younger people, was the arrival of Punk Rock, an understandable reaction to the vomit-inducing 'glamour' rock and the middle-of-the-road pap that was being dished up.

The early 70's saw the rise of the Trendy Leftie who was into posturing and lifestyle, feminism, Ireland, Black Power and anything else that was going. The various left parties all grew like the Socialist Workers Party, The

Workers' Revolutionary Party, The Communist Party of Great Britain ad-nausea. But where are all those lefties now? Holed up in some cushy local authority job waiting for the "upturn" and passing the time by personal development and caring for the environment or just getting on with their careers after their revolutionary fling, sending their kids to some god-awful hippy public school like that of the Stiener Movement. Some now hold reactionary views and a few have kept with their beliefs.

But other things also happened in the 70's. In the early period we saw the bringing down of an elected government by trade union action, the 1974 miners' strike. This was a very important event. What forced the Heath government to go for an election was the militancy of the working class at the time. Unlike the miners' strike of '84/85 there was wide spread support and backing by the rest of the working class. Action was taken by lorry drivers, railway workers and power workers to name a few. The strike coincided with the Arabs cutting drastically the supply of oil to the west and this resulted in the introduction of the 3-day working week to ration out available fuel. The British ruling class, to say the

1973

1973: Music.

Mike Oldfield and "Tubular Bells" was a hit. 'Bisexual' rock was in with The Sweet. Slade were big as was Gary Glitter. From the States came Eagles, Seely Dan, Isaac Hayes, Stevie Wonder etc...

Fascism & Racism.

11 petrol bomb attacks on West Indian and Asian shops in March. The Right-Wing "Monday Club" of the Tory party demand an end to black immigration and a start to repatriation. The National Front poll 4,789 votes in West Bromich by-election.

Oil.

Arab oil producing states announced a 5% per month reduction in production of oil for every month that Israel remains in Occupation of Arab Territory. In Britain this oil shortage coincided with economic unrest by the workers.

Watergate.

Reports in the USA media linking the president to a "dirty tricks" campaign against his opponents starts the long drawn out process that ends up in President Nixon resigning.

Royalty. Finance.

Princess Anne gets married.

Breakdown of talks between Finance Ministers of Major Western powers. This results in various currencies being floated against the dollar in an "every man for himself" rush. World money markets close at one point until order is restored.

Oil. (again)

In October OPEC decides to raise the price of oil by 300%. This results in inflation in the UK economy. They raise it again in December. Chaos and currency inflation follow. In the UK the 3-day working week is introduced in response to strikes and industrial unrest, this means a wage cut of 40%.

least, were really pissed off. For them this was very nearly the last straw, many people believe they were on the verge of using the army to get their own way. As we have heard more recently in the media, bits and pieces of the story have been leaked out by disenchanted members of MI5 etc...



That the ruling class were rattled can be seen by the behaviour of the Financial Times Index for the London stock market. In January '74 it stood at 500 points, by December of that year and two general elections later it had fallen to 150 points. This makes the recent stock market crashes look like tea parties! In fact this was the biggest drop in share prices ever, beating that of the depression of the 20's and 30's. This was the year when right-wing private armies were being pushed by the media.

So what we have in the first half of the 70's is working class militancy bringing down a government. The election of a Labour government, as usual, tended to pacify the wave of militancy. But as time went on, and as conditions in the world economy worsened, Labour was unable to deliver better wages. In fact they had the problem of coping with the rapid contraction in the British economy. This was concentrated in the manufacturing industry that



was the Labour Party's electoral back yard. This change in the British economy is given the quaint name of "restructuring" by the economists. It still continues today and could be briefly described as the removal of manufacturing industry to parts of the world where labour is cheaper and the introduction of new industries like high tech engineering, finance and information that

are part of the new global economy.

Nevertheless the Labour Party proceeded to ignore the disintegrating British economy and attempted to spend their way out of a dead end. Spending was concentrated on the weak pound, effectively the government was subsidising the British ruling class's gambling on the foreign exchange markets, by buying back sterling at inflated prices.

The basic ideas that the Labour party were using were those of the economist Keynes. These were that public spending on things like roads, power stations and so on would stimulate the rest of the economy and so lead to a general economic recovery. It seemed to make sense because these were the ideas that post-war governments had found successful, but that had been at a time of expansion and high demand. The situation in the early seventies could not have been more different.

The manufacturing side of the British economy went into a nose dive and was given a hefty boot in the goolies by the practice of asset-stripping. It works like this..

1. *Examine the value of a*

1974

1974: January.

Armed troops and policemen at Heathrow air port. British Parliament is recalled to discuss the worsening fuel crisis. NUM put in a new wage claim against the restrictions of the Heath Government.

On 9/1/74, British government makes a proclamation of a state of emergency.

UK balance of payments is £2,500 million in the red (at 1974 prices that was BAD!)

February.

Miners go on strike. Heath calls a general election.

March.

General election results in stalemate, without either party having overall majority. Wilson forms a new government for Labour.

Attempted kidnap on Princess Anne by armed man, 3 people shot, man captured, Princess Anne unharmed. Responsibility claimed by unheard of Left group.

Kenneth Littlejohn, Speacial Branch informer, found shot dead.

May.

Industrial relations court seize £280,000 cash and property belonging to AUEW.

Ulster workers go on strike to smash the power sharing deal and succeed.

June.

Red Lion Square Police Riot, student killed. Shipbuilding companies owned by the Court Shipping line nationalised.

company in terms of land, buildings, plant, stock and subsidiary companies - sometimes called the break up value for reasons that will become clear later.

2. If this value is considerably more than the price of all the shares in that company (which it can often be) mount a take over bid.

3. When the take over bid is complete, break up the company and sell it off piece by piece.

4. Pay off the merchant banks and other scumbags that lent you money in the first place and keep what is left as profit.

Of course asset-stripping usually means that entire work forces and communities get wiped out. It was so bad in the early seventies that Edward Heath, the Tory Prime Minister, called it "the unacceptable face of Capitalism". Lord Hanson of 'The Hanson Trust' laid the foundations of his present empire by asset stripping in this period. The practice is now commonplace and is one of the markers of the change away from the post-war 'consensus' that the 70's represent - in this case a change within the ruling class.

So as the economy declined rapidly, so did the amount of

income from taxes and company profits and the Labour government quickly became involved in a serious debt crisis, having borrowed too much to try and spend its way out of decline.

This also pissed off the ruling class. Not only had a Tory government (the 'home team' of the ruling class) been defeated by the force of successful industrial action, but the Labour administration was coming close to



bankrupting the State - the very means of control itself. As if this was not enough from the ruling class's point of view, there was more. The Labour government included left-wingers like Tony Benn and Eric Heffer who sat in the cabinet. They were into ideas like nationalising the banks and the building industry and controlling the movement of money into and out of the country, and of course higher

taxes for the rich. This was reflected in the party nationally and was also aimed at pacifying a militant working class. The Labour party also wanted to force the capitalists to invest in this country rather than taking their profits abroad where there was a higher return on their investment, something that



had been happening with increased regularity in the 60's and 70's which of course fuelled the economic decline.

These ideas were seriously on the agenda in the Labour party at the time. These people, the lefties, thought that all they had to do was pass a few laws and the ruling class would say "OK it's a fair cop", and give up all their ill-gotten gains. Naive fools, maybe, but dangerous certainly.

Of course the ruling class would not agree to these

August.

Tony Benn (cabinet Minister) announces plans to nationalise all shipbuilding industry. Chancellor Denis Healy announces new taxes that are aimed at the rich. Several sites in Scotland are nationalised for the construction of oil platforms.

One of Britain's largest tour operators goes bust leaving 40,000 holiday makers stranded abroad. UK share prices at lowest level since 1958.

Two Private armies announced:

1. "Unison committee for action" - headed by General Walker, former NATO commander of Europe.
2. "GB 75" - Led by David Stirling (founder of the SAS), with the aim "to help out in the event of a general strike or widespread disruption".

AUEW vote against "The Social Contract", at their annual congress.

Jeremy Thorpe - leader of the Liberal Party announces that he will join a "Government of National unity" if Britain is faced with economic disaster.

Nurses received 58% percent pay rise and the next day Labour announce they are going for a general election.

October.

OPEC decides to unilaterally raise the price of oil by 300%

General Election - Labour put "The Social Contract" in the Manifesto. Wilson announces that if the Social Contract fails then price controls will be imposed. Labour wins a narrow overall majority in Parliament.

1974

demands, but they would be faced with the problem of having to overthrow a government. Something which filled them with deep dread as this would probably have resulted in the already volatile British working class, suffering under inflation, going completely ape shit.

So, by around 1975 we can see that the British ruling class were deeply unhappy. In fact, we could say they were having a screaming head-fit. And it's precisely at this time (74-76) that many people believe we came near to an armed coup by parts of the ruling class.

It is certain that armed intervention was planned, and there was a period of intense media activity geared towards this end. The need for strong government to counter the internal threat was touted widely by such unlikely figures as Hughie Green on "Opportunity Knocks" and David Frost. I remember sitting absolutely gobstruck watching a Frost "special" on TV where the topic of discussion was the coming civil war in Britain!

Another example of media and state activity interlocking at this time was the deployment of troops with tanks assisted by the police at Heathrow airport supposedly

because of some middle-east terrorist threat, but the real purpose of the exercise was to get the British people used to the sight of armed troops patrolling the streets of mainland Britain.



The ruling class did not have to take the military option. Instead they chose to play the economic card. They were able to do so because of the immensely powerful position they occupy in the world economy. This power is based on their control of part of the international finance markets. They decided to subdue the rogue Labour administration by pulling the financial plugs out of the economy. In effect they accelerated the debt crisis that the Labour government had got itself into. This resulted in the stock market and the pound plummeting, effectively the British government went bust. This was a much neater solution than bullets and forced the

Wilson government to clean up the mess by screwing the working class with public spending cuts and a freeze on wage claims. All the time the ruling class knew if Labour fucked up on their task they could bring the army in at any time and even more justification - you can almost hear the media's off-the-peg phrases like "national crisis", "the enemy within", "breakdown of law and order", "left-wing agitators", "terrorists", "the survival of democracy" etc... The whole process of economic sabotage was neatly engineered through third parties like dealers in the currency markets.

"The further decline in the value of the pound has occurred despite the high level of interest rates... dealers said that selling pressure against the pound was not heavy or persistent, but there was an almost total lack of interest amongst buyers. The drop in the pound is extremely surprising in view of the unanimous opinion of bankers, politicians and officials that the currency is undervalued".

The Times 27/5/76.

The situation got worse...

"By now the treasury has been spending \$100 million a day buying back its own

Jail riots all over Northern Ireland. British airways grounded by strike action. Scotland hit by a wave of strikes, with national lorry drivers strike, Glasgow bus, railway, cleansing, sewerage and 20,000 other workers on strike.

Sir Keith Joseph stresses the need for more birth control amongst the lower classes.

Queens speech at opening of parliament outlines Left-Wing programme of industrial relations and nationalisation. This was followed by a budget that raised the top level of income tax to 83%. Relief in rent, rate rebates and food subsidies were introduced.

On the stock exchange this year was the worst ever in its history, the index fell by 53%, worse than the fall in the great depression.

President Nixon resigns, Tamla Motown and "Philly" soul hit the charts. "The Rocky Horror Picture Show" was a big success.

1975:

This was the year of flares and platform shoes. The Bay City Rollers were big news. Disco music emerged. The Bee-Gees made a comeback and the film "Tommy" was released.

A referendum is held by the Labour Government on whether to stay in the EEC. 67% vote "Yes". This is the first referendum in Britain's history.

Thatcher is elected leader of the Tories in February.

The economy is at its lowest since the 1920's. Inflation was around 20% and pay rises of 30% and more were the order of the day. Chancellor Healy was dishing out strong medicine with the lowest rate of income tax at 35%(!). V.A.T was 25%. As the Social

money on the markets to support the pound".

The Times 10/6/76.

The final act in this plot started with the arrival of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in London for discussions with the government about the 'economic crisis'. This was something that only happened to "tin-pot banana republics" in South America. The situation facing the Labour government was simple and brutal. These two institutions, the IMF and World Bank, control the flow of capital around the world that governments can use. Effectively they are the heavies of international capitalism. It was in their power to deliver the much needed cash to bail out the government, at this time the state administration was literally bankrupt, there were practically no reserves of foreign currency or gold bullion left in this country.

The IMF and World Bank were in a position to demand whatever they liked of the Labour government, knowing that the alternative was bullets Labour had little choice anyway. The conditions of the loan to Labour were...

1. The dropping of all this "nationalisation of banks"

nonsense.

2. The climb down from control of capital out-flow from Britain.

3. Most importantly, the determining of the economic policy of the British State and therefore of course the



political policy of the government was to be handed over.

This policy, under IMF control, was fairly simple. It was to reverse Labour's attempts to lessen the effect of economic decline on the British population by public spending. Instead the IMF dictated that the government had to cut its public spending because this was getting in the way of the British capitalist's reorganisation of the economy, which is still underway today. Put bluntly, this meant that the British working class were going to have to pay the price of capitalism's fuck-ups in the

way of unemployment and wage cuts. In economic terms profits were going down in the British economy, so the capitalist required a drop in the overall level of labour costs. Or in plain speak the level of exploitation of the working class had to be increased. As "The

Economist" magazine commented at the time, Britain was effectively being governed by the IMF.

Wilson's successor, Callaghan, was so successful at implementing IMF policies that The Economist dubbed him "the best Conservative prime minister the Tories ever had". This success led to the "Winter Of Discontent" where the unions and working class finally broke with the wages policy of Labour. The working class now saw the Labour government, rightly, as the enemy. This opened up an opportunity for the Tories - that they had prepared. With a well researched and clever

Contract broke down in the face of inflation a new approach was tried, a £6 across-the-board pay rise was imposed with no increase at all for those on more than £8,500 a year.

NHS consultants go on a 3 month work to rule in protest at Labour's plans to reorganise the NHS. British Government admits to torturing prisoners in Northern Ireland. Internment without trial ends. Port of London hit by a 5 week long strike.

White emigration from Britain continues to S. Africa, Australia and New Zealand, common motive given is that they want to get away from the "coloured invasion" of the UK. We were exporting our dross, in New Zealand these emigrants were branded as a flood of "British Rats" by the press.

The Black Power movement in the USA fades with State assassinations and the creation of the Black Middle Class. The conditions in the Ghettos are as bad as 10 years previously with 50% unemployment. The National Front march through Hackney on Jewish New Year.

Riot erupts at the Notting Hill Carnival against the police presence of 1600. 119 cops hospitalised. The NF hold simultaneous marches in London and Bradford. Soweto uprising in South Africa leaves 176 Blacks murdered. 100 British Mercenaries leave to fight in Angola on South Africa's side.

The "Cod War" between UK and Iceland continues over disputed fishing rights. The SAS are ordered into Northern Iceland. UK government and Chrysler motor company sign an agreement whereby the state gives aid to the Chrysler plants in the UK, a condition of the deal is that strikes are banned.

publicity campaign from Saatchi & Saatchi, the Tories swept to power with a promise to restore order and make Britain great again, in doing so they stole the ground from under the feet of the Fascists with their policies. Far from failing in the 70's, as the SWP claim, Fascism entered government. The rest, as they say, is history.

Hand in hand with the economic crisis that the ruling class engineered for the Labour government went a propaganda and smear campaign against members of the Labour government and the Liberal Party, whose support was becoming more and more crucial to Labour in Parliament. The campaign aimed at Wilson personally is the most notable and of which we still don't know the full facts. But it almost certainly led to his resignation in March'76. Wilson is on record at the time, complaining of persecution by MI5 etc... This was taken lightly by his colleagues in the Labour party who put it down to his personal tendency towards paranoia which had grown through years of backstabbing in the party and in government.

It is almost certain Wilson was being blackmailed, amongst other things, by the security



WILSON

forces. His successor, James Callaghan, held a government enquiry into Wilson's claims but its scope was restricted solely to whether No 10 Downing Street had been bugged or not. It is upon this obviously fixed enquiry that all subsequent denials of misbehaviour of MI5 have been based. As we now know this enquiry did not even mention the fact that Wilson's



CALLAGHAN - "It's a fair cop guy"

private home, the home of his lawyer and a personal document store were burgled six times shortly before his resignation with various papers being removed.

The two people who have the most to gain by covering up the security forces activities during this period are Wilson's successor (and perhaps MI5 candidate) James Callaghan, and his eventual successor (and certainly MI5 candidate!) Margaret Thatcher. Only this way of looking at things makes any sense of the Tory government's recent and embarrassing attempts to suppress leaks from current and ex-members of the security forces and civil services (Clive Ponting, Cathy Massiter, Peter Wright etc...)

What Thatcher is doing is 2-fold. First she is trying to scare the shit out of those who are, or have been, in the security forces in order to stop them spilling the beans about the dirty trick campaign in the 70's against the last Labour government. Secondly and more worryingly she has served notice on the security forces that the old ways will not be tolerated, that discreet leaks and memoirs are out. Why should they require a tighter security force? The answer must be that they are doing, and expect to do, things that some people in

1976-7

The NUM rejects continuation of £6 limit and social contract. Law courts rule against the closed shop system operated by the trade unions.

March.

For the first time the Pound goes below \$2. Harold Wilson resigns as PM, publicly cursing MI5.

April.

James Callaghan becomes Prime Minister. Brian O'Mally - Minister of state for the DHSS dies during an operation and removes Labour's overall Majority. Peter Hain of the Young Liberals is cleared of a bank robbery charge. 3%(!) pay limit imposed by Chancellor Healy is rejected by TGWU.

May.

The Government and the TUC agree on new wage policy of 4.5% with a minimum rise of £2.50 a week and a maximum of £4. Jeremy Thorpe, leader of the Liberal Party, resigns after a long media campaign against him over a plot to murder his gay lover. By mid-summer the Government boasted that the number of strikes was the lowest since 1953.

1977: January.

The UK is granted a loan of \$3.9 million by the IMF, the biggest single loan ever given in its history. It came with strict conditions for the Government to obey. Gary Gilmore is executed by firing squad in USA by his own request, the first execution in ten years.

February.

Queen Elizabeth's silver jubilee. "Roots" breaks all records in TV history in the USA as 80 million people watch this story of slavery and the USA. David Owen is chosen as foreign secretary for Labour.

MI5 are going to find it hard to accept.

Fascism

Any account of this period cannot ignore the rapid rise of Fascism. As unemployment increased Blacks and Asians came to be blamed and the solution was repatriation. The ground was fertile for Fascism as was shown in the 60's when the London Dockers marched behind Enoch Powell demanding an end to Black immigration and for the start of repatriation. Ironically, Powell was involved in persuading people to come from the Caribbean, Asia and Ireland during the 50's.

The National Front grew, polling hundreds and sometimes thousands of votes in local and national elections.

As the economic situation worsened in the 70's Fascists and the far-Right prospered. Upper class Fascists prepared plans for secret armies. As usual, when Capitalism is in trouble the dogs of the far-Right are brought out of the kennel. Racist attacks grew with many people dying in fire-bomb attacks and stabbings, many of these attacks were denied as racist by the police and were not reported by the media at all.

In the mid-70's when the economy was lurching around with Labour trying to control it, the Fascists seemed to be having a field day. As usual working class kids with no future were the fodder for the Fascists, in return for their support they gave them a sense of identity, a place to belong and of course fed them a load of shit ideas.

grew rapidly and it succeeded in weaning many working class kids away from the Fascists by giving them something better. Direct physical opposition to the Fascists was the foundation of this success and crucial in attracting working class support.

Incredibly, the SWP decided



Anti-fascist demonstrator, Lewisham 1977

Into this situation came the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). They had the bright idea of forming a 'front' to combat the growing Fascist menace and of course to recruit members to their party at the same time. This front was called the Anti-Nazi league and this in turn spawned "Rock Against Racism". With these as a focus, opposition to the Right

to shut down the ANL and RAR, their reasoning was that Fascism had been defeated. This was not true, the real reason was that the leadership of the SWP felt that they were losing control which was far more important to them as the self appointed saviours of the working class. They expelled a group of people who wanted to the continue the physical

1977

May. General Strike called in Northern Ireland by Unionists, this time it fizzles out.

July. A year old strike by Asian Women at Grunwicks film labs in London for Union recognition hits the headlines as a mass picket of 11,000 meets 4,000 police. The TUC end the social contract with the Labour Government.

In the USA, 3000 looters are arrested during a power cut in New York.

August. The IMF announces a special fund for nations in difficulty. The amount available is \$10 billion. The Queen visits Northern Ireland, leading to mass protests. The NF march through Lewisham in London, heavy street fighting follows. Elvis Presley dies.

September. The TUC agrees that they will limit pay claims to once a year.

November. 30,000 firemen go on Strike for a 30% rise. Rioting breaks out in Taiwan over ballot-rigging by the ruling KMT party.

December. S. African police announce that "nobody" was to blame for the death of Steve Biko. British troops sent in to Bermuda after two black activists are hung for murder.

OPEC defers oil price rises.

resistance to Fascism, this group became "Red Action" which still exists today.

Fascism is still alive and well in Britain, the Tories have absorbed much of its higher membership and policies. The white working class is still crippled by the racist attitudes fostered by the middle and upper classes. Racist abuse and attacks continue on both a casual and more organised way. The links with European Fascist movements are producing more 'sophisticated' ideas and strategies, for instance we are coming across Fascists who think that the struggle of the Irish against British occupation in Northern Ireland is right and that the IRA are freedom fighters, others are trying to make links with Welsh Nationalists. We even find Fascists saying they would like to recruit from the environmental and animal rights movements. While these new developments do not apply to all Fascists they show that they have not been letting the grass grow under their feet since their supposed 'defeat' at the hand of the SWP.

The reluctance of the British media to expose this state of affairs can be seen by recent attempts by Labour MPs to have an enquiry into the coup allegations of the 70's - they

practically have to force feed journalists details to get the slightest peep out of the media. The mass media in Britain must be one of the most tightly self controlled operations outside South Africa. It does not matter if a few Lefties of intellectuals



know all about the ins and out of the dirty tricks campaign against the last Labour government or the links between Fascists and the security forces. As long as the mass media does not ruin it, the ruling class are home and dry, it's even useful for them to let the Lefties let off steam in obscure publications that nobody reads. Even "Private Eye", which has run articles on this subject and about the shoot to kill policy in Northern Ireland falls into the 'obscure' category as its readership is mostly composed of middle class cynics. No wonder the

media industry is regarded as the "Fourth Estate" of Capitalism.

IRELAND.

The decade saw Britain up to it neck in dirty tricks and double dealings in Northern Ireland. Years of experience in putting down rebellion in former colonies were adapted for use in Ireland and new techniques were developed. It's a platitude in the Left by now that Ireland is a training ground for what is going to happen in mainland Britain, it is nevertheless true.

The early seventies saw the Tory government having face to face talks with the Provisional IRA, with people like Gerry Adams and William Whitelaw sitting at the same table. They were playing for time, their problem was to get rid of the Catholic no-go areas that had been operating since 1969 as practically self governing areas. They used 21,000 troops together with tanks to smash their way into the No-Go areas.

The discredited Stormont parliament with its built in Unionist majority was dissolved and direct rule was imposed from Westminster. A new form of government called "power sharing" was invented where Catholic politicians were guaranteed

By the end of 1977 the economy had turned round, the pound was up and strong, currency reserves were at a record high and interest rates had dropped to 7.8%. The Year had seen the most severe drop in spending power since the war - with an 8% drop in disposable income.

The mainspring of the economic recovery was the North Sea oil industry as it came fully on stream in mid 1977. The Prime Minister Jim Callaghan argued for pay restraint and threatened to resign otherwise. The public sector workers were hit hardest by this. Labour anticipated a rough winter - the "Winter Of Discontent" as it was dubbed.

This was the year that votes at local and parliamentary by-elections started to swing to the Tories. Labour lost its Ashfield seat in a mining area to the Tories with a 20% swing and they also lost their seat at Stechford in Birmingham with a 17% swing. The writing was well and truly on the wall for the next election.

This was the year of Punk, the Sex Pistols reached the top 20. Amongst the newcomers were Blondie, The Jam and The Ramones. The Abba continued to be dominant with their kind of Euro-pop, closely followed by the likes of Boney M. A popular story was that the Abba tunes and lyrics were written by a computer in West Germany. The absorption of Punk into mainstream culture happened immediately.

1978: January.

Eight week long firemen's strike ends after army were used. The NF chairman is acquitted by Old Bailey judge McKinnon of inciting racial hatred. The Judge in his summing up remarked that the words coon, nigger and paki were not racist or offensive.

The Liberal Party decides to set up the "Lib-Lab" pact to enable the Liberals to enter coalition Government with the Labour Party.

Thatcher says that the Tories intend to end immigration to maintain "British Culture".

1977-8

cabinet places, it was called the Northern Ireland Assembly and was aimed at removing support for the IRA and modernising the pre-historic attitudes of the Unionist MPs. This happened under a Tory government and seemed a very smart plan. The Labour government of Wilson inherited the 'smart plan', but found it falling apart at the seams because the Protestants would just not accept it. The UDA had other ideas too, they organised a strike against power-sharing that toppled the Assembly. The Labour government ordered the Army to break the strike by taking over essential services like sewerage and power stations. The army did not move. Worse was to come, at the end of that year (1974) another truce was agreed with the IRA that lasted on and off 'till July the following year. Throughout this period the British army largely ignored the truce. In fact, the army Officer Corps were in open mutiny against the elected government it's as simple as that. If a squaddy had done what they did he would have been court-martialled. The reasons for this are that after the fall of the Heath government and the civil unrest that preceeded it, the ruling class was extremely distrustful of the Wilson government and the posturing of the Labour Left,



So when it came to crushing a strike by Unionists (traditional supporters of the Ruling class) against a Labour government it was just not on.

The mutiny in Northern Ireland coincided with the period that the army, or parts of it, were preparing for a coup on the mainland. It was also around this time that there was an intense media campaign on the mainland about the imminent breakdown of law and order and the drift towards civil war

and 'anarchy'. It must have been a sobering experience for the Labour politicians to see just how little influence or power they were allowed to have when it came to the crunch.

SUMMARY.

The 70's should be seen as a pivotal time in recent British history. In many ways the present is a continuation of that period. The restructuring of the economy continues and the onslaught on the working

1978

February. *Michael Edwards is appointed boss of British Leyland motor company and gains Union support to axe 12,500 jobs. NUM accepts 10% pay deal. Mohammed Ali loses world title to Jo Spinks. Inflation falls to single figures for the first time since 1973.*

March. *Commons sub-committee urges the Government to impose strict immigration controls especially from the Indian sub-continent.*

April. *"Column 88", a Fascist group, claims responsibility for bomb which explodes at London headquarters of the Communist Party. Stock exchange falls heavily after doubts about Labour's budget.*

May. *Liberals announce that Lib-Lab pact will end with current session of Parliament. Moderates gain control of AUEW in a secret ballot, an innovation at the time. Previously votes were cast at branch meetings, this favoured the Left.*

June. *The GLC (Greater London Council, abolished by Tories) announces that blocks of flats have been earmarked for Bengali immigrants to protect them from racial attacks. Amnesty International accuses RUC in Northern Ireland of torture. British Police get 45% pay rise. Stage 4 of Labour's prices and incomes policy is announced and a 5% limit on pay rises is imposed.*

August. *Wage rises are running at 16% while prices rise by 7.4% - the working class are trying to claw back the drop in their wages over the last few years.*

class is intensifying as they are made to pay the price of Capitalism's problems.

The ruling class objective is a Right-wing society with lower wages and a working class crushed into submission. They cannot turn back, the stakes are too high. If anything higher than in the 70's because the money is not available as it was in the 50's and 60's to buy off the working class. The present government's policies are a continuation of those of the Heath, Wilson and Callaghan governments. They must suppress the working class even further to succeed.

Some of the 'liberal' ruling class are choking on this diet of neat 'Class War' and are getting scared as they see the scale of the project that the Right wing are involved in. Prince Charles, Ted Heath, The Church Of England and old style "one-nation" Tories are getting cold feet. A debate is starting in the 'professional' classes about the future of democracy, the need for a written constitution and a bill of rights for the citizens. The middle class are only starting to agitate because the Right wing are treading on their toes and privileges. The workers, media creeps, teachers, doctors, lecturers, social workers, civil servants etc. etc. do not like the way

things are going and can see things getting 'unpleasant'. Britain as the Chile of Europe? Its not far fetched.

It's possible to see the future outline of some 'liberal' coalition in this country in the way the debate about rights and democracy are going. Obviously the Labour party can be included under the liberal heading.



Our destination seems to be a dog-eat-dog parody of the USA where working class identity and values are blitzkrieged out of existence. Obviously organised control of the media is crucial here hence the organised screams of the journalists and the BBC etc. who after cooperating over the miners' strike and Northern Ireland are being rewarded by having their noses rubbed in the shit.

The disturbing thing about this situation is that the ruling class have gone from just

responding to working class resistance and are now taking the initiative, planning ahead often in terms of years (the Ridley plan for instance, developed in the 70's to crush the miners' in the 80's). Social engineering is as essential part of this, the encouraging



of 'enterprise culture', a 'share owning democracy' with 'peoples Capitalism', increased home ownership, easy credit, promotion of simple Authoritarian values and morals through increased control of the church and education, neighbourhood watch, the whipping up of Nationalism and the constant need for an enemy to unite the country behind them, whether it's Argentina or the NUM. The Think-Tanks have been doing their homework well and have a better understanding of the working class than most Lefties.

The preparations for armed

TUC rejects a 5% pay limit under pressure from the shop floor.

Government sticks to 5% pay limit despite the fact that the Labour conference rejects it by 2 to 1 (Now that's the way to run a political organisation!)

Massive riots at Gartree prison, Prison governors write a joint letter to the Home Secretary warning of a total breakdown of the prison system. Hospital engineers' strike ends after 5 weeks.

Dollar shoots up again after President Carter announces strong measures to support the dollar. Prime Minister Callaghan announces that the 5% pay limit will be adhered to despite strong opposition.

The Times newspaper closes down after the management fail to reach agreement with the 59(!) unions involved. Mortgages rise by 2% as interest rates go up. TUC refuses to ratify a deal on prices and pay that Union leaders and Ministers had agreed 5 weeks previously. Chancellor Healy announces possible sanctions against the Ford motor company for exceeding the 5% pay limit.

The National Union of Journalists calls first nationwide provincial paper strike in history.

Jeremy Thorpe, ex-leader of the Liberal Party committed for trial for conspiracy to murder Norman Scott with 3 other men.

OPEC raise the price of oil by 14.5%. Technicians at the BBC go on strike and close down all transmissions.

1978

September.

October.

November.

December.

intervention have continued with joint police and army training, the arming of the police and the formation of a national police force - the third force, somewhere between the bobby on the beat and the soldier, is now an accomplished fact whatever the home office says. Training exercises continue with our Nato partners where a civil war in this country is the subject of the exercises. The use of soldiers in police uniform during the miners' strike and the rumoured involvement of military intelligence to work with the Special Branch and MI5 also indicate the direction things are going in.

So, things look bad. But we should be prepared to look straight at our enemies and asses them, dreaming will get us nowhere. The Left in Britain do not look up to much when compared to the ruling class. The SWP cuddling up to the Labour Party, the Labour Party cuddling up to Capitalism, the Communist Party of "Marxism Today" saying the working class does not exist (so what are the ruling class worried about?), Militant - the tape worm tendency still burrowing into the rotten carcass of the Labour Party, the RCP the most serious of the Left and most theoretically shoddy continue to 'love bomb' their

way through the higher educational establishments of Britain and of course the Anarchists who with a few honourable exceptions are still coming to terms with the idea of class!



Looking on the bright side, for a change, we should note that under the glossy veneer of ruling class propaganda they are not having things all their own way. The majority of the working class are locked out of the Tory's economic miracle, regional and national

tensions are building up and breaking out within the UK, the working class has now a greater contempt for 'law and order' than at any time since the Second World War. The miners' and printers' strikes showed the working class recognising the need to organise away from the Labour Party and coming to terms with the role of violence, they also saw the beginnings of building up independent lines of communication within the working class.

As interest rates stay high to please the finance sector and inflation rises the working class are being clobbered financially leading to a resurgence of stropiness in the work place. The Poll Tax is going to shake a lot of people. Sections of the ruling class are moving to criticise and oppose the present ruling clique fearing that it is unwise to push the working class to far. They know better than anyone that revolution can break out just when it is least expected, we should remember that too.

JOHN CASEY

1979

1979: January.

The Shah of Iran has to leave his own country as revolution breaks out.

February.

Uk lorry drivers go on strike, over 100,000 people are on strike and industry is paralysed.

March.

Ayathola Khomeini returns to Iran, the good times are over.

Referendums on devolution called in Wales and Scotland, neither gains a decisive majority. Thus ends a brilliant Labour campaign to destroy the Nationalist challenge to it in its heartlands. They succeeded in wrong-footing the Nationalists and driving them into the political waste land, from where they are only now recovering.

Labour loses a vote of confidence by 311 to 310. A general election is called.

Airey Neave, the Tory shadow minister for Northern Ireland is killed by the INLA when a bomb fixed to his car explodes as it leaves the commons car park. He was about to take over coordination of all the intelligence forces.

May. The Tories win the General election.

WHAT THEY SAID ABOUT THE HEAVY STUFF NUMBER 2

"MORE ALARMING" - GOVERNING LONDON

"A NICE FIRM FOUNDATION" - BUILDING WORKERS GAZETTE

"SURPRISINGLY THOUGHTFUL & STIMULATING" - TRIBUNE

"SICKENING" - LONDON EVENING STANDARD



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