

RED WEEKLY

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inside - 4 pp. special
**Ireland - 'Troops
Out Now'**

Scots workers vote with feet

STRIKE WAVE ROCKS SOCIAL CON-TRICK

IGNORING THE PLEAS OF THEIR UNION 'LEADERS', HUGE SECTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH working class are voting against Labour's social con-trick with their feet.

One out of every ten workers in Scotland is on strike—and all these strikes are unofficial. No less than ten separate groups of workers have gone into struggle. Many have taken up forms of mass struggle which have left the bureaucrats standing helplessly on the sidelines. Among these are the lorry drivers and the teachers.

The Scottish working class has shown the way to the entire working class of Britain by turning 'thumbs down' on the social contract, by going into struggle to achieve their own aims, and by starting to carve-out the forms of struggle necessary to win them.

The 6,000 lorry drivers on strike have traditionally been a weakly organised sector of the Scottish working class. But in this strike, flying pickets have been formed which, much to the employers' surprise, have appeared outside not only container depots, but also steelworks, food manufactures, and computer and electronic plants. Factories as diverse as United Glass and the India Tyre Co. Ltd. have been shut down.

And when teachers came back this term the situation exploded. They have formed democratically elected Action Committees in both the East and the West of Scotland to coordinate action for an immediate increase of £15. About 40 schools and over 2,000 teachers have already come out on strikes organised by the Action Committee.

Together with the clear break from the bureaucracy and the forms of organisation created, one last point needs to be emphasised. That is the sheer scale of the movement:

—Dustmen are out on strike leaving 15,000 tons of rubbish lying about on the streets of Glasgow.

—An unofficial strike of sewage workers means that 100 million gallons of untreated sewage are being poured into the Clyde every day.

—Meat supplies have stopped since the 90 slaughter-house workers in Glasgow walked out over a pay claim.

—For the second time in a matter of weeks Glasgow bus and tube workers are out on strike, bringing all Glasgow transport to a stop.

—Hoovers of Cambuslang have been out for seven weeks, despite repeated public attacks on them by John Boyd, right wing member of the AUEW executive.

Jimmy Jack, the Scottish TUC leader, has publicly appealed for all the strikers to return to work. Jack Jones, speaking last week at a Scottish T&GWU conference, called for an understanding by trade unionists of 'some austerity measures [which] may have to be attempted'. But despite all these attacks the strikes are continuing.

The events in Scotland are the first decisive 'thumbs down' to the social contract. In the general election the Scottish working class, with a sure class instinct, repelled the attack of the Scottish Nationalists, and other capitalist groups, on Labour seats. In the West of Scotland Labour won 20 out of 22 seats. In this vote the Scottish working class was in the leadership of the whole of the working class of Britain.

But the fact that there are 10 groups of workers out on unofficial strike within two weeks of the gen-

eral election, against all of Wilson's calls for 'restraint', shows clearly that people voted Labour despite its leaders' right wing policies.

What is happening now in Scotland has vital lessons for the whole working class in Britain. Faced with the harsh realities of the capitalist crisis important sections of the Scottish working class have seen through the nonsense of the social contract and embarked on a struggle to defend their living standards. The sabotage of the bureaucracy has been combatted through the development of effective mass democratic methods of struggle—elected strike committees and flying pickets. Unifying demands, such as equal pay increases for all, have been advanced. The importance of unifying the demands and struggles flows logically from what is taking place. It is these developments that will help to take the whole working class forward against the disastrous policies of the social contract.

COLIN McPHERSON

Ban on Troops Out demo

The authorities are putting every possible obstacle in the way that they can to disorganise the Troops Out Demonstration called for Sunday 27 October.

The Department of Environment has banned the demonstrators from using Trafalgar Square. They have justified this by saying that there is a blanket ban on all Irish demonstrations in Trafalgar Square.

The demonstration will also not be allowed to march down Fleet Street. This decision has been taken by the City of London police. They have dug up some Act passed in 1832 as a pretext for this

move. The police justify the ban on marching down Fleet Street by claiming that the demonstration would offend tourists and churchgoers!

Even the fact that three Labour MPs will be speaking at the rally and that a number of other Labour MPs have sponsored the demonstration has not stopped the police and the civil servants taking action.

Militants should be clear that the police intend to do everything they can to disrupt this demonstration. If there is any trouble on Sunday the blame for that can be laid unhesitatingly at the door of the police who obviously are conducting a campaign of provocation.



Glasgow dustmen show what they think of the social con-trick: 'a load of rubbish'; but one local Tory MP wants to call in the troops

UNITE THE STRUGGLES

FACED WITH A MASSIVE working class upsurge in Scotland, the employers are pulling all the tricks in the book. The first one is to try to get the Labour Government to intervene with its 'arbitration service'.

So far the tremendous speed, scope, and militancy of the strike wave has defeated all attempts at sabotage. But the employers and bureaucrats will undoubtedly step up their efforts—in particular to pick off the individual groups of workers who have been involved in the longest struggles.

The unification of all the demands and struggles will be a key factor in this situation. A whole series of practical steps can be taken to achieve this.

The different sections of workers must take up the most advanced moves taken by other groups in struggle. The lorry drivers and others must adopt the democratically elected strike committees of the teachers, and everyone can learn from the flying picket tactics of the lorry drivers.

A meeting of the representatives

of all the different groups of striking workers should be organised to unify the demands and the struggles. The demands which the IMG thinks can form part of the basis of such united action are:

Down with the social contract.
For a minimum wage of £40 for 35 hours.

Make the bosses pay for inflation—extend the thresholds into a sliding scale of wages.

No collaboration with the arbitration services.

For Labour councils to give full support and practical assistance to the strikers.

Beyond these immediate measures the wave of struggles also shows the need for united action by all public sector workers. This can involve unifying both all the struggles and claims, and such forms of solidarity as those still at work distributing propaganda material for those on strike.

The crisis also shows the need for a struggle against all the public sector cuts and for the working class to take up a workers plan for dealing with the tremendous social crisis in Scotland.

UNION REPORT VINDICATES BLACK STRIKERS

AT THE END of the 13 week strike at Imperial Typewriters, Leicester, *Red Weekly* claimed that the settlement was a victory.

Of course, it was only a partial victory. The appalling wage structure still operated, the two year eligibility rule to stand as a shop steward still applied, and the local union was still under the control of a group of racially minded right-wingers. But the morale and combativity of the Asian workers meant that they were in a position to change all these features.

Already bonus targets have been lowered, harassment by foremen is declining, and serious discussions about how to improve conditions have taken place between black and white workers.

REGIONAL REPORT

One of the loose ends was the long awaited Regional T&G Report on Imperial. The Regional Enquiry was set up after the strikers had picketed Transport House in London on 31 May.

The Enquiry met in early June and said that the Report would be out in four weeks. At the time the strikers thought that this was too long a period to wait. But it became apparent that the Regional T&G were in no hurry. It took Brian Mathers ten weeks to inform the Department of Employment that the Asian workers were involved in a trade dispute, with the result that they did not get social security for that period. Four months later, the Report is now out.

The ex-strikers see the Report as a vindication of their demands. The Report sees the existing productivity system as the root cause of the dispute, and argues that the payments system has to be totally renegotiated to bring it into line with national agreements.

This, the Report adds, will be to the benefit of all sections of the workforce—a point the strikers always made. Naturally the Imperial workers will have to vet carefully any new payments system, but it seems unlikely that it could be as absurd or such a swindle as the present set-up.

The Report comes out for the scrapping of the two year eligibility rule for stewards, which was operated to discriminate against Asians. It also comments on the low number of stewards at Imperial. The work-

force is nearly 1700, of whom 1100 are Asians. There were only 17 stewards, of whom two were Asians—and these appear to have been 'elected' after the strike had started.

The Report calls for the election of one steward per fifty members, which will dramatically increase the number of stewards. It also calls for better communications in the factory and specifies that the grievances procedure should be printed in the languages of the workers involved.

LOCAL OFFICIALS

The impression should not be given that the Report is totally acceptable. It refuses to face the crucial issues of the influence of racism and the role of the local officials. All it says is that the local officials became 'emotionally involved'.

Now their emotional states are their own business, but their actions are not. District secretary Bromley and convenor Weaver did all they could to smash the strike. They

The Report is considerably tougher when it comes to deal with the role of 'outsiders'—that is, the socialists and trade unionists who actually helped the strikers while the District T&G attacked them and the Regional T&G gave its display of masterly inactivity.

Mathers, who during the dispute would have made a tortoise look jet-propelled in comparison, went further at the press conference to present the Report and launched a savage attack on Bennie Burnsee and others—including IMG members who had dared to interfere in his back yard. But on the role of Bromley and Weaver—just silence.

POSITIVE EFFECT

The overall effect of the Report will be a positive one. It will give further impetus to the Imperial workers in their struggle for better conditions and for a democratic union. But it was the prolonged strike of the Asian workers that

House of Lords

LAST WEEK THE HOUSE OF LORDS

ruled that a colour bar which prevents blacks from joining a working men's club in Preston was not illegal under the Race Relations Act.

A spokesman for the national organisation of working men's clubs said that he was 'pleased' with the House of Lords' ruling.

This ruling—which is based on the view that the Race Relations Act is the latest example of the total uselessness of the Race Relations Act and the courts in the fight against racism.

BLUDGEON

Ever since it was enacted the Race Relations Act has been used far more frequent-

ers are most exposed to the pro-capitalist ideas poured out by the television, the newspapers and capitalist politicians. It is here, in 'private', that the seeds of racism are cultivated, and grow into evil, dangerous weeds.

It is these 'private' views which lie behind the struggles, and the attraction of white working people to the reactionary ideas of the National Front, and other fascist and racist organisations.

Racism—both 'private' and 'public'—is the deadly enemy of the whole working class, and must be totally rooted out of the labour movement.

Rubber stamp on racism

by as a bludgeon against anti-racists—blacks attempting to speak out against their oppression, left-wing demonstrators—than against the sowers of race-hatred.

The workers' movement must reject the bourgeois Lord Justices' rubber-stamping of 'private' racism. It is precisely in the 'privacy' of their homes, where they are cut off from the solidarity of the work place and the common class struggle, that work-

COPS

But the Race Relations Act cannot be used in this fight. It is absurd to think that racism in the workers' movement can be dealt with by the cops or the capitalist courts. This job must be carried out by the labour movement itself.

A full scale investigation by the workers' movement into racism in Working Men's Clubs is long overdue. Any clubs operating colour bars should be drummed out of the labour movement, and treated as the scab organisations they are.

At the same time, militants must step up the fight against racism on the shop floor and in the unions.

And organisations and politicians like Enoch Powell and the National Front who are trying to build a base of support among working people through racism, must be exposed as the thoroughly anti-working class reactionaries they are.

for the one day white workers' strike. That was mainly Weaver's doing.

RESPONSIBILITY

The final responsibility for the white backlash falls full square on Mathers and the National T&G. It is impossible to fight racism and the NF by advising the black workers to be respectful and quiet and hope that the menace somehow goes away.

If the T&G took its resolutions against racism seriously, then it should have waged a serious campaign on the issue within its membership. It should have intervened at Imperial when the workers first raised their complaints—way back in February. Energetic action then would have stopped any backlash, would have cut the local right-wing down to size, and would have stopped any NF intervention.

But they didn't. It was the victory of the black workers that has given the preconditions for unity of all workers at Imperial and a serious fight against racism and fascism in Leicester.

ANDREW JENKINS



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Strikers from Imperial Typewriters lobby Transport & General Workers Union headquarters in London

lined up behind the management and behaved and spoke in such a way as to increase the racist fears and prejudices of the white workers. They, together with other leading members of the Leicester District T&G, engineered a racist one-day stoppage on 23 July for the victimisation of the strike committee. All of this is swept under the carpet with a glib phrase about emotionalism.

forced the T&G to face up to some of its responsibilities as a union to all its members, regardless of their colour.

The argument of Mathers and others is that the black workers went too fast, provoked a backlash, and allowed the NF to intervene. This is pernicious rubbish. The NF were able to get a toe-hold in this dispute due to the bureaucratic, right-wing, and, at times, racist approach of the local officials.

Anthony Reed-Herbert, a member of the NF Directorate and gauleiter for Leicester, claims in the current issue of *Spearhead* that the Imperial dispute was an advance for the NF and all patriotic British workers. He claims that they have members and supporters at Imperial from shop floor to senior management.

Certainly they do have someone in top management who regularly gave the NF detailed reports about the negotiations. But their influence is now declining fast, due to the high morale of the Asian workers. Also they cannot claim responsibility

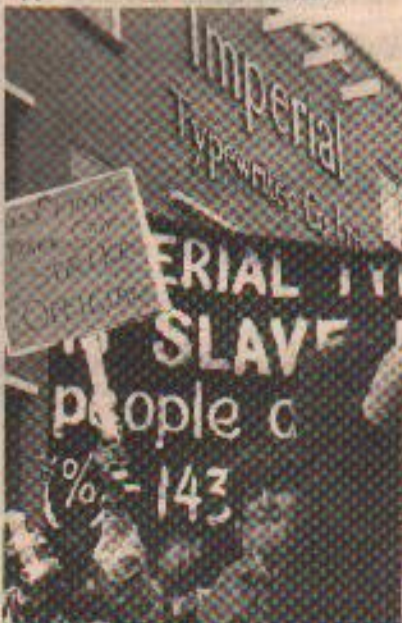
A mere coincidence?

A few days after the press reports associating the IMG with the Guildford bombings, comrade Tariq Ali received a phone call from a Pakistani militant who was passing through London. The latter wanted to see Tariq and a time was fixed for him to do so. When he got off the bus near Tariq's flat he was approached by a man in a car, who asked him: 'Are you looking for something? You look lost.' The Pakistani comrade said he knew where he was going.

The 'man in the car' responded: 'It wouldn't be ... Road, would it?', mention-

ing the road on which Tariq lives. When the surprised visitor replied yes, the 'man in the car' mentioned Tariq's flat number and offered to drive him there (only a few hundred yards away). The comrade refused. The same day, later in the afternoon, while going for a short walk, Tariq Ali was 'looked over' by two different police cars which managed to pass him at least three times in the course of half a mile.

But maybe we're simply paranoid and these were mere coincidences.



CONFERENCE OF RADICAL SCHOLARS OF SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

Friday 25 October—Saturday 26 October

Mechanical Engineering Building, Imperial College, Exhibition Rd, S.W.7.

Fri 25 Oct	8pm	Bob Sutcliffe on Cuba
Sat 26 Oct	11am	Michael Kidron on Inflation and Deflation
	2pm	Pierre Naville on Roots of the Sino-Soviet Conflict
	8pm	Norman Geras on Rosa Luxemburg and the Russian Revolution

CONFERENCE CHARGE: £1.75 (£1 for students)



Lift Public Order Act

- says IMG

THE POLICE have finally laid their cards on the table for Lord Justice Scarman's inquiry into their battle with anti-fascists in Red Lion Square. They are pushing hard for tougher powers under the Public Order Act.

The first thing they want is to make it illegal to organise a demonstration without giving the police seven days notice. If you want to organise a demo in a hurry, perhaps because the ruling class weren't cooperative enough to give you seven days notice of their latest stunt, then the police commissioner may be good enough to allow it—provided 'he is able to muster sufficient numbers of officers to control it effectively'. Of course, Red Lion Square is just serving as a flimsy excuse for this scheme. The police were informed a long time in advance of the plans for the Red Lion Square march.

CONFISCATE

The police also want any copper to be able to confiscate from demonstrators 'any article which in his opinion is likely to provoke a breach of the peace'. This sweeping power would mean that any banner pole or placard stick could be seized as a 'possible' weapon, as could anything bearing a slogan which might be thought 'likely to provoke a breach of the peace'. The cops would then have the right to fish around and disrupt a demonstration before it started, and even exercise on-the-spot censorship.

The facts about Red Lion Square which the cops use to back up their arguments are revealing. Mostly they refer to the flags with metal points and the black shirts of the National Front. But there should be no doubt

that it would be the left who will come under the gun if the police get their way.

To cap it off, they want to make it an offence to disobey a police instruction on a demo. In other words, they want absolute authority over all demos: the right to mess around with the route, for example, in the way they did in Red Lion Square. And look what their little trick resulted in there!

'No laws', the police say, 'and none of the recommendations made here are going to prevent the violence and disorder that takes place from time to time on contemporary demonstrations'.

How right they are! The way to avoid violence and disorder in the future is not more laws and recommendations, but for the cops to keep away, and let the workers' movement handle its own demos.

Look at the 'Bloody Sunday' march two years ago. Here the trouble started when the police refused to let a delegation place 13 coffins at Mr Heath's front door, where they belonged.

Look at Red Lion Square. Here the cops played ducks and drakes with the demonstrators and then rode them down in an effort to stop them picketing the fascists—the biggest threat to public order around.

TRAFFIC

The only service the police ever performed for the labour movement was to divert traffic. (And we can take care of that ourselves.) Otherwise they have obstructed, antagonised and assaulted the working class movement. They have protected murderous British Governments, fascists, and the property of repressive foreign regimes.

It is no coincidence that the most peaceful anti-fascist demonstration so far was the mass occupation of Speaker's Corner, where there was hardly a copper in sight.

When the Scarman Tribunal re-opens next month the IMG will oppose any new powers for the police. But we'll also challenge the principle under which these scandalous proposals are made.

Under the Public Order Act, the police have absolute powers to say where a demonstration shall and shall not go. This is an obstacle to every demonstration or counter-demonstration the labour movement may wish to hold.

The irony is that the Public Order Act was passed in the thirties to deal with fascists, or so it was claimed. In fact, the fascists had already been smashed by the mass mobilisation of anti-fascist workers. Ever since then the Act has been overwhelmingly used against the left.

In our view, the time has come to get rid of this pernicious legislation, so that the labour movement can take up the burning political questions of the day—like the fascist threat—without police interference.

We will be repeating our demand that the Government ban NF marches. Not by using the Public Order Act or the police—the forces of 'law and order' have shown themselves as nothing but a hindrance—but by mobilising the labour movement. The repeal of the Public Order Act will assist the victory of this mobilisation.

**Repeal the Public Order Act!
Disband the special 'anti-demo' police: the SPG and the mounted police!**

Drop all charges against the Red Lion Square defendants!

IN FOCUS

WILSON TURNS TAIL ON EEC

One of the questions on which the Labour 'lefts' did most tub-thumping at the General Election was the Common Market. According to them the promise of a referendum was simply a first step to withdrawal from the EEC. Only two weeks after the election it is already clear that the Labour leadership has quite different ideas.

The first development has been around the sugar negotiations. Here Britain could relatively easily negotiate a low price sugar contract with Australia—not because the Australians are great believers in 'the Commonwealth', but simply because this particular gang of capitalist bandits happen to have miscalculated and landed themselves with a glut of sugar. Instead, however, the Labour Government is negotiating for the EEC to subsidise sugar purchased on the world market and then resold to Britain. This may well result in a higher price to consumers than if the Australian sugar had been bought; but Labour will hail it as a great 'concession' showing that we must remain in the Common Market.

The second important development has been Callaghan's hasty retreat. Even before the election he announced that by 'renegotiation' he did not mean tampering with the Treaty of Rome, the foundation of the EEC, but simply altering a few of the secondary agreements. Now, however, he has gone further and ordered the renegotiations to be rapidly completed—which means dealing only with absolutely trivial questions.

Behind all this is Wilson's new strategy for getting himself off the EEC hook. On the one hand, he calculates that he cannot get out of a referendum but on the other hand staying in the Common Market is now a virtual life-or-death question for the British capitalists. So to keep up his policy of class alliance Wilson must not actually finish up by withdrawing from Europe. Furthermore the Labour leadership know that if they did try to put an Act through Parliament for withdrawal the Jenkinsites would simply split from the party and prevent the Act from being passed. Wilson, with his abject right-wing policies, would not even be able to call and win a General Election to destroy the Jenkinsite opposition. For all these reasons the Labour leaders have to find some way of staying in the EEC despite having the referendum.

The choice of strategy is now very clear. Wilson calculates correctly that none of the European capitalist classes have an interest in seeing the EEC collapse or Britain withdraw. Furthermore quite a few of them are fed up with subsidising French peasant farmers through the more expensive aspects of the EEC's Common Agricultural Policy. Therefore Wilson reckons to carry out a little arm twisting and get a few real concessions.

On this basis he can then hold the referendum, but with a firm recommendation from the Cabinet—which he will claim is the voice of the Labour Party—calling for a YES vote for continued membership of the EEC. This operation must be carried out with the greatest possible speed, so as to steamroller the issue through before opposition can organise itself within the working class. This explains Callaghan's call for more rapid 'renegotiation'.

SERIES OF TASKS

Faced with this strategy by the Labour leadership, Marxists have a whole series of tasks. The first is to demand that Labour withdraws immediately and unconditionally from the EEC. However it is extremely unlikely that Wilson & Co. will carry out this demand, so revolutionaries are actually likely to be faced with a referendum.

This means that a campaign must be started for a clear vote against membership of the EEC on any terms. It will be particularly important to challenge Wilson's probable claim that the Labour Cabinet, or the Parliamentary Labour Party, is the voice of the working class movement. Concretely, an emergency Labour Party conference and an emergency TUC Congress must be held before any referendum in order to take a position on EEC membership. The question of whether the Labour Government and the Parliamentary Labour Party are responsible to Parliament or to the organisations of the working class must also be posed, with the demand that the Labour Government be bound by the outcome of these conferences.

The bureaucracy will of course attempt to block these measures. Therefore local conferences of the working class movement should also be called to take a position against membership of the EEC on any terms, to demand that local MPs and working class movement leaders take this position, and to campaign for a vote against membership in any referendum.

But within the campaign a clear line of division has to be drawn between the working class opposition to the EEC and those bourgeois forces, such as Powell and the National Front, who will join in a campaign against the EEC in order to further their own reactionary schemes. Organisations such a line of class division must be drawn by opposing any joint meetings and demonstrations between members of the working class movement and members of the organisations of the bourgeoisie. Every such event must be met with the utmost determination to force the bourgeois elements out of the united front by resolutions, heckling, etc. in the case of the Tories and the Nationalists and by all possible means in the case of the fascists and Powell. Politically such a line must be drawn by counterposing to the reactionary talk of 'national sovereignty' the slogan of the United Socialist States of Europe.

In this campaign the revolutionary left has a potentially key role to play. Obviously the framework of a united front against the EEC will consist not of the revolutionary organisations but of the mass organisations of the working class movement—even including trade union bureaucrats and Labour MPs. But within such a united front the revolutionaries will be the only forces campaigning against collaboration with bourgeois forces and for the United Socialist States of Europe. The International Marxist Group will be campaigning both for a mass united front of working class organisations against the EEC and for united action by the revolutionary left within that united front.

FASCIST TEACHER 'ILL' AS PARENTS PICKET SCHOOL



Tulse Hill teacher and National Front member Richard Edmonds did not turn up at school last Friday. Strange-

ly enough, that was the day chosen by local parents and teachers to organise a picket against racism. Mr. Edmonds decided he was not feeling too well, and visited his doctor instead—probably with a 'nervous complaint'.

Although the picket received wide publicity in the press, it involved rather limited forces. There was not enough attempt to involve broad sections of the local trade union movement.

The fight against racism in the schools is not a matter that can be left solely to teachers or parents, but demands and needs the support of all sections of the labour movement.

Bradford students stand firm against fascism

Over 400 students attended a meeting of Bradford University Students' Union which decided to stick to its position of 'no platform for fascists'.

The sickly arguments about 'free speech' were soundly rebuffed—one speaker pointed out that to talk about giving 'free speech' to fascists meant giving them a platform to 'peddle racism'.

The decision of the University Union to refuse to give any platform to fascists has particular importance in Bradford. The town has a really high proportion of immigrant workers which gives a target for local fascists like Jim Merrick.

Merrick got himself publicity last year when he offered £100 'for the longest list of illegal immigrants'. A few months ago his supporters attacked an LPYS anti-racist demo in Bradford, ripping up and burning the Trades Council banner.

The Students' Union decision must be just a first step in organising to rid the town of such scum.



Trade unionists back Boston's racist mobsters

Black people's defence-squads needed

White racism, always beneath the surface in American cities, erupted in Boston last week. Scores of white hoodlums set up vigilante squads to prevent the implementation of a court-ordered school desegregation. This involved black kids being taken to white schools in white areas in special buses.

The racists were determined to defend the special privileges enjoyed by whites. They went on the warpath. Blacks were attacked, a lynch mob was formed, and only policemen firing shots in the air prevented the lynchers from claiming the life of a black Haitian, Jean-Louis Andre Yvon.

All this is happening not in some Southern backwater, but in Boston, Massachusetts, the heart of liberal America. Small wonder then that the liberal heart-throb, Edward Kennedy, has failed to come out and support the blacks struggling for elementary civil and human rights.

KLAN

It was white Boston also which played host to the white thugs of the Ku Klux Klan several weeks ago. A Klan rally attracted thousands of racists. When Klan chief, David Duke, declared that: 'The real issue isn't education, the real issue isn't a school here or a school there...the real issue is niggers' the crowd of bigots screamed its approval in no uncertain way. Duke referred to blacks as 'cannibals' and 'apes' saying 'we don't believe Negroes fit into modern society.'

The American Trotskyist weekly, *Militant*, reported that the trade union officials had either kept silent or supported the racists. 'A contingent of iron and construction workers marched in the 4 October "anti-busing" demonstration, and the officials of the Boston Teachers Union, the local affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, has threatened a strike or work stoppage until "order is restored" rather than coming out resolutely against the racist violence.'

Many notables of both the Rep-

ublican and Democratic parties have, according to *Militant*, been providing the actual leadership for the racist mobilisations, while the liberals in both parties have been providing a 'respectable' cover for their colleagues.

In this situation many black community leaders and State representatives have called for federal troops to be sent in to deal with the racists and to implement the court order on desegregation. The attitude of President Ford was to attack the federal court decision which ordered busing to end segregation in Boston's schools. Ford understands the extreme social and growing economic tension which exists in the cities. He does not want to take on white racists even to implement a court order in the months preceding elections in a number of States.

DESPERATION

The desperation of the black people is understandable. Like oppressed minorities in other parts of the world their first appeal is to the authority of the capitalist State, and yet we know that while federal troops or marshals might cool the situation temporarily, in the medium term they would back up the white racist power structure, particularly in northern cities like Boston.

In some ways the situation is analogous to the initial response of the oppressed catholic minority in Derry and Belfast when threatened with the Orange pogroms in the Six Counties: they welcomed and warmly greeted the British troops. A few months later the relationship had turned sour. The defence of the embattled nationalist minority was to be taken up by the Provisional IRA.

It is precisely the lack of self-defence organisations based in the black communities that makes the federal troops appear an attractive proposition. The black vanguard organisations that developed out of the ghetto rebellions of '68 and '69 no longer exist. The Black Panther Party was destroyed by repression. The Amer-

ican rulers knew the potential appeal of such a group to the black masses.

In Boston today there must be thousands of blacks who must be secretly wishing that the Black Panthers or similar groups still existed. Because in the long run it will only be the self-organisation of the black masses which will effectively resist, combat and defeat racism.

The creation of armed black self-defence groups to defend black school students would, even in the short term, be a more effective method of combating white racism than federal marshals. Though ironically enough it would be the existence and effectiveness of such groups which would probably bring the federal marshals in rather quickly to 'preserve law and order'.

Last week one group of Portuguese workers gave a new twist to the Government's call for 'Sunday working'. The municipal workers in the town of Santarem (just north of the capital, Lisbon) chose Sunday 13 October as the day to launch their strike and occupation of the local municipal offices.

The workers launched this action in reply to the municipal administration's refusal to meet their demand that members of the administration who had connections with the old fascist regime should be purged.

The following day the administration demanded that all keys, vehicles and buildings held by the workers be returned in order that those who wished to could resume normal work. The workers were given until 8 am on Wednesday to comply with this ultimatum.

But the workers refused to give in. They replied by forcing workers still at work to leave another building, which they then occupied. Shortly afterwards the police arrived, but did nothing except watch the building.

A little later two officers from the Lisbon Cavalry School tank unit (well known for its loyalty to the Armed Forces Movement) arrived and informed the strikers that the Government considered the strike and occupation illegal.

The workers remained firm, however. At 2 pm military policemen and armed soldiers from the Cavalry School surrounded the municipal buildings and forced the workers to leave under protest.

This is the first strike and occupation

'SUNDAY STRIKERS' SMASHED BY ARMY

since the defeat of the right wing on 28 September, and shows that the 'honeymoon' between the workers and the army is already running into trouble. The action taken by the army against the municipal workers of Santarem shows that the armed forces cannot be relied on to 'defend democracy' as the leader of the Portuguese CP, Afonso Cunha, urged two weeks ago.

Only the organised power of the workers' movement can carry through the great victory of 28 September, and wipe out the fascists and far-right once and for all. The Santarem workers show the way forward. But their set-back also shows the urgent need to build a mass anti-fascist movement throughout the working class and, especially, within the ranks of the army.

João Alberto



Italian workers start to roll!

ITALY was rocked by a four-hour general strike last week, called by the trade union federations over wages and unemployment.

In every major town thousands of workers, joined by students, tenants and housewives, mounted massive demonstrations. In Turin, centre of the Fiat car empire, the march and meeting was said to have been well over thirty thousand strong. In other towns, demonstrations are reported to have topped the fifty thousand mark.

Workers throughout the country took advantage of the official strike call issued by the CGIL (the union federation dominated by the Communist Party) to serve notice that this was only the beginning of a massive fight-back against the rampant inflation and fast-rising unemployment.

COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party sees the action in a different light. The CP daily newspaper *L'Unita* explained that the strike represented the working class's support for what they called the 'new model of development': reform of the social services, an overhaul of the agricultural industry, Government investment in the underdeveloped region of Southern Italy, and selective expansion of credit facilities.

This is in no way a programme for socialism. It is part of the CP's 'histor-



Amendola - 'we want to help Mr Agnelli'

ic compromise' a programme, as they put it, for an 'advanced democracy'

In a recent interview published in the American magazine *Newsweek*, Giorgio Amendola, a leading member of the Italian CP, makes it crystal clear what this means:

'The world monetary and economic crisis has become for Italy a crisis of production. We, the Communists, know that the crisis is a very real one, and not some employers' manoeuvre by Agnelli [boss of Fiat]... We want to mediate. We do not want the nationalisation of Fiat. We want to help Mr Agnelli solve his problems. But we expect to find a solution within a democratic framework.'

So, while Fiat king Agnelli throws 65,000 of his workers on a three-day week, all the CP has to say is that

they want to 'help' Agnelli find solutions to 'his' problems.

Amendola went on to say: 'We are struggling to meet our adversary, the Christian Democrat, and join with him in a spirit of cooperation'. No doubt it was for this reason that the CP bureaucrats invited a prominent member of the Christian Democratic Party to address the mass work-

ers' demonstration in Turin.

The tragedy is that the biggest of the organisations to the left of the CP have no real answer to the CP's treachery. Some of them - 'The Manifesto' group and the organisation called 'The Struggle Continues' (Lotta Continua) - are quite big, and their more militant policies will mean that they can become a real focus for radi-

cating workers who want no truck with the CP. But they have no programme which can act as the basis for a workers' solution to the crisis, one which is based on working class independent action and organisation to carry it through (through a general strike and workers' councils, for example).

Bob Murphy

FRANCO LASHES OUT AT LEFT

The Franco regime in Spain is stepping up repression against the revolutionary left. It is clearly very worried about the impact that these forces could have on the increasing militancy of the Spanish working class.

Many groups of workers, especially in the car industry, have recently taken industrial action to defend their living standards and their right to strike and organise. This has brought large numbers of workers into confrontation, especially with the police.

The revolutionary left have mounted solidarity action with the workers under attack as well as pushing forward moves for a mass mobilisation against the dictatorship. Now Franco has made a definite reply. As well as measures which grant the police immunity from prosecution under the law and give encouragement to

the activities of the fascist bands, he has launched a massive assault on the revolutionary groups.

Over the last few weeks there have been increasing numbers of arrests. Topping the bill, as the French daily *Le Monde* put it, is the attack on a Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International - ICR-ETA (VI).

Last week ten of our comrades were arrested. The police allege that they were trying to take Segovia prison by storm in an attempt to free ten Basque political prisoners who were being held there.

The police used this operation to find the clandestine offices of the organisation, which they raided. They stole documents and left the offices wrecked.

These actions against the revolutionary left are in direct contrast to the

policy being pursued as regards other political organisations in the workers' movement. Recently the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party conference was given fairly impartial reports in the newspapers.

This is just a cover under which heavy repression can be meted out against the revolutionaries. Only a few days ago, five more comrades from the Basque nationalist organisation ETA(V) on hunger strike were hospitalised.

The Spanish revolutionaries need our support. Just as the Franco regime is trying to isolate them, we must take action to isolate and weaken Franco. Resolutions must be moved in all organisations of the labour and socialist movement opposing Franco's attacks and calling on the Labour Government to break all diplomatic ties with the regime.



TROOPS OUT SPECIAL

Prison revolt rekindles the flame

'The North is not normal' lamented Merlyn Rees, Labour Secretary of State for Ireland, as he dispatched a further 600 troops to the Six Counties. What broke the 'normal' situation was the upsurge of the nationalist population after the burning of Long Kesh.

On the Wednesday evening after the burning, a series of other revolts by the Republicans took place at Magilligan prison, County Derry, and in the Crumlin Road jail in Belfast.

The women in Armagh jail, not to be outdone, kidnapped the governor and two of his assistants. Through this well coordinated series of actions, the Republicans sparked off the biggest upsurge amongst the nationalist population for over two years.

As soon as people heard of the burning of the Long Kesh concentration camp in Derry, steps were taken to bring the city to a standstill. By Wednesday lunchtime, there was a total shutdown. The offices, shops, banks and schools were all closed. There were no buses and roads controlling entry to the city were manned by barricades of hijacked vehicles or pickets.

In Belfast things were less peaceful. Several thousand people reacted by immediately taking to the streets. In most parts of the city, the demonstrations and bin-lid hangings were led by women, but this in no way inhibited the troops from using the most vicious attacks to disperse them.

In the Lower Falls, women demonstrators tore down part of an army barricade set up to protect a military post. The army responded with rubber bullets. A more serious incident took place in the afternoon. A demonstration of 5,000 responded to a call from an independent Republican coalition, called the United Workers Group.

This group had been building up support in the building sites and small

factories. The demonstration marched along the Falls Road towards Andersonstown. It was immediately attacked by the army. A massive fight broke out with the army using CS gas and rubber bullets to smash up the demo. The soldiers pursued the demonstrators into the streets of West Belfast, beating up whoever they could catch and eventually 'lifting' more than 300 people.

The arrested people were taken to the army post where they were interrogated. The next night the British army laid into the Falls Road area again, this time arresting over 100 people.

Three Redemptionist priests described the actions as 'terrorist tactics' by the British army, marking them off as a 'completely new phase'.

Four days later, on Sunday, an anti-internment protest organised

by People's Democracy was prevented by the army from marching to the Maze Prison camp. The march was supported by sections of the Republican movement and socialist organisations (including the Revolutionary Marxist Group, Irish section of the Fourth International). Troops fired rubber bullets and a number of demonstrators were injured before the march was turned back to Belfast.

LONG KESH

This massive repression by the British army was only a re-run of what had already happened in the Long Kesh concentration camp itself. The army stayed outside until the burning was over. Then—as the *Sunday Times* put it—'when the army moved in it did so with determination'.

The Republicans had already got

ready to fight the soldiers. An eyewitness described the scene: 'They had legs of beds for clubs, shields made from the windows' wire mesh, with cloth straps made of sheets and bed springs to bounce the rubber bullets off. Some had gasmasks made out of hoods with handkerchiefs around the front of them'. At 8.00 o'clock in the morning the soldiers came in, preceded by helicopters with CS gas.

'It looked like 3,000 soldiers, men from four regiments, there were two or three to each prisoner. They were in full riot gear, gas masks and shields, with rubber bullet guns and CS gas guns. They fired the gas first to drive the men back, then they laid into them.

'The battle lasted for four hours. The next hour was taken up in deal-

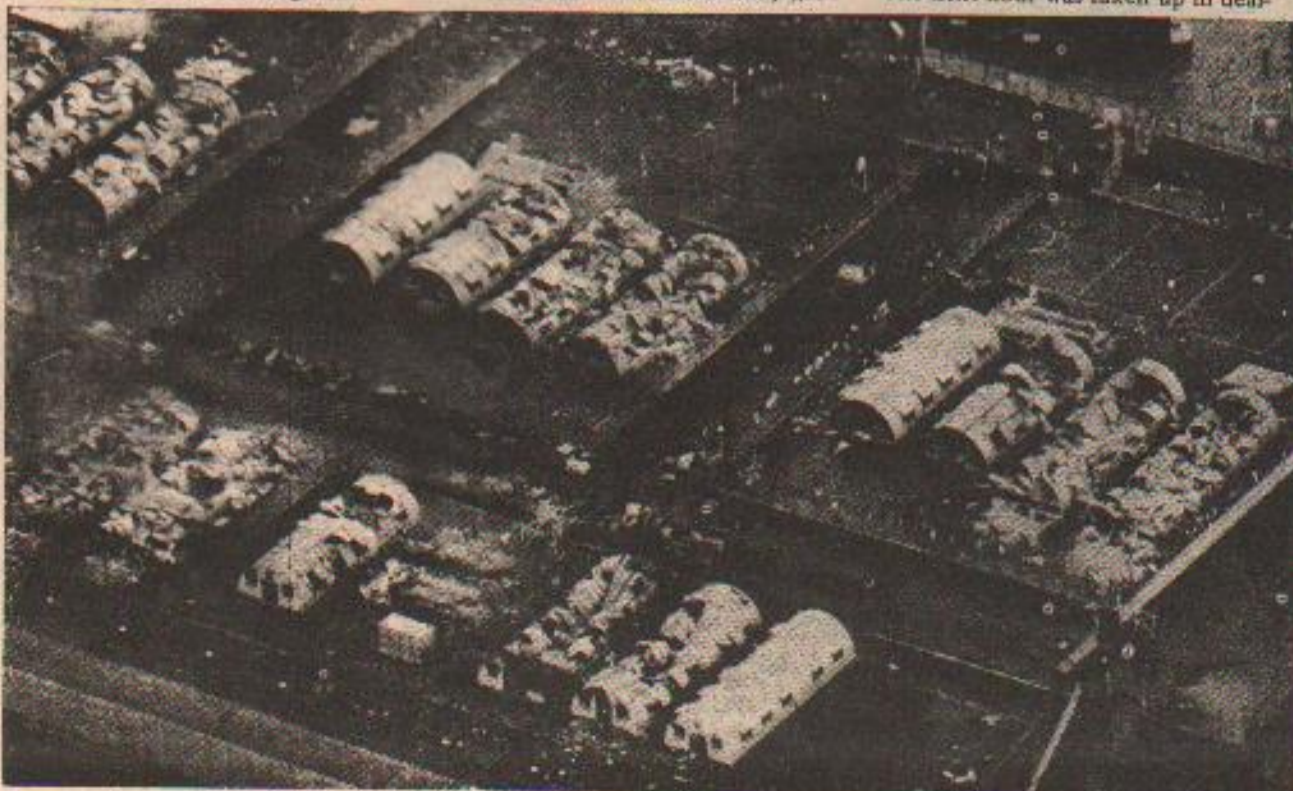
ing with them—some were spread-eagled on the wire for the whole time. Over 180 people were taken to hospital after the battle. One man was in danger of losing an eye after being shot in the face at point blank range by a rubber bullet.'

The day after the battle, Rees tried to claim that only nine prisoners had been hurt and about three times as many soldiers. This was so blatant a lie that every single current in the Six Counties, including even the Loyalists, has called for his resignation. He even had the impudence at his press conference where he put forward these bare-faced lies, to try and draw a tear by saying that four of the vicious Alsatian dogs let loose on the prisoners had been roasted alive.

There is little doubt that Republicans have struck a big blow against the whole policy of internment, while regaining the tactical initiative for the nationalists in the North against the Loyalists. Rees had been hoping to curry favour with the Loyalists by soon substituting internment without trial by a 'court' system where the formalities of charging and convicting are gone through, but where the evidence procedure is non-existent and the securing of a conviction would be a matter of course.

This was to have been the main recommendation of the Commission which is meeting under the chairmanship of Lord Gardiner to look into the 1973 Emergency Provisions Act.

Hopefully, the present mobilisations will stop this bare-faced manoeuvre from having any success. If they can, things will in fact be back to normal in the North after the heady interlude based on the 'power sharing' illusion.



by Brian Grogan

GET THE TROOPS



Five bitter years

At 5 p.m. on 14 August 1969, to the sound of cheering Catholics, the British army entered Derry.

For two days the nationalist population, barricaded in the Bogside, had fought off and even defeated the onslaughts of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. But now their attackers had been joined by the armed thugs of the 'B-Specials'.

With the arrival of the British army the immediate threat of a pogrom subsided. A confident James Callaghan assured the House of Commons that the troops were there 'to keep the peace', and even added that it was likely they would be back in barracks 'by the week-end'.

For several weeks relations between the minority and their 'protectors' were friendly—British soldiers drank Catholic tea, whilst army generals met minority leaders. Tension grew a little when the

barricades of Derry were removed by the troops one September morning, but on the face of it everything was fairly smooth.

On a visit to the North, Callaghan assured the Catholics that 'a change is coming'. And indeed it was...

HOLOCAUST BEGINS

By the summer of 1970 the welcome was turning sour. Friction was increasing as the hopes of the minority showed no sign of being realised.

After several minor skirmishes, the army finally showed its cards. On 2 July 3,500 troops invaded the Falls Road in Belfast 'in search of arms'. The operation left four dead and hundreds of smashed homes. Also dead was any illusion in the 'peace-keepers'.

But the lessons of the previous August had not gone unlearned. Never again would the Catholic minority face armed intimidation with no defence—not from the Unionists nor from the army. The 16-hour gun battle during the invasion of the Falls marked the rebirth of the armed resistance.

For the next year army harassment increased in leaps and bounds. Hundreds of homes were raided, and hundreds of people arrested. The great bulk of such actions were directed purely against the Catholic population.

The mass hatred of the troops grew in response, as did the military resistance of the Republicans. Frantic efforts to defeat the IRA had no effect. The Provisionals' bombing campaign was rapidly bringing the Northern Ireland statelet to its knees. The pressures on the army and on Stormont premier Brian Faulkner were enormous. It was decided to start internment.

FUEL TO FLAMES

'At about ten to five on 9 August

the door they pulled me down and began to batter me. They took me down the road, before we reached the jeep one of them fired a rubber bullet straight at me. I was only eight yards away. The pain was wild. I fell down, and they threw me in the jeep like a sack of coal.' (Barney Gilmore, 66 years old)

More than 300 people were dragged from the Catholic ghettos in the early hours of 9 August. But the attack had been anticipated—the troops often had to make do with relatives and friends, and the armed resistance remained intact.

As for the internees, they were forced to stand for days on end, hobbling barefoot over broken

bottles, beaten with batons, and deafened by noise machines. The army spared no efforts in its treatment of the new inmates of Long Kesh and the prison ship Maidstone.

After one week, internment had left 20 dead and 2,000 homeless. But this only added fury to the Catholic resistance, like fuel to the flames. Morale in the Army began to slump as the Provisionals pulled off coup after coup. Army recruiting figures fell by 25 per cent, losses grew to Korean War proportions, and rumours of mutinies filled the ghetto air. Furthermore, the rent-and-rate strike was almost total in the Catholic areas.

The British ruling class had to think fast. If only the tide could be turned, if only the civil and military resistance could be demoralised. Maybe one quick, hard blow...

MASSACRE IN DERRY

On Sunday 30 January, 1972, 20,000 people were marching for civil rights in Derry. Suddenly paratroopers without their usual riot gear ran from their armoured vehicles. The troops at the corners, about twenty in all, opened fire with their rifles' (Simon Winchester in the *Guardian*)

by Mick Hodge

At the end of it all thirteen Catholics lay dead, with more in hospital. 'Bloody Sunday' rocked the whole of Ireland. In Dublin the British Empire a general strike followed. By March Stormont had gone, and Direct Rule was imposed.

But the very existence of the liberated area of Free Derry had always been an embarrassment for British imperialism.

Politically it was a major problem for Unionist leader Faulkner, for the area where no troops dared tread was a living symbol of the refusal of the Catholics to be brow-beaten into submission. Militarily it provided a refuge for the armed Republicans and refuted claims that the army was 'on top'.

By summer 1972 it was clear that the end was near. The Protestants were creating their own 'no-go' areas in protest. Many of the minority

were confused after Direct Rule. Perhaps, after all, the battle had been won?

At dawn on 31 July thousands of armoured vehicles converged on the area. Free Derry was gone.

Big army forts sprang up throughout the area. Armoured carriers roared along the streets day and night. Homes were raided and smashed time after time. The blatant sectarianism of the army knew no bounds.

SUNNINGDALE

The Sunningdale agreement of November 1973, designed to unite the 'moderates' of both communities around British aims for Ireland, was the high point of Britain's strategy. Power sharing was the carrot, the army was the stick. The continued resistance of the Catholics, in particular the military resistance of the IRA, was the major factor in the demise of Sunningdale. The death blow was administered in May, when the Ulster Workers Council began the strike that was to gain mass Protestant support.

Wilson watched the British strategy crumble. Desperately he tried to get the troops to break the strike. But he learnt a lesson about his 'impartial' army that the Catholics could have taught him years ago.

Riddled with officers of Unionist background, engaged in frantic repression against a Catholic population that hated them, the army



This is what Irish workers detained by the troops can expect

TROOPS OUT

Is it the answer?

W



You say you wish to withdraw troops immediately. Wouldn't this lead to a bloodbath?

First of all we must be clear about who would launch a bloodbath. It would be the protestants attacking the catholics. We hear a lot about the armed activity of the Irish Republican Army, but never have they launched assaults against the protestants.

Periodically the protestants, however, do launch pogroms against the catholics. This is not because the protestants are a nasty breed of people. It is because discrimination against the catholics in all spheres of life is built into the very existence of the Six County state.

The protestants use such attacks as a way of solving some of their problems. So a bloodbath would be initiated by the loyalists in an effort to keep their privileges, tiny as they are, against the catholics. Our task is to do everything possible to restrain the assaults of the protestants. This is the best way to prevent a bloodbath.

But surely the protestant response is justified given that the catholics are demanding things in the first place at the expense of the protestants? What we want is a united struggle of the working class.

The Six County Orange state was built on the defeat of the 1916 revolution in Ireland. It was a way of preventing the majority of the Irish nation from having control over its own economy and territory. And the same methods continue.

A whole layer of the working class are given certain privileges—the best jobs, the best education, the best housing—and these privileges are backed up by the force of the sectarian statelet which supports only the protestant section of the community. A united struggle of the working class will only occur when that state of affairs can no longer go on.

Anything which goes to weaken that State can only help in forging a united struggle of the working class. The British troops are there to back up the very existence of the State. They should therefore be removed immediately.

Wouldn't that leave the catholics at the mercy of the Loyalists? It sounds very revolutionary to say get out now. But when looked at from the point of view of the catholics, it's a very reactionary position. What we should demand is that the troops be withdrawn to barracks and only be used to stop sectarian fighting.

We have only to look carefully at the role of the troops over the past five years to see that they have never operated as a 'peace-keeping' force. The catholics in Belfast and Derry learned within the space of weeks what the troops were all about.

The idea that they are there to protect the catholics or to 'protect the Irish from each other' is purely for consumption on this side of the Irish Sea. They were sent in to put down the nationalist insurgency which started in 1969 and they have played that role ever since.

protestant ascendancy is on the cards. The army is now carrying out intense harassment of the catholic areas, while the loyalists are being armed to the teeth to take over when the troops leave.

The longer the troops stay, the greater the risk of civil war. Now as always, it is clear that the army not only does not keep the peace, but actually maintains the root cause of the violence—British imperialism!

The time has come for all workers in Britain to say: *Get the troops out!—and get them out now!*

They have arrested, tortured, shot down and beaten up the catholic population. They have put hundreds of young workers into concentration camps, and when the women took over from them, they interned them too. The troops have turned a blind eye to—if not actively participating in—the assassination squads of the Loyalists. The catholics could well do without this type of 'protection'.

But that was because of Tory policy. Now that the Labour Government is in office, we should force it to use the troops against the Loyalists.

Enoch Powell, no friend of either the Irish nationalist population or the working class in Britain, has pointed out how Labour policy in Ireland is much better (that is more reactionary, more sectarian) than that of the Tories.

This is no accident. Because the Labour Government simply tries to reform: capitalism it is forced to operate in the interests of imperialism.

The Loyalists are the most fanatical supporters of the imperialist presence. Their privileges depend on this imperialist link. Hence it would be suicide for British troops to move against them.

This was shown in the Loyalist general strike, when the army refused point-blank to move against the Loyalists. And since the Loyalists took the initiative against the Sunningdale policy, the Labour Government has been to the forefront in accommodating Loyalist wishes.

Merlyn Rees, the Minister for Ireland, has cemented the growing self-confidence of the Loyalists by accepting their demand to extend the special reserves. All the Loyalist groups are now openly recruiting to this body, giving the Loyalists their own sectarian police force once again.

The response of Rees to the recent protests against internment has been the same—to increase the repression.

The troops must be got out before they can do any more damage. Their presence can only increase the confidence of the protestants and encourage them to hit the catholics. The troops must be got out immediately.

But the troops can't just pack up their bags and leave tomorrow. This would cause the most immense disruption. Even Rory O'Brady, leader of the Provisional Sinn Fein, has called for a *phased withdrawal*. What we should fight for is the Labour Government to give a statement of intent to name the date.

The troops will leave only if one of two things has happened. Either

by Brian Grogan

they will have been forced to leave because of the fight against them in Ireland and (hopefully) Britain; or else they will have left a trusted force behind them.

The original intention of British imperialism was to transfer the watchdog role to the Southern Irish ruling class. To do this they had to make changes in the North. But it was these changes which first brought the upsurge from the nationalist minority. And then came the backlash of the Loyalists.

This has led the British ruling class to fall back on its old ally—the Loyalists. During the time between now and any date for withdrawal British imperialism will be doing everything in its power to strengthen the hand of its trusted allies.

This has been the story since the Loyalist strike in May. The longer British imperialism remains, the stronger

er the Loyalists will become, and the worse will be for the catholics. In a sense the Labour Government has already given a statement of intent to leave Ireland: when the situation has sufficiently developed to allow the Loyalists to deal with the situation themselves. No, troops must be got out before Ulsterisation.

So you are in favour of a bloodbath?

Not at all. All we have done is to point out the way things are developing. The catholics are not defeated—far from it. They have suffered some demoralisation due to a lack of perspectives from the Republican movement, but they won't lie down and allow a return to the situation before 1969 without a fight. And so there is a growing possibility of an armed clash between the two communities. Every day that the British army remains in Ireland the stronger the Loyalists will get and therefore the more likely the possibility of civil war becomes. The stronger the Loyalists get the more bloody the civil war will be. So the sooner the troops go the less the possibility of a bloodbath.

But it's not just the troops and the Loyalists who are stirring up violence. What about the IRA? All they do is deepen the divisions between catholic and protestant workers.

We are critical of the IRA. Many of their actions are a substitute for the actions of the catholic masses. Their armed actions have only occasionally fitted into an overall strategy of mobilising the catholic masses in the fight to determine their own future.

But one thing we have to be absolutely clear about is that armed self-defence plays a vital role in any revolutionary strategy for Ireland.

The reason for this can be very easily seen, and it is important even from the point of view of forging unity between catholic and protestant workers. I have already explained how the Loyalists see the immediate way of answering their problems through attacks on the catholics if the catholics don't passively accept their inferior position.

Once the catholics are so well defended that this is no longer an option for the protestants, then the unity of the protestants across class lines and against the catholics falls down. The protestants begin to look for new ways of solving their problems. This is not just theory. We actually began to see just such a move developing amongst the protestants until the collapse of Sunningdale.

The Provisionals have done more, in this respect, for working class unity than all the pious attempts of the previous 20 years or more to build unity on questions like wages.

This is the crucial lesson of the last years. The stronger the self-defence of the catholics, the weaker the Loyalists and the quicker British troops are removed, the more optimistic we can be about the future of the situation in Northern Ireland.

All these tasks boil down in this country to developing a movement for the immediate withdrawal of troops. This is the task for all of us.



why we say: **SOLIDARITY WITH THE IRA**

Labour claims to be concerned about the fate of the catholic population in the North of Ireland. But its actual policy of concessions to the loyalists only helps the latter towards crushing the catholic population.

A few facts and figures will help to illustrate the extent of these concessions.

Just before it was wound up, the Community Relations Commission reported that only 10 to 15 per cent of the security forces were active in the loyalist areas. Yet more arms and ammunition have been located in these areas than in Republican areas.

SECURITY FORCES

Even more indicative is the way the security forces are being flooded by the Loyalist ultras, with control being devolved to local level.

The ceiling figure for the RUC Reserve, for instance, used to be 3000—and the actual figure was almost 500 short of this. Now Rees declares that this reserve is to be expanded to 7000. Where will they come from? They will be precisely these 'non-committed protestants', as Rees likes to describe the mass reactionary base of British imperialism in Ireland.

The nationalist population already knows the potential of murderers dressed up in Ulster Defence Regiment uniforms. An expansion of the UDR and RUC Reserve will give this official covering and further prepare the way for pogroms.

The tendency of events is thus towards a massive explosion and confrontation. In this situation the role of the IRA will be absolutely key.

SOLIDARITY

This means that militants in Britain have an enormous responsibility. Part of that responsibility is to fight in the British working class for solid-

arity with the IRA. If British workers allow the imperialists to smash the catholic workers in the North it will be at the expense of their own struggle. The defeat of imperialism anywhere, but especially in Ireland, will be a major step forward not just for the Irish workers, but also for their brothers and sisters in Britain and indeed the whole of Europe.

In fighting for working class solidarity with the IRA we are fighting for an understanding on the part of British workers that the struggle against imperialism in the Irish situation inevitably means the use of arms. The army of the British ruling class has no right to be in Ireland, and we have to give unconditional support to the Republicans in fighting that army.

The struggle against the army is in the most direct interest of the British workers. We have dealt many times in *Red Weekly* with the preparations that are being made for the use of troops against the workers in Britain. The actions of the IRA can materially hamper and cut across the laboratory experiments in repression that the army is carrying out in Ireland.

BOMBINGS

If we recognise the importance of the IRA's struggle for the whole working class in Ireland and Britain, we also have to see that the Irish may wish to extend the war to Britain. We may have serious tactical differences on that question, but if bombings occur in Britain the responsibility is that of the imperialists who caused the conflict, and not of those who are responding to the actions of British imperialism over the centuries.

The crocodile tears of the bourgeois press in relation to the young soldiers killed at Guildford are sick.

These young people were recruited into the British army under the shadow of unemployment, and with the aim of turning them into brutalised killers of Irish workers. The hacks and hypocrites of the Press show no concern for the hundreds of young Irish men and women interned, tortured and killed by the army.

Militants in the British working class must understand that armed actions against imperialism are essential when part of an overall strategy to mobilise mass forces. *Red Weekly* does not think that the recent bombings in Britain are part of such a strategy, whoever is actually responsible. But this is merely a tactical difference.

WEAKENED

If British workers allow themselves to be duped by the ruling class on this issue, and do not stand in solidarity with the struggle of the Irish workers against British imperialism—whatever form that struggle takes—then they are allowing themselves to be split and weakened in the face of the coming attacks that will be directed against their own ranks. That is why we defend the IRA and call on all trade unionists to defend Judith Ward, on trial in Wakefield for the M62 bombing.

British workers must turn the manoeuvres of the imperialists back against them. It is absolutely necessary that the present campaign in the British labour movement for the immediate withdrawal of the troops is waged in the context of the need for solidarity with the IRA. This is the best way to hit the British ruling class hard and in the process to aid the Irish revolution.

TED COXHEAD



Republican sympathisers on the march in London last Sunday

BELFAST DEFENCE APPEAL

Following the most successful anti-internment demonstration around the anniversary of internment in August, five members of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (Irish section of the Fourth International) were hauled before the courts on trumped-up charges of riotous behaviour.

The political nature of the arrests was quite clear. Only the leaders of the demonstration were picked up; and in the bail proceedings in the High Court the prosecution stated that the linking factor between the defendants was their Marxist and Leninist views.

One RMG member received a sentence of six months, suspended for three years; one a sentence of two months, suspended for one year. The evidence of several of the British soldiers was so transparently a

fabrication that the cases against two militants were dismissed, and the charges against another were dropped. As a result of the proceedings, one of the RMG militants lost his job.

The RMG is not a rich organisation. Its only source of funds is the weekly contributions paid by the membership.

To meet the solicitors' fees, we need £150. We ask you to show your support for the victimised revolutionary militants of the RMG in Belfast by making a generous donation to the Belfast 5 Defence Fund. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to 'RMG'.

Rush donations to: BDF, c/o 38 Clanawley Road, Killester, Dublin 5.



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Speakers: ALAIN KRIVINE (Trotskyist candidate for the French p
FARIG ALLI (Political Committee, International Marxist Gr
JOHN BOSS (Political Committee, International Marxist Gr

21st June, 1973

Review

'THE NEW TECHNOLOGY OF REPRESSION. LESSONS FROM IRELAND' BSSRS pamphlet. 30p. William Thompson.

Nevertheless it can play a vital role. Events since the collapse of the Sunningdale agreement show a greater and greater growth of discontent in this country with the continuing war in Ireland.

This pamphlet will be invaluable in explaining the Irish struggle to British workers. Massive sales will help to build a movement for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. Every individual and group concerned with aiding the Irish struggle should get hold of this pamphlet and ensure that its ideas are spread as widely as possible in the British working class.

The dominant theme of this pamphlet is that what Ireland saw

yesterday is in store for Britain tomorrow', is how the authors introduce this important pamphlet.

It explains in simple terms some of the weapons and techniques used by the army, some of the lies of the British press, and brings out the political ideas which underpin the use of repression.

The worsening of the economic crisis in Europe will lead to clashes between the working class and ruling class on a scale not seen since the thirties. The army and the police in Britain are already making their preparations. We can be sure that the lessons learnt in Ireland and described in this pamphlet will be put to use here.

There are important omissions in the pamphlet. It fails to deal with the situation after Direct Rule, when the repressive role of the army emerged in its most sophisticated form. It does not deal with the role of army assassination squads which were used to spread sectarian hatred; and the media, as carrier of propaganda and as a part of the army's intelligence network, is left out.

Back to the Stone Age with Sir Keith



BANGING THE DRUM of morality and Christian virtues, Keith Joseph tossed in his bid for the Tory leadership last weekend.

Intent on curdling the blood of the retired colonels and the country vicars he raved on about 'teenage pregnancies', 'sexual offences', 'drunkenness' and 'crimes of sadism' surprisingly enough a certain Lord of Janie Jones fame did not get a single mention!

Casting his eye towards the legions who support The Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child and the Festival of Light he referred to that bigot and philistine Mary Whitehouse, as 'that admirable woman'.

Careful not to ignore the racists he said: 'The balance of population, our human stock is threatened...'

Present day Britain—where hundreds of thousands of workers still get less than £25 a week, where the Health Service, the education system, and the public housing sector, are all tottering on the brink of collapse, and inflation is cutting into workers' living standards at around 20 per cent a year—was described by Joseph as the 'New Utopia'.

Joseph's supporters in the Tory Party must have stuck their heads between their hands and reached for the aspirins when they read the speech. His opponents no doubt spent the day in heady self-congratulation.

It is one thing to lean back in your West End Club having alcoholic and nostalgic dreams about British capitalism's glorious imperial past. Those were the days when a massive empire and an industrial supremacy enabled the ruling class to treat the working class with contempt and, what's more, openly express their contempt. But today, these dinosauric figures have to remain in their clubs. When they come out with such a line in public it does nothing but damage to the Tories.

Heath with his confrontationalist policies lost the February election. Compared to Joseph's latest ravings the Tory election policies of February look quite mild.

The dominant section of British capitalism—the industrial wing—was against Joseph's call for deflation and high unemployment. It fears both the economic and political consequences of such a policy. Now his new tirade makes him an electoral liability in their book.

Joseph's outbursts show the deepgoing political crisis of the ruling class, and its main political party. This has produced a situation where the Tory leaders are 'sadistically' savaging each other and political 'licentiousness' runs rife. No wonder the 'human stock' of the Tories is threatened.

Bob Pennington

WHO PUT DOWN THE TYNESIDE FASCISTS?

Dear Comrades,
We were disappointed to read in last week's *Red Weekly* your comment on the National Front, that in South Shields 'their vote fell disastrously—mainly to the Liberals', with no mention of the campaign waged in the area by the South Tyneside Anti-Fascist Committee.

As reported in a previous issue of *Red Weekly*, a highly successful public meeting was organised in South Shields against the National Front, which raised £35. This money was used to produce leaflets, 33,000 of which were distributed in the ten days before the election.

The swing of 63.7% in South Shields against the Front was the highest in the country. Some of these votes undoubtedly went to the Liberals. But the prime cause of the swing was the activity of the anti-fascist committee, which ensured that every elector in the constituency had the opportunity to find out the real nature of the Front. The anti-fascist committee was broadly based in the local labour and student movement. It received the support of Jarrow and

Hebburn Trades Council and of South Shields Trades Council.

We feel that our experience in South Shields should be an encouragement to other anti-fascist militants in areas where the Front are present. We refused to be



Red Weekly welcomes letters from our readers, but contributions longer than 400 words may be cut at the Editor's discretion.

put off by many who claimed that we would only be giving publicity to the Front and so assisting their electoral intervention. We feel that, for the time being at least, the Front have suffered a severe setback to their attempts to gain a foothold in the North East.

But no-one should feel complacent about the ability of the Front to re-emerge if they are given the opportunity. After the result was announced in South Shields, the Front's humiliated candidate William Owen and his accomplices showed their real faces by clicking their heels and giving the Nazi salute in the Town Hall.

A great deal of time and painstaking effort went into this anti-fascist campaign. When the Front do not hold public meetings or demonstrations, it requires in many ways a much more comprehensive campaign to combat them. The committee still has to cover its electoral expenses, and any contributions from your readers would be warmly appreciated. Please send them to: South Tyneside Anti-Fascist Committee, People's Place, Derby Terrace, South Shields, Tyne & Wear

MIKE PEEL and DAVE CARTER.

SCOTLAND AND THE ELECTIONS

Dear *Red Weekly*,

I must take issue with the misrepresentations and confusions in Colin McPherson's article 'Parliament useless in London or Edinburgh' (*Red Weekly*, 3 October).

His explanation for Labour's loss of support to the Scottish National Party only reinforces the inability of the labour movement to get to grips with the basic problems of the Scottish working class which is at the root not only of defections to the SNP but of the very emergence of an SNP.

Had the labour movement set itself to end the national oppression of the Scots people, those sections of the Scots people now awakening to their subjection as members of an oppressed nationality would not now be driven into the arms of a backward capitalist nationalism.

Insofar as Colin McPherson fails to note the existence of a national question, let alone to site it in its proper place as an integral part of the class struggle, he encourages the prevailing criminal illusion that the Scots worker has to choose between his class and his nationality.

Our chronic social problems are the

product of the neglect of our country under the imperialist State. Insofar as the SNP opposes imperialism (at any rate in Scotland), though not capitalism—a position untenable in the 20th century world of international capitalism—it appears to offer an answer, it appears to offer national freedom. The Labour Party does not even appear to oppose either capitalism or imperialism.

So what does Colin McPherson propose? Well, he tentatively suggests an Assembly called by the STUC 'with delegates from factories, tenants' committees and other working class organisations'—and then he withdraws the idea before he burns his fingers. Very sensible. We've had assemblies summoned by the STUC bureaucracy before, and, not surprisingly, they were unrepresentative, class-collaborationist, and licensed only to beg.

No, comrade McPherson retreats to 'a much more modest venture like a conference of oil and oil-related industry workers'. Does Colin McPherson then believe that oil is the mystery ingredient of the

SNP? The significance of oil is merely that it wipes away the national inferiority complex so long sustained by the chauvinist assertion that the Scots could not run their country anyway because it was subsidised from London.

Colin McPherson's conference will not therefore halt the SNP advance any more than it could, by itself, meet the social needs of the Scots working people. Nevertheless, such a conference, raising the demands that comrade McPherson outlines—in the context of (1) progressive nationalisation without compensation, under workers' control at all levels, of all industries, including Scots workers' oil; and (2) the creation of workers' councils of trade unions in every place of work and the direct election of delegates from these councils, by-passing the bureaucrats of the STUC, to a Scots Workers' Council—would place the Scots working class on the road towards the solution of its problems, towards the building of world socialism through the medium of a future Scots Workers' Republic.

NORMAN EASTON (Press Office, Scottish Workers Republican Party)



Police moved in again last Saturday on the Islington tenants' picket outside Prebble's the estate agents. They threatened to arrest everyone unless they got moving, but this time the picketers refused to be intimidated and simply paraded round instead. This succeeded in causing ten times as much obstruction as before without giving the coppers a leg to stand on.

WHAT'S ON

LEEDS IMG public meeting: 'What now for the engineers?' Wednesday 30 Oct., at 8pm in the Trades Council Club, Seville Mount. Speakers: Ron Thompson (AUEW, IMG Political Committee), Tony Maguire (AUEW).

LONDON RED FORUMS: Every Tuesday at 8pm in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (King's X tube).

LSE PUBLIC MEETING: 'Troops out of Ireland now!' Speakers include Labour MP and members of Communist Party, IMG and IS. Friday 25 October, 7.30 pm in Old Theatre, LSE, Houghton Street, WC1. (nr Holborn tube).

IMG GAY GROUP: Contact J. Mills, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds for further information.

WATFORD RED FORUMS: Fortnightly in the Green Man, Watford High Street. Next meeting: Tues 28 Oct., 8pm.

SOUTHALL RED FORUMS: Every Friday evening at 8pm in the 'Featherstone Arms', Featherstone Road, Southall (nr Dominion Cinema).

URGENT: Red Ladder Mobile Workers' Theatre wants 'actress/musician' (Equity member preferred) for touring company performing for predominantly labour movement audiences, producing its own material, collectively run. Long-term commitment important. Applications in writing by 9 November, stating (1) experience, (2) reasons for interest in this work, (3) where ad read, (4) telephone number?, to: 58 Wray Crescent, London, N.4. (01-263 1053).

SOCIALIST WOMEN in women's liberation are calling a meeting to discuss what women's groups are doing in London and to exchange information at North London Poly, Holloway Road, on 2 November at 2pm. Creche provided.

PICKET RACIST PUB—the Railway Tavern, Grove Road, Mile End at 8pm on Friday 25 October. Organised by Tower Hamlets Anti-Fascist Group.

CAMPAIGN Against a Criminal Trespass Law: open meeting Tuesday 29 October at 7.30pm in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

'BRITISH LEYLAND—An Economic Report', pamphlet on the background to the present crisis inside BLMC. 10p per copy, send cash with order to: 72 Cambridge Road, King's Heath, Birmingham.

'NATIONALISATION or Expropriation', second edition of pamphlet produced in 1973 by the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. 10p per copy, send cash with order to: 72 Cambridge Road, King's Heath, Birmingham.

EDINBURGH CONFERENCE: Dossier of all report-backs, papers, demands, resolutions, etc. at 1974 women's conference is being prepared—please send to: Radical Women's Group, c/o Students' Union, University of Kent, Canterbury. Please type on A4 or foolscap stencils if possible. Also estimates of numbers of dossiers required would help.

LONDON Revolutionary Communist Group public meeting on 'Ireland and the tasks in Britain'. Bull & Mouth, Bloomsbury Way (Holborn tube) at 8pm, Sunday 27 October.

LATIN AMERICAN FRONT presents 'Puerto Rico: Colony of the United States'—a talk outlining the history of the island and its future. Tuesday 29 October, 7pm, in Architectural Association (top floor), 34 Bedford Square, London WC1.

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Labour's bonanza for the bosses



No sooner is it back in office than the Labour Government starts to put forward plans for massive state handouts to the capitalists. Thousands of millions of pounds in state-financed loans from the banks, the relaxation of price controls (cutting workers' living standards by another 2%), and the reduction of taxes for the employers are all on the drawing board.

Already seven left-wing MPs (using the letters column of that well-known working class newspaper, *The Times*) have spoken out against this massive scheme to pick workers' pockets for the benefits of the bosses. But they put forward no alternative, socialist policy.

In this article ALAN JONES takes a look at the effects of the present economic crisis on industry and explains how Labour's policies are inevitable from any government which is attempting to run a capitalist economy.

The proof of British capitalism's deep troubles can be seen in the record inflation and the huge gap between what the capitalists manage to sell abroad and what they have to buy overseas (£4000 million). But it is the virtual drying up of British capitalism's ability to make profits out of its operations that is the biggest problem.

During the late 1950s the profits earned each year by British private industry were equal to about 15% of the total amount it had invested in capital. But by the beginning of the 1970s the profit rate had been cut almost in half - to 8%.

On top of this long-term trend, further problems mounted up as a result of the recession of 1969-71 and the inflationary boom of 1972-73.

For some time the real extent of this crisis was concealed on paper by the effect of so called 'stock appreciation' - the increase in the value of raw materials, partly finished products, or unsold finished goods being held in stock, as their prices are pushed up by inflation. Now, however, the real facts of the situation are coming out.

The first massive drop in profits came in 1968-70 when the total, even in money terms, fell by £500 million. In real terms - taking into account the effect of inflation - the fall was much greater.

By 1973 prospects had apparently improved. Profits, on paper, were a 'healthy' 29%. But almost one third of this was due to 'stock appreciation' resulting from the wave of inflation. By the time you cancel out this factor, and take into account the declining purchasing power of money profits, real profits were up only about 10% even on the previous low level.

SLICE

The upshot of all this is that the 'profits' slice of the total economic cake, after rising to a bit more than 11% at the beginning of 1973, crashed to less than 9% by the end of the year and to less than 7% by the early part of this year (although the three-day week is partly responsible for this).

But while profits have been falling off, the interest rates which must be paid on borrowed money have been soaring. This cost industry, which depends heavily on borrowed money to keep ticking over, an extra £900 million in the course of last year.

Moreover, companies, like workers, have to pay taxes based on their money incomes, not the real purchasing power of that income. So taxes rise as money profits are pushed up with inflation, even if real profits are stagnating.

Taking account of these increases in interest payments and taxes, company profits fell by something like 42.5% in 1973. If we calculate the real purchasing power of these profits, then the fall is more like 48%.

The shattering extent of this drop can be seen by comparing the present-day figures with those from the 1960s: real profits, after taxes, are only about 20% of what they were in 1963. Since real investment has been going up considerably in this period the fall in the rate of profit is even sharper.

The industrial section of the British capitalist class is being crushed to death by the present crisis. Only

an enormous economic shot in the arm will enable them to survive.

This crisis is not just another economic recession, on a more serious scale. It involves a basic upheaval in the whole set-up of the British capitalist economy. This is why the crisis is having such a big effect on both economics and politics in this country.

The first sign of this shake-up is that companies can no longer afford to pay for new investments and ex-

far. But given the crisis, there isn't the remotest possibility of many such loans being repaid, and not a single private bank or finance institution in the country could afford the loss of even a fraction of this huge sum.

STATE

The banks are prepared to step up their loans to business, but they will insist on having some form of assistance and guarantees. The only institution in the whole of society which could underwrite such an operation

The first solution to the present crisis is a socialist one —



ansion out of their own pockets. Capitalist firms in the rest of Europe and Japan have usually raised new capital through the banks or the state. But British industrial capitalists have traditionally relied on their own profits, or the stock market.

Since the mid-1960s most company finance has come from 'internal funding' from profits. But this source has been drying up as profits tumble. In 1963, for example, almost three quarters of new capital was raised from profits. By last year the figure was below 50%.

But industry still needs vast sums of new capital. Estimates of the amount required for this year range from £2000 million to £5000 million, with the 'best guess' being about £3000 million. So how can firms raise such colossal sums?

The traditional alternative to internal profits as a source of capital has been the stock market. But the economic crisis has destroyed the confidence of investors in shares and sent the stock market reeling. Since May 1972 share prices have fallen on average by almost two-thirds. As a result the stock market last year was able to provide only £135 million of new capital - about 1% of the total required.

Increasingly, therefore, industry has had to turn to the banks. Whereas only 14% of the capital needed was obtained through bank loans in 1963, by 1973 the figure was 34%. But even this is a drop in the bucket compared with the £3000 million or so industry needs altogether.

What's more, it's not so easy to turn to the banks. As we have already mentioned, interest charges can become a colossal burden. And even the mighty British banks cannot provide sums like this at the drop of a hat.

They would require solid guarantees, too, before sticking their necks out this

is the capitalist State.

For this reason the whole of the British capitalist class is turning its eyes to the State and the Government.

Having failed to get a Tory or Tory-Liberal coalition, which would be directly under their control, they are now applying huge pressure to get Labour to dole out the millions.

This is not a struggle over peanuts, or even a 'few' hundred million pounds on the old model of Government subsidies. It is a fight for a whole new set-up for British capitalism, without



which capitalist industry will be pulverised in the crisis. This set-up must be based on a big new role for the banks and colossal State intervention, both to shore up the banks and to directly help industry.

Such a move will have to be accompanied by drastic tax concessions and the removal of all the present controls on prices.

In order to have this job carried through without hesitation, the ruling class must be able to rely on the Government. That is why, despite the crisis in the Tory Party, no significant section of the ruling class sup-

ported the Labour Party in the last election. For the Labour Party, despite the thoroughly pro-capitalist outlook of its leadership, is not a direct tool of big business.

This is also why someone like Tony Benn worries the ruling class so much. It is one thing to have a Labour politician like Harold Lever proposing vast loans to the banks, in a scheme which will leave it up to private capitalists to decide exactly how the money is going to be distributed. It is quite another thing for cash handouts to be given only on condition that the State takes over a big slice of the firms being bailed out. Under present conditions this could soon result in the State owning and controlling a huge share of what is now the 'private sector' of the economy.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The result of all this for the Labour Government, now that it is in office again, is equally drastic. It will not merely have to carry out viciously anti-working class policies - impose an incomes policy, allow unemployment to rise and workers' living standards to fall, etc. But at the same time it will have to make gigantic economic concessions to private business.

The economic dependence of capitalist businesses on the State will become almost total in the near future. Every time a firm is faced with a crisis it will become a matter of Government and State policy.

Rarely has the workers' movement had such clear-cut choices before it. The first solution to the present crisis is the socialist one - based on the nationalisation of the banks and big financial institutions, and of the key sectors of capitalist industry.

The second alternative is to rifle the pockets of the working class through swingeing taxes and raging inflation, and hand over this loot to the capitalists through tax concessions and cash handouts.

There is no doubt what the Wilsons, Levers, and Healeys will propose. They are quite prepared to implement schemes that will allow

port. It was for this reason that Norman Atkinson, Ian Mikardo and five other Tribune Labour MPs wrote to *The Times* warning against Lever's plans to hand out £3,000 million to private industry.

Atkinson & Co.'s reformism can provide no real alternative to Wilson, however. Firstly they argue, 'it is not clear that such a salvage operation is needed'. In other words, instead of seeing that private capitalism is economically bankrupt and unworkable without vicious attacks on the working class, the Tribunes attempt to pretend that things are really all right.

Secondly, their basic argument is that these handouts may endanger the social contract because it 'will be widely seen as a contract with capitalism, and rejected'. In other words, Atkinson & Co. are actually scared that the real nature of the social contract might become understood by the working class.

Thirdly, the Tribunes' defence of the social contract actually leads them to attack the working class for attempting to defend its living standards. Atkinson & Co. write: 'The injection of up to £3,000 million of the consumers' and taxpayers' money into industry could represent a formula for a massive wages explosion'. In short, the final logic of the Tribunes' position is to drive them, just like Michael Foot, to support employers against wage demands.

Finally, we can expect that even the Tribunes' weak words will not be matched by actions. We can be absolutely confident that no matter what reactionary brew Healey serves up in his budget on 12 November, Atkinson & Co. will vote for it all in the name of 'preserving the Labour Government'. In reality not only will the Tribunes vote for viciously anti-working class measures, but they will help to dig the Labour Government's grave as it demoralises more and more workers and prepares the way for the return of the Tories, the Liberals and the Nationalists.

In reply to both the openly reactionary policies of Wilson and the ef-

..... the second alternative is to rifle the pockets of the working class



unemployment to soar to 1½ million plus and cut working class living standards by 5% or more every year, all in order to bail out the capitalists.

But this means that they will have to simultaneously attack the working class and give huge handouts to the employers - a combination that could lead to an explosive reaction by the working class against Wilson's policies.

TRIBUNITES

Faced with this open retreat even on the right-wing election manifesto, some Labour MPs have become scared they will lose their working class sup-

port of the Tribunes the working class must develop its own answer. A fight must be waged within the labour movement, and above all within the trade unions, for:

*Not one single penny to the bankrupt representatives of a bankrupt system - nationalisation without compensation, with full guarantee of no loss of jobs and under workers control, of all firms creating redundancies.

*Nationalisation of the banks and the whole finance system.

*A trade union plan for the full nationalisation of the economy under workers control.

THE UNIONS



Women's Charter—what now?

Members of London-based women's groups, trade unions, tenants associations, and trades councils are making final preparations for the first delegate conference of the London Working Women's Charter Campaign to be held this Saturday.

This is the culmination of seven months work around the Charter which has been a means of reaching and helping to organise women who both at home and at work are being hit especially hard by the soaring rates of inflation, vast shortages in housing cutbacks in social expenditure and chronic low pay.

This campaign around the Charter has so far accomplished two things. Firstly, it has opened up a debate in the labour movement which draws the connections between women's

role in the family and their position in the labour force. The task now is to overcome the reluctance of the trade unions to pay anything more than lip service to the problems of women.

Secondly, the Charter campaign has brought together militants in a locality who are prepared to fight around its demands.

A large number of trades councils have sponsored the London conference and have been urged by the militants in their area to launch vigorous local campaigns.

Three trades councils in London—Hackney, Brent and Ealing/Southall—have organised their own conferences, as have Edinburgh, Colchester, Nottingham, Lancaster, and Bristol. These initiatives, along with those of the Manchester Charter group in their work with the SEI equal pay strikers

have prepared the way for calling for a national conference from the London meeting.

The development of a national perspective is crucial in this period. The trade union bureaucracy has entered into a social contract with the Labour Government. They have agreed to keep things calm on the wages front in return for social concessions. Women cannot, however, afford to keep to the social contract. Any concessions granted—food subsidies, rent freezes, etc.—are totally inadequate in the face of a rate of inflation as high as 20 per cent.

Nor will Labour's Charter for Women or their Anti-discrimination Bill solve any of women's problems. Only by direct action will any progress be made. It is such action we shall be discussing on 26 October in London.

KATHY YOUNG

AUEW CONFERENCE

The battle lines are being drawn in the AUEW for the forthcoming union elections. JEFF KING looks at the various candidates and the issues behind them.

Six elected positions are presently at stake in the AUEW. These include the posts of four national organisers, one seat on the executive and the key position of union general secretary.

What makes the general secretary's job so important is that whoever holds that position has control of the union journal, its research department, information activities and staff appointments.

CANDIDATES

The candidates for the general secretaryship include extreme right-winger John Boyd, the nominee of the Broad-Left, Bob Wright, plus nine 'no-hopers'. Boyd is an old buddy of Carron who, in his period of presidency of the AUEW, steered and bludgeoned the union on a consistently right-wing line. Boyd specialises in anti-communism and was the right's nominee in the last campaign against Hugh Scanlon.

True to form trombone playing Salvation Army member Boyd struck another low note by denouncing members at Hoovers in Scotland, now in the seventh week of an unofficial strike.

Wright, a left member of the Labour Party, sails close to the line of the Communist Party, particularly in the AUEW.

The fight for the new seat on the executive is also important. Clifford Arrowsmith, another Broad-Left candidate, is opposing Bill John, a confirmed right-winger. A defeat for Arrowsmith could tip the scales in favour of the right on the seven-strong executive. (The executive is the full-time body in the union which interprets the policies laid down each May by the 52 members of the national committee.)

The engineering employers in particular, and the ruling class in general, will have their sights focused on these elections. Needless to say Labour's leaders will also have more than a casual interest in their outcome.

WEAKEN

The AUEW is Britain's second largest union. Its vote at conferences of the Labour Party and the TUC can be absolutely decisive. In the hey-day of Carron it was used to smash the left and bolster the right-wing.

SHREWSBURY

This week Des Warren and Ricky Tomlinson, two of the Shrewsbury building workers, are up in the High Court again. This time it's to hear their appeal against the monstrous verdict and sentences handed down last December.

Both have already served part of their sentences—Warren got three years and Tomlinson two—since it took six months even to get them out on bail. Now they face the possibility of going back to jail.

The Labour Government did nothing about the Act under which they were convicted—the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act—up to 10 October, nor do they show any signs of doing anything about it in future.

The justice that these brothers received is the justice of the capitalist class. Its sole purpose is to protect the interests of capitalism against

Wilson and company would dearly love to see the right back in control and lined up behind the social contract. They also know that an AUEW dominated by the right would weaken the potential opposition of groups of Labour MPs to the Labour leaders' openly class collaborationist policies.

The employers have a vested interest in the victory of Boyd and his fellow rights. A new pay claim is due shortly from the engineers—who officially oppose the social contract. A national claim that goes beyond the limits of the social contract would have devastating effects on this sector of the economy. A national engineering strike would bring the economy crashing down. Furthermore, it could set an example and spark off similar claims from hundreds of thousands of workers in other industries and unions.

The first task in the AUEW elections is to defeat the right wing. The regaining of control in the AUEW by the right would make the struggle on wages and the fight against redundancies much more difficult. It would help the Wilson-Murray axis in the Labour Party and the TUC at a time when these people are desperately trying to line up the labour movement behind the interests of capitalism.

The candidates of the Broad-Left—Wright, Arrowsmith, Brindle, Higgs, Morton and Foster (the last four are standing for the organisers' jobs)—should be supported. But that support must not be uncritical. AUEW members must demand of these candidates that they not only vote for a pay claim that breaks the social contract, but that they begin to prepare now for strike action to win that claim.

The forces around the Broad-Left, and the militants in the union must also insist that these candidates pledge themselves to give full backing to the fight against redundancies. This means placing the full financial and material resources of the union behind members engaged in factory occupations, and taking up the struggle for the nationalisation without compensation, under the control of the workers, of all firms introducing lay-offs and redundancies.

the interests of the working class.

That justice can only be fought by working class action. It cannot be overturned by appeals to 'reason' and 'fair play'. If Warren and Tomlinson go back to jail, a movement even bigger and stronger than that which grew up to defend the original 24 defendants must be created.

From the outset it must make clear that it has one central objective—securing the release of these two men. It must also make clear that it will work all-out for strike action throughout industry to get their release.



Only last Saturday a mass rally pledged full support to the SEI strikers. Among the speakers was Sheffield AUEW shop steward Kath Cirket (left), who called for a national support committee to be set up. Now the women have been sold out by their 'leaders'.



Photos: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

SEI-Union sells out strikers

'We have been sold out' was the bitter comment of SEI worker Catherine Roy after the women at the Heywood factory had been advised by Peter Bramah, Bury and District AUEW secretary, to return to work.

Another woman worker said: 'We have got 62p on the bonus but lost 80p in thresholds. That means a cut of 18p a week. We still have not got equal pay on the basic rate. All those weeks of strike just for that.'

The decision was taken at a mass meeting where Bramah recommended a return to work on terms that the women could have had weeks ago. The management have still not given a written guarantee about no victimisations, but have just made a verbal promise to Bramah.

This sell-out came just as the isolation of the women was being broken down, and the stage was being set for victory. The management's last throw—a letter threatening to dismiss all the women unless they returned to work—had failed, with only two women going back.

SUPPORT GROWS

For two months the women workers had battled on their own. Promises abandoned, action remained nil. Then support began to appear. The Bury AUEW made a firm commitment to a one-day strike on October 28. And last Saturday, 19 October, came a mass solidarity rally which attracted 500 people.

Speaker after speaker at the rally stressed the need for a national campaign to support the SEI women. Sheffield engineering shop steward Kath Cirket called for a national support committee and a demonstration in Manchester on the issue of equal pay. That demonstration, she said, should be keyed into the struggle at SEI.

Cathy Clark, a member of Liverpool Trades Council, pointed to the victory of

the women workers at Wingrove and Rogers. This had been won, she said, because of the way they had been able to widen support for their strike and get extensive blacking of Wingrove's products.

'Fight the battle on your own. Don't rely on the bureaucracy', urged May Hobbs who led the fight of the London women night cleaners. Terry Barrett, from the Barking and Dagenham Shrewsbury 24 Defence Committee, echoed May's advice.

But as support was growing, the uneasiness of the bureaucracy was also growing fast.

Bramah and the Communist Party did not see these moves to extend support for the dispute as something to be welcomed. They are interested in building the broadest possible alliance of the so-called prog-

ressive forces in the union. This means that they do not want a battle with the union bureaucracy, nor do they want to challenge head-on the prejudices of many male workers. This is why Bramah did not report to the mass meeting—where the decision to go back was taken—on Saturday's rally or on the decision of the Bury District to hold a one-day support strike.

To win at SEI there was no alternative but to fight the union bureaucracy, who had not lifted a finger to support the women workers. It was vital to fight against the views of those male workers in the union, who did not see the importance of the struggle for equal pay.

But rather than fight on these issues Bramah was prepared to preside over the sell-out of this important struggle.

New nurses strike on the way

Nurses at Highcroft Hospital in Birmingham are holding a ballot on whether to take strike action in support of quick payment of the new wage increases.

The estimate of the local union officials is that there will be a fairly decisive vote in favour. John McAleer explained: 'Some of us have up to £400 and £500 back pay outstanding.' It was the Highcroft members of COHSE and NUPE who staged Britain's first all-out nurses' strike in August in support of the original pay claim.

A demonstration is also being planned by union members outside the headquarters of the West Midlands Regional Health Authority.

Again the militant rank and file at the Highcroft Hospital are showing the way forward. As inflation erodes the real value of the award and cuts into the back pay, they realise that the Government must be forced to pay the award now.

The nurses' determination to take strike action also acts as an example to the ancillary workers, whose own claim is now being negotiated.

International Marxist Group



(British section of the Fourth International)

97 Caledonian Rd., London N.1.

I would like more information about the IMG and its activities

NAME

ADDRESS

'SOME UNIVERSITY MIGHT HAVE TO THREATEN TO CLOSE'

Defend Foot, defend left press!

The fining of *Socialist Worker* editor Paul Foot last week should have come as no surprise.

Foot, who revealed the names of the two wealthy layabouts allegedly blackmailed by Janie Jones, was found guilty of contempt of court by Lord Chief Justice Widgery and his cohorts on the Queen's Bench.

These distinguished law lords decided that if Foot got away with it 'a potential complainant would say to himself: "Even the judge cannot protect me." They just forgot to mention that the blackmail allegations were thrown out during the Janie Jones case; that they were presumably trumped up in the first place, so that the trial judge could generously bestow anonymity on class allies whose involvement in such a 'sordid' case would otherwise be revealed; and that in far worse cases the names and photographs of working class witnesses have been blazoned across the press.

The fact that the Foot case was both brought and prosecuted by Sam Silkin, the Labour Attorney General, makes it that much more despicable. *Socialist Worker* now has to find around £8,000 to meet the fine and costs (the latter grossly inflated by the fact that barristers demand £500 a day to grease their oily palms).

What is surprising about this case, however, is that the International Socialists—according to a statement made by Paul Foot at a meeting of the Magazine Branch of the NUJ last week—actually expected to win.

When a proposal to picket the trial was put to the branch by a member of the IMG, Foot replied that it would serve little purpose, since there was no jury and one could not expect to influence the opinions of High Court officials. And when the branch voted to organise a picket, both Paul Foot and the chairman, Roger Protz—Foot's predecessor as the editor of *Socialist Worker*—op-

posed the slogan 'stop the trial' on the basis that it was an important case and they were going to win!

The branch has now called an emergency meeting, to be held next Monday. The IMG will argue that what determines the course of 'justice' is not a 'good' case but the relationship of class forces.

It is essential that as many journalists' chapels as possible show their contempt for the law lords and the Labour Government by pushing aside their typewriters, and calling on other sections of the labour movement to join them in a mass demonstration. This should be linked to the call for a union commission of inquiry into interference in the media by the police and the State now being taken up in the media unions.

DICK BRINSLEY

Not our words, but those of Charles Carter, the Vice Chancellor at Lancaster University. The root of the problem for the colleges is a cash crisis—a lack of money. Leeds University is running an annual loss of £900,000.

For the authorities the answer is simple. If the State refuses to pay, then students and campus workers must. Virtually every college administration, if it had not done so already, is proposing rent and price increases,

or other temporary accommodation and subsidise the rents to college levels. As a short term measure this is fine, yet next year the crisis will reappear, but worse. One demand that students must make is for the reintroduction and expansion of building programmes ruthlessly

by
Ric Sissons

chopped by both the Tory and Labour Governments.

However it also is the case that enough property stands vacant to house all the homeless in Britain, student or otherwise. Students are only a part of this wider problem—their own accommodation crisis cannot be seen in isolation. Housing campaigns launched from the colleges have to be taken into the tenants, squatters and trade union movement if they are to reap rewards.

JOINT MOVES

Portsmouth students have led the way by demanding that the Polytechnic and local council take over and municipalise empty property in the town to provide housing for all the homeless. To back this and other demands they have organised petitions, a joint demonstration, and a local conference with the trade union movement.

Links can also be built with the trade unions in the colleges themselves as the authorities scab on pay deals they agreed with ASTMS and NALGO. The selective strike

action this move provoked will become part and parcel of college life.

The NUS leadership, dominated by the Broad Left, have meanwhile stood idly by, offering merely a running commentary. They have neither directed nor initiated any of the struggles this term. For the future the best they can come up with for the week of action, between November 11-15 are petitions and 2-hour token occupations. Are they really serious?

DIRECT ACTION

Will action like that roll back the cuts? Will it remove the inequalities of the grants system? We do not think so, nor do those students taking direct action.

During the week of action area campaigns of direct action, jointly with local trade unions should be sparked off. Two issues stand out—the need to abolish discretionary awards and the discrimination against women students; and against education on the cheap.

As Leeds students have shown these campaigns need to involve school students, teachers, technicians, porters and all those suffering from the spending cuts.

The week of action can be most effective if it is used as a springboard for a continuing fight back. The local education and college authorities will not concede in a week, nor will they politely decide to stop raising rents and prices, scabbing on wage agreements and proposing redundancies. It is only with more direct action involving all students, whether in colleges of further education, polytechnics or universities, with working class support, that real concessions can be won.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

ELGIN AVENUE PREPARES TO FIGHT!

'We have built these barricades because we don't recognise the right of the GLC or anyone to make us or any people homeless, even if that right is backed by the Courts. Bailiffs and Police NO EVICTIONS—HOUSING FOR ALL!'

So reads an inscription on the corrugated steel barricades in Elgin Avenue, Paddington, where 250 people with many children are fighting against the Labour GLC's intention to evict them.

The squatters gained time to organise their campaign when they won a stay of eviction pending a High Court Appeal. The GLC plan to cut off the squatters' support by spreading lies and rumours in Westminster Trades Council, Paddington Tenants Federation and the Labour Party has failed.

Westminster Trades Council has voted continuing support and the Tenants Federation will join with them to meet the GLC. And there is growing support for the squatters from inside the Labour Party.

The squatters are also organising an anti-eviction force from many other areas which will be contacted as soon as bailiffs are spotted by the squatters' look-out patrol. But more support is needed. The squatters have organised a Day of Action with films, leaflettings, speeches and discussion on Saturday, 26 October, from 1 p.m. onwards. Contact 19 Elgin Avenue, W.9. (286 2186) for information. Piers Corbyn

Squatters, slums & the mouse

'They should put a bomb under the lot of them,' said one Labour Councillor referring to the slum flats of Manchester's Moss Side.

The housing conditions of the Moss Side tenants are appalling. Even the architects of their flats now admit they should never have been built.

The thin walls packed with straw are a breeding ground for every kind of vermin and bug. The fire brigade have pointed to the enormous fire risk—it takes just four minutes to completely gut one flat, they say.

The Moss Side tenants decided they had had enough of bugs and mice. They demanded immediate rehousing and backed up their demand by occupying a partially finished council house. The response of the Housing Department was abysmal. All they have done is to promise 'to consider rehousing the tenants within 18 months!'

In the meantime the Council are fumigating some of the infested flats. They admit fumigation is not 'entirely successful'—in fact one flat is still infested after 12 attempts.

As for the Director of Housing, Mr. Goodhead, he refuses to believe the flats are infested with vermin: 'It may be one mouse that is running from block to block.'

At a demonstration last week to mark the end of their squat the police moved in to break it up, and arrested one of the tenants. John Miller, press spokesman for the Moss Side Neighbourhood Council, told a *Red Weekly* reporter: 'We feel it was an entirely unprovoked attack by the police on a group of peaceful demonstrators.'

And Tom McClure, Neighbourhood Council committee member added: 'We are more determined than ever to step up the fight. Moss Side is just the tip of the iceberg. If they defeat us it will close the door on future tenants' struggles in Manchester.'

Manchester students, recently involved in their own occupation over accommodation, have already donated to a defence fund for the arrested tenant. Rush donations to: Moss Side Neighbourhood Council Defence Fund, c/o Trustee Savings Bank, Alexandra Road, Moss Side, Manchester 15.

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