

FREE THE BELFAST 10

Tribune, the paper of the Labour left, recently published the text of a confidential statement sent by the Engineering Employers' Federation to Sir John Donaldson, president of the National Industrial Relations Court. The statement contained detailed criticisms of the operation of the Act and suggested amendments to its content and procedures. This is extremely important since the EEF is the most powerful employers' federation in British industry and played an important role in the formulation of the Industrial Relations Bill.

The document points out that following the defeats inflicted in the NIRC by the working class movement and the change of strategy by the ruling class involved in a statutory incomes policy, the Act needs drastic amendment if it is to be any use. The Counter-Inflation legislation provides a new framework for industrial

'individual employment relations,' 'provision for voluntary procedures for resolution of recognition problems,' and finally to provide a new framework for tougher picketing laws (although since the EEF document was written the Government has been seeking in the Shrewsbury case for example, to adapt existing criminal law for this purpose).

The document makes it clear that trade union leaders are therefore walking into a trap which the Government has set for the working class. Tory MPs have openly encouraged the TUC to demand amendments to the Act in return for accepting Phase 3. The Tory Party was previously divided over whether the Government should descend to the market place and bargain on a law made by holy Parliament. Yet last week, James Prior, Tory Leader of the Commons, was saying: 'Anything can be raised, anything can be examined, nothing



Almost a thousand people marched in London in a big show of support for the Belfast 10 last Sunday.

The preliminary hearings in the case of the 'Belfast 10,' charged with 'conspiring to cause explosions in Central London on 8 March,' finally got under way at Lambeth Magistrates' Court on Monday.

The 10, arrested after the London car bombings, have already been held for more than two months under maximum security conditions. The present hearings, the 'committal proceedings,' are supposed to determine whether or not there is sufficient evidence for the case to proceed to trial.

But the massive security precautions inside and outside the Court indicated that one wing of the capitalist state, at least, has little doubt on this point. Armed police were strategically placed on the roof of the court building, guard dogs patrolled the streets, all passing traffic from lorries to babies' prams was stopped and searched, and no less than six coach-loads of police were on standby in case of an armed assault.

Entry to the courtroom was restricted to the select few, and they were required to document almost their very existence. Even such stalwarts as the *Daily Telegraph* reporters had to submit to this laborious procedure.

PREJUDICES

The hearings began with prosecuting counsel Ian Kennedy stating his intention to show that the four car bombs were 'products of the one plot and the work of a single group of plotters.' The strategy of the prosecution appears to rest on the belief that a coherent set of facts, no matter how irrelevant, will serve as sufficient 'evidence' to confirm the prejudices of a middle-class English jury. All Kennedy aims to do, it seems, is to produce detailed facts that show, beyond any reasonable doubt, that the 10 were ... in

London at the time! The rest can be left to the imagination.

However a few other methods are also being employed to try to strengthen the prosecution's case. In an attempt to turn the defendants against each other and confuse their supporters, Kennedy dramatically informed the court on Monday that one of the accused, Roisin McNearney, had admitted to being in London on 'business connected with the IRA.' It was stated that she had been moved from Brixton Prison to Holloway last week for her own safety, after making a statement implicating the others.

This is patently absurd. Roisin McNearney did not even know any of the others until their unplanned meeting in Ealing police station last March. Her switch to Holloway, like the simultaneous move of Liam McLarnon to Wormwood Scrubs, is a deliberate move to weaken the morale of the 10. The two of them were singled out because they are the youngest of the defendants and considered, presumably, the easiest to break. Neither has in fact done so.

IMPERIALISM

The proceedings are expected to drag on for at least another two weeks. The prosecution have some 40 or so witnesses lined up for the entertain-

ment of the court. But we must beware of becoming too bound up with the niceties of capitalist court procedure. For us the 'weight of evidence' that should count is not the half-baked stories of the prosecution but the crushing volume of facts which condemn the actions of British imperialism in Ireland.

The horror of these facts makes the professed concern of any court in this land with 'justice' for Irish people both grotesque and contemptible. The only judgement which we can accept is that given by the Irish people, and their verdict on British imperialism is inscribed too deeply, and with too much blood, into our history to be denied.

Imperialism has placed the Belfast 10 in the dock; we must reply that it is British Imperialism which stands accused. Imperialism will try to unload its guilt for the miseries of Ireland onto the heads of these ten Irish men and women; we must reply that the guilt of Imperialism makes the innocence of the Belfast 10 in need of no further proof. Imperialism will seek to punish the 10 for the crimes it has committed; we must reply that each brutal act of Imperialism serves only to bring closer the day of its own final arraignment before the tribunal of the people.

TUC Shadow - Boxing

relations with which the EEF agrees. Since this legislation gives the Government wide powers of intervention, allowing it to determine wage rates directly, much of the Act becomes unnecessary.

The statement also testifies to the damage done by working class opposition to the Act. The unions have failed to register, cooling-off orders and secret ballots haven't worked, and many of its provisions concerning the right not to belong to a trade union add nothing to existing common law, but have resulted in incidents like the Goad case becoming major points of class conflict.

AMENDED

The EEF suggests that the Act should be amended to provide little more than a back-up to the Counter-Inflation legislation. Hence a reformed Industrial Relations Act might be of some use in some matters concerning

will be ruled out of order - anything that will defeat inflation.' In the labour movement, confusion still reigns following Scanlon's recent remarks indicating willingness to talk about amendments. And the current G&MWU annual conference is discussing a 'new Industrial Relations Act' - that is, further attempts to regulate the class struggle by using the state, and a cover for doing a deal with the Government over the present Act.

If the Government accepts amendments to the Act, the TUC will no doubt claim that it has won the battle and all that remains is to tidy up loose ends. But incomes policy is aimed to undermine the very organised strength of the working class which threw the Act into such chaos in the first place. The trade union movement must totally reject any form of Industrial Relations Act or incomes policy.



INFLATION - A TWO-EDGED WEAPON

It was unwise of Heath to claim only a few days before the publication of the April price figures that Britain had the lowest rate of inflation in Europe. Last month retail prices rose by 1.9 per cent (equivalent to about 25 per cent a year) — an almost Latin American rate which if it continued would mean that by 1980 beer would cost over £1 a pint!

In any case, even before April, Heath was wrong. Over the year up to March 1973, Britain had the highest rate of inflation in Europe, with the exception of Ireland. Over the most recent three months Italy, Germany, and Belgium have all caught up a little, though the British rate is still well above the average. The experience of all the capitalist countries is, however, increasingly uniform: all of them are experiencing a rate of inflation between 6 and 10 per cent a year.

The April figures are freakish since they include a number of non-recurrent factors. Of the 1.9 per cent increase, VAT accounted for 0.7 per cent, the annual increase in local authority rates 0.5 per cent, seasonal price rises 0.3 per cent, and the rest 0.4 per cent. But the recurring factors are now being joined by the flood of increases authorised by the Prices Commission in its great defrost after the so-called freeze.

WAGES AND PRICES

During Phase I it was, of course, wages and not prices which were in the ice-box. They rose less than 1 per cent, while prices shot up by 4 per cent. The Economics Editor of the *Financial Times* disingenuously remarked that 'success of the anti-inflation policies so far has been much more apparent on the wages side.'

But that was the whole idea. In fact, the pay laws are more a pro-inflation than an anti-inflation policy. More precisely, they are designed to keep the growth of wages well behind the combined growth of productivity and prices, and therefore to raise profits. They have succeeded less than expected because some of the gains of slower growing wages have been eaten into by faster growing prices of raw materials. In Phase II, with wages rising a little and raw material prices continuing to soar, capitalists will still be forced to maintain the highest rate of inflation which their international competitive position allows.

This shows that the attempt to find an original cause of inflation is as vain as the search for the end of the rainbow. Some economists, of course, say that it really is a pot of gold — in other words the supply of money. But money does not cause inflation; it has the more passive role of feeding it.

DISTRIBUTION

Inflation is not an automatic response either to wage increases or to the money supply. It is in large part the manifestation of the continual struggle between the classes over the distribution of income. Within this struggle, price rises are a major weapon which capitalists use to restore or enlarge profit margins. Their ultimate success depends on the strength of the workers' reactions to declining living standards and on the ability of the capitalists to pass on increased costs in the face of competition.

But inflation is a dangerous weapon to use. As all classes try to overcompensate for falling incomes, the situation tends towards hyperinflation in which the whole monetary system could collapse. The faster the inflation the more drastic are the political measures necessary to control it.

Inflation continuously redistributes income — from workers to capitalists, from both towards land and house owners, away from those with fixed incomes, from creditors to debtors, from weak to strongly organised workers, and within the family. At many levels therefore, it shatters established equilibria and clarifies the conflicts within capitalism. Inflation is a weapon which capitalists both need and fear.

Michael Price



Part of the 2000-strong demonstration of building workers from across the country who marched through the streets of London on Friday, 18 May. They were voicing their opposition to the use of 'Lump' labour, and backing up the bill on this question being put forward in Parliament by Eric Heffer that same day. Heffer's bill was never put to the vote because less than the required 100 MP's bothered to vote either for or against considering it; this effectively kills the bill for the rest of the present session of Parliament. A mass meeting in Westminster Central Hall followed the demonstration. Here it was decided to carry the fight forward by concentrating forces on running the 'Lump' off all the sites of one major contracting firm by militant, direct action.

ASIANS STRIKE ON EVE OF CONFERENCE

The Asian workers' strike at Jaffe's in Nottingham for union recognition and the reinstatement of a victimised worker has still not been made official by the Transport and General Workers Union after nearly three weeks. Indeed the local T&G official has even advised the strikers to return to work and accept the management's offer, which does not include union recognition and would merely change the status of the victimised worker from 'sacked' to 'suspended.'

ROGER TANNER and MIKE HAMLIN

But the workers are determined to stay out until their demands are met. The first of a series of support meetings and rallies was held last Sunday with about 160 attending. Those present included members of the Pakistani and West Indian community as well as representatives from the Indian Workers Association, Nottingham Trades Council, the Mansfield Hosiery Strike Committee and other strike committees formed in similar disputes, and the International Marxist Group, who also provided a speaker. Over £60 was collected. Another support rally is being held on Saturday 26 May, after a demonstration to the city centre.

CONFERENCE

These developments come on the eve of the conference on the Trade Unions and Racialism on 2 June at the Digbeth Hall, Birmingham, which will give the trade union movement a valuable opportunity to come to grips with the lessons of struggles like that at Jaffe's. This conference will attempt to begin the process of making the trade union movement aware of the need to actively combat the problems of racialism and the exploitation of immigrant workers. The conference was called by the strikers at Mansfield Hosiery Mills after their experience of the unwillingness of the movement to act as an organising centre of the fight against racialism.

The conference will discuss the nature of the problem, the origins of racialism, its extent within society as a whole, and the situation of black workers in Britain. Papers will be presented by Tom Sibley (Industrial Organiser of the Runnymede Trust), Mike Cooley (AUEW-TASS), and Winston Pinder (Black Workers Co-ordinating Committee). But the central discussion will probably follow on from a paper by Ernie Roberts (AUEW) on 'What the trade union movement can do.'

PRACTICAL STEPS

This discussion will be of value only if it draws out certain practical steps which can be taken

by the trade union movement to combat racialism. It must face up to the need to make the movement the fighting organisation of *all* workers, including black workers. This will bring out such questions as the unionisation of black workers, their special needs and forms of oppression, and recognition of their right to self-organisation within the unions to combat racialism if the movement itself. The conference must also consider how trade unions can relate to the problem of racialism at all levels of society, not just in industry.

The conference has come about largely from the experience of workers in particular struggles involving these questions. A central part of the conference will therefore be a discussion of the practical steps that have already been taken and how these can be more widely applied. Especially important in this respect are such (at the moment) isolated organisational forms as Trades Council sub-committees against racialism, the International branch of the T&GWU in London, local action committees of workers against racialism, etc.

The Birmingham conference will only be a first step, but it is a very necessary one. Every effort must be made not only to build for it but to seize this opportunity of going beyond empty resolution-passing to practical steps which can smash the hold of racialism and unite the working class.

For further details contact: B. Bunsee, 20:03 Victoria Centre, Nottingham (tel. 47304).

UPTURN AT FINE TUBES

As the strike at Fine Tubes in Plymouth moves into its fourth year, the blacking of essential ammonia supplies threatens to halt production of the company's steel tubes.

Domestic Chemicals of Exeter, the original suppliers, are now blacked throughout the South West, after breaking an agreement not to cross the Fine Tubes picket line. Calor Gas has also received similar treatment — at the hands of ICI (Sevenside), where the convenor informed ICI management in April that unless Calor Gas undertook not to supply Fine Tubes, sub-contractors' lorries would not be loaded with ammonia from ICI. Fine Tubes' response has been to issue writs against ICI and the T&GWU.

At the same time there have been some setbacks in the blacking campaign. At the end of March the strike committee received a letter from the Joint Shop Stewards Committee at Rolls Royce, Derby, informing them that the blacking of the engine division's products was being lifted because 'we could not jeopardise

Jenkins' golden goose

The annual conference of the technical and supervisory union, ASTMS, at Eastbourne last week, showed the dangers facing the trade unions from 'leaders' who would rather boast and manoeuvre than fight. Though resolutions were passed declaring 'total opposition' to the Industrial Relations Act and state control of wages, the Executive successfully foiled a motion to forbid co-operation in the legal machinery of the Act. Union chief Clive Jenkins, fresh from revelations of his dealings in council property, pleaded for a mandate to fight 'realistically' for the 'best interests' of the members in the NIRC.

Hand in hand with this touching concern for the rank-and-file went the Executive majority's drive to get a firmer grip on the union machine. Their blatantly anti-democratic move to prevent branches from amending Executive-proposed rule changes was thrown out, but they succeeded in bringing in an altered procedure for appeals against expulsion.

The conceited and elitist attitudes of the Jenkins leadership — that 'we are the geese who lay the golden eggs' — become increasingly dangerous in face of a Government bent on striking blows at the gains of *all* trade unions. ASTMS branches must take this conference as a warning for the next one — and give full attention to selecting resolutions, delegates and an Executive which will make it the starting point for a serious fight against the employers' offensive.

the jobs of our members'. But the overall production situation at Fine Tubes continues to deteriorate.

In particular, morale on the shopfloor, where the workforce has dropped from 250 at the beginning of the strike to around 140, is extremely low. Over 60 blacklegs have left the company in the past six weeks, and many have experienced difficulty in finding work elsewhere in Plymouth, since local employers are concerned about upsetting their own workers.

On the day of the national picket in March, which was broken up by police, workers at Arrow Hart held a one-hour sympathy stoppage. This was one of the first signs of organised local support for the 32 remaining strikers, who are determined to break the American-owned company's opposition to trade unions. Hammersmith and Kensington Trades Council is holding a dance and social in support of the strike at Fulham Town Hall at 7.30 pm on Saturday, 2 June. Tickets at 75p from J. Hoskins, 6 Birbeck Avenue, Acton, London W. 3.

The Revolutionary Marxist Group (Belfast branch) reports on the Local Elections in the North of Ireland, 30 May.

The local elections are a deceitful game played by the British with the lives of the Irish people. 'Now you have a say' the headlines have read in the newspaper advertisements, but the most cursory glance at the powers of the district bodies to be elected makes clear the lie of the statement.

All the British propagandists can manage is: 'they will provide a wide range of important local services — safety at your job; protecting the consumer; planning art festivals; control of air pollution; environmental health; sports facilities.' Not exactly impressive. Other duties are a weak advisory role to suggest appointments to the local boards which will deal with the more important aspects of local government.

Perhaps for safety at work the British mean safety in the dole queues, perhaps for sports facilities they mean new grounds for the British Army to occupy, and perhaps to help cut pollution, to make the environment healthier and to protect the consumer they will take the British Occupation Forces off our streets. For the truth is that to talk of local government power is to hide from reality. The entire fabric of life is dominated by the British military presence, the Imperialist jackboot. The vocabulary of local government, consumer protection, environment, etc., is at present empty rhetoric. While the B.O.F. are here there can be no normal life and while Imperialism controls this country the people can have no power.

The White Paper made it crystal clear in one of the most important single paragraphs in the proposals, that the British Government considers it as a right for it to legislate on all matters concerning the six counties — overriding the views of the people in the true British 'democratic' manner.

'It must and will be made clear that such devolution does not diminish in any way the right of the United Kingdom Parliament to legislate for Northern Ireland, as for any part of the United Kingdom, in relation to any matter whatsoever.' (par. 34).

But with the elections the British Government want to restore an illusion of democracy. The elections give the voter no choice — the deci-

WHITELAW'S LOCAL ELECTIONS: PREPARING THE CONFIDENCE TRICK

COLLABORATION is as easy as 1,2,3..



Don't Vote for British Strategy
BOYCOTT the ELECTION!



Revolutionary Marxist Group — Belfast

Election poster produced by Belfast RMG.

sions are taken at Westminster and Whitehall. To take part in the elections, to go forward as candidates or to vote, is to help the British foster this illusion — it must be opposed. The elections must be boycotted.

Yet some would argue otherwise. The Republican Clubs want to give the people a voice in local government and put forward their radical policies. The role of the local government bodies does not include such matters as housing, education and nationalisation. These will, presumably, be more the territory of the Assembly (though this is uncertain as the

British Government will not be announcing the powers of the Assembly for some time yet). The Republican Clubs realise this and unequivocally call for the withdrawal of the British and the establishment of a 32 County Socialist Republic in their election manifesto.

Nevertheless, it must be said that to take part in the elections is a dangerous tactic at the present time. Any policy which attempts to steer the people's attention towards the British 'solution' machinery rather than encouraging people to assume control of their own lives through the building of their own organs of power must be considered carefully. Inevitably such a policy helps Britain to restore the democratic illusion, helps them in their attempts to 'normalise' the situation, and to rebuild the Imperialist exploitation system. It is essentially a defeatist policy — 'we will build a Socialist Republic, but in the meantime ... take in the British game' they seem to be saying.

SDLP

Other groups contesting the election have more obviously sinister aims. It is plain that the SDLP are not concerned with justice, but with the success of Imperialism's schemes out of self-interest — an easy life in the comfort of a privileged position in the imperialist system is their ambition. They will do everything they can to prevent the working class taking power. But they aren't stupid, and they pose as the working class's protectors and will criticise British Army brutality when it is necessary to keep face with the electorate.

SDLP candidates are now standing in areas which never before even saw SDLP men and they have issued a manifesto. It is an interesting piece of writing even if it does not include any

mention of a policy. It is good propaganda, but utter rubbish. 'We shall not run from the battle now,' they say — what men! what heroes! — 'nor reject the first small advance of reform when it presents itself ... the new statutory bodies will have immense influence in the making and implementation of policy.' What drive! 'The people who will be represented by our new district councillors after May 30th must be allowed to exert their influence in the newly created corridors of power.' What nonsense.

Either the SDLP does not have the slightest idea what these local elections are all about or they are intentionally trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the anti-unionist people. In effect, they are proving probably the British Government's best propaganda agents against the nationalist population.

John Hume has described the party's representation in the elections as the biggest anti-Unionist challenge in the history of Northern Ireland. If it had been left to them, the SDLP say, internment would have ended long ago, the Provisionals have caused internment's continuation. So, according to the SDLP those who defend themselves against repression are to be blamed for that repression!

BLEATING

The manifesto claims the SDLP was responsible for bringing 'improved conditions for internees and political prisoners,' proportional representation (PR), and fairer housing allocation. The way the SDLP distorts the truth is impressive. It has not been their pathetic parliamentary bleating, but the people through their concerted pressure that forced the British Government to grant what pitiful reforms they have so far given. And it is the people who can go on to force Britain to relinquish control altogether.

The SDLP has not been needed over the past three years, it has been irrelevant. They have merely hung on behind the people's struggle, squeaking in echo of the demands of the people, fearful lest they be forgotten about. We did not need them then and we don't need them now.

If the SDLP led the anti-unionist people then internment would have been ended — but it would be because of a surrender to the British, surrender to British Army violence, surrender to Imperialist injustice and exploitation. The SDLP's role as fifth columnists for Imperialism could hardly be clearer.

The only aim mentioned in the SDLP manifesto is contained in one sentence — 'by a good showing at these and the assembly elections, we shall continue our fight to free all the internees and convicted political prisoners and to have internment and all repressive laws scrapped.' Just how they propose to do all this they do not explain, but of course it is obvious that if the people capitulate and accept Britain's rule without question then Britain would have no need of repressive legislation. Their presence in local government or in the Assembly will do nothing for the internees or for the people. Their promises are but frauds. They pretend the British will give justice but the ordinary people know the justice of the British — Special Powers, Internment, Bloody Sunday, the Paras, Diplock.

MODERATES

In many ways the local government elections will be a test-run for the Assembly elections a month later. First PR can be tested — it can be seen how much it helps the 'moderates.' The outcome of the May elections will give Britain a chance to plan with confidence what powers can be given to the assembly as they will then know roughly who will be in it. The May 30 elections have just about as little importance for the people of the Six Counties as that — Britain getting ready for the Assembly elections. The little illusion to prepare for the big confidence trick.

And it will be a test for the 'enlightened' unionists — the Alliance Party in particular. It will be their first election and their propaganda machine has been working overtime. The *Irish Times* (May 8) described the policies of the Republican Clubs and of Alliance as 'not differing widely.' But while the Republican Clubs are using the elections as a (possibly mistaken) part in their strategy towards the Socialist Republic, Alliance believe, as presumably the SDLP do too, that justice can be achieved under a British six county framework. But they are wrong. Lack of jobs, housing and amenities is not the root of the problem — but a symptom of Imperialist domination. While we are ruled and controlled by the British there will be no justice, and the last three years have shown this graphically.

Only a continued resistance campaign will force reform and eventual withdrawal by the British. Only then will it be possible to have a just society in Ireland — when the people take control in a Socialist Republic.

REPORT: A.I.L. 'TROOPS' CONFERENCE

The Anti-Internment League conference last Saturday on 'The British Labour Movement and the British Army in Ireland' could not have been more timely. One of its original aims had been to explain the way in which a major wave of repression in Britain was being prepared in Ireland. The fact that the repression was already under way before the conference brought a sharpness and immediacy to its discussions.

Nearly 300 delegates and observers from all over England, Scotland and Wales attended. They came from AIL branches, Irish organisations, Student Unions and Socialist Societies, Trade Union branches and Trades Councils. The trade union representation indicated the growing awareness within the organised working class that the issue of the Irish struggle could not be ignored in any fight against the repression in Britain. Delegates and observers, came from branches of the ASTMS, AUEW, ATTI, EPTU, T&GWU, Boilermakers Society, AUEW (TASS), UCATT, NUT, NGA, NUJ and Artists Union, from Oxford, Westminster, and Brighton Trades Councils, and also from 'Big Flame', Rank and File, and the Claimants and Unemployed Workers Union. A message of support from South Shields Trades Council was read out: this trades council has already launched a local campaign against Army recruitment, linking it to the issue of local unemployment. There was also a message from Benny Bunsee, one of the leaders of the militant black workers in the Mansfield Hosiery Mills strike.

In the opening session Gery Lawless spoke on the political background to the current crisis in the North of Ireland, and the impending failure of the White Paper. There were also speakers from the Belfast Ten Defence Committee, and the Coventry Prisoners Defence



Above (left to right): Capt. James Kelly, Gery Lawless, Jack Dromey, Rock Tansey and Brian Rose-Smith.

Committee. In the second session Captain James Kelly, a former member of Free State Army Intelligence, explained the way in which the theories of Brigadier Kitson were being implemented in the North of Ireland. Rock Tansey and Brian Rose-Smith of the Haldane Society spoke on the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Bill, and Jack Dromey of the National Council for Civil Liberties gave examples of the repression, and the way in which the facts were being covered up in the press. In the evening Jonathan Rosenhead, Hilary Rose and Tim Shallice from the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science spoke on 'The Technology of Repression', and Bob Purdie, AIL Organiser, led off a discussion on the way in which the Irish question could be taken up inside the labour movement.

The conclusions drawn from the conference could be summed up by a statement distributed there by the AIL:

'This wave of repression is caused by the failure of the White Paper. The British Government has not been able to erase the sectarian basis of the Unionist Party, or to stabilise the situation without the collaboration of bigots like Faulkner. The Catholic minority has continued to resist such a British settlement. British imperialism must crush them, before their inability to solve the 'Irish Problem' is exposed. But the 'Irish Problem' is in reality Ireland's British

problem, created by 800 years of oppression, and the methods used by the British ruling class to ensure its continued domination of Ireland, and the exploitation of Ireland's resources and people. The British working class must support only those solutions which give the Irish people, as a whole, the right to solve Ireland's problems, and deny any further interference by British imperialism. The central demand must be for the immediate withdrawal of British troops, the political prisoners and detainees must be released, and all repressive legislation abolished. Unless the British working class uses its strength to win these demands, the methods now being used in Ireland will be turned against them.'

The conference also passed the following resolution:

'This conference, having discussed the current repression in Ireland, and its implications for Britain, warns the British labour movement, and the socialist and Irish organisations in Britain, of the grave dangers posed by the current wave of repression. We call on all the above organisations to support the creation of united front committees to oppose the repression in Ireland and Britain, and especially to defend the victims of repression — in particular, the Belfast Ten and the Coventry Six.'

Bob Purdie



As the trade union leaders talk, the State prepares to make war on the picket lines. The flying picket is a real threat to the employers and the Government. As they learnt in the miners' strike, the flying picket wins strikes, wins over the active solidarity of other workers, and raises the participation of the rank and file in strikes to a dangerously high level. Its use in the fight against Phase 2 could have seriously upset the calculations of both Government and TUC. The fact that the flying picket can be used to outflank the trade union bureaucracy in this way is a weighty consideration with the Government as they plan ahead to meet the storms of Phase 3.

New Precedents

The Shrewsbury case is an attempt to create new legal precedents against picketing. This was one of the aims of the Industrial Relations Act. But following the massive campaign against the Act, and the jailing of the five dockers, the Industrial Relations Act has become so unpopular with the working class that its use must await another day. The Act

of 1972 now has a firm reputation in the working class of being a 'political' piece of legislation. The working class movement has a long memory. It remembers 1926 and the Tolpuddle Martyrs. But unfortunately it has forgotten the circumstances surrounding the legislation of 1875 under which the Shrewsbury 24 face conspiracy charges. The 1875 laws were a reprisal for rights won by the unions in 1874. But they are liable to be regarded by the working class as part of normal 'criminal' law.

This distinction between a 'political' law and a 'criminal' law passed in obscure and forgotten circumstances, offers the Government great advantages. Even though this distinction lacks a factual basis as far as these two particular laws are concerned (the Industrial Relations Act is designed to make many trade union activities into criminal offences), the working class is not yet in permanent activity and agitation over Shrewsbury.

This passivity has been encouraged by the trade union bureaucracy. The leadership of the construction union, UCATT, led the way by withdrawing their previous offer of financial aid for the defence. Now the TUC, in a letter to

Flint Trades Council, have done their best to reinforce this attitude. They refer to cases under the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act against workers on picket duty, 'who have in the view of the police officers on the spot committed acts outside the definition of peaceful picketing. Trades Councils should not encourage delegates or affiliated branches to take part in any industrial action in support of workers before the Court on charges arising from the Act unless requested to do so by the NECs of the Unions concerned.'

Law of 1361

The tactic of adapting the well-established criminal law is also being used elsewhere. In the St. Thomas's Hospital site case in London, some pickets have been charged under a law of 1361.

Our task is to make it clear to the ruling class that any worker jailed for picketing, whether under 'criminal' or 'political' law, will be supported by a repeat of the action taken over the Pentonville 5. Mass industrial struggle is the best means of defence against class law. There must be no distinction drawn, for the purposes

of the class struggle between 1875 or 1972, between Shrewsbury or Pentonville.

But whoever put it on the books in the first place, the law operates *against* the working class in struggle. Take the charge of conspiracy. This is a traditional makeweight. Thousands of people have pleaded guilty to charges they know to be false because the police slapped on the additional charge of conspiracy - easy to 'prove', and carrying an unlimited sentence. The police offer to drop it in return for an admission to the main charge or charges. This is a piece of institutionalised intimidation, used quite arbitrarily by the police when they want to get a conviction, and also used against the 24.

Neither is the judiciary above the class struggle. In last year's miners' strike, for example, pickets found themselves facing scab lorry drivers driving coal at 50 mph through the line with police connivance (one miner was killed in this way). When a complaint was made to the Director of Public Prosecutions about one lorry driver wielding an iron bar (he appeared on the front page of the *Daily Mirror*), the response was that: 'It would be necessary to prove that the truck driver carried the iron bar with the inten-

Sheffield and Rotherham Committee

In the forefront of the fight to defend picketing is the recently formed Sheffield & Rotherham Committee for the Defence of the Shrewsbury 24. For last Friday's demonstration in Shrewsbury it mobilised over 30 militants, including four stewards from Firth Brown, two delegates from Davey United, and five representatives from building sites in the area.

Since a handful of building workers in the area took the initiative in setting up the committee, it has been active in raising money for the 24. On May Day it collected £44 towards the defence. It has raised donations from trades councils, shop stewards committees and the issue is being raised on the District Committee of the AUEW. The Committee clearly understands the need to continue helping the defence fund, in view of the reluctance of the trade union bureaucracy to engage in any activity on Shrewsbury.

In order to deepen and extend the campaign, the Committee is planning to organise a Conference on Repression and Picketing for late June. One of the Committee members explained that the conference would be 'centred on Shrewsbury but would discuss the whole issue of state repression and what measures could be taken against it'. The Committee hopes to get speakers from among the Shrewsbury 24, miners, dockers and other groups of workers who have first-hand experience of the problem. Further details will be published in future issues of *Red Weekly*.



SHREWSBURY DEMO-JUST A BEGINNING

Over 400 people demonstrated in Shrewsbury last Friday, when seven of the 24 building workers facing conspiracy and other charges came up in the Court for their second hearing.

On this occasion, knowing in advance that the Communist Party in particular had mobilised its forces for the anti-lump lobby in London, the police did not set up road blocks. But while a rally took place outside the Court, about

50 police marched around the forecourt in military formation in an apparent attempt to emphasise the might of the State.

The seven were committed to the Crown Court at Mold in North Wales at a date which has yet to be fixed. But the men still have to return along with the other 17 to Shrewsbury on 15 June to face further charges. This uncertainty about the timing of the proceedings is one of

the main dangers in building an ongoing defence campaign.

Delegations of varying sizes came from many parts of the country, including places as far away as Glasgow and Colchester. These represented building sites, trade union branches, trades councils, rank and file groups such as Charter, etc. The wide area from which support was drawn shows the growing potential for

PICKETS THE ES RE OWN



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tion of using it to injure . . . I do not therefore propose to take any action in the matter.'

Police

'Conspiracy' and 'intimidation' are sinister words. The ruling class hope that workers will be confused into making a distinction, for the purpose of deciding their response, between 'peaceful' and 'violent' picketing. So, as we have seen above, does the TUC.

But the ruling class is not so scrupulous when it comes to employing its own particular weapons — and the weapons it uses are precisely those servants of the state which are supposed to be so neutral in the struggle; the police. At the St. Thomas's Hospital site in London, a squad of police waded into a picket line to let through a specially reinforced van loaded with scab labour. Unfortunately, the pickets were unable to distinguish between the 'violent' policemen and the 'nonviolent' policemen as they were being hurled across the street. Neither did they have any courts in which they could put the offending policemen on trial.

The hypocrisy of ruling class spokesmen is shown clearly when we come to look at the physical preparations being made. Earlier this year, the Tories strengthened the Special Patrol Groups (originally set up by Wilson). The regular police are increasingly unable to deal with the trade union movement, but use of the army is politically premature. The SPG is therefore trained in the military techniques of the army, but at the same time appears as just another part of the conventional police force. Small, highly mobile and armed, it has been used in the shooting of two Pakistani workers in the Indian High Commission and has attacked picket lines in London and Hull.

The release of the Shrewsbury 24, though vital, will not solve these problems. Consequently, the campaign must also address itself to these questions. It is not just a matter of defending pickets over the summer, when the form of struggle is likely to be local, or of readiness for the big struggles of the winter.

Centralisation

Any future general strike, if taken seriously, involves maximum use, centralisation and defence

of pickets. And any successful socialist revolution involves the ability to deal with deep rooted prejudices about the State which will stand in the way if not confronted in advance.

Programme

Today we must begin with a programme for the effective defence of picketing. The police rely on creating the impression of greater strength than they actually possess. Numbers can easily overcome this. At Saltley last year, police were able to break and intimidate picket lines until thousands of workers joined the line, calling the police bluff. But the police are also highly mobile and centralised. This means that local organisations, such as trades councils, should create action committees to co-ordinate the defence of pickets at a moment's notice — committees based on delegates from the workplaces in the area, not just branch officials.

As the class struggle intensifies, the ruling class will not rest content with police, even armed police. In any general strike situation, for example, the ruling class, as at St. Thomas's, will not apply moral criteria or drawing-room

distinctions, but carefully weigh the balance of forces. In all capitalist countries, and Britain has proved in the past to be no exception, police and troops have shot down strikers, pickets and demonstrators without scruple.

We have to base ourselves on the situation as it is, not as we would like it to be. The right to picket will never be defended by appealing to standards of democracy or legality for which the ruling class no longer have any use. We must learn the lesson of the past that the only way the right to picket can be defended is by depriving the class enemy of its monopoly over the means of intimidation and its monopoly of armed force. Wherever the relationship of forces permits, militants must now begin to take up whatever physical means are necessary to defeat the enemy on the picket lines. It is in these clashes with the bourgeois state that the working class will be steeled to carry out an indispensable task if socialism is ever to be established: the crushing of the capitalist judiciary, its police and the armed forces once and for all.

Ed Wyatt

achieving a national impact on this issue. However this will not be the case unless the major political tendencies swing in their forces behind this campaign; it was all too evident last Friday that only the International Marxist Group, with a contingent of well over 100, had mobilised nationally for this demonstration.

BEGINNING

After the hearing there was a march through the town and a rally. The speakers emphasised that this must be the beginning of a campaign to draw in the entire labour movement in defence of the Shrewsbury 24, and several drew a parallel between this case and the struggle over the Pentonville 5. As Ian Stephenson, a building site convener from Rotherham, put it: 'The ruling class is faced with the problem of how to stop effective picketing. It is hoping to divide the working class by using the criminal law instead of the Industrial Relations Act, but the response to both must be the same.'

Jim Kemp, a London building convener, made it clear that 'the Tories are finding excuses to set new legal precedents against picketing. This is a test case for the entire labour movement.' He handed over a £61 donation to the defence fund and reported that the London Joint Sites Committee was attempting to get Eric Heffer MP to sponsor a committee for the defence of picketing.

Such initiatives must be taken up elsewhere and a national publicity campaign launched to ensure that when the 24 come up again they will be backed by a big show of force. As Dave Jackson, leader of the North Wales Defence Committee, said at the end of the rally: 'We would appeal to all, not just trade unionists, but every worker, because this is a blatant attack on the working class. If anybody thought this was not a political trial, they should have been here in Shrewsbury on March 15th and seen the numbers of police brought in to intimidate us. We hope that the left-wing press will continue to co-operate with us, publicise our case and give us support.'

Contributions to: M.R. Williams, Building Workers Social Fund, 1 Fford Pentre, Ocean View, Carmel, Holywell, Flintshire.



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- Photos:**
- 1 Police march in military formation outside the Court.
 - 2 Part of the rally.
 - 3 Demonstration moves off from the court with the seven at its head.
 - 4 Liverpool electricians' leader John Byrne speaks at the rally.
 - 5 A section of the picket.
 - 6 Part of IMG contingent on the demonstration through Shrewsbury.
 - 7 Outside court, police 'at ease' behind picketers.



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CAMBODIA: 'THE ROAD TO FREEDOM'

Cambodia in the South-East Asian War, by Malcolm Caldwell and Lek Hor Tan (Monthly Review, £6.45)

My War with the CIA, by Norodom Sihanouk and Wilfred Burchett (Pelican, 60p)

James Rebell

Nearly four months after the signing of the Paris ceasefire agreement, the war in Indochina continues — and continues to get worse for the Americans and their native allies.

On 16 April American planes officially started to bomb Laos again, and threats of a resumption of American bombing in Vietnam itself lie behind the new talks between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho. Nowhere has the situation deteriorated more for the Americans than in Cambodia, which makes the recent publication of these two books all the more timely. Both centre around the attempt of ex-King Sihanouk to chart a neutral course for Cambodia, an attempt which ended abruptly with Lon Nol's CIA-backed coup on 18 March, 1970.

Sihanouk has much in common with a series of 'Third World' leaders who during the Fifties and early Sixties tried to chart out a native 'socialist' course for their countries, which they saw as avoiding the pitfalls of either capitalism or Russian-style 'communism.' Nehru's Indian socialism, Nasser's Egyptian socialism, and Sihanouk's Khmer socialism were all of this variety.

What these leaders tried to do was to develop state-owned (and hence partially planned) industry, particularly heavy industry, which they could then use to industrialise their countries. In order to get sufficient capital, however, they had to obtain aid from capitalist countries, particularly from the United States — and the United States is only interested in the development of private enterprise economies. Within the countries concerned there soon developed a native capitalist class which, backed by the US, demanded the denationalisation of state industries for the benefit of private capital. Balanced between American imperialism and native capitalism on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist sentiments of the predominantly peasant masses on the other, the 'charisma' of these leaders had to give way sooner or later to imperialism — or take the side of the revolution.

Sihanouk's skill allowed him to balance longer than the other leaders of his type — a difficult feat indeed when Cambodia was both directly and indirectly involved in the Vietnam war. But the inevitable showdown came: the coup of March 1970 was the culmination of over a decade of similar attempts, and was expected by everyone but Sihanouk himself. Sihanouk is exceptional only because unlike his counterparts he chose to side with the forces of the revolution — the Cambodian peasants and the Cambodian communists (Red Khmers).

The overthrow of Sihanouk was to turn into one of the biggest American disasters of the



Sihanouk: Touring liberated areas.

entire war. Two months after Lon Nol's coup, US and Saigon troops were forced to intervene, supposedly to destroy the 'Vietnamese Pentagon' in Eastern Cambodia. The international upsurge of the anti-war movement which this provoked was paralleled within Cambodia by a rapid reinforcement of the Cambodian liberation fighters and a humiliating withdrawal of the South Vietnamese troops. In July 1970 the liberation forces were able to claim control of 50 per cent of Cambodia; the figures today are over 80 per cent, with most of the rest of the territory disputed, and 5 million of the total population of 7 million.

In contrast to Laos and Vietnam there is no ceasefire agreement. Indeed, shortly after the January agreements the Cambodian liberation forces launched their most successful offensive.

On 17 March a pilot from the Cambodian armed forces strafed the presidential palace before flying off to the liberated territories. Lon Nol was forced to declare a state of general emergency and do away with the remaining civil liberties. A month later only massive B-52 bombing prevented the fall of Phnom Penh, the capital, after the liberation forces had cut off all supply routes. While the Americans desperately tried to construct a more 'representative' government, Sihanouk was concluding a triumphant week-long journey through the liberated areas.

Both books are excellent in providing a background to the present events in Cambodia. They take up such questions as the use of American 'aid' as a tool of imperialist aggression; the absence of a developed, stable national bourgeoisie; the impossibility of any neutrality other than an 'anti-imperialist neutrality' (Sihanouk's phrase); the role of the CIA and its native clients; the close relationship of events in Cambodia to developments elsewhere in South-East Asia. In addition, both books point out the particularly pernicious role of the Soviet Union, whose recognition and support of the Lon Nol regime derives from the bureaucracy's conception of 'peaceful co-existence' and the rivalry with China.

The emphasis on Sihanouk leaves some unanswered questions about the exact nature of the revolutionary process taking place in Cambodia and the forces shaping it. What is the role of the Red Khmers, for instance? Only with such knowledge can one fully assess the current role of Sihanouk and his Chinese backers.

Nevertheless, the main lesson, learned the hard way by Sihanouk, is there for all to see: 'In the end it was the Americans who drove home the bitter lesson that imperialists leave only one road to freedom, once they have marked a country down as their prey: that is the road of armed struggle as defined by Ho Chi Minh.'

BRECHT AND THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The Mother, by Bertolt Brecht (Half Moon Theatre, 27 Alie. Street, London E.1. to 26 May)/Nick Adams

Apparently, Brecht kept a toy donkey on his desk with a notice around its neck saying 'Even I must understand it'. The donkey might have had trouble with *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (shown on BBC 2 a couple of weeks ago) but *The Mother* would have been no problem.

The play opens in 1905 in Tsarist Russia. A middle-aged woman is drawn into political activity initially only to help her son in the dangerous tasks he has to do. However once involved she grows in political stature and we follow her life right through to October 1917. The only other character Brecht presents in any detail is the intellectual schoolteacher who finds Marxism 'interesting but full of holes'. He too is drawn into revolutionary politics but pathetic-

ally tries to retain his intellectual neutrality. If the mother and the teacher are the only characters portrayed in depth it is because the play is not about the people in it. They are only given enough flesh and blood (dramatically speaking) as is necessary to explain the process of revolution.

SOCIAL ORDER

Brecht's main emphasis in *The Mother* is on the need for the working class to go beyond the trade union struggle in the factory and confront the whole social order — the government, the army, etc. Many scenes show the necessity to fight for more than just another kopek — the need for solidarity, the need to confront the violence of the State — and a very important scene explains why it is necessary to take a defeatist position on imperialist war.

If there is a weakness in the play it is not one of historical inaccuracies, still less a lack of character portrayal, but in its vagueness as to what the political struggle should consist of.

For example, on the question of the State Brecht uses several curious formulations like 'Take the State and turn the whole thing upside down', or 'Take power in the State'. He nowhere specifies actually smashing the State and only refers in passing to the need for the workers to organise their own armed forces. In calling for more than the trade union struggle



Mary Sheen as the mother and, left to right, Alex Leppard as her son, Robin Summers as Andrei Nakhodka, Geoffrey Wilkinson as Anton Rubin and Kevin Costello as Ivan Vesovchikov. (Photo: Peter Harrap, Report)

Brecht relies on rather abstract notions of solidarity, the fight for socialism, why communism is 'just', etc.

Brecht was not concerned with writing good

literature for its own sake but in using the medium of the theatre for political ends. Criticism of his work must take as its starting point the plays' politics. As to the form of *The Mother* its simplicity is in some ways preferable to Brecht's later plays, precisely because the politics of the play are so clear. But more important in the context in which *The Mother* is being shown.

TAKEN OVER

The Half-Moon Theatre has been quite successful in the past in building up a local working class audience. However for *The Mother* the theatre has been taken over by the 'theatre-goers' of central London since the play received good reviews in the national press. On the night I went there was hardly a worker in the place, there were even the dulcet tones of mid-west America to be heard, and when someone in the audience asked for a discussion at the end of the play the actors were on their way to the pub and the audience were very hostile — after all, didn't they come to be 'entertained' and anyway who wants to talk about the Russian revolution, it's all past history now, isn't it?

If anybody is serious about using the theatre politically it is not enough just to do the right plays, they have got to be seen by the right people. If the working class won't go to the theatre (which is hardly surprising since as an institution it is openly class-ridden in favour of the bourgeoisie), the theatre must be taken to the class — trade union schools, meetings, conferences, etc. In this context this production of *The Mother* would have been an effective piece of agitational theatre.



DILLON, MORRISSEY AND OTHERS SEVER LINKS WITH SAOR EIRE

Portlaoise Prison: Friday, May 18th 1973
We the undersigned Political Prisoners in Portlaoise Prison wish to publicly state that we have severed any connections which we have or ever had with the organisation calling itself Saor Eire. In this action we are following the lead of other genuine political elements who have resigned. Our reasons being the following:—
(1) That Saor Eire originally was constituted to combat Imperialism in Ireland. During the last two years owing to political weaknesses in the structure of that organisation undesirable elements have been able to operate around its fringe and carry out actions under the name of Saor Eire which had nothing in common with the stated objectives of that organisation. As a consequence of the activities of these pseudo-political individuals genuine revolutionaries have been in

danger of being tarred with the same brush, their political integrity questioned and the possibility of their credibility with other revolutionary organisations tarnished. As this element now seems to constitute the leadership of that organisation we feel it our duty as revolutionaries to point out to the Republican Socialist Movement the degeneracy of that collection of individuals.

(2) Furthermore these people have not alone been content to use that organisation for their own personal ends but have gone so far as to interfere with the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland by using harassment and bully-boy tactics against life long members and supporters of the Republican Movement. As has been stated in numerous press articles a cloud of mystery still hangs over the brutal murder of a sincere and dedicated revolutionary, Peter Graham, in October 1971. Saor Eire once operated as a sincere revolutionary organisation. For us, it does no more.

In conclusion we again wish to reaffirm our allegiance to the establishment of a Democratic Workers' Republic in Ireland and pledge our support to the revolutionary forces who are struggling to attain it.

Martin Casey (Dublin) Eugene Norrby (Derry)
Sean Morrissey (Tipperary) Paddy Dillon (Dublin)
Joseph Dillon (Dublin) Donal Dimsen (Cork)
Donal O Laoghaire (Cork) Danny McOwen (Dublin)

LEEDS CONFERENCE ON THE FAMILY

I would like to correct two points made in the report in last week's *Red Weekly* of the Leeds Conference on 'The Family'.

1. To say the 'revolutionary socialist' position was almost exclusively represented by IMG and its supporters is in my view incorrect and sectarian. Very many of the 400 who attended that conference do situate the problem of women's oppression and analysis of the family in a class context, i.e. attempt to work from an understanding of class society and the conflict of class interests to an understanding of the family and the oppression of women. They also, on the basis of this, understand and accept the need to work for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist society and see the struggle against the oppression of women within this context. Any other definition of a revolutionary socialist is sectarian.

2. The Genotdel was not, so far as I am aware, the equivalent of the women's liberation movement, but rather part of the party apparatus which took responsibility for organising and developing work with and on questions relating to women.

What I think was important about the conference, which the report did not go into, was that it represented an increasing awareness within a section of women's liberation of the need to clarify its analysis and positions within a socialist framework. It followed on from the Birmingham conference on Sexism and Capitalism, and hopefully is only one of a series of such conferences.

The movement does not and cannot develop in isolation from the economic and social crisis, the class struggle, the revolutionary struggle. The discussion in Leeds, particularly in the workshops, indicated an increasing awareness of this fact within a large and growing section of the women's liberation movement.
Linda Smith



News that has reached the West in the past few months points to a major upsurge in working class militancy in the south of Ukraine — one of the Soviet Union's most important industrial regions.

On 25 June last year, it is reported, 10,000 people rioted for two days in Dniprodzerzhinsk, a city with a population of 270,000. The rioters stormed the KGB (Soviet state security) and MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) buildings and caused considerable damage. All political documents, passport registrations and private files of citizens were destroyed. Eventually KGB and militia units were called to the scene and opened fire on the people. Estimates of the dead and injured range from 7 dead and 80 injured to scores of dead and injured. The riot was sparked off, according to one report, by the arrest of several youths who had been taunting a militia man.

Large strikes for better living standards are also reported to have taken place last September in Dnipropetrovsk, a major industrial city in southern Ukraine (and Brezhnev's 'home town'). Five persons were reported killed, and many wounded. Nevertheless further riots are reported to have taken place in the same city in October, with workers demanding food produce, better living conditions, and the right to choose jobs instead of being assigned to them. That month also saw more riots in Dniprodzerzhinsk, where 8 were reported killed, many wounded, and scores arrested.

These strikes and riots of workers in Ukraine came at a time when the Soviet bureaucracy was carrying out a campaign of mass arrests against Ukrainian oppositionists who opposed the continuing Stalinist nationalities policy.

Official celebrations of the first anniversary of the new Sri Lanka Republic at the Ceylon High Commission on Tuesday were completely disrupted by the appearance of supporters of the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign. The latter laid wreaths in Tamil and Sinhala on the steps of the High Commission, exposing the fact that those reactionary organisations and individuals gathered to praise the achievements of the Bandaranaike regime were in fact drinking to the blood of the 25,000 youth murdered by the regime since the uprising in April, 1971.

What was to have been a smug self-satisfied public relations stunt for the regime was effectively frustrated by the CSC demonstrators. The last thing the Ceylonese officials were expecting was a situation where they would have to explain away the Government's repressive and murderous policies. The IMG, as one of the organisations supporting the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign, also sent along a delegation with a wreath in memory of those murdered by the regime.

A special bulletin with information about the massacre and an analysis of the background to it has been produced by the CSC. This and further information, details of speakers, etc. can be obtained by writing to: CSC, 9 Dennington Park Mansions, London N.W.6.

During the night of 14 May West German police raided the offices of the Maoist 'New KPD' group in all the major cities, searched dozens of flats, and took away a large quantity of material. They also arrested a member of the KPD, Jürgen Horlemann, under the Criminal Conspiracy Act.

The Political Bureau of the GIM, German section of the Fourth International, has issued a statement denouncing these acts and the series of repressive measures preceding it, which included the break-up of a KPD May Day demonstration of some 600 by thousands of police. As in last year's witch-hunt against the Red Army Fraction, the aim of the state apparatus is repression against the left as a whole. The occupation of the Bonn Town Hall in protest against Thieu's visit, an action in which the KPD was not supported by other groups, was used as a pretext to launch the repression.

The reasons for the repression are to be found in the development of the class struggle. The 'stabilisation policy' of the SPD/FDP government, designed to lower real wages, makes it harder for the trade union bureaucracy to sell a policy of conciliation to the rank and file. A series of industrial struggles — Hoesch, Mannesmann, BASF and the printers' dispute — has undermined the credibility of the trade union leadership and helped lay the basis for intervention by revolutionaries. It is the development of a revolutionary leadership in the working class that the repression is designed to stop.

The German CP, for whom the over-riding need of the moment has been that there should be 'social peace' for Brezhnev's visit to Brandt, has refused to give even token support to the KPD. The GIM statement, however, calls on all left organisations to refuse to be divided by either the manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie, the CP's machinations or the political mistakes of the KPD itself, and appeals for united action against the threat to outlaw any section of the workers' movement.

Bengali peasant leader Maulana Bhashani, still on hunger strike and in a critical condition, has rejected Mujib's appeals to break his strike. He is demanding food for the people, as thousands starve to death; the bringing to justice of those responsible for the murder of trade union and oppositionist leaders; the breaking

off of all pacts with India; and the opening of negotiations with China.

In view of the critical situation in Bengal and the role of the Mujib regime, which has lent its authority to the murder of trade unionists and political opponents, the Bengal groups in Britain have formed a common front. Many have already sent telegrams in support of Bhashani's stand, calling on Mujib to accept his demands. This Friday, 25 May, at 7.00 pm in London's Conway Hall, it is hoped to extend the campaign and to draw in a wider range of organisations and individuals at a public meeting organised by the Bengal Workers Federation.

Tariq Ali, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, was refused entry into Hong Kong on 13 May 1973 by the Immigration Department of one of British imperialism's few remaining colonies in the world. On his arrival at Hong Kong, Comrade Ali was taken into custody by the Immigration police and served with an expulsion order. When he asked the police the reasons for his exclusion from the British colony, he was told, 'We don't need to give you or anyone else any reason. We have been instructed by higher authorities that you are not to be allowed into Hong Kong.'

This is not the first occasion on which members of the Fourth International have been denied entry. Only a few months ago a Japanese Trotskyist, Wataru Yakushiji, was questioned in detail on arrival and refused entry.

This new series of restrictions on leading members of the Fourth International may not be totally unconnected with the fact that a non-Maoist left has been developing rapidly in Hong Kong, which refuses to respect either the Maoist bureaucracy or its numerous deals and arrangements with the Hong Kong authorities. The existence of a 'new left type' Chinese journal, *The Bi-Septentris Weekly*, which has been translating and publishing texts by Ernest Mandel on Trotskyism, Tariq Ali on South Asia and various other articles from *Rouge* and *The Red Mole*, is obviously viewed with distaste by both the British authorities in Hong Kong and the Maoists.

Swiss Trotskyists under attack

A bugging device planted by police was discovered during a security check at a recent conference organised by the Swiss section of the Fourth International, the LMR (Revolutionary Marxist League), near Lausanne.



One might have thought that the discovery of the device, hidden in a false ceiling of the conference hall, would have been a little embarrassing for the government; the more so since such procedures are specifically forbidden by Swiss law. But in a statement on 10 May, admitting that the bugging had federal authorisation, the Department of Police and Justice went on to say that the protection of the law did not necessarily apply to the LMR, 'an organisation tending to subvert democracy and social order, which does not exclude the resort to illegal means to achieve this'.

The LMR — one of whose leading comrades has recently been brought to trial for disobeying an order to cease political activity at Lausanne University — has been subject to harassment and constant surveillance for some time. A full-scale judicial inquiry has now been opened into its legal status on the grounds of its alleged 'subversive character'.

Switzerland, according to bourgeois myth one of the greatest success stories of parliamentary democracy and 'class peace', has long been renowned as a centre of international espionage and counter-espionage. Now, as the post-war years of class harmony come to an end throughout Europe, it is obvious that the Swiss bourgeoisie have themselves learned a few lessons from all the activity.

The dangers of repression are all the more acute in Switzerland because no less than 30% of its active workers are immigrants. Many are from southern European countries, especially Italy and Spain, and have no democratic rights in Switzerland. One of the reasons for the bourgeoisie's move against the LMR is the fact that in the short period of its existence it has consistently fought to unify the entire working class — the native workers of the Italian, French and German speaking areas of Switzerland, and the immigrant workers. The struggle to defend the LMR now becomes an extremely important concern for the socialist movement in Europe as a whole.



On 12 May, as the US stepped up the war in Cambodia and intensified bombing attacks throughout Indochina, a massive demonstration of solidarity by the struggle of the Indochinese peoples took place in Milan. Despite the boycott of the demonstration by the Italian CP, it was bigger than even the organisers had hoped, the Italian groups being joined by contingents from solidarity movements and left-wing organisations throughout Europe, including sections and sympathising groups of the Fourth International from many countries.

Japanese Left Forces Government Retreat

From TARIQ ALI in TOKYO

The largest mass mobilisation in Tokyo since the anti-US riots which shook the city in 1960 took place last Tuesday, 15 May.

The day's activities were part of a national mobilisation called by the Japanese Communist and Socialist Parties to protest against the electoral changes proposed by Prime Minister Tanaka and the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. These would allow the Liberal Democrats to hold office even if in a minority. Recent successes in local elections by the Socialists and Communists had convinced the ruling party that changes of this sort were an urgent need. However, the massive opposition to Tanaka's plans forced the Liberal Democrats to retreat, declaring that the proposals would not be put forward in the present session of the Diet (Parliament). It was last Tuesday's demonstration which clearly had the decisive effect.

Throughout the day hundreds of students and workers had been assembling at points all over Tokyo, preparing to march to a giant rally in Meiji Park. By the evening all roads leading to the Park were swathed in a sea of red flags, the Socialist Party youth organisation with their yellow helmets and linked arms providing a flashback to the student battles of recent years.

The revolutionary left, unfortunately, was divided; some groups refused to participate in the main rally, holding separate meetings instead. The Revolutionary Communist League (RCL), Japanese Section of the Fourth International, instructed all its trade union members to march under their respective trade union banners with the main rally, while the student wing arrived with its own banners, including a flag of the Vietnamese NLF (the only one to be seen on that day). They were immediately surrounded by helmeted riot police and pre-

New radicalisation of working class has been evident in big strikes like that of postal workers, see here picketing Tokyo post office.



INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP

(British Section of the Fourth International)
182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

I would like more information about the IMG.

Name:

Address:

Occupation:



IMPERIALISM IN THE FISHMARKET

Red Notes

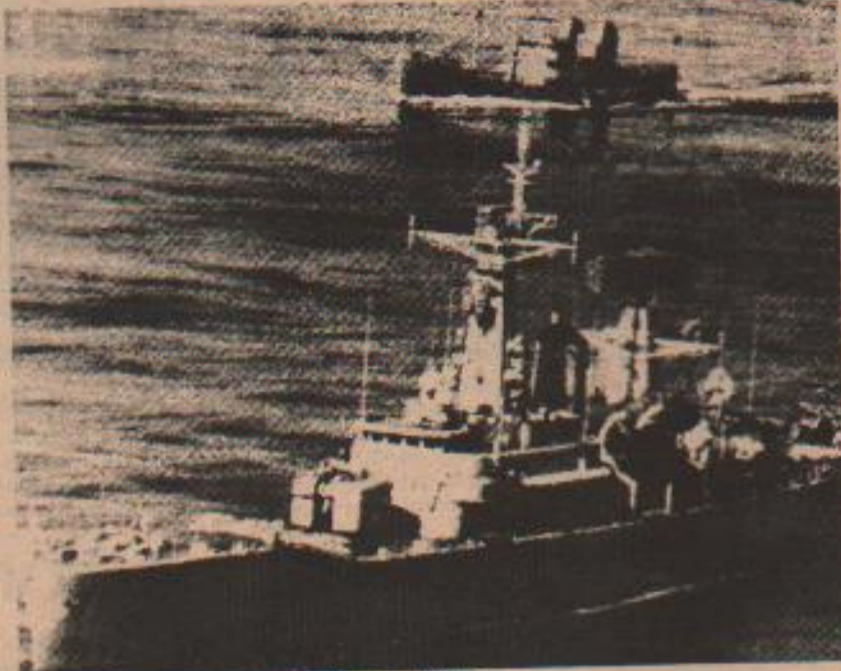
British frigates are once more roaming the high seas. But gone are the days when defence of the Empire was a glorious affair — today the business of the Senior Service is cod-poaching.

The Labour Party has been busily outdoing the Tories in patriotic calls to defend the fishing fleets from Icelandic 'piracy'. Once more the call of 'send in the Navy' has echoed through the Parliamentary lobbies.

Social Democracy, of course, is just as blood-thirsty an exponent of imperialism as are the political parties of the ruling class. Social Democrats justify this fervour by a supposed 'common interest' the workers and capitalists share in defending the booty of imperialism from foreigners. But should the British working class movement follow their social democratic leaders into the thick of the 'cod war'?

MONOPOLIES

The Royal Navy has been dispatched to defend the interests of the big food concerns such as Birds Eye, Ross, Unilever, and MacFisheries. These monopolies have exploited the fish fields off Iceland without worrying about the long-term consequences for the fish population. As a result, the fish have been getting smaller and the average catch per hour of fishing has fallen dramatically. Because over 80 per cent of Iceland's exports consist of fish, the whole future of the Icelandic economy has



British frigate encounters Icelandic gunboat.

been placed in jeopardy. In response Iceland extended its fishing limits to the 50 mile mark last year.

Faced with British intransigence, the Icelanders have adopted the tactic of cutting British trawler wires, and at the same time fighting in the international courts. The main factor restraining the British ruling class has been the fear that the Icelandic government might boot NATO out of the air base at Keflavik in retaliation. But when the Soviet Union recently refused to sell a gunboat to

Iceland, despite the fact that the Icelandic Communist Party is in the coalition government, the Heath government felt free to take up a harder stand. The soft line of the Russians — based on 'peaceful coexistence' with the imperialist powers — encouraged the British government to send in the Navy.

FALSE POLICY

The line of least resistance for the trawlermen is to support their employers in this dispute, believing that

this is the best way for British workers to increase their earnings. But this is a false policy.

Despite a rising total catch, British trawler hands remain among the lowest paid workers and suffer from a higher accident rate than in any other industry. The wages system, under which trawlermen receive a low basic wage plus a bonus dependent on the size of the catch, has not helped this situation. The only answer is the abolition of the bonus system and its replacement by a decent basic wage, with a guarantee of five days full pay each week of the year.

This would cut down the amount of overtime worked in the industry, simultaneously taking the pressure off the fish fields and providing sufficient work to make up for the effects of an Icelandic victory. It would also solve the growing problems of unemployment and underemployment in the industry. But gains such as these cannot be won by forming alliances with the big monopolies and British imperialism. Independent action by the workers is the essential first step.

EXISTENCE

The line of the left in this situation should be clear: we are for the defeat of Britain. The Icelandic working class correctly supports the 50 mile limit because the very material existence of the Icelandic economy is under attack. But this does not mean that the Icelandic capitalists will be any more generous to their workers if Iceland wins. The Icelandic fish merchants have to compete on the international market and so they are forced to increase the exploitation of their own workers. This can only be reversed by the Icelandic working class attacking the capitalist system at home.

Whichever country wins the cod war, the world's fish resources face serious depletion by the uncontrolled plundering of capitalist companies interested only in their own profits. The working class has no interest in inheriting a world whose productive capabilities have been run into the ground. The capitalist governments of the world are unable to restrain their own monopolies. Only the international labour movement has a clear interest in protecting the world's fisheries; it must fight to impose a series of controls on the international monopolies who are responsible for the present crisis.

The development of world capitalist economy has made the nation state an obstacle to the satisfaction of our social needs; it now falls to the working class, on an international plane, to solve those problems which the capitalist class is unable to deal with.

The five Birmingham building workers who face conspiracy charges after occupying the SOS 'lump' agency last February, as well as the three ATV cameramen who filmed them, were remanded on Tuesday on bail of £100 each to appear for committal proceedings at the Magistrates' Court next month.

Alan Sapper, head of the cine-technicians union ACTT, was in court for the hearing and commented afterwards that, 'we're fighting the system... it is the forces we have outside the court on the day that will count'. Steps are already being taken to mobilise in this direction, and last weekend the annual Midlands regional meeting of UCATT pledged full support for the men. Arrangements are also being made for UCATT regional secretary Ken Berlow to address the next full meeting of Birmingham Trades Council on the case.

Sussex University students are preparing a warm welcome for Professor Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard University, a prominent military-serving social scientist, when he arrives to speak there next Monday.

Huntington is perhaps best known for his advocacy of Forced Urban Draft, a strategy for use against revolutionary movements enjoying great popular support. In South Vietnam this has involved saturation bombing of the countryside to force the peasantry into cage-like 'strategic hamlets'.

The 50-strong Sussex Indochina Solidarity Committee has decided that it is essential to prevent this man from speaking, and is mobilising students on the basis of 'No Platform for War Criminals'.

New charges against the Coventry 6 were announced by police in court on Monday: conspiracy to set fire to buildings and conspiracy to cause damage, against all six. One of them was also charged with possession of sodium chlorate, nitric acid, an alarm clock, batteries, wire, and balloons. It seems likely that the date for committal will be fixed next week.

For further details, speakers, collection sheets, etc. contact the Prisoners Defence Committee, c/o 27 Paynes Lane, Hillfields, Coventry (0203 58991).

A new nationalist group in Wales — the Welsh Socialist Vanguard — held its first public meeting on Saturday, 12 May, with an attendance of about 50 people. The topic discussed was 'The Liberation Struggle in Wales Today', and members of the group made it clear that they see a need to place this in the context of a struggle for socialism, and to build links with the other revolutionary movements which already exist in Britain.

WSV are attempting to make an analysis of the economic situation in Wales within a world perspective, and see the need to place the present rationalisations and closures taking place in Wales in the context of the crisis of the capitalist system. However they see Welsh problems as being particularly acute, and plan to intervene in the working class struggle to introduce the concept of the self-determination of nations. As such they represent an important development in the hitherto confused and fragmented Welsh Nationalist movement.



Hotel workers and others picket the Mount Royal Hotel, Marble Arch, last Saturday in the latest action in protest at the sacking of Federico Martin, a Spanish porter and trade union activist who had been working to organise the hotel. The London hotel and catering trade is notorious for its super-exploitation of immigrant workers, many of them Spanish and Portuguese who have good reason to fear sacking and exploitation. Recently they have begun to fight back, especially through organising into the International Workers' branch of the T&GWU; but they still urgently need the support of other trade unionists in what is bound to be a long struggle for unionisation and recognition.

Photo: E. Nathan

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What's On ?

COMING SOON: An important film on the struggle in Ireland, produced by Lotta Continua and People's Democracy, to be shown in London from 29 May to 9 June. Shot behind Republican lines with the cooperation and participation of the people of the No-Go areas of Belfast and Derry. Information on this film may be obtained by contacting P. Oaherty, 34 Deiston Lane, London E.8.

'TEACHERS, EDUCATION AND CAPITALISM': Hull Red Circle on Thursday, 31 May at 8.00 p.m. in 'The Rose', Beverley Road.

ALMOST FREE THEATRE: 9 Rupert St. W.1. C.P. Taylor's political satire on political satire 'THE GRAND ADULTERY CONVENTION'. 8.15 p.m. nightly. 485 6274 (memb).

MEETING ON FAMILY ALLOWANCES: Saturday, 7 June, at St Luke's Church Hall, Uxbridge Road, Shepherds Bush. Organised by Shepherds Bush Women's Liberation. Jumble sale at 2.00 p.m.

BRIGHTON IMG PUBLIC MEETING to defend the Shrewsbury 24. Speaker: Steve Lynch. Wed. 30 May, 8.00 p.m., Prince George pub, Trafalgar Street (near St Peter's Cinema).

'GAY MARXIST': New revolutionary Marxist paper from the Gay Liberation Movement, price 10p inc. postage 13 for 25p, 5 for 40p, 10 for 60p, 12 for £1. Send orders and money (cheques/P.O.s made payable to Lancaster GLF) to Lancaster GLF, 19 Vicar St., Lancaster, Lancs.

DINNER AND SOCIAL: In aid of the Communist League of Australia. 7.00 p.m. on Friday, 1 June, at the Blythe Hall, Blythe Road, London W.14. (nearest tube Hammersmith/West Kensington). Tickets 60p from K. Hardy, 26 Cecil Road, London N.W.10 or from Red Weekly.

RAFFT: National conference of socialist teachers in ATTI sponsored by local Rank and File Technical Teacher groups, 16 June in Birmingham: Room 3, Digbeth Civic Hall, 15-17, 2-5. ATTI members only. More information: 81 Lansdowne Rd., London W.11.

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IMG RED FORUM: Series of introductory discussions for those in the London area on the politics of the Fourth International. Every Tuesday, 8.00 p.m. at the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (5 minutes walk from Kings X tube). This week (29 May) workshop on 'The British Revolution'.