

LIFT THE BAN ON FRENCH TROTSKYISTS

The French Government has dissolved the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, and one of the biggest revolutionary organisations in Europe. The ban was applied after the Communist League led a demonstration against a meeting organised by the fascist organisation, Ordre Nouveau.

Ordre Nouveau has been active recently in attacking strike pickets and school students protesting against the conscription laws. Its meeting in Paris was in support of racist demands against immigrant workers, and was openly defended by the police. Over 70 police were injured in clashes with anti-fascist demonstrators.

The police replied by wrecking the League's headquarters, and arresting 23 people there, 14 of whom were charged. One leading member, Pierre Rousset, is still being held without bail. Alain Krivine, a second leading

by DAVE BAILEY

member, has been arrested under a law which makes an organiser of a demonstration criminally liable if the demonstration results in criminal acts, even though he or she may not be present.

The order dissolving the League represents a serious attack on the working class movement, and it has resulted in a broad campaign in France to lift the ban and free those arrested. A similar campaign must now be built in Britain. The attack on the League is part of growing repression directed against working class militants on a European scale.

The IMG has taken the first steps to launch a campaign in Britain for the immediate release of Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset, and for an unconditional lifting of the ban. On Saturday morning, 70 IMG militants occupied the offices of the French Tourist Board in Piccadilly for two

hours, while another 50 picketed outside and distributed leaflets explaining the purpose of the action. A picket of the French Embassy was mounted the following day.

The IMG has also been organising a petition to the French government in support of these demands, which has already been signed by several Labour MPs. *Red Weekly* appeals to all trade union and student organisations to circulate the petition and make donations for the defence of the Communist League.

Other organisations on the British left have responded well to the IMG's call for a united campaign against the actions of the French government.

A meeting on the ban called by the IMG at the University of London was attended by over 90 people and representatives from several tendencies on the left were present. Workers Fight mounted a picket of the French Tourist Board on Wednesday, in which IMG members took part. As a result of this good response, the demonstration this Saturday from Hyde Park to the French Embassy should show clearly the determination in Britain to force the French Government to lift the ban.



IMG militants rally in Piccadilly after a successful occupation of the French Tourist Office on Saturday

Speakers at the demonstration will include official representatives from

IS, Workers Fight, 'Militant,' and the Chartist. The Communist Party has also agreed to send a speaker, Dave Wynn from its London District Committee. Angela Weir, former Stoke Newington Eight defendant, and now a member of the Stoke Newington

Five Defence Committee, will also speak. The Socialist Labour League will be holding its own demonstration to the French Embassy on Sunday, 8 July.

Inside: Special 4-page supplement.

Stale tales in Mold

Eight building workers, five of whom will re-appear among the Shrewsbury 24 at the Crown Court there in October, have been on trial in Mold, North Wales, over the last ten days. The men are charged with causing an affray, intimidation, and damage to property when picketing the Brenig Bay dam site during last year's building strike.

The court is of course supposed to be seen as 'neutral', but the judge and prosecution have so far had a hard time in trying to maintain this fiction. The defence seemed a bit sceptical, for instance, when told that the presence of 200 police officers standing shoulder to shoulder around the court would not influence the jury.

Further indications of the class nature of the law came out when the prosecution charged that the pickets had gone to Brenig Bay with the intention of intimidating the workers there to stop work. Not so, replied the defence: the Brenig Bay workers had already agreed to strike but had gone back to work after being misinformed that the strike was over. But, said Mr Drake, QC, it was not necessary under the law on intimidation to prove any violence, simply that 'the presence and conduct of the accused caused workers to stop

work'. And on the charge of causing an affray, the prosecution only had to show that the accused were 'present, adding to the numbers and encouraging a show of force'.

It was this same Mr Drake who opened by saying how anxious he was to make it clear that the case did not involve an attack on the right to picket!

Interestingly enough, he then proceeded to follow all this up with an attack on the action committees formed during the strike to organise flying pickets etc. These bodies, he complained, were 'not part of the union'. And the Building Workers Charter, some of whose militants played a leading role in them, was 'not a trade union movement, not run by trade union officials'. Mr Drake seems to have a lot in common with the UCATT and T&G leaders, who have refused to finance the defence of their own members and

are now engaged in trying to discourage others from doing so (see page 3).

The labour movement can and must bring these trials to an end. On the opening day of the trial, 600 supporters came from all parts of the country to demonstrate their opposition to the trial. They also voted for a march from London to Shrewsbury over the ten days before the main case opens in October, as a focus to rally the greatest possible working class support.

At the LCDTU a few days earlier, some speakers stressed that the Shrewsbury 24 case was as important as that of the Pentonville Five and warranted a similar response from the working class. The task now is to create Shrewsbury defence committees in every area to systematically prepare the movement to respond in this way.

Joint meeting

International Marxist Group & Socialist Labour League

DEFEND WORKERS' RIGHTS SUPPORT SHREWSBURY 24

speakers
Dave Jackson (Shrewsbury Defence Ctte)
Bob Pennington (IMG)
Gerry Healy (SLL)

Friday 6 July 8pm

Acton Town Hall, High St., Acton
Coaches to the meeting leave from the following places at 7pm:
KINGS CROSS-YORK WAY, N.1
ST. GEORGE'S CIRCUS (nr. Elephant & Castle) WILLIAM HILL building.

DEMONSTRATE against Pompidou's ban on the French Communist League
SAT 7 JULY 3pm

Assemble Speaker's Corner, Marble Arch; March to French Embassy

FIGHTING FUND FALLS SHORT!

At the close of last month's *Red Weekly* fighting fund, we had received only £220. There is still some money to come in from the IMG branches, and we have promises of more. But even taking this into account, we are considerably short of our target of £300. If we are to continue to improve *Red Weekly*, we must have this money. All out to meet the July target!

ATUA: NO REAL ANSWERS

The biggest and most open discussion ever organised in defence of basic democratic rights. This was how *Workers Press*, the daily paper of the Socialist Labour League, heralded last Sunday's Conference of the All Trade Union Alliance in Manchester.

All too often in the past, conferences of the rank and file have promised so much and yet realised very little. The Socialist Labour League has been amongst the most vocal critics, for instance, of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of the Trade Unions for its failure to prepare the rank and file to assume the leadership of their own struggles. They have consistently attacked the policy of the Communist Party whose eternal alliance with the 'left' trade union bureaucrats has prevented the LCDTU from really developing into the strong, fighting organisation of the working class vanguard that it could. So much so in fact, that they have even boycotted these conferences.

OPPORTUNITY

The 4,000 trade unionists, youth and housewives who crowded into King's Hall, Belle Vue Park for the ATUA Rally and Conference fully appreciated that here was an excellent opportunity to break with the past and map out practical measures for the way ahead.

Indeed, there were some very positive features to the Conference: all the delegates saw the importance of the decision by the AUEW to break away from the TUC-Government talks, many talked of the consistent campaign on this question they had been waging inside their unions, and they were unanimous in their total opposition to any form of incomes policy. The delegates saw too the absolute necessity of holding the line against the ruling class offensive, both in the factories and through the courts, in preparation for the big struggles to come; and Dave Jackson, a guest speaker representing the North Wales building workers on trial in Shrewsbury for picketing got especially enthusiastic applause when he called for the setting up of committees to defend the Shrewsbury 24 in every area.

Finally, in the struggle against the ruling class and the Tory government, everyone understood the need to build a leadership that could go beyond the collaborationist policies of the trade union bureaucrats. And yet, some of us must have left the conference unconvinced that it was the historic step in the construction of this leadership that its organisers claimed it to be.

BASIC CONCEPTIONS

What lay at the root of these doubts was really the basic conceptions underlying the conference; the lessons of the LCDTU had, alas, not been fully learnt. The building of this leadership was not seen as developing the independent and democratic organisation of the working class vanguard with a coherent plan of practical measures for preparing and leading in struggle the broadest possible layers of the whole class. Rather we were told that the means of building this leadership was, to quote the conference resolution, to fight for the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party by engaging in a campaign of discussion and activity to recruit large numbers of new members to the Socialist Labour League, to expand the circulation of the *Workers Press* in the factories and work places as well as union branches, build new branches of the ATUA and expand existing ones and ensure the success of the Founding Conference of the revolutionary Party on November 4th 1973.

This served to obscure the issue for delegates rather than to clarify it. The test of their activity, they were told, hinged on the success or failure of recruiting into the SLL: from the demand that the TUC call a general strike to kick out the Tories (which it surely should) to the call for a Labour Government to adopt Socialist policies (which it surely won't); from the boycott of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of the Trade Unions to the committed building of the All Trades Union Alliance, the solution to all the problems of the vanguard and of the mass of the working class was to lie in the transformation of the SLL into the revolutionary party.

Such a policy will find little echo in the ranks of the vanguard outside the ATUA. But it also serves to disorient those inside the ATUA and the SLL. One delegate from a factory called Sovex said that the only guarantee of bringing down of the Tory government was the building of the Socialist Labour League and its transformation into the revolutionary party, whilst another delegate went further still - it was the only means of preventing the Tory government from introducing fascism and the corporate state. That this was the continuing theme of the conference is all the more unfortunate.

Such policies cannot guide the activity of militants in the factories, in the unions and amongst the broader vanguard: they can only lead to the isolation of these militants, and to the creation of an organisation with little or no influence.

Bob Murphy

PICKET FOR 'TRIAL OF WANDSWORTH 3

Five months after the incidents for which they are alleged to be solely responsible, the 'Wandsworth Three' teachers - Eric Porter, Fred Scott and David Whiteley - have finally been called for 'trial' at the headquarters of the National Union of Teachers, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London W.C.1, next Saturday, 14 July. The charges arise out of a mass meeting in February on the question of the 'London Allowance' and the Freeze, when the Executive lost control after refusing to allow discussion of a motion properly submitted by the Wandsworth Association.

The Wandsworth Association has long been a thorn in the side of a traditionally over-cautious Executive. It has now obviously been singled out for a lesson, as an example to other would-be 'militants' in a period when the Union leadership is trying to create the right atmosphere for a deal over Phase 3 of the Government's pay policy.

It is on this basis that the Wandsworth Three Defence Committee is fighting the case. A national picket, even larger than the one on 23 June, is being organised outside the NUT headquarters on 14 July, with a meeting to follow at which speakers from other unions are expected to express their solidarity. It is clear that the NUT Executive will not have an easy passage if they are determined to pursue this collision course. All messages of solidarity, donations etc, should be sent to: Wandsworth Three Defence Committee, Flat 4, 697 Garratt Lane, London S.W.17 (947 3999).



Confrontation on the S.E.I. picket line.

Equal pay picket retreats

The equal pay strike at the Eccles and Heywood plants of Salford Electrical Instruments, a GEC subsidiary, has now entered its sixth week. Both men and women members of APEX, the clerical workers' union, are out in support of a claim which would both raise the level at which equal pay would eventually be achieved, and narrow the differential now by the maximum permitted under the Pay Laws (one-third on top of the £1 + 4%). However the production workers, a number of whom are in the AUEW, have so far refused to recognise the picket lines and have carried on working.

In an effort to change this situation, a mass picket at the Eccles plant was called for last Monday. Trade unionists from other factories in the area responded, as did members of Women's Liberation, and their determination was clearly demonstrated when a scab lorry which attempted to drive through the picket lines was completely immobilised. Nobody was able to enter the factory for over an hour, and the police with only twenty constables present were clearly unable to force the issue.

So instead of trying to force the issue, the police opted for persuasion. And incredibly it worked, with the representatives of APEX and the AUEW, both members of the Communist Party, agreeing to call the whole thing off. 'The point had been made', they argued, and indeed it had. Instead of building on the favourable relationship of forces at the time, they were prepared to retreat at the very first sign of a possible confrontation, so allowing the blacklegs in and giving the police every encouragement to act more rapidly and forcibly in future. That is not the way to develop workers' combativity and self-confidence. It is certainly no way to win a strike. On the contrary, such an approach is nothing but a recipe for demoralisation and defeat, and must be changed at once if the S.E.I. workers are to have any prospect of victory.

CURRENT



ACCOUNT

Up the Deutschmark

Since mid-1971, when the dollar was first devalued and its convertibility into gold abandoned, the world currency markets have been in a state of semi-permanent chaos, punctuated by several full scale crises during which the currency markets have been forced to close. In the short run, much exchange of currencies is for purely speculative reasons - taking advantage of high interest rates or gambling on expected devaluations and revaluations. Such speculative movements have at times risen to as much as £1,000 million a day. But the basic purpose of currency exchange is for international exchange of commodities and international investment. So the threat of breakdown of the world monetary system contains the threat of collapse of world trade and investment.

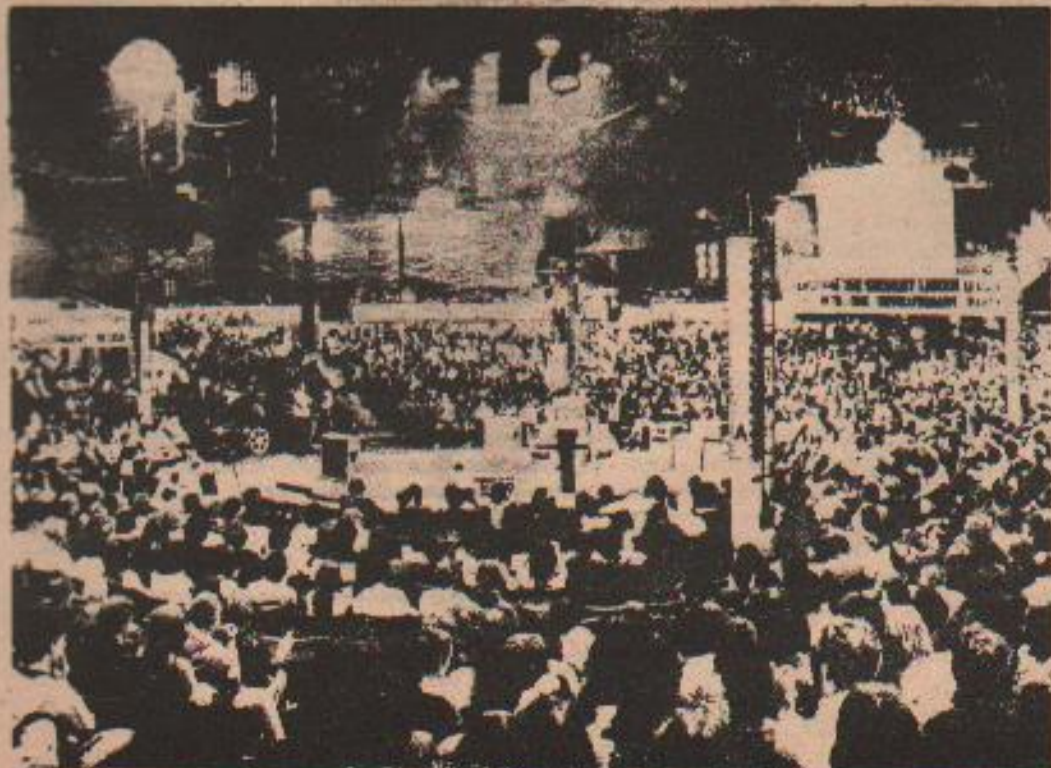
Even though exchange rate changes are now a daily occurrence, the importance of last week's surprise 5½ percent revaluation of the West German mark should not be underestimated. The D-mark has been revalued by more than 40 percent in relation to the dollar in the last 18 months. Yet even with such a massive change, the German balance of payments surplus has continued to grow. German reserves are now nearly twice as high as those of Japan, more than twice as high as those of the US and about 6 times those of Britain. Last week's crisis was precipitated by a month of intense pressure on the dollar (springing from Watergate, the renewed US trade deficit in May, and the leap in the rate of US inflation) and also on sterling (with the gigantic trade deficit now less compensated for by the foreign borrowing of the nationalised industries). Sterling and the dollar (both floating currencies) have been devalued by over 3 percent in the last 4 weeks. The haemorrhage of funds has partly gone into gold and other commodities, reflecting a general decline of confidence in paper money, and partly into D-marks, showing a decline of confidence in the pound and dollar in particular.

The move into D-marks led to the first breach of the joint float of EEC currencies (excluding Britain and Italy, but including Sweden and Norway) arranged in March. This is the so-called 'snake in the tunnel': in relation to each other the European currencies may fluctuate around their central values, within a range of 2½% (the 'tunnel'); within this range each currency becomes a 'snake' able to wind up and down in relation to the others.

The day before its revaluation the D-mark had broken out of the tunnel, pushing the range of its fluctuation up to 3 percent. The tunnel is now reestablished at new rates, but the idea that the joint float can represent any real move towards European monetary integration is shattered. It underlines the inevitability of the world economic crisis resulting in national rather than international attempts at solution, even within the EEC. Capital is becoming the snail in the shell, rather than the snake in the tunnel.

The Brandt government partly sees revaluation as a move against inflation. Like the US, Germany has suddenly become a high inflation economy. The constant inflow of dollars feeds this inflation. Memories of the collapse of the German monetary system in 1923 make inflation there an even darker shadow than it is in other European countries. Earlier this year the government imposed a surtax of 10 percent on profits and high incomes, as well as an 11 percent tax on investment. On wages it has set a voluntary 8½ percent norm which is increasingly being broken. The pressure on profits produced by all these measures, including the revaluation, will now drive the Brandt government increasingly towards the statutory wage controls which it has tried to avoid.

Michael Price



The scene in Belle Vue last Sunday.

BLMC: THE END OF THE LINE?

British Leyland, The Beginning of The End? by Counter-Information Services, 60p.

In the first five years of its existence the British Leyland group has managed to drop from sixth to ninth place in the world car company league, despite the fact that it enjoys the fastest expanding home market after Japan.

This fact is just one of the many assembled in a comprehensive report on British Leyland published by Counter Information Services. The report highlights the backwardness of British capitalism, even in those industries enjoying high levels of capital investment and undertaking large scale production.

Britain's total output of cars remained static between 1964 and 1971. As a result its share of world production declined from over 12% to under 8%. Yet, as the report points out: 'After the end of World War Two, with the European industries prostrate and the world shortage of dollars, the British industry was the only major supplier in a position to cater for the post-war demand'. But starting from scratch, the industries of Germany, Japan and Italy were able in a very short time to achieve much greater integration of production and much higher levels of productivity than the British, whose industry continued to operate along pre-war lines.

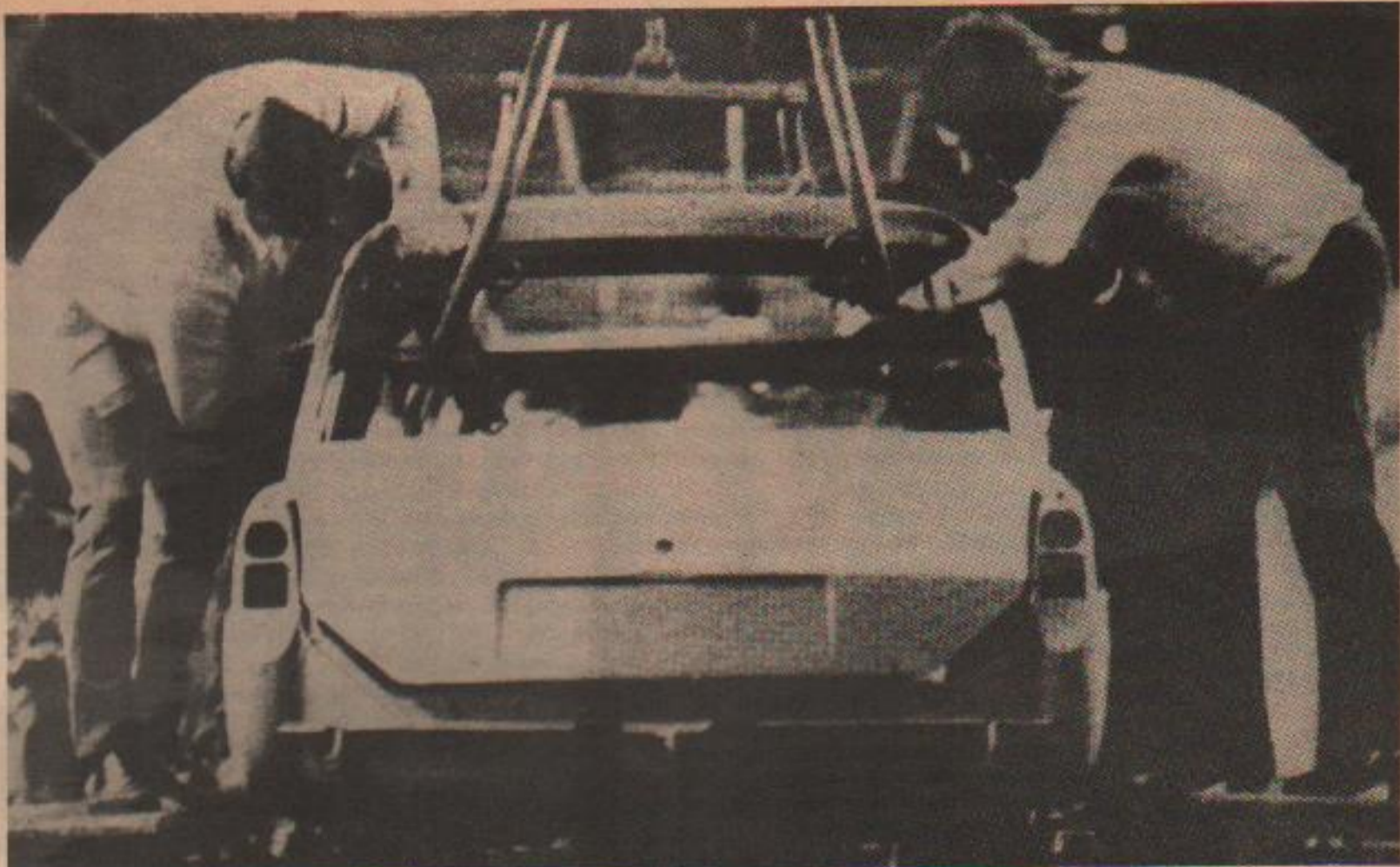
Thus Fiat, one of the most efficient car producers in Europe 'has its own steel-making complex which ranges from blast furnaces and strip mills through to foundries and forges'. But at Austin and Morris, companies which merged in 1952 and are now part of BLMC, 'cars assembled partly in one company's plants and partly in the other's were sold from one company to the other, and sometimes back again', and a large proportion of components and materials were brought in from scattered private suppliers.

MERGER

It was against this background that the BLMC merger took place in 1968. The new company set out, under Lord Stokes, to cut away many of its fragmented operations and rationalise its production. But Stokes decided 'not to declare large redundancies and factory closures on the Weinstock model, largely through fear of provoking a large scale strike'. Instead he concentrated for five years on preparing the way for future rationalisation by abolishing the piece-work system under which the workers were able to push up their earnings each time a job was changed. The introduction of measured day work gave the management greater power to introduce mobility of labour and regulate the work through strict measurement of tasks.

The report predicts that in 1974 the growth of world demand for cars will slow down sufficiently for BLMC to risk a serious show-down with its workers. At exactly the same time, however, the 'weaknesses of BLMC are likely to become more and more exposed'. British Leyland is planning to spend £400 million over the next 5 years. But Volkswagen is expected to invest £1,300 million, while Ford, General Motors and Toyota each spend as much in a year as BLMC will over the next five. 'BLMC now has no more chance of achieving a competitive level of capital investment than it had at the time of the merger.'

Another disadvantage for the British car bosses is that they employ a highly unionised and often highly skilled labour force. The European trend is towards the use of immigrant workers who can be deported if they lose their jobs because they are granted labour permits for a limited period of time. This inhibits union organisation and enables the com-



pany to step up its exploitation. In the intense competitive conditions of Europe, the car industry can tolerate no disruption in output. This is why the car industry has been to the fore in investing in fascist countries where strikes are illegal and in depressed areas where strong trade unions have been destroyed, and has encouraged the development of reactionary racist legislation. Despite BLMC's attempts to move in this direction, the Report concludes that Stokes will still be forced to sell out to foreign capital or offer his company for nationalisation. And 'whichever way BLMC jumps, the British Leyland worker is going to suffer'.

SOCIAL NEEDS

This report is of value not just to workers in British Leyland. It also highlights the sharp

contradiction between the unrestrained growth of the private car and social needs. It documents the destructive effect of the motor car on public transport systems, on the cost of building land, on the provision of houses and living space, and on the health of the urban working class. It poses very sharply the problems which the working class still have to solve in this area.

Unfortunately, although the Report concludes by pointing up the need for social ownership of the car and its integration into a rational transport system within a socialist economy, its analysis of the future of industry under capitalism is less than scientific. It proposes the thesis that there are absolute environmental and social constraints on the development of car production: depletion of oil resources, escalating social costs of the car, the saturation of markets, etc. 'All these

forces working together are likely to ensure that car production will continue until environmental constraints bring it to a halt - with the maximum possible impact of a head-on collision producing perhaps irreparable damage.'

But this assumes that the capitalists will remain blind to these forces until the last moment. The Report makes altogether too much of the 'shortsightedness' of management, for the capitalists are good strategists. They are already attempting to develop alternative fuels, and trying to exploit new social markets (smaller cars, etc.). They will continue to try to push up the rate of exploitation of the work force and to fight against those who struggle to defend their living conditions. Whether or not they will succeed depends above all on the class struggle itself.

DAVE BAILEY

UCATT BUREAUCRACY SCABS ON PICKETS (Facsimile copy of UCATT circular)



UNION OF CONSTRUCTION, ALLIED TRADES AND TECHNICIANS

9-11 MACAULAY ROAD, CLAPHAM, LONDON, SW4 0G2

TEL: 01-422 2362

Reference: GFS/HTP/LAMBETH/645/73

20th June, 1973

TO: ALL BRANCHES

Dear Sir and Brother,

Lambeth Trades Council

At a meeting of the Executive Council this week their attention was drawn to an appeal for money made by the Lambeth Trades Council in connection with charges made against 24 Building workers at Shrewsbury Court.

The E.C. takes the strongest objection to the action of the Lambeth Trades Council and is raising the matter with the T.U.C.

In the meantime the E.C. directs all Branches to ignore the Lambeth Trades Council appeal and Branch Aid Funds should not be used to make any donations to this appeal and would direct your attention to our circular Reference GFS/SJK dated 27th March, 1973 "Branch Aid Funds - Donations".

Yours fraternally,

G.F. Smith

General Secretary

More trouble at Mansfield

At the end of last year, Asian workers at the Loughborough firm of Mansfield Hosiery Mills won a major breakthrough for all black workers when at the end of a long strike they won the right to equal training opportunities with white workers. Specifically, they smashed the colour bar which had kept them out of the skilled knitting jobs at the factory.

However, that turned out not to be the end of the story. Some Asian workers were promoted to the skilled knitting jobs - but found that they were put to work on the old Nine Gauge machines. The average wage that can be achieved on such a machine is only £33 per week, whereas at least £40 can be earned on the newer Fine Gauge knitter. Management claim that the black workers do not have the necessary experience, but just what experience is necessary is unclear since the 21 white knitters who came on at the same time are all working Fine Gauge machines. The only additional experience these men have is that of crossing the picket line to take up these jobs.

A further grievance of the black workers is that their union, the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers, has still made no real attempt to enable the black workers to play a full role in the union. Asians make up over half the workforce but only three of them sit on the 15-strong factory committee. As one of them commented: 'The only time the union listens to us is when we occupy the union offices'.

All these grievances have come to the fore with the setting up of 13 new knitters. Of these 12 are white, and eight were recruited from outside the factory although ten black workers with up to ten years' experience at Mansfield Hosiery also applied. As a result the workers have held a mass meeting and told the union in no uncertain terms to take up their problems. If satisfaction is not achieved within three weeks then a further meeting is likely to declare once again for some form of industrial action.

Andrew Jenkins



Veteran Democrat Sam Ervin is chairman of the Senate investigation commission.

It's crisis time in Washington, with dimple-cheeked John Dean before the Senate investigation commission spilling all the beans about the Watergate affair. Nixon was able to put off this showdown for a week thanks to the visit of comrade Brezhnev, whose press describes Nixon as the victim of a right-wing plot against the new found harmony between Russia and the US. But Nixon's well tried tactic of turning attention away from domestic problems by scoring big foreign policy 'victories' will not be able to take the pressure off him this time. Dean's testimony contains enough dirt to bring about the end of Nixon's political career and touch off a major crisis for the American political system.

Corruption spreads

The stench of corruption now envelopes all branches of the government and everyone connected with the Nixon administration. The FBI, the CIA and the Department of Justice have all been exposed as tools of party political manoeuvre, actively engaged in breaking the same laws they claim to enforce. The Republican Party has been clearly revealed as the money-grubbing lackey of big business, always ready to give away big tax exemptions, put a stop to prosecutions, or even overthrow a government in exchange for financial favours. When these traditional agencies of 'justice' proved to be unwilling or unable to serve Nixon's purposes, he set about creating his own set of 'super-agencies,' totally under his personal control and entirely above the law. They were free to bribe and be bribed, to plant informers, spread false information, defame political enemies, all for the private political aims of the President and his followers. The 1972 elections and the Watergate caper are only the tip of the iceberg.

Fixing the opposition

Nixon had a variety of ways to 'fix the opposition.' His 'parliamentary' opponents were dealt with by rigging the elections. The liberal, anti-war intellectuals were set an example by the prosecution of Daniel Ellsberg and the attempt to muzzle the press over the Pentagon Papers. Police agents were sent into the revolutionary student organisations to act as stool pigeons and provocateurs who provoked illegal actions and then turned their lambs in for the slaughter. He turned his blind eye to the racketeering activity and Mafia connections of the bureaucrats in unions like the Teamsters, in exchange for their political support and strikebreaking raids on militant unions like the United Farm Workers.

Scandals that were once only laid at the door of the government by the far left are now being placed there by the most respectable representatives of the press. Many more people are beginning to ask about the role of state agencies in such things as the assassinations of John

and Robert Kennedy, of Martin Luther King, and of Malcolm X. The scandal is now so immense, involving so many different sections of the state machine and the ruling class, that it threatens the stability of the American capitalist political order.

The Republican Party has become very widely discredited; the mass of Americans have lost an immense amount of confidence in the Presidency, traditional keystone of the whole state machine; Nixon himself has lost all credibility. Public opinion polls now suggest that a majority think Nixon is guilty of involvement in trying to cover up the Watergate affair and should therefore resign.

Why has Watergate turned into the biggest political crisis in 20th century US history? The answer to this question lies in significant developments that have been going on within the American ruling class in recent years.

The Nixon administration represents the interests of a distinct section of the American ruling class. These are the business men of the 'southern rim' that stretches between California and Florida. His victories in 1968 and 1972 were their victories; his politics and methods are also theirs.

The cowboys ride again

The 1950's and 60's saw a sizeable shift in population, and industrial and political power, to the southern and south-western regions of the United States. Nixon's backers, or the 'cowboys' as they have been branded, are the new-money people who have made their wealth out of oil, defence contracts, real estate and the like. Some of the leading members of Nixon's inner circle are from the south-west, as are his closest friends, his main financial supporters, and a large proportion of those he has appointed to government and judicial offices.

The 'cowboys' are anti-black, anti-trade union and pay very little attention to the civilised niceties of 'normal' business ethics. Their political methods are cut from similar cloth. The Vietnam War and President Lyndon Johnson's regime did much to assist their rise into the centres of power. The war gave Johnson the excuse he needed to extend the power of the President and carry out all kinds of secret and underhand skulduggery — all in the name of 'national security.' Significantly Johnson's closest associates were Texas oil men, and others from the ranks of the 'cowboys.'

The Nixon regime

But the Democratic Party was not the best political tool for this section of the ruling class. Johnson's domestic policies — bound by the traditional political base of the Democrats — tried to pacify the white liberals and the ethnic and national minorities in the country. Nixon's 1968 victory gave the 'cowboys' control in domestic as well as foreign matters. Nixon and the Republicans provided a regime totally tailored to the needs of this group

and cut off all sops to the blacks and poor.

Nixon, Agnew and the rest of his lackeys are mainly interested in getting rich quick and helping their friends to do the same. A columnist has described the atmosphere under Nixon as follows: 'Social Washington has become like a tax accountants convention, Assistant secretaries and agency counsels gather at night with clusters of lobbyists and lawyers and discuss special legislation to help industries and preserve tax loopholes.' Nixon advises his friends on their stockmarket speculations, and Agnew openly boasts of his desire to get rich in a hurry.

The newly-rich on the way up are not usually very particular about the means they use to get ahead. Since 1969 political payoffs by big business, and the violation of all standards of 'legality' and 'justice' in American government, have reached astonishing proportions, even by the usually flexible standards of capitalist society.

The political corruption uncovered since Watergate is just another side to the 'financial' pursuits of this regime. Remaining in power is an essential part of the strategy of this group to enrich themselves. Nixon has always been a right-wing political thug. He first rose to the heights of power under the banner of McCarthyite red-baiting, and has been involved in election-fixing, bribery, and smear campaigns from his first election in the 1940's.

Ruling class opposition

The Vietnam war broke down the traditional 'consensus' that has characterised American politics for many years. At the same time President Johnson's attempts to keep both the liberal Democrats and the 'cowboys' happy through heavy government spending caused big problems for the economy.

With the nomination of Eugene McCarthy as their Presidential candidate in 1968, the Democratic Party became deeply divided. The 'old guard' tried to restore its hold in 1972, but failed again. Another supposed 'radical', George McGovern, was nominated, and the party split wide open. As a result Nixon became the universal choice — even if only as the 'lesser of two evils' — of all sections of the ruling class.

But Nixon's political policies and actions are not supported by all sections of the ruling class. The 'cowboys' and the capitalist class of the 'southern rim' represent an important but not yet totally dominant group. Nixon's authoritarian and secretive methods, the nature and one-sided character of his group of political associates, his attempt to build up his own power through a set of personal 'super-agencies,' were not seen as serving the interests of the ruling class as a whole, or the entire Republican Party.

Watergate is the issue around which the opposition to Nixon within the ruling class has chosen to fight. Nixon's landslide victory over McGovern last year did not end the differences between different sections of the ruling class, it just forced them to fight out those differences on a different plane. The battle is now no longer going on primarily between the two major political parties, but within the Republican Party itself.

Divisions in the opposition

There are two distinct elements in the ruling class opposition to Nixon. First of all, the old Republican Party establishment, and important figures within the federal state apparatus. Secondly, the press and the eastern liberals. There are also an important group of conservatives, especially from the more traditional South, who have a strong concern with preserving the old balance of power enshrined in the American constitution. It was a conservative Republican judge who first suggested there was an attempt to cover-up Watergate last autumn. Republican conservatives who first raised the issue in Congress, and a southern conservative Democrat who was appointed to head the Senate investigating commission.

The main desire of Nixon's opposition in the Republican Party and the federal state apparatus is to restore the former balance of power between the President and his cabinet, and the other wings of the state. This means shifting power back from the extensions of Presidential authority created by Nixon, and out of the



WHO W THE CO

hands of the 'cowboys.' These opponents were appalled by the amateurishness of the Watergate operation, and the Pandora's box of corruption it opened up. Their minimum demands are the resignation of those of Nixon's aides guilty of the grossest violations of the laws, the reestablishment of main stream Republican politicians in positions of influence, a restoration of Presidential links with the Republican Party establishment, and more serious Presidential cooperation with the various agencies of the federal state. These aims were partly met with the resignation of the most important 'cowboy' advisers, some fence-mending on Nixon's part with Congress and the Republican Party, and the reinstatement of long-time stalwart Melvin Laird into Nixon's cabinet as domestic policy adviser and liaison with Congress. As a result, this section of the opposition are determined that the scandal will not go any further, are now pushing for press restrictions, and are eager to engineer a whitewash.

Getting rich quick — about \$ 2 million of Federal funds





LURIE

of office in some other system. The President is directly elected by the votes of the whole electorate and holds office for a fixed number of years. Unlike under some republican set ups, the American President is not a figurehead: he selects the men who make up his executive (the government) and they are directly and totally responsible to him.

The President is thus the key element in the whole capitalist state machine. For these reasons his power is considerable, and he has traditionally been viewed as above suspicion and party-political self-interest. There has been only one attempt to 'impeach' an American President (remove him from office) and that — over one hundred years ago — did not succeed.

If the splits in the ruling class over this issue go any deeper, or if Nixon should decide to fight back against a concerted move by the ruling class to cut their losses and throw him overboard, a really deep political crisis would be triggered off in the American political system. For this reason, the ruling class remains hesitant and uncertain at the moment.

There is no obvious alternative President who could take on the difficult task of healing the split and redeeming the image of American politics in the wake of Nixon. Watergate will produce a very serious weakening in the central element of the state-executive power. And that problem simply cannot be overcome in the short term by either of the main political parties, or by strengthening some other element in the state system, such as Congress.

This becomes very serious in view of the fact that the ruling class must face up to a number of urgent decisions in the months ahead. Firstly, there is the problem of growing international economic competition: what to do about the balance of trade, the problems of the world monetary system, the need to improve the competitiveness of US industry. Secondly, there are a series of tricky international policy questions: the new military, political and economic relationships with Russia and China; the still festering sore of Indochina. Thirdly, there is the unsolved domestic problem of spiralling inflation, which both threatens American business activity abroad and opens up the prospect of serious class conflict on the home front. Finally, the threat of a world capitalist recession is looming on the horizon for 1974.

Collaboration and the alternative

What is lacking at the moment is any serious intervention into the situation by either the organised labour movement or the American left. The real actors in the drama so far have been various representatives of the capitalist class: the press, Congress, the judiciary. There may be a struggle over 'public opinion' — to stir it up, win it over, or calm it down. But there is no attempt to channel the growing discontent away from the existing political institutions and give it some form of independent, mass expression.

The Democratic Party would normally be able to harness the political dissatisfaction that Watergate has unleashed and lead it back along electoral lines into the institutions of the capitalist state. But the divisions within the Democratic Party make it incapable of playing this traditional role. There is a growing political vacuum, at the very centre of capitalist politics itself.

The most serious absence is that of the American trade unions. Their capitulation is all the more shocking, given the overall situation in the U.S. today. A number of major wage claims are coming up and inflation is taking place at a faster rate than any time since World War II. Some of the most important unions, notably the Teamsters and the building workers' unions, are directly tied to the Nixon regime and the Republican Party. But even unions like those of the Steel workers and the Rubber workers, which have a tradition of militancy, have recently signed contracts binding on their members for three years. These contain no strike guarantees for the three years of the agreement, and extensive productivity concessions which will inevitably produce widespread redundancies, all in exchange for wage rises which don't even match the present level of inflation. This complete degeneration of the labour bureaucracy stems from their total acceptance of the capitalist system which leads them to support measures to ensure the profitability of private industry, even though these measures mean cutting the throats of their own members.



John Dean — spilling all the beans about the Watergate affair.

Despite the treachery of the misleaders of labour, significant sections of the working class and other oppressed groups have moved into struggle recently. In April and May, housewives organised nationally against soaring food prices, forcing the closure of many supermarkets and meatpacking plants because of their boycott of meat. There has been a big growth of activity by welfare recipients, social workers, teachers and other government employees, who have all suffered from Nixon's cutbacks in government spending.

Perhaps most significantly, there have been important moves towards the independent organisation of the rank-and-file of the trade union movement. In many unions rank-and-file caucuses have sprung up to fight for union democracy and to oppose the sell-out deals of the trade union bureaucrats. In April thousands of trade unionists from southern California took to the streets in San Francisco to demonstrate their opposition to inflation, the wage freeze, and Nixon's social services cuts.

For too many years the federal government and the Democratic Party have been considered the representatives of the oppressed and exploited. There is now the real possibility of a mass movement that would break out of these channels and mobilise the mass of Americans independently from the capitalist political system. A mass movement to force Nixon out of office and to demand punishment of all those revealed as guilty of corruption could start this process off. Such a movement would weaken the position of the ruling class and could offer a way forward for the working class movement, now caught in the dead end of bureaucratic domina-

ALL CORRAL WBOYS?

The press, the liberals and the 'constitutionalists' are equally worried about the stability of American politics, but are not so concerned with keeping Nixon and the Republicans in power. Press commentators concentrate their fire on the peculiar psychology of Nixon and his entourage. Their solution is for Nixon to fire his advisers and 'come clean' with the American people, promising not to do it again.

Nixon himself explains it all by the 'misguided loyalty' of his associates, and defends the extensions of his power as necessary for 'national security.' The Senate investigation commission, and most of the ruling class, accept this, and are only worried about Nixon's involvement in Watergate and the excessive growth of Presidential power.

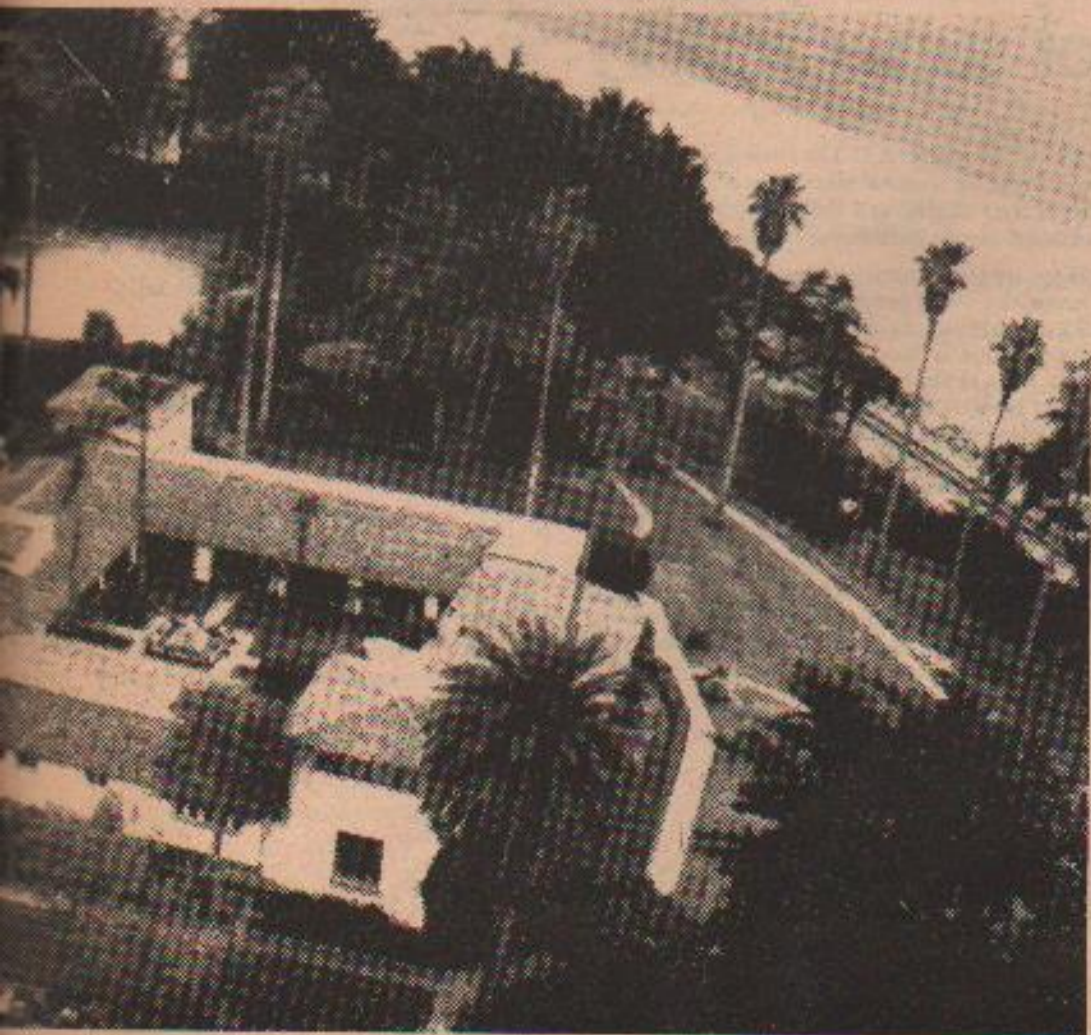
Trouble ahead

But the network of corruption that has been unveiled cannot now be swept under the

carpet, just as aroused public opinion cannot be wished away. Nixon must try and convince the Senate commission that he was not guilty of involvement in Watergate. Unfortunately for Nixon, the man he chose to play his scapegoat, Dean, has refused to go along with the game. If Dean can offer sufficient evidence that Nixon was in the thick of Watergate, then Nixon's days are numbered. But even if his testimony does not offer ironclad proof of Nixon's involvement it will certainly implicate Nixon's 'palace guard' and provide damaging circumstantial evidence that will weaken Nixon's position still further. If this happens other members of the Nixon mob might decide to squeal, producing yet another tremour under the foundations of the White House.

Despite the hostility of sections of the ruling class to Nixon, his fate is a matter that concerns all of them. It is a much bigger step to remove a President from office in a system like the American, than it is to force a government out

'Improvements' at Nixon's San Clemente (pictured here) and Key Biscayne retreats.



tion, by linking up with the struggles of the working class against inflation, the wages freeze, and the social service cuts. This in turn would lay the basis for an independent organisation of the masses, the embryo of popular power, outside the capitalist state and party structures.

James Rebell

Sixty years on

The Miners' Next Step, with a new introduction (Pluto Press, 20p)/Henry Webb

This pamphlet was originally published by the Unofficial Reform Committee, which was made up of rank and file miners in South Wales and emerged from the Cambrian Combine dispute of 1910-11. The Unofficial Reform Committee proved to be the precursor to a mass movement among miners, initially as the Reform Committees and later as the Miners Minority Movement.

The pamphlet was itself an expression of the miners' frustration with the federal union structure in mining, with widespread non-unionism, and with the limitations this created in their fight with the coal-owners. To overcome these limitations the pamphlet proposed a scheme for the reorganisation of the miners' union. Primarily, this called for one miners' union.

Today this has been realised in the National Union of Mineworkers. In 1912, the South Wales Miners Federation represented all the South Wales county federations within the Miners Federation of Great Britain. Today South Wales is a region within the NUM and the counties form the one area.

NATIONALISATION

The pamphlet also called for the expropriation of the coal industry and its management by democratic control 'from below.' However there has since been a tendency to equate this too easily with nationalisation, which has unfortunately been seen at various times by many miners and their leaders as the solution to many of their problems. It remains true that there was some improvement in the conditions of employment. Yet this was the consequence of the miners' activity, and not of nationalisation.

Arthur Horner is quoted referring favourably to nationalisation: 'The pamphlet put its finger on one of the difficulties that was to haunt us right up to the time the mines were nationalised, that the owners were able to silence trade union demands by proving that some "wretched little colliery with a method of production almost a century old" would have to close down if the union's demands were accepted.' (*Incorrigible Rebel*, pp.19-20).

But the experience of nationalisation, par-



Miners' flying pickets at joint meeting with students in Colchester last year.

ticularly in the past fifteen years, shows that this problem was by no means an exclusive feature of private ownership. On many occasions in the recent past the miners have been told that the consequence of their demands would be to close pits, with a loss of jobs. During the 1972 national miners' strike, once more the same old story was trotted out.

The militants around the Unofficial Reform Committee therefore observed that capitalism attempted to make the workers accept the responsibility for the running of industry. It reflects no credit on Horner, a former member of the Unofficial Reform Committee, a leading member of the Minority Movement and the Communist Party, and a former National Secretary of the NUM, that he should assume that a government act can change the nature of an industry. The mere act of nationalisation may have removed coal from private ownership, it did not and could not make it less capitalist. The pamphlet placed the emphasis of expropriating the industry upon the activity of the miners themselves, and not upon parliamentary acts. In so doing it rejoiced in the inventiveness and creativity of the working class. It exhibited an unashamed optimism in the ability of the class. Here are two lessons for the contemporary class struggle both as relevant as they were in 1912. The

political strength of the working class remains to be fashioned from its overwhelming strategic industrial strength. Yet this potential strength is weakened by the industrial separateness and tendency to limit the struggle because of its effects.

SYNDICALIST

It was because of this concentration upon the industrial struggle that the pamphlet was characterised as Syndicalist. This view is offered in the new introduction, and was expressed in the following way in a review in *Socialist Worker*: 'The pamphlet's main weakness is its failure to consider the question of political, as opposed to trade union, organisation, and the role of a revolutionary party in the working class.' It should not need restating here that the distinction between politics and trade unionism is not determined by where they take place. Yet it is precisely because of this distinction that the pamphlet is described as Syndicalist.

Because the pamphlet was written at the time when Tom Mann was active it was lumped in with the consequences of his and other Syndicalist agitation. However, it is interesting to note that none of the authors of the pamphlet at any time indicated that they had read, or approved of, either Tom Mann or the

Europe: *The Radical Challenge*, by Hugh Thomas (Quartet Books, 50p)/Pauline Ryan

When the ruling class makes a major change of orientation and policy it is not unusual for the subservient intelligentsia to fall over one another with eagerness to provide the necessary ideological backing. Britain's joining the Common Market is no exception.

Professor Hugh Thomas's book is undoubtedly only the first in a coming deluge of works all enthusiastically extolling the virtues of the Common Market. As is usual with such a hasty prostitution of intellectual faculties, the result is a masterpiece of superficiality.

SOCIAL FORCES

Thomas has divided his book into three basic parts dealing with the political, social, and economic positions. His complete failure to understand social forces and the historical backdrop against which they operate comes out here much more clearly than in his earlier work *The Spanish Civil War*, where this failing was somewhat obscured by the meticulous attention to detail.

This failing comes out particularly clearly in the first section on the political position which — although making up nearly half the book — never once rises above a tedious discussion of whether strengthening this or that committee would increase 'democracy' in the EEC. Nor is the second section on the social position any more inspiring. It amounts to a few asides on the question of racial discrimina-

A masterpiece of superficiality

tion and sex discrimination, which the good professor of course deplores, but fails to offer anything but pious hopes that merging with the EEC will bring about a change in attitudes! The final part is an eclectic jumble of subjects including an economic 'analysis' of three whole pages which is a mixture of unsubstantiated guesses and dubious statistics.

Nowhere in the book does Thomas take up any of the key questions of the Common Market. What is its purpose? How does it work? Why has Britain suddenly become so desperate to join? What are the objective forces behind the Common Market? What attitude should we take to it?

It is on these questions that the shallowness of the book becomes so very apparent. Decisions, to do things, or to delay things, are seen by Thomas not as the product of interrelating and conflicting social forces, but as decisions taken by this statesman or that. In this short review, we don't have time to take up all these points but we can deal with a few. Let us first consider the question of why British capital wants to join the Common Market.

END OF BOOM

With the end of the long capitalist boom in the sixties the demands of increased international competition meant more state intervention in the economy. For capital the question then became: which institutions should it

rely on for protection? The answer was that it could rely on national state institutions, or begin the formation of European supra-national power institutions.

There are in this situation two contradictory forces at work. Economic interests tend to push big capital towards unity. But the political disadvantage is that this strengthening tends to take place at the expense of the allegiance of social layers which may be indispensable to the maintenance of big capital's political power in the face of a powerful workers' movement. When the EEC was formed, British capital opted out, so what has changed since then? The answer of course lies in the extremely low profitability of British capitalism, and the realisation by big capital that if it stayed out it could get crushed in between Europe, the US and Japan. Inside the Market, however, it could strengthen itself through Europe-wide mergers and of course it would also have a much bigger internal market, comparable with that of the US.

ATTITUDE

The other question is what attitude we should take to the Common Market. The first thing to state is that we emphatically dissociate ourselves both from those elements like Professor Thomas, who support the EEC because it will promote economic well-being for the big bourgeoisie, and from the narrow chauvinistic anti-market elements which have emerged in

both the Labour Party and the Communist Party.

It is only the European proletariat which can give the answer to the fundamental questions of Europe's future. To the capitalist EEC and also to Labour's petty chauvinist ramblings the Fourth International counters with the slogan of 'For the United Socialist States of Europe.' This is no abstract slogan. On the contrary, the USSE will only be built in the course of constant struggle with Europe-wide and international capital.

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TIME IS ON THEIR SIDE

by JOHN MARSTON

Just over two weeks ago a very unusual sight could be observed at the French watch factory of Lip in Besancon. The workers came out, set up stalls outside the factory gates, and started selling the watches they had made — for as little as half the normal price. But this was just the most unusual development in a struggle which has become a focus of attention not only in France but also in neighbouring Switzerland.

It was in mid-April that the bosses at the factory suddenly arranged for space in the radio, TV and papers to announce that they were faced with a crisis and that redundancies were inevitable. Unemployment is already high in the area, and the response of the 1300 workers at Lip, almost half of whom are women, was unequivocal. A go-slow was organised almost immediately and a series of demonstrations held — in Besancon, Paris, and then at the headquarters of the Swiss owners, Ebauches SA, in Neuchatel. At the same time a big campaign was carried on in the factory by means of posters, etc., to explain to all the workers what was going on.

TURNING POINT

A campaign was also launched to win support both from other workers in the area and from workers at other factories owned by Ebauches SA in Switzerland. But the turning point came on 12 June. On that day, two management representatives informed the workers that no further wages would be paid until the dispute was resolved — and for their pains were locked up in the factory. A quick search of their briefcases turned up some very interesting information: documents which revealed the extent of the redundancies planned (at least 500, 200 workers to go immediately), an alternative plan for a take-over by French firms (which, in the 'national interest' no doubt, would involve 450 redundancies), and most important, evidence of systematic spying by police and company security men on leading militants in the factory.

That same night, 500 police attacked the factory, ostensibly to rescue the two manage-

ment representatives, and the next day a mass meeting of all the workers decided on a full occupation. On 15 June a mass demonstration called in Besancon to support the Lip workers attracted 15,000 people from all over the area. The police, completely outnumbered, went berserk afterwards, even raiding the offices of the local newspaper.

Now, three weeks into the occupation, it is clear that this struggle is taking on some of the most advanced forms seen in the recent history of the European class struggle. What is more, every day is proving that it is the revolutionaries who have the most realistic answers as to how to develop the struggle. For instance, the idea of an occupation was advanced by militants of the Communist League (French section of the Fourth International) in their local 'Red Mole' factory bulletin on 21 May. On 13 June, it was adopted by a mass meeting of the workers. The idea of restarting production so that watches could be sold to swell the strike fund was advanced in the 'Red Mole' bulletin on 4 June. Two weeks later that too was agreed by the mass meeting.

ORGANISATION

The way in which all this is being organised has some particularly important lessons. The strike is being run by an action committee combining representatives of the two main union federations (CGT and CFDT) as well as non-unionised workers. It reports back regularly to mass meetings of all the workers.

Production is being organised on a voluntary basis — the workers decide how long they will work, at what time of day, at what speed, etc. The same 'survival wage', a bit higher than the previous minimum wage, is paid to all the workers regardless of their previous status in the grading system, with additional sums on top of this for those with family or other special commitments.

Various aspects of production and sales are handled by special commissions, which in their efficient grasp of affairs have shown that it is the owners and management who are the redundant ones. So much for the claim that 'the workers wouldn't know how to set about running the factory.' Commissions also handle other important aspects of organisation: relations with the press, flow of information inside the factory, communications with supporters in the

area, etc. Also vital is the organisation of defence following on the previous police attacks. Arrangements have been made for at least 100 workers to guard the factory each night, a warning siren has been fitted and other arrangements made to contact workers at other factories in the area for support (especially where there is 24-hour shift working), and technical preparations have been made to repel initial attacks.

INTERNATIONALISM

Perhaps the most important lesson of all, however, has been the organisation of local, national, and international solidarity. A local support committee was set up very early on in the struggle, with representatives from all the major factories in the area. This has taken the responsibility for organising a massive propaganda campaign which contributed to the 15,000 turnout at the 15 June demonstration. It has also organised regular fund-raising activities etc.

But, unusually, another support committee has also been organised — across the border in Jura, in Switzerland, as the result of an initiative by the Revolutionary Marxist League (Swiss section of the Fourth International) and

local rank-and-file militants in the same industry. This has been organised on the clearly understood basis that what is at stake is not the actions of a foreign boss against French workers, but as the discovered documents revealed an offensive by international capital (whether based in Switzerland or France) against the working class as such — in France today, in Switzerland tomorrow. Of course the official Swiss trade unions have been lukewarm in their support — the leader of the main Swiss union in the industry is actually on the board of the trust which controls Ebauches SA! But the response of the Jura workers in support of their French comrades has been extraordinarily good, leading on 23 June to a joint international demonstration at the Swiss town of La Chaux de Fonds.

Such action has provided the basis for winning the strike, by extending active support for it in every possible direction. The workers at Lip have an increasingly clear understanding of what is involved — they have not, for instance, fallen into the trap of believing that from restarting production they can run their own factory for the capitalist market, rather than simply swelling their strike fund. They are beginning to realise that what is at stake is a struggle against capitalism — and that it is from this that the essential need for the practical measures which they have adopted flows. Workers elsewhere have much to learn from them.



An international meeting of Swiss and French organisations in solidarity with the Lip workers

CHILE: Popular Unity in Crisis

'Close the Congress!' 'Outlaw the judges!' These were the demands at a mass rally of Chilean workers outside the presidential palace in Santiago after the defeat of the abortive army revolt of 29 June.

The Christian Democrat party, once the organisers of the 'coup' were either in jail or seeking exile in the Ecuadorian embassy, proclaimed their opposition to the attempt and their allegiance to the Constitution — which they at once moved to wrap around Allende's neck. The 'compromiso Presidente', who told the crowd outside the presidential palace on Friday

night that, 'At the risk of disillusioning you, I shall be true to my oath and shall not close the Congress', turned to the Christian Democrat congressional majority for a way out of the crisis. He requested the immediate ratification of a Bill to give his administration six months' emergency powers, principally to crush the 'Patria y Libertad' grouping. They refused; and on Tuesday the cabinet resigned.

ARMY PRESENCE

In demanding that the army has the major presence in the new Cabinet, the Christian

Democracy has in effect been seeking to carry out a 'constitutional' coup d'etat. And the Popular Unity leaders have been the ready accomplices of such a settlement in the negotiations. The question now appears to be whether the army will accept it.

The army has been in the Popular Unity cabinet before, when General Prats Gonzalez (the army commander-in-chief) and other armed forces chiefs held ministerial positions for a few months following the lorry-owners' boycott last October. Then and at every moment of crisis since, Allende has handed the control of the streets over to Prats and his General Staff, rather than allow the working class to deal with the fascists. In his Friday night speech, Allende was, as usual, full of praise for their 'loyalty'.

But as the head of the bourgeois army, Prats — however much the hysterical middle classes of Santiago may hate him for his 'support' for Popular Unity — is a man of his class. He collaborates with the Popular Unity leaders in so far as they are able to turn back the mobilisation of the working class. In Allende's cabinet or out of it, the army chiefs and the Right Democrats are the most clear-sighted representatives of the bourgeoisie.

They can scarcely be dissatisfied with the Popular Unity leaders' attempts to demoralise the working class. On Friday night, hours after the army revolt, Allende was still exhorting the

workers to trust him in his constitutional road. 'People's power is all very well', he said, 'but it must be with the government, not outside it or parallel to it.'

Since Friday, however, there has been a massive wave of factory occupations: something the Socialist and Communist Party leaders had been trying to avoid for months, by insistence that 'the enemy must not be provoked', that 'more must be produced' to 'stabilise' the economy.

By attempting instead to resolve the crisis 'constitutionally', Allende and the reformist leaderships of the Communist and Socialist Parties have cut the throat of the Popular Unity government.

As a coup, Friday's rebellion by the 2nd Tank Regiment and the fascist 'Patria y Libertad' group was less than successful. As the provocation for the biggest crisis the Popular Unity government has yet faced, it has worked brilliantly for the ruling class.

But the 'provocateurs' are the bourgeoisie. The Chilean working class has given a massive response; but without a leadership struggling against every betrayal of Allende and the Stalinists, they face grave dangers in the days and weeks ahead. The forces of reaction are choosing their moment.

Chilean Defence Minister Jose Toha, accompanied by pro-government troops



General strike in Uruguay

On Wednesday, 27 June, President Bordaberry ordered troops to take over the Uruguayan congress in Montevideo.

His action signalled the final collapse of the crumbling facade of bourgeois democracy, which the Uruguayan bourgeoisie has held up as a model for the rest of Latin America throughout the century. The Parliamentary regimes of recent years have engaged in vicious repression of left-wing movements, especially the Tupamaro urban guerrillas. Out of a total population of 2½ million, 80% of it concentrated in the capital, there are at least 250,000 unemployed workers, or one for every three of four of the labour force. Real wages are 70% down on 1968.

Uruguayan workers immediately responded to Bordaberry's action with almost total strikes in transport, the industrial export sectors (tyres and textiles), newspapers, and oil refineries. Numerous plants were occupied, while students have occupied schools and universities. Within three days, the national trade union federation (CNT) led by the Communist Party — which had at first responded to the Government's appeal for talks — was forced to declare a general strike. The CNT demanded

the restoration of 'individual liberties' and the raising of real wages to the 1968 level, whereupon it was immediately banned by the regime.

The CP has nonetheless gone ahead with the formation of an 'opposition' co-ordinating committee of the 'Broad Front' of CP, Socialists and liberal bourgeois parties, together with the right-wing bourgeois National Party. One of the declared aims of the CP is to foster divisions within the army and support its 'progressive' wing. But the army has for the moment united around Bordaberry — and its previous opposition to him was in large part based on his 'weakness'.

Any regime of the Uruguayan army, however demagogic, would be bound to turn against the working class as has happened in Peru; though the CP in Uruguay, as in Britain, quotes the case of Peru approvingly. In commenting on the dissolution of Parliament, the CP paper in Montevideo, *El Popular*, said, 'there are countries without this democratic institution which have nevertheless embarked on a process of fundamental change'. This can only amount to an offer to the army to renege on the CNT demands and support a new kind of military regime.

ALL THAT GLITTERS IS NOT GOLD

RED NOTES

From GERY LAWLESS

The Tory plan for the pacification of Ireland is now in a shambles following the Assembly election.

Despite this, the alternative is so distasteful that the British government is proceeding as if the election had produced the results they wanted.

The British strategy for the election was firstly to get politics off the streets and back into a parliamentary talking-shop. In this they have succeeded for the time being. But the composition of the Assembly is far from what they had hoped.

ALLIANCE

Alliance, Whitelaw's party, gained a miserable eight out of 78 seats despite the support of the British media, British finance and British expertise. Whitelaw's whole strategy for the Assembly was based on Alliance getting at least 15-20 seats; in other words, the crucial balance of power. Had Alliance obtained such a figure, Whitelaw would then have formed an executive around them, drawing in the Fitt ultra-collaborationist wing of the SDLP, and the Bradford wing of the Unionist Party.

With Faulkner and the old Unionist Party removed from the seat of power, and the Paisley/Craig Loyalists on the one hand and Republicans on the other pushed to the periphery of politics, Whitelaw would then have worked for a gradual dismantling of the Orange Ascendancy, and an inte-

PD appeal

Mike Farrell and Tony Canavan of Belfast Peoples Democracy are still in good spirits despite being kept in a basement cell for 23 hours each day in Crumlin Road jail. At any time they are likely to be placed amongst the loyalist prisoners, who have kept up a constant barrage of threats against their lives. The Governor has told Mike and Tony that they will only be placed in protective custody after they are attacked; they have been refused political prisoner status because their sentences do not exceed nine months.

There must be an urgent campaign on behalf of Mike and Tony, to obtain their release. At the same time pressure must be applied to get political status for them pending their release, so that they can be placed with the Republican prisoners, and their safety ensured. The Anti-Internment League has launched a petition directed at the Parliamentary Labour Party; a picket was also held last Saturday, supported by members of London PD, IMG, and Workers Fight.

gration of the Catholics into unionist politics.

The composition of the new Assembly will allow the withering away of the Ascendancy, but on the more fundamental issue, the existence of the separate Northern state, the elections have produced no cheer for Whitelaw.

The Catholic unionist votes gained by Alliance in the local government elections have now all but vanished. Some middle-class Catholics voted for Alliance because they believed the claims of the British opinion polls that a sizeable section of the Protestants would also vote this way. When this did not happen, they swung back behind the SDLP.

THE SDLP VOTE

The vote for the SDLP represents to some extent a growing war-weariness in the Catholic population, but more important, as Bernadette Devlin pointed out, Catholics voted for the SDLP mainly to keep out the Unionists, having seen the boycott allow the ludicrous situation in the local government elections of the Unionists retaining 50/50 control of Fermanagh, and a Paisleyite councillor elected for the Bogside.

The vote for the SDLP represents a sizeable political defeat for the Provos. This is partly explained by the fact that it is difficult to run an 'election' campaign while simultaneously fighting a war.

But this explanation in itself is not enough. The fact is that the Provos pitched almost their total propaganda campaign on a moralistic, don't-let-the-internees-down appeal. There was no coherent agitation explaining in a systematic way what the British were using the election for, and how the boycott filled into an overall plan for achieving their liberation.

But if it would be wrong to ignore the set-back, it would be criminal to exaggerate it. As Tim Pat Coogan, editor of the Fianna Fail Party's newspaper, the *Irish Press*, explained on British television last Sunday, tens of thousands of those who voted for the SDLP would 'walk out of the polling stations and hide an IRA man with a rocket launcher if it were needed.'

PATRONAGE

Of the 19 SDLP members elected to the new Assembly, few support the party leader, Gerry Fitt, and fewer still would support him if he openly supported Whitelaw's repressive policy. Whitelaw understands this, and understands the importance of building the status of this misFitt. As Ian Aitken explained in the *Guardian* (2 July): 'Government sources indicated yesterday that Mr. Whitelaw



Brian Faulkner watching the vote count with his son and daughter

would do his utmost to increase the standing and prestige of the party leaders among their own supporters. He believes that this would make a settlement easier.'

As Simon Hoggart pointed out in the *Guardian* (27 June): 'About a month ago the question of a British disengagement from Ulster seemed a very minor one, as ludicrous as Whitehall disengaging from Birmingham or Manchester. But it is now becoming the central election issue. . . . What really frightens the Tories is that it might become a central issue in Britain, forcing a withdrawal from Ireland.'

It was the recognition that this was now a serious possibility which forced the Southern Premier Cosgrave to make a speech calling for the retention of British troops.

The Southern establishment have never wanted the troops out of the North. But while there was no serious danger of this happening they could play at demanding their withdrawal. Cosgrave's cri-de-cœur shows that that danger is now real.

But for this threat to become actual means the building of a campaign which is capable of giving direction to the present incoherent, confused, sometimes racially-motivated but potentially objective revolutionary mood in Britain for the withdrawal of British troops.

Whitelaw (the former Patronage Secretary of the British Conservative Party) will use the patronage available to him as the Gauleiter to

build up Fitt's role; and Fitt, trapped by British money and the British barbed wire which surrounds his house following the mysterious — but convenient for the British — death of his close party colleague, Paddy Wilson, will be like a Mexican President, a prisoner of his advisers. In that position, he will probably be made Deputy 'Prime Minister.'

The bad showing of the Faulknerite Unionists possibly means the end of the last of the Mohicans. Faulkner is now expendable, and it would not be surprising if Gauleiter Whitelaw does not similarly use his patronage to promote English ex-disc jockey Roy Bradford in his place.

MIDAS TOUCH

But all that glitters is not gold, and despite Whitelaw's Midas touch the Assembly can only work if the Provos are beaten. It is recognition of this fact which drives the Brits to push on desperately to try and make the Whitelaw plan work.

If the Provo threat did not exist, British strategy would be to move slowly through the summer to find an acceptable Executive for the Assembly (their original plan). But this would create a power vacuum, and intensify the mood in Britain for pulling the troops out. So Whitelaw pushes on regardless, knowing that if he does not defeat the Provos, by at the very latest next March, the morale of the Army — figures show that only 652 adults were recruited in April compared with 1348 in April of last year — may melt with the first snows of 1974.

Attempts to victimise those responsible for mobilising at Sussex University against American military-servicing social scientist Samuel P. Huntington, thus effectively preventing him from speaking, have been successfully thwarted. At an English and American Studies faculty meeting, motions of censure against staff involved were either withdrawn or defeated, and at the University Senate, Vice-Chancellor Asa Briggs made it clear that it was not worth while taking action against those involved.

The thinking behind this was best summed up in a *Guardian* editorial, which pointed out that while it would be best to get rid of those responsible for 'making Sussex University an intellectual desert', the sympathy they would gain would merely lead to another mobilisation in which the authorities might be defeated even more completely than in the previous demonstration. Thus the victory of those students and staff against an 'academic' responsible for great suffering in Indochina is now complete and their active solidarity totally vindicated.

An attempt by Colin Jordan's brown-shirted British Movement to hold a rally in Merseyside last Saturday was thoroughly smashed. The fascists had organised on a 'maximum security, minimum publicity' basis, but despite this Liverpool's anti-fascist committee was able to respond rapidly and effectively, so that almost 500 counter-demonstrators arrived at the Pier Head where the rally was to be held.

At this point, many of the fascists tried to retreat into the background. Unfortunately for them, some were wearing Nazi style brown-shirts — the cut and the style of which were then dramatically altered by the counter-demonstrators. A rump around Jordan then attempted a 'Custer's last stand' operation, defended by 50 police, but Jordan was finally forced to flee, seeking refuge in the back of a police jeep.

In the process of this highly successful action, 13 of the counter-demonstrators were arrested. A defence fund has been set up and all donations should be sent to Defence Fund, 52 Cullen Street, Liverpool 8.

The disciplinary proceedings taken by Reading University authorities against 14 militants involved in the grants campaign have come unstuck already. At the first session of the hearings the disciplinary committee was found to be unworkable by its own rules and regulations, and the meeting was postponed indefinitely. This is a clear victory for the students, and is particularly embarrassing for the administration because on the only previous occasion when disciplinary charges were made (against students who had prevented a NATO conference from taking place) they had to be dropped altogether.

Meanwhile a motion presented to last week's student union meeting by the Communist Party and Workers Fight to substitute a series of 'interim measures' for any further local rent strike action was overwhelmingly rejected. This showed the potential for continuing activity on the grants campaign despite such thinly-disguised attempts to wind it down.

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WHAT'S ON

MARCH AGAINST ANGLO-PORTUGUESE

ALLIANCE and east of Dartford Sunday, 15 July, assembly Charing X Embankment, 2.30 p.m. March to Downing Street and Portuguese Embassy. Rally Hyde Park, Speaker from PAIGC (Guinea). Information from End the Alliance Campaign, tel. 734 9541.

INDOCHINA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN: Public meeting on political prisoners in South Vietnam, 7.30 p.m., 19 July, at Easton Road Library Meeting Room, 101 Euston Road. The World in Action film 'South Vietnam: A Question of Torture' will be shown.

CEYLON SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN: Public meeting, 7.00 p.m. Friday, 20 July, at Conway Hall — 'Legal reforms as an instrument of repression: today's experience in Ceylon and Ireland.' Discussion with other groups struggling against repression. Speakers include: Brian Ross-Smith and Rock Tarzey (Wildern Society) and a practising lawyer from Ceylon.

MARCH ON DULWICH COLLEGE: this Saturday, 7 July — assembly 2.00 p.m., Brockwell Park (near Herne Hill station). Called by teachers, school students and others to draw attention to the inequalities of the education system.