

Red Weekly

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WILSON CHARTS COURSE FOR DISASTER

The employers attacks on the working class are being stepped up day by day. Unemployment is rising and inflation is running at 25 per cent. The Tories have stepped in to defeat the repeal of key points in the Industrial Relations Act.

The open agents of the employers within the Labour Party are also going on the attack. Roy Jenkins speech calling for the right wing to stand together was immediately supported by Reg Prentice and Shirley Williams. Last Wednesday 50 right-wing Labour MPs held a meeting in the House of Commons to plan their new moves.

Wilson and trade union leaders such as Jones are arguing that what is needed is maximum 'unity'. They are trying to gag the left. This is a road to disaster. Every day it becomes clearer that the policies of the Labour government have led the working class into a short road to defeat.

Five months ago the working class, led by the miners, brought the Heath government crashing down. Wilson has wasted every opportunity provided by this great victory. Using the excuse of not having a majority in Parliament, when in fact working class action would have swept aside any Tory or employer saboteurs, retreat after retreat has been carried out. Openly right-wing policies, such as not repealing Phase Three to Howell's latest dinner with the pro-Apartheid Lions rugby team, have been carried out.

The Wilson line not only is not going to take one single step towards socialism but is quite possibly going to lose the election for Labour. We don't think the opinion polls which show Labour support slumping are fake. They show that more and more working class militants are becoming demoralised by the record of even a few months of the present Labour government.

The responsibility for the present employers' attacks and threat of Labour losing the election doesn't lie in 'splits', 'disunity', or even Roy Jenkins. It lies fairly and squarely in the lap of Harold Wilson and the whole leadership of the Labour Party.

In this situation, far from toning down its criticism, the left must massively step up its struggle. The real forces to deal with the employers and the Labour leadership lies within the trade unions. It was the unions which brought down Heath and got the Labour government into office in the first place. It is the unions, through the nurses, the teachers, the local government workers and the people who have been on strike for thresholds and against redundancy who have been the main fighters back against Wilson.

The unions in the last five years have also moved to take up issues which go beyond simple defence of workers' living standards. Trade union action has been taken on Chile, industrial action has been proposed on pensions and strikes have been held against laws such as the Industrial Relations Act, the incomes policy laws and against the imprisonment at Shrewsbury of workers charged under the conspiracy laws.

But these developments do not go far enough yet. The trade unions must become the core of a political movement, fighting both inside and outside the Labour Party, against both the Tories and the present leaders of the working class. The unions must draw up proposals on all issues from pay, to Ireland, to nationalisation to get accepted in the Labour Party and at its conference. But, most important of all, they must be prepared to take their own actions to enforce them, particularly when the Labour leaders do not carry them out.

This means not toning-down criticism but fighting for:

- * A sliding scale of wages
- * Nationalisation of all firms creating redundancy
- * A trade union plan for the nationalisation of the economy under workers control
- * A general strike to secure basic working class demands on inflation and unemployment
- * A Labour government responsible to the organisations of the working class, not to Parliament.

These types of fighting policies, not stopping criticism of the line of Wilson, are what will defeat the employers' attacks and win the next election for Labour.

summer schedule

Red Weekly will be appearing only every two weeks during August.

So:

- Red Weekly 64 will be out on 15 August

- Red Weekly 65 will be out on 29 August

With Red Weekly 66, published on 5 September, we'll be back to the weekly Red Weekly.

National Front changes demo plans

JACKBOOTS IN LEICESTER



photo: Workers Press

White workers at Imperial Typewriters, Leicester voted to strike in protest at the reinstatement of striking Asian militants.

The Union Jacks at their mass meeting (see photo), hardly a normal feature of union mass meetings, suggest that the National Front had their thumb firmly planted in this little pie.

The racist policies of the trade union right-wing in Leicester opened the door for the Front, and they are now planning to take full advantage of it with their 24 August demo.

TEN DAYS AGO the National Front was boasting about their intention to march through Manchester on 24 August.

Their ex-Nazi leaders had touchingly chosen 'Free Speech and Law and Order' as the theme of their march.

In a quick about-face the fascists now say they are having a march in Leicester on that day.

What made the NF change its plans is the strong anti-fascist tradition of the Manchester working class movement. This was seen in the massive wave of opposition that swelled up from the labour and trade union movement when the NF called its Manchester demonstration.

By the end of last week, the Manchester Anti-Fascist Committee, widely backed in the labour movement and with a successful record of stopping the fascists' anti-immigration rally in Manchester last year was already preparing a massive counter-mobilisation to the fascists.

The local AUEW District Committee pledged huge support for the counter-mobilisation on the 24th, as did Stockport South Labour Party. Delegations were going to the Watch Committee to press both them and

the City Council to ban the fascists march.

All AUEW-sponsored MPs were being pressed to join the call for the ban. Thousands of leaflets were distributed in all the main engineering factories in the Manchester area. Plans had been drawn up for a national ad hoc mobilising committee. When 24 August came round, the National Front would have had to contend with thousands of workers on the streets.

No doubt the fascists got wind of the political campaign that was preparing their 'reception party.' And, as the fascists always do when faced with the might of the labour movement, they got cold feet.

The retreat from Manchester is a blow to the NF. The North-West is one of the fastest growing areas of support for the Front, as it was for the British Union of Fascists in the 1930s. They have been putting up

election candidates regularly in Blackburn, Bolton, Manchester (Openshaw) and Rbdale and their votes have been increasing.

Forced to back down in Manchester, the move to Leicester makes sense for the right-wing led Leicester trade union movement gives the NF a weak flank to move against. The TGWU local leadership in Leicester played a scabbing role throughout the Imperial's strike, and the rest of the labour movement hardly lifted a finger to come to the aid of the Asian workers.

The fascists have long regarded Leicester and the Midlands as one of their happiest black-hunting and red-baiting grounds. Now the Front want to wrap all this up with a big victory rally in Leicester.

The move of the demonstration to Leicester means that the anti-fascist forces nationally have an even greater responsibility to mobilise to its maximum capacity on 24 August. It must ensure that the fascist rabble are not allowed to peddle their race-hatred on the streets of Leicester.

IN FOCUS

Fighting unemployment

Unemployment is beginning its steady climb upwards. All economic predictions show unemployment reaching at least 800,000 this winter and far more next.

The fight back against redundancy has also started. The occupation at Fisher-Bendix (now International Property Developers) shows the way forward. As we move towards big struggles on redundancy it is vital that the working class movement begins to hammer out a programme for the struggle against unemployment. The most important demands are:

* **Work sharing with no loss of pay** — This is the most vital demand where the threat is not the closure of a factory but redundancy within a factory or firm.

* **35 hour week.** A typical management trick is to sack some workers while getting the others to work harder. The working class must fight for the working week to be reduced for everybody and to increase the number of workers kept employed thus stopping management's manoeuvres. No overtime must be worked in any industry threatened with redundancy.

* **Occupation of all factories threatened with redundancy with the demand they be nationalised with a guarantee of no loss of jobs.** Every big struggle against redundancy from UCS onwards has shown the factory occupation to be the way to gain widest support for the struggle, to keep the workers united and to prevent management moving equipment.

* **Nationalisation without compensation and with guarantee of no loss of jobs of all firms and industries creating redundancies to be supervised by workers control.** Nationalisation must not be simply of bankrupt parts of firms and industries — for example not only should the Scottish operation of the *Daily Express* be nationalised but the whole Beaverbrook empire should be, not only British Leyland but the whole motor industry.

It is also particularly important at present that the building industry be nationalised because here there is an absurd situation where housebuilding is at its lowest level ever at the same time as 100,000 building workers are going to be given the sack by the autumn. In fact, the building and motor industries stand out as instances where, to protect jobs at all, nationalisation is an immediate and burning question.

* **Workers Control of industry.** Workers co-operatives, workers sacking workers, are no use to anybody. But ensuring that the management carries out agreements, that it does not take actions threatening jobs is vital.

* **Open the Books.** At this moment thousands of firms are drawing up plans to sack hundreds of thousands of workers. This is being carried on behind closed company doors so the plans can be sprung on the workers sometimes at a minute's notice, when they are least able to fight. All company accounts and plans should be public and open to the workers.

* **Full Pay for the Unemployed.** It is capitalism which creates unemployment and not the workers. The unemployed should not lose one penny, and capitalism should pay, because of the effects of capitalist anarchy.

* **A Trade Union Plan for the nationalisation of the economy under workers control.** The real power in the working class movement at present lies in the trade unions.

Everyone from Edward Heath through Harold Wilson to shop floor militants knows that the present Labour government only got into office because of the power of the unions and that the social contract could be overturned with a snap of the fingers if the trade unions wanted.

But instead of using this power to solve the problems of the working class by dealing a decisive blow against capitalism the trade union leadership are drawing up utopian and ridiculous plans to try to make capitalism work.

All this should be rejected and, particularly in the light of the coming unemployment which no policy within capitalism can stop, a trade union plan for the nationalisation of the economy under workers' control must be drawn up. It is only this demand which can in the long run secure the fundamental demand of the right to work.

One demand which should definitely *not* be taken up however is the widely touted one of workers' co-operatives. What is happening at the *Scottish Daily Express* and *Triumph Meriden* will not solve anything at all.

At Meriden the workforce will be drastically cut and the remaining workers forced to work harder. The *Scottish Daily Express* example is already being used as an argument against 'overmanning' in the rest of the newspaper industry. Finally, instead of management sacking workers, workers will finish up sacking workers.

The only solution to the problems of the working class is to put an end to capitalist anarchy, not to try to run it.

Threshold struggles continue

THE VICTORY OF THE MINERS STRIKE and the defeat of the Tory Government in the last general election was followed by a certain amount of euphoria amongst working class militants who felt that a great step forward had been taken.

Within weeks, however, it became clear that the basic problems—especially inflation—were not going to disappear simply with the arrival of the Labour Government.

The introduction of the 'social contract' was seen for what it really

is—a thinly disguised incomes policy whereby the working class was being asked to 'moderate' wage claims in exchange for a few token food subsidies that had nil impact on the staggering rise in the cost of living.

The triggering of the threshold clauses over the past couple of months has provided at least some partial protection against inflation for millions of workers. In most cases where the thresholds had not already been negotiated under Phase 3 the employers have tried to get out of paying them, meagre as they are. Once again we are seeing determined struggles from many workers who are not traditionally militant.

This week in *Red Weekly* we follow the strikes at three factories demanding the full threshold payments—two of which involve women workers, and the third apprentices and young workers.

GLASGOW

At the engineering factory of Barr and Stroud in Glasgow the management tried to get the apprentices and young workers

to accept *graded* payments of thresholds, that save less than the full amount. A mass meeting was held immediately, a strike committee elected, and the walkout followed.

The factory is on holiday at the moment but the picket line is being maintained. The company is expecting the delivery of 27 machines as part of a government contract. If the strikers can stop this delivery the firm will probably lose the contract.

LIVERPOOL

The local AUEW bureaucracy in Liverpool has been dragging its feet in giving support to a militant struggle by 250 women at the small engineering factory of Wingrove and Rogers. The women have been waiting twelve months for a bonus scheme that the management accepted in negotiation with the union at the time, but have not yet got round to giving. When the threshold payments became due the management refused to pay them and told the workers they would have to carry on waiting for the bonus scheme.

But the women have had enough. They elected a strike committee and have been campaigning in the area for support—especially for money, which is urgently needed.

EASTBOURNE

Forty-seven workers—most of them women—have been on strike for five weeks at the Dorothy Gray perfume factory in Eastbourne in a dispute over thresholds.

Most of the men at the factory are still going to work and the management have tried to demoralise the strikers by contacting other factories and even by preventing the pickets sheltering from the rain.

But the women are campaigning for support. Other workers on the trading estate have given donations and dockers in London are blacking Dorothy Gray products.

COVENTRY

In all these struggles, the strikers have seen very quickly the need to elect strike committees to democratically run the strikes and to win support from other sections of workers. In all of them, too, the union bureaucracies have had problems in 'controlling' the workers.

The task now is to try to unify these struggles—which are making the 'social contract' fray at the edges—into a united struggle by *all* workers

that can smash the 'social contract.' The coming conference on thresholds and the fight against inflation in Coventry is precisely the sort of local action that needs to be taken. Such local conferences can work out the demands and tactics that are necessary, both now and when the thresholds run out in October, to unite militants in the localities around a wages policy—such as concerted struggle for a genuine sliding scale of wages—that can begin to solve the problems of inflation for the working class.

Nick Adams

TRADE UNION SPONSORED
CONFERENCE
on
THRESHOLD
cost-of-living increases

Saturday 10 August 2.00 pm
TGWU Hall, Ringway St Johns,
Coventry

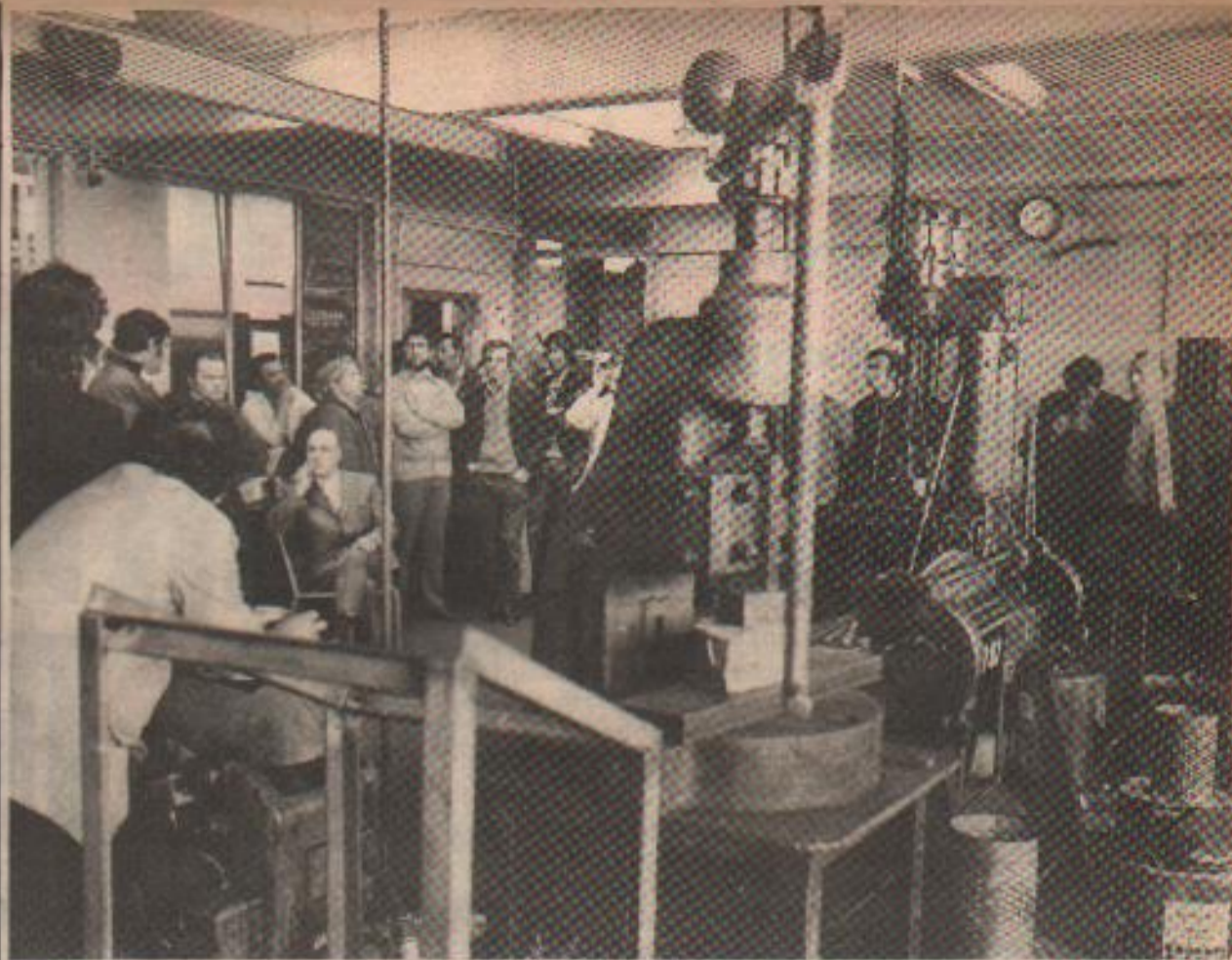


Photo: RON McCORMICK

'We don't expect anything to go out and we don't expect anything to be moved without prior consultation — we won't have any of that', says IPD electricians' steward Archie Breden. It was this determination to hold on to the machinery as a bargaining weapon which forced the Government to act so quickly to save the men's jobs.

IPD sit-in forces government action

ALL OVER BAR THE SHOUTING? Well, that was the reaction of Friday's mass meeting at International Property Developers — formerly Fisher-Bendix — in Kirkby. A deal was worked out on Thursday between representatives of the IPD workers, and Tony Benn and the officials of his department.

This involves a temporary system of work sharing, where each of the 1200 workers is guaranteed four weeks work out of every six. The receiver, who was thrown off the site two weeks ago, will be readmitted as a temporary manager. And Benn's department will open up negotiations with a view to buying the factory. This settlement involves the keeping of the 1200 jobs which is a distinct improvement on the receiver's original proposal to sack 750 straight away.

The IPD work-in threatened to become the first major struggle against the predicted wave of factory closures. This would have punched a hole right through the government's social contract especially at a time when Healey claims that his 'mini-budget' will reduce unemployment. It is this which forced the government to act. As steward Archie Breden put it: 'We believe what clinched it was the strength of the unions on site.'

The factory occupation and the work-in are the only effective ways to fight unemployment and closures. And it must be demanded that the Labour government support such struggles against unemployment by nationalising firms such as

IPD that attempt to close down. Even though a government take-over of IPD is expected, that is not the end of the story.

Archie Breden explains: 'We will be keeping control in the sense that we're not going to allow everything to go out. We're going to restrict movement which the other side agreed to — well they had to agree to it! We don't expect anything to go out and we don't expect anything to be moved without prior consultation we won't have any of that.'

LIVERPOOL IMG

Troops Out Movement pickets army display

In recent years, the army has been present at the St Helens annual shows in increasing force and this year Labour councillor Dennis Collins attacked the show as 'more like a military tattoo than a show'.

The neighbouring Skelmersdale council has banned the army from its show but, after much discussion in the local press and in the Council's Labour group, the military takeover in St Helens was allowed to go ahead.

Flippant comments from pro-army Labourites about the 'Red Devils doing nobody any harm' ignored the reality of what was happening — the recruitment of the unemployed youth of St Helens to go and kill the unemployed youth of Ireland.

The army puts a great effort into recruitment in Lancashire. This area of high unemployment provides a fifth of the army's recruits. In recent weeks the army has even descended to carrying out a

major recruitment campaign in the schools of Kirkby.

Liverpool Troops Out Movement (TOM) responded to the St Helens Council's back-down by launching a picket of the military displays at the show. About thirty supporters of TOM with placards calling for the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Ireland and for a Labour ban on recruitment displays did much to counter the army's propaganda.

Most people at the show supported the picket — leaflets were accepted with great readiness — and the pickets were approached by several ex-soldiers and serving soldiers who expressed interest in the Troops Out Movement.

Morale among the troops at the show was so poor that officers intervened several times to break up discussions between troops and TOM supporters. One black soldier summed it all up when he said: 'After getting out of the army I'll never join so much as a darts team — but I will join TOM.'

LIVERPOOL IMG

On the day the Imperial Typewriters strikers were returning to work, 30 Asian women at Kenilworth Components in Leicester went on strike.

The women went on strike after being sacked for asking for a wage rise and joined the TGWU. Kenilworth is one of the factories in the Midlands area which employs Asian workers, especially women in bad conditions and with low pay.

The conditions in the factory and the wages of the workers seem like something out of the nineteenth century. The women receive £12 for 40 hours work. The 20 men in the factory work a compulsory 60 hour week in five 12 hour shifts for just over £30.

Nominally the workers are given a £4 monthly bonus, but it can be and is withdrawn if a worker arrives late for work *anytime* during a particular month. There is no time and a half for Saturday work and no canteen or medical facilities. This horrendous list goes on and on.

FIGHT

As at Imperial Typewriters the women decided to fight.

They took this decision although they knew that the company in the past had sacked individuals, groups

Lightning victory for Asian women workers

of workers, and even the entire workforce for asking for a wage increase.

The high turnover rate has meant that there has been no union organisation.

Despite these difficulties the women won a victory, in which the Imperial Typewriter strike obviously helped. The Leicester TGWU, embarrassed by the Imperial strike, stepped in immediately at Kenilworth. A return to work was negotiated last Tuesday. However, when they went back, eleven of them, including two of their spokeswomen, were sacked.

The other women then walked out and the TGWU made the strike official. It took thirteen weeks of struggle to move the union at Imperial Typewriters while at Kenilworth Components, the strike was made official in two days.

The help of the Imperial Typewriter strikers was very decisive in what happened at Kenilworth Components. The thirty Asian women were invited to a mass meeting of the Imperial strikers and as a result, twenty pickets were sent to the factory. The committee set up by some of the Asian women at Imperial also met the women strikers to discuss mutual problems and the best way to help the strike.

The TGWU and the management were faced with another strike by Asian workers and obviously were frightened of having another 'Imperial' on their hands. Negotiations began between management, union and Department of Employment, with Bromley, the TGWU official of Imperial Typewriter fame heading the union side.

A settlement was reached very quickly. The eleven sacked workers were reinstated. It was agreed that there would be no victimisation or redundancies. An increase in pay for each worker of £5.30 a week was agreed plus a £2.25 threshold payment. All the workers in the factory have now joined the TGWU.

In eight weeks time new negotiations for all the workforce will begin again.

The strike at Imperial Typewriters has shown how the militancy and determination of black workers can force the trade union movement to act. It has also given a lead to other black workers in the way to fight against their particular exploitation as a source of cheap labour.

EXAMPLE

They have set an example to white workers how to organise a strike directly involving the mass of the workers. This is an effective way of ensuring that the union bureaucrats are unable to sell out disputes.

All the workers will benefit from the action taken by these Asian women at Kenilworth and this means it will be much easier to unify the workforce - black and white, women and men.



Two hundred of the Asian strikers at Imperial have now returned to work.

The rest of the strikers expect to be back by the end of this week.

Despite the return to work the Asian workers are keeping their organisation intact. Mass meetings are taking place and the strike committee is still meeting.

However the long-awaited TGWU Report is not yet out. Brian Mathers, TGWU regional organiser has now gone on holiday, which means a further two weeks' delay.

'BALANCED'

TGWU officials are dropping heavy hints that the Report will be 'balanced'. The strikers - probably correctly - are suspicious that it will not recommend the re-vamping of the entire shop stewards' system in the factory.

Weaver, the factory convenor, is aware that the Inquiry will probably point out that there are not enough shop stewards for a factory of that size. A new steward was elected during the strike and it seems clear that there will be further attempts to get more 'Weaver men' elected before

IMPERIAL: backlash foiled

the publication of the Inquiry.

The right wing are making every effort to shore up their support. During the one-day racist strike, Weaver called an official TGWU branch meeting. George Bromley, the union's district secretary, graced that meeting with his presence. The Asians never got a meeting throughout their thirteen weeks' strike.

BLESSING

Weaver and Bromley gave their 'official' blessing to the one-day strike of the white workers, thereby fanning racist sentiments, as they see this as the only way to maintain their base in the union.

Up to now the retaliatory strategy has been something of a damp squib. The clerical staff refused to join the strike. The policy of sending

the so-called 'troublemakers' to 'Coventry' has met with limited success and has only been operated by odd groups of whites.

One of the tasks of the mass meetings - to which all workers are invited - will be to discuss actions against any attempt by management or reactionary white workers to victimise former strikers. This means that militants cannot be picked off at departmental level.

The Imperial strikers also sent pickets to support the women strikers at Kenilworth Components and invited the Kenilworth strikers to last Wednesday's mass meeting.

Asian women involved in the strike have set up a Women's Committee. This committee will not only discuss the problems facing women in the

factory but will organise to ensure that a number of women are elected as shop stewards.

NATIONAL FRONT

The National Front are stepping up their activities around the factory. They claim to have a cell of four active members on the shop floor and have obviously got some support in management ranks.

The strikers have distributed anti-NF leaflets and one of their spokesmen has made clear that they will resist any attempt by this fascist organisation to intimidate black workers.

Referring to the NF and its activities he told the mass meeting: 'If the NF show themselves on the streets we will take them on.'

SOCIALIST WOMAN FORUM

'Women in the Imperial Typewriters struggle'

Wednesday 7 August, 7.00 pm
ROEBUCK pub, Tottenham Court Rd

SPEAKERS: women from the Imperial Strike Committee

THE MILITANT STRIKE by workers at the Turriff-Taylor site near Edinburgh has scored two important 'firsts'.

It is the first time that the large Turriff-Taylor construction company has been taken on in Scotland. It also marks the first major dispute on an oil pipeline contract for the North Sea oil project.

A few weeks ago there was a one-day strike for a threshold agreement which led to the successful unionisation of many of the workers. Then last Thursday, shortly after conceding demands on safety conditions and facilities, management suddenly sacked 28 of the men, including all the stewards.

PIPELINE DISPUTE FUELS MILITANCY

The reason given was 'necessary redundancies.' But next day a coach-load of lump labour, or a 'grip-squad' as they are known in Scotland, arrived to replace them. Seventy per cent of

the remaining workers walked off the site, stopping most of the work on the pipeline.

On Monday the picket line was attacked by company foremen in jeeps, but fortunately none of the pickets was hurt. Since then the pickets have been making very successful attempts to win support in the local labour movement - notably from miners at the Kinneil pit, who have promised to reinforce the picket lines if necessary.

All in all, the organising of the strike has set a fine example, especially with the use of flying squads to tour the area - visiting factories, pits and building sites to gather support. The strikers are also publishing a daily strike bulletin and holding

regular mass meetings of all the strikers to ensure the most democratic and effective organisation of the struggle.

Coming so soon after the important strike by the Shell Oil refinery workers, this dispute is another step forward in the fight to stop the multi-national giants making money hand-over-fist out of the exploitation of oil resources while they get away with low pay and dangerous conditions.

STEWART MACLENNAN
NICK LOCKHART
DAVE EDMONDS
(members of strike committee and, Edinburgh IMG).

CHILE: hospital workers call for half-hour stoppage

HOSPITAL WORKERS in Wessex will be urged to stop work for half-an-hour on 11 September, the anniversary of the bloody overthrow of the Allende government in Chile.

The news that the Wessex hospitals shop stewards have made the call for the stoppage was announced at a demonstration in Portsmouth last Saturday organised by the local Chile Solidarity Campaign.

About 130 people marched through Portsmouth city centre to the main gate of the dockyard to protest against the presence of two frigates supplied by the Government to the Chilean junta. At the dockyard the demonstrators observed a two minutes silence in memory of all those murdered by the Chilean junta.

Another step forward for the solidarity campaign was taken in Newport last week. After an IMG public meeting in the town with Tariq Ali, local EPTU convenor Roy Morgan and Ken Holmes of the Labour Party, a local Chile Solidarity Campaign committee has been set up. One of the committee's tasks is to prepare for a 'Chile week' in the autumn to include the planned national half-hour stoppage on 11 September.

This planned stoppage is now gathering support up and down the country and all trade unionists should ensure that they come out on that day. Such protest strikes will help to spread the idea that action needs to be taken against the junta, and to prepare for a really massive national demonstration on 15 September.

NALGO leaders prepare for sell-out

The official leadership of NALGO is preparing for its sell-out of the £400 London Weighting claim.

The Metropolitan District Local Government Committee, the body that will ratify any settlement, has already given a let-out for the negotiators by accepting that the settlement will be £400 and £291 for inner and outer London.

The MDLGC also accepted that the National Executive Council of NALGO will ratify any settlement. The working party set up by the last National Joint Council (a union-local authority negotiating body) meeting will be able to agree terms within this which will be accepted by the NEC at its meeting on Saturday 3 August at 9 am.

The London NALGO Action Group has called for a picket of the NEC meeting at 8 Harewood Row. After the picket there will be a street meeting, which must prepare and organise the fight against any settlement below the full £400 across London. To do this the meeting must decide to establish an all London action committee to draw in all those forces prepared to fight for the full claim. This committee could then provide an effective link with other NALGO members in gas and electricity who are still fighting for their London weighting claims, and prepare links for the expected escalation when the teachers return to work in September.

ALAN BENNETT

*** Picket NEC at 8 Harewood Row, 8.45 am, Saturday 3 August**

WHEN BRITAIN JOINED THE Common Market — or 'European Economic Community' (EEC) as it is more formally known — at the beginning of 1973 leading capitalist circles proclaimed it as the answer to all the ills of British capitalism.

But today, instead of proving to be a gold mine for British business, the EEC is itself racked with crisis and its very existence is threatened.

The growing difficulties of the EEC came to a head in the so-called 'oil crisis', during which the various countries making up the EEC were unable either to agree on a common policy or to negotiate a joint agreement with the oil producing countries.

But the rot has sunk even deeper. The breakdown of the arrangements that governed the relations between the various national currencies in the Market, the dramatic decision of Denmark and Italy to control imports from fellow-EEC countries (thus defeating one of the fundamental aims of the Market), and the decision of the Labour Government in Britain to 'renegotiate' the terms of Britain's membership, are the latest nails in the EEC's coffin.

SHAKY

To understand the crisis which is now rocking the EEC we must understand just what the Common Market represents. It is a limited, and therefore shaky, arrangement between nine imperialist countries that goes part way towards linking up their various economies.

These countries decided to permit the free trade of goods, and the free movement of investment capital across the national boundaries within the Market. But they did not extend these measures to include the creation of a common EEC currency. Nor did they give the economic measures the essential political backing of a common capitalist state or a common government.

The political institutions that do exist within the Common Market are phony. The 'Commission' (which is supposed to represent the interests of the EEC 'as a whole', as against the particular interests of individual countries) has no real power except with regard to questions of trade and investment.

The real power within the Common Market is the 'Council of Ministers'. This body, made up of government ministers from the member countries, is necessarily a hodge-podge reflecting all the different national interests in the Market. Even when the Council is able to reach agreement it has shown itself unable to impose its decisions on any country that chooses to go its own way.

These limitations of the Common Market reflect the limitations of the economic development that gave rise to the EEC in the first place — the growing internationalisation of big capitalist operations in Europe.

DEVELOPMENTS

The last twenty years have seen some big developments in this respect. There are now, for example, big Europe-wide businesses — like Dunlop-Pirelli or Agfa-Gevaert — that are not owned or controlled outright by the capitalists of a single country, but divided between capitalists or groups of capitalists from several European countries.

But these developments still have a long way to go, and there have been some important moves in the other direction. The attempt to establish a multi-national automobile giant out of the Italian Fiat and French Citroen firms, for example, broke down.

In most industries, firms under the control of particular 'national' capitalists extend their operations on the international plane by taking over firms and cooperating with the 'national' monopolies in other

THE COMMON MARKET IN CRISIS



German premier Schmidt together with French president Giscard d'Estaing — who will foot the bill?

countries, rather than by creating real multi-national giants.

Thus the development of big business beyond national boundaries has not reached the point where the various 'national' groups of capitalists (e.g. those of Britain, France, or Germany) have lost their power and influence to multi-national giants without any national 'homeland'.

This is the big problem facing the Common Market. It is an institution set up over and above the various nations that belong to it, but it lacks any state power to back up its 'supernational' tasks.

Worse still, it finds itself in this dilemma at a time when the economies of almost all the European countries are running into serious difficulties — in other words, at a time when the actions of the state are of first-rate importance in trying to bail out the capitalist system.

CHOICE

The big monopolies in each of the Common Market countries now face a clear choice: either to build a real European super-state capable of working out and implementing a Europe-wide policy for the crisis, or fall back onto individual, national policies. In either case the Common Market as it now exists must go by the board.

In the first case it would be replaced by a federal capitalist state taking in all the countries prepared to take this step. This 'superstate' would have a single, common currency, a common government, common budget, and common economic and social policies.

In the second case, the Common Market would break up into pieces as the different countries that make it up run to set up new barriers to trade in order to protect their own capitalist industries from foreign competition.

Obviously the 'superstate' solution would be the choice of the

genuine multi-national firms. Only such a body could effectively defend their varied interests and at the same time try to come to grips with the economic crisis. This is true both of real multi-national firms (carrying on their business on the international plane and controlled jointly by several 'national' groups of capitalists) and of those firms whose business operations are spread throughout several countries, even though they are owned by capitalists from a single country.

For example, the interests of the Philips electronics monopoly could

not be defended by measures taken in its 'homeland' (Holland) alone. For them an effective policy for the crisis would have to be a policy followed in all nine of the Common Market countries.

However, given the absence of any such 'superstate', the ruling classes of the various European countries must make do with what they have. The more serious the crisis that each of them face, the more pressure there will be on them to junk the Common Market and 'do their own thing' as

THE LEFT AND THE COMMON

The move of Wedgwood-Benn to get a conference of the Labour Party on the question of accepting or rejecting 'renegotiated' terms for Britain's membership of the EEC will help to bring the Common Market right back into the centre of political debate. This means that the nationalist and chauvinist arguments of the Communist Party and the Labour left, who will blather on about 'national sovereignty' and the 'rule of Parliament', will be given a good airing.

In this situation it is very important that the revolutionary left, who are the only people who will fight against this rubbish, group round the slogan 'For a United Socialist States of Europe'. But the left must have a clear view not only on what programme to put forward in opposition to the nationalist arguments, but also on what attitude to take to the EEC and why.

WHAT IS THE EEC?

Any position on the Common Market must start from a clear analysis of what the EEC is. Purely subjective considerations such as 'the working class is against it therefore we should be', or 'nationalists and chauvinists are against the EEC therefore we shouldn't oppose it or Britain's entry' are quite false. There are many positions which the working class at present holds to which the left must be vigorously opposed. Similarly there are some issues on which, in a purely formal sense of course, socialists and extreme reactionaries seem to share the same position (eg opposition to incomes policy). These subjective questions affect tactics but they cannot determine a position on the EEC — that can only be derived from an objective analysis of what the Common Market actually is.

One view of the EEC which is quite prevalent but which can be rapidly dispensed with is that it is essentially a large market. The real crux of the EEC is its role in permitting the concentration and interpenetration of European capital. The heart of the matter, as always, lies in production and not in the market.

A second widely held view on the EEC is that which sees it in terms of the competition of United States imperialism and European imperialism. This view is often correct on the question of the central role of the concentration of capital in the EEC, but unfortunately it only sees the EEC in terms of the relations between the imperialist countries and not in terms of world economics and politics.

It is, of course, true that the EEC is a mechanism of the competitive struggle of European imperialism against US imperialism. But this is only part of the story. Considered on a world scale the EEC is not simply a competitor of the US but also an essential complement to it in the defence of the imperialist system as a whole.

far as economic policy is concerned. The only real alternative is to do nothing at all.

RECESSION

Given the relatively strong position of the organised workers' movement in every European capitalist country, it is out of the question that any capitalist class could just stand by and let the economic crisis blow its top, producing massive unemployment and all the social upheavals that would involve. Such an attitude would provoke struggles between workers and capitalists that would quickly take on revolutionary dimensions.

The upshot of all this is that the Common Market could only survive a serious economic recession if it had first been able to turn itself into a real European government by the time the recession hit.

But it has already missed the bus. An economic recession is now under way in most of the main capitalist countries. It is already serious in the United States, and has begun in Britain, Italy and Japan. West Germany is teetering on the brink. France is the only one that has yet to be hit.

Unemployment is on the rise throughout the imperialist countries.

In the winter of 1970 a record was set with a total of 10 million jobless in the imperialist countries. The winter of this year will almost certainly see this figure topped, with unemployment probably hitting the 15 million mark.

Under these conditions, lacking a 'superstate' (or even the firm beginnings of one), it was inevitable that the capitalist class throughout the Common Market would turn to anti-crisis economic policies on the national level, adopting new 'protectionist' measures designed to defend national capitalists from foreign competition.

Denmark and Italy have taken the lead here. The Governments of these countries have effectively placed limits on imports. These are directed not just at imports in general, but especially at imports from their Common Market 'partners'.

'ACCIDENT'

Some capitalist economic experts suggest that the present crisis is 'exceptional', just a 'temporary accident' touched off by the so-called 'oil crisis'. It is this last factor which is said to have upset the economies of several European countries (Britain, Italy and France) by pushing up the bill for oil imports, and thus creating

No European power alone is now fit to defend the imperialist system as a counterpart to a United States which, of defending by itself the world imperialist system, has strengthened US imperialism vis a vis its European competitors. A fair amount of effort to try to get Britain to strengthen US imperialism vis a vis its European competitors would weaken the imperialist system as a position between US and European imperialism on questions which affect the imperialist system as a whole and those forces of

WHAT ATTITUDE

The confusion of the left on the question of the EEC is not as serious as the quite wrong starting point of the left on the EEC and B

Almost the whole left starts from the point of view that the entry into the EEC and Britain's entry into it on the grounds that all the attacks on the working class will lead to attacks on the working class. But the starting point cannot be the British working class, but on the struggle that point of view, as analysed above, is the relation of forces against the world imperialist system.

Therefore, as well as advancing the struggle of the working class in Europe and proposing a programme of Europe, socialists must also be actively and opposed to Britain's membership of the EEC and on the debate in the working class on this fact.

ALAN JONES



Fiat workers have shown the way in taking advantage of capitalist weaknesses

...big imbalance in their trade with the rest of the world.

But in fact the deficit suffered by some Common Market countries in their dealings with the rest of the world is almost exactly offset by the surplus which West Germany has managed to ring up.

Thus the EEC's 'balance of payments crisis' is due to the fact that Italy, Denmark and Britain have had to protect their home industries from imported goods because these countries who have earned big surpluses in foreign dealings are refusing to pool them with their EEC partners.

Such a 'pooling' is, in fact, not really practical unless there is a common EEC currency, and common economic policies. So, we are back once again to the 'case of the missing "superstate"'

West Germany faces a particularly difficult choice regarding its attitude to the Common Market. Of all the big imperialist countries, West Germany is the most stable and prosperous. It has the lowest rate of inflation, its exports to other countries are growing rapidly, it benefits from a big surplus in its dealings with the rest of the world, and its unemployment rate (despite recent serious increases) is relatively low.

German big business now finds itself caught between two evils — and it can't make up its mind which is the worse. If it agrees to try and bolster up the Common Market it will have to foot the bill for the serious trade deficits and rocketing inflation suffered by its three major partners — France, Italy and Britain. The future of the Common Market would then be paid for out of the pockets of the West German capital-

MARKET

...enough to play a significant role in defence precisely needs a European state all its power, is increasingly incapable system. This is why the United States, as the purely 'inter-imperialist competition' created the EEC but devoted to join it. The collapse of the EEC might mean rivals but most important of all it *hoke*. And while socialists do not take a *isms*, they most decidedly do take a *d relation* of forces between the imperialising it.

TO THE EEC?

...n of the nature of the EEC is, however, *point* of most arguments about whether *n's* entry into it. *olutely* false basis of the effects of the *h* working class. This applies to those *nds* that it will help develop international-*se* who oppose entry on the grounds that *and* those who argue for 'no position' on *ing* class will be carried out anyway. As *ndoubtedly* the correct one.

...ect of the EEC and Britain's entry on the *the* international working class. From *lear* that the existence of the EEC alters *king* class and in favour of imperialism. *n* of the United Socialist States of *ed* working class action throughout *avour* of the destruction of the EEC *Attitudes* to any referendum on member-*and* labour movement must follow from

ists.

But if the German Government says no to such a plan, the results would be just as disastrous. Other EEC countries — starting with France and Britain — would have to follow the road of Denmark and Italy and set up new trade barriers.

The sum total of these measures would be to knock the main prop out from under West Germany's prosperity — its soaring exports. West Germany's Common Market partners would then 'export' the economic recession to West Germany, in retaliation for Germany's refusal to export its surplus foreign earnings to its embattled allies.

WORKERS' MOVEMENT

There is no denying that the Common Market is in great difficulties, but it is too early to say for sure which way things will go. Certainly we can predict that there will be big political fights ahead between the representatives of 'national' capital (who will want to return to national protection of their own interests) and those of the multi-national giants (who will be demanding practical moves towards the creation of a 'superstate' out of the existing EEC).

In such a fight the working class and the workers movement must preserve their political independence and not identify with any of the battling bourgeois groups. Neither the 'national interest' nor the 'European ideal' are anything but disguises donned by various capitalist groups in order to lead the workers to give up the defence of their own class interests.

Those who oppose the growing link-up of European capitalism and the creation of a European 'superstate' in the name of defending the 'national sovereignty' of the existing capitalist states are allying themselves with conservative and reactionary capitalist groups. These groups will be forced to defend their economic position through attacks on the living standards of the working class.

Nor does the opposite view — that the working class should support the tying-up of the European monopolies — have any better answer. The working class has no interest in strengthening its own class enemies. Nor is there any reason to believe that cross-Europe super-monopolies will be any kinder or more generous to the workers than the existing 'national' monopolies.

The crisis racking the Common Market expresses the deepest flaw in the capitalist system — capitalism is totally unable to turn to the social good the immense productive powers which it creates and sets in motion.

These forces can no longer be contained within the boundaries of a single state. But there is no capitalist solution to this crisis — the only answer is the Socialist United States of Europe.

To defeat all the different sections of the European capitalist class and establish a socialist Europe the working class must be prepared to seize on, and take advantage of, every weakness in the position of the capitalist enemy.



The National Front's 'Irish turn'

- report from Belfast RMG

DISCUSSIONS between the chairman of the National Front, Britain's largest fascist movement, and representatives of loyalist groups in Belfast last month, came as further moves in a serious attempt to gain a base for fascism in the North.

John Tyndall of the National Front met delegates from the Official Unionists, Vanguard, the UVF and UDA and discussed electoral agreements between the groups regarding the Front, and a system of dual membership.

This was clearly aimed at strengthening the implantation of National Front members within loyalism. The moves came just over a month after the organisation set up its own headquarters on the Ravenhill Road in East Belfast.

The loyalist militancy and the break up of the Unionist monolith in the struggle of the last five years has been seen by the National Front as an opportunity to gain a foothold.

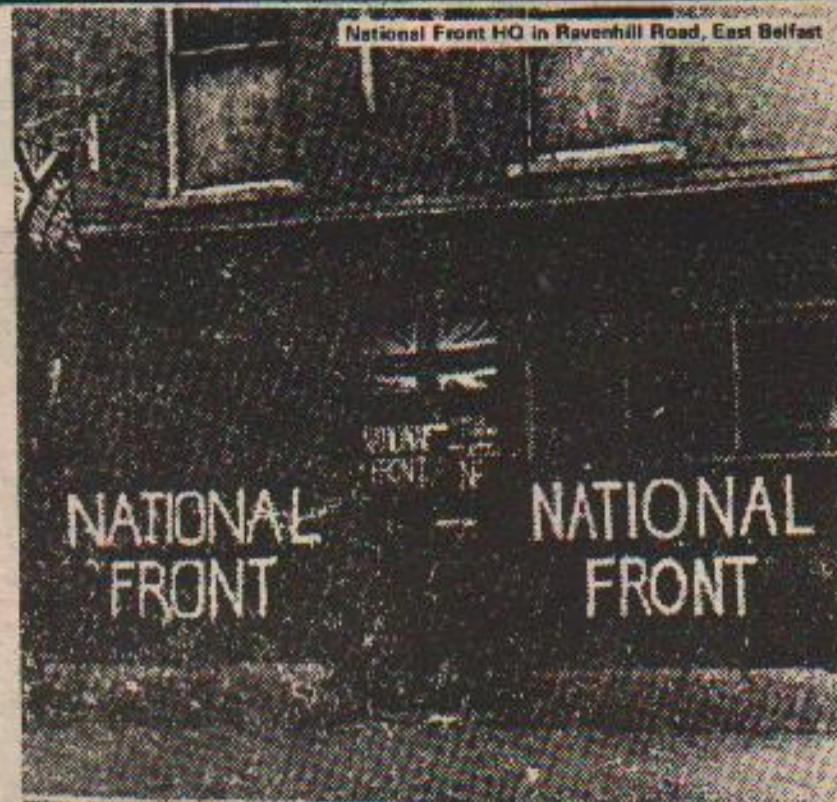
In May, 1972, National Front leader Martin Webster spoke alongside William Craig at a Vanguard rally in London. And in June last year the organisation had a presence in the North of Ireland itself. A candidate, Bill Annett, stood as 'National Front Loyalist' at the South Down constituency in the Assembly election. He did not make a great electoral impact, but he had placed the National Front name on the map and from there he went on to his main duty as 'Northern Ireland Organiser' to build an independent fascist organisation across the Six Counties.

The National Front aims to gain a base for fascism in the North and from there — through influence via the Orange Order — support in Glasgow and Merseyside, and UDA clubs in the Midlands in Britain.

Since June eight branches have been founded, some branches in name only but nevertheless with a local representative. Some have been set up by local men who formerly were members of the National Front in Britain, such as another failed election candidate Ian Major of the Dromote and Gilford Branch, and all have benefited from the organisation's fraternal relations with extreme loyalist groups.

And not all their representatives are failures. The Lurgan Branch is headed by a local councillor, Phillip Black while their leader in the Moira area is George McCartney, the deputy Mayor of Lisburn. Other branches exist at Belfast, Newcastle and Portadown.

As yet the Northern Ireland branch is crude and amateurish in comparison with the mainstream of the organisation. In Britain the National Front is working to gain a respectable working class image. Conscious of the crisis of capitalism



National Front HQ in Ravenhill Road, East Belfast

and the dissatisfaction with both the Tories and the Labour Party, in the classic tradition of fascism, it has taken up a mask of 'community politics' and selective activity within the trade union movement against official union policy.

But if the NF in the North does not appear so sophisticated, it does not need to be. The presence of Lindsay 'if you're gonna shoot 'em, do it right boys' Mason within the organisation is not an embarrassment but a benefit, for the NF bases its propaganda on racist anti-catholicism and anti-communist abuse.

The three local NF papers, *West Briton*, the *Ulster Constitution*, and its latest, the *Ulster Worker*, combine paragraphs of hate and references such as that to 'Commie Irish Republican Animal James Connolly', with plaintive appeals for the return of Lindsay Mason's stolen bike or insults at whoever stole the union jack from outside the NF headquarters, with expressions of support for the nurses in their struggle for better conditions, or complaints about increased bus fares.

The *Ulster Constitution* is Lindsay Mason's long established, barely literate, paper, but the most clear exposition of the tactics of the NF in the North comes in *The Ulster Worker* first published in May. It is dedicated to 'fight communism wherever it is found'. Around the lyrics of British militaristic chauvinist songs, it condemns the former leadership of Unionism — 'the fur coat brigade' — and calls on the Ulster Loyalist Front, which has the support of the UVF, and the UDA to join with them to formulate 'a realistic workers', farmers' and

small businessmen's policy for Northern Ireland'. It condemns disunity between the UVF and UDA. The criticisms of the fur coat brigade strike a chord in the loyalist working class.

The National Front cannot mount independent mobilisations, as the lack of response to calls for opposition to recent Republican marches in Belfast have shown. But the influence it holds within the loyalist para-military organisations is discernible in their presses.

The papers of militant loyalism, *Combat* (UVF), *Ulster Militant* (UDA), *Loyalist News* etc., all have a close relationship. Articles and ideas visibly circulate quickly around them, and the views of the National Front are among them. The ideology of the National Front is present in the 'Russian Sea Forces Increasing' type scare stories in *Combat*, and even in the editor's disclaimer of signed articles appearing in the same paper, which is copied directly from *Britain First*, a National Front paper in Britain. Similar articles appear in all the loyalist papers, such as the regular attacks on socialism.

The National Front has not yet gained a decisive hold on the contradictory and confused politics of the loyalist groups. But the NF's ideas are being sown in fertile ground.

There is only one strategy socialists can follow to combat the strengthening of the influence of fascist organisations within the loyalist working class, by taking an uncompromising stand on the national question and by working to build a mass anti-imperialist movement to further fragment Unionism and ultimately to break its hold on the loyalist working class.



Dear Comrade,

I would like to comment on two recent articles in *Red Weekly*, concerning the moves of the National Front to build a base in the North of Ireland. Both John Marshall's article in No. 60 and Bob Purdie's centre-spread in No. 61 miss the main point about the NF's politics on the question of the Six Counties and the loyalist workers.

We have surely often analysed that

the loyalists are trapped in the historic contradiction — created by British imperialism's new fields of investment in the 26 Counties — between the protestant ascendancy over the catholics and Union with Britain. All the Unionist splits from the Orange monolith have been forced to opt for either the maintenance of Union with Britain and increased civil liberties for the catholics, or continued ascendancy of the protestants over the catholics in terms of jobs, housing, etc, coupled with demagogic threats of independence from the 'traitors' of the loyalist cause in Britain.

Faulkner and the Ulster Unionists have opted for the first course and power-sharing with the catholic SDLP (and have lost much of their support), while Paisley, Craig and West have been forced to choose the second in order to maintain their social bases.

The significance of the National

Front, as revealed quite clearly in their press statement published in *Red Weekly* No. 60, is that they quite clearly identify with and support both the Union with a 'Greater Britain' and on 'terms compatible with her (Ulster's) interests and self-respect' (in other words the maintenance of protestant ascendancy).

As a party organised both in Britain and in the Six Counties, they would be the only party which could credibly hold out the illusion to protestant workers that they could turn back the clock and British capitalist policies to a time when there was no contradiction between Union and ascendancy. This fact — that they hold out the false promise of solving the historic contradictions of the loyalist workers — is the main reason why they could become an attractive thriving force in the Six Counties.

Yours fraternally, KEVIN TODD

Labour tosses 119 refugees into Thieu's death jail

A few weeks ago, 119 Vietnamese refugees of Chinese origin were arrested in Hong Kong on charges of illegal entry into this British colony. Amnesty International, both in London and Hong Kong, began negotiations with the governments of Sweden, Holland, France, Australia and Macao in order to save the refugees from being deported back to South Vietnam and the repressive regime of General Thieu.

Although the Governor of Hong Kong agreed to enter into these negotiations, the colonial Government nevertheless decided on deportation, claiming they had received a promise from the South Vietnamese Consul General in Hong Kong, Vuong Hoa Doc, that the refugees would not be severely punished, would not be given the death penalty and that the men, of whom there were 92 among the refugees, would not be inducted into the Army.

On 17 June, despite a demonstration by friends and relatives at the airport, two planes sent from South Vietnam took 118 of the refugees back to Saigon, where they were incarcerated on the notorious Con Son Island — the prison famous for its tiger cages and other abuses.

The only government to have condemned this deportation has been the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. The present Labour Government recognises the vicious Thieu regime, and now shows what this recognition means by handing over the helpless refugees to his torturing gaolers.

The left in Britain has done virtually nothing about this incident — a clear example of the Labour Government assisting a monstrously repressive regime. This failure to do anything is all the more regrettable when one considers the campaign against the 1964-70 Labour Government's complicity in the Vietnam war. In those years the Labour Government dare not do anything so blatant.

A letter from Chris Mullen in a recent issue of *Labour Weekly* made a vigorous protest about the deportation and demand-

ed action. He concluded: 'Many... will want to know the identity of the Foreign Office person responsible... Does this represent Labour Party policy? If not, the disgusting hypocrite responsible should not be left to the mercy of his conscience. He should be dismissed immediately...'

We can echo this demand. All trade union bodies, trades councils, and constituency Labour parties, must demand:

1. an enquiry into why these refugees were allowed to be deported
2. the immediate release of the refugees
3. the withdrawal of recognition of the Thieu regime, and recognition of the PRG, which enjoys the support of the vast majority of the population of South Vietnam.

We would be very pleased to learn of any organisation passing resolutions along these lines. Please send this information to Helen Faraday, c/o *Red Weekly*.

HELEN FARADAY

The latest issue of *Inprocat* has a full account of this incident. Available from: Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.



Which way for Troops Out?

Dear Comrades,

We wish to correct some of the errors made by your nameless correspondent reporting the TOM national delegate conference (*Red Weekly*, 11 July).

1. You claim that TOM has not increased its membership. In fact, since February its three groups have expanded to 18 groups, and five more are in the process of forming. Many other individuals and groups have shown interest in TOM activities.

2. You say the TOM has erected barriers to involving other forces (which you call sectarianism). In fact the decisions reached are aimed at involving the widest possible representation — including those forces who will never do consistent work on Troops Out — in united fronts on all main TOM initiatives. In line with this TOM and the BFC will soon be jointly calling for an ad hoc committee comprising all forces prepared to work for a demonstration in October.

TOM set up a national committee so that, besides major initiatives, it could continue consistent work. National affiliation is unnecessary, since organisations doing consistent work will be represented on the committee, there would be no purpose in including those not so engaged, and all will be encouraged to join the ad hoc committees.

3. With regard to the IMG being the only major political tendency at the conference: (a) members of the Communist Federation of Britain, IS, Workers Fight, RCG, Big Flame, the women's movement, etc were present; (b) no groups were invited at a national level; since (c) TOM is discussing a call for a meeting with delegates of all left groups.

Yours fraternally,
Jen Williams
Richard Boam

REPLY TO TOM LETTER

For the IMG the key question is how to build a mass movement in favour of the withdrawal of British Troops and the self-determination of the Irish people.

This will never be done without the TOM organising in such a way as to facilitate bringing in the trade unions and political organisations of the working class.

The Movement can only be

built as a united front of all organisations prepared to cooperate around specific initiatives. The crisis of imperialist strategy, the divisions inside the Labour Party and the consequent agitation inside the working class lay the basis for forcing the big organisations of the working class into activity. The record of the TOM so far indicates that this might very well be the instrument for achieving these aims.

Unfortunately, at its last conference, the TOM insisted on forming an individual membership organisation. This will take the TOM in the opposite direction to that of being a united front. This will tend to prevent it from involving the trade unions and political organisations.

The TOM has less social weight than even a small Trades Council. Instead of developing as the unifier of the movement it will simply be one organisation alongside others. The TOM may then very well be by-passed by bigger and maybe even reactionary forces.

Given the present support of the TOM an effective united front can only be built by the TOM linking its own growth to broader initiatives — broader initiatives which include those forces which at this stage do not support the TOM as an organisation but only support this or that initiative set up by the TOM.

It is wild over-optimism to think that this support has already been achieved. The RCG, WF and Big Flame are tiny organisations. The 'women's movement' is not an organisation. And although there were (literally) one or two members of the IS present at the conference, the IS as an organisation does not support the TOM.

It is a task of the TOM to win that support. By rejecting national affiliation and the fight to get the support of the IS as an organisation the TOM makes it that much easier for the IS leadership to abstain from united fronts and concentrate on its own sectarian activity on the question of the Troops. The TOM, outside of a couple of individual cases, will not involve the members of the IS unless the IS as an organisation agrees to participate.

When the IMG talks about the growth of the TOM, it is not talking about how many more individuals TOM has 'recruited'. It is very good that the TOM now has 18 branches. It is probably the fact that they are being formed so rapidly which accounts for the type of support that these branches actually enjoy. Not one branch of the TOM at the conference reported more than 10 active members and not one had the support of any trade union organisation.

I don't report this to denigrate the TOM, but we must be realistic as to where the TOM is at. A number of TOM branches reported plans to involve trade union forces. In some instances, this will be achieved through propaganda work. But the TOM will be built most effectively locally around the initiatives which it promotes at a national level. The type of organisation now constituted by the TOM will not facilitate this.

Having said this, the joint initiative of the TOM and the British Peace Council to call for an ad hoc committee to mobilise for an October demo is excellent. The IMG will be pulling out all the stops for this and building local ad hoc committees, which we will try to constitute on a more permanent basis in support of the TOM. And it is gratifying to learn that, despite the conference decisions, all the major TOM initiatives will be built through broad-based united fronts.

BRIAN CLYNES

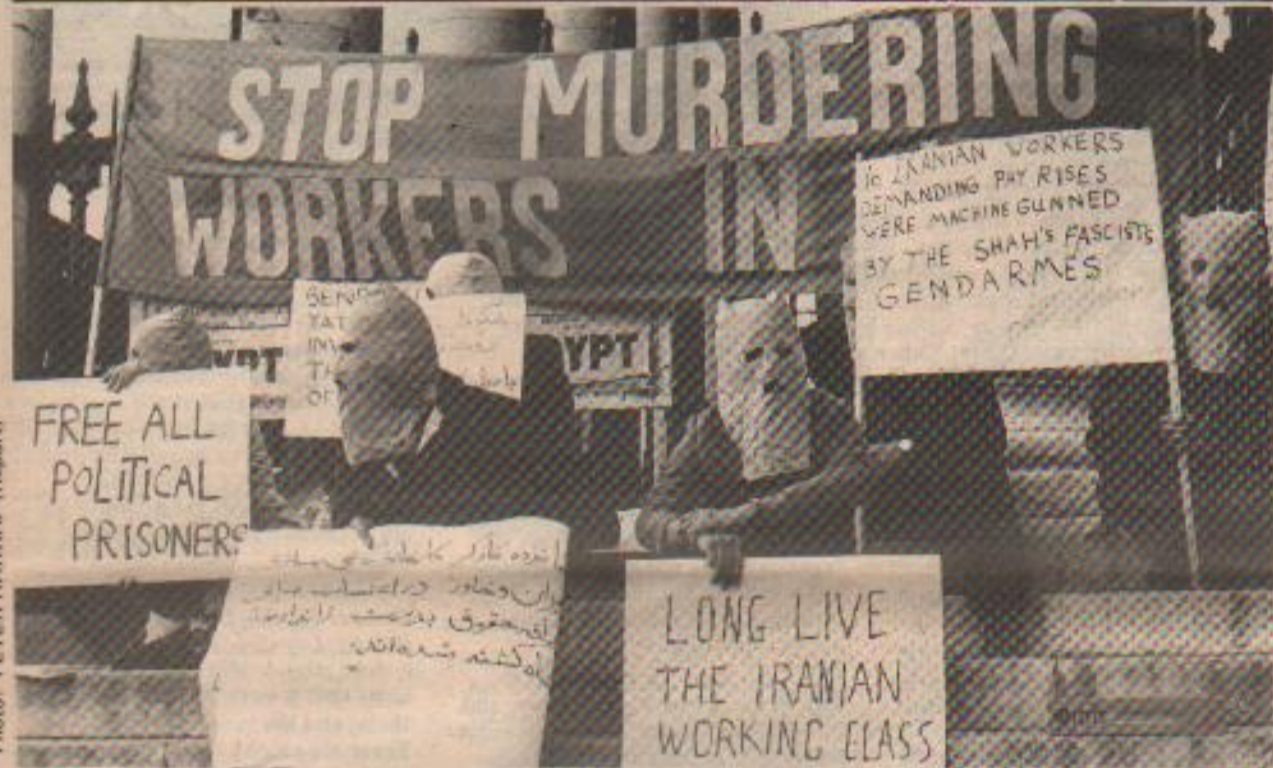


PHOTO: PETER HARRAP (Report)

Members of the Iranian Students Society organised a picket on the steps of St Martin-in-the-Fields in Trafalgar Square last Saturday, using the occasion of the Shah's loan to Britain to highlight the repression on which the accumulation of such sums depends.

At least 16 workers have been shot dead in recent clashes, including 13 at the mosaic factory of Irana-Khavar, where police opened fire on strikers who were demanding higher wages.

In Tabriz, a major industrial city in the north-west, a representative of striking bus-drivers named Saleh Jahani was arrested by the SAVAK secret police and later died under torture. Thousands of people took part in a memorial service for him, leading to further clashes.

Proposals to IS: IMG statement

In the last two months the International Marxist Group has been attempting to get an agreement with the International Socialists on a number of joint initiatives for the revolutionary left in the coming months.

In particular the IMG proposed:

1. Organising a united front of the whole revolutionary left on the 15 September Chile demonstration so as to break the attempt of the Communist Party to marginalise those opposed to the idea of a peaceful road to socialism on this demonstration.

2. An agreement within the coming anti-fascist mobilisations to organise a struggle for these actions to be clearly one based on a working class united front, and against attempts to extend it to 'progressive forces' ie Tories, vicars, etc.

3. To agree to the revolutionary organisations running candidates in the coming election and agreeing to call for a vote for each other's candidates.

The IS rejected all these proposals — the latter one on the grounds that they would be calling for a vote for Labour at the next election against any candidates of the revolutionary left.

In the next issue of *Red Weekly* we will be dealing with the replies of IS and also the policies spelt out by the IS Executive Committee in last week's issue of *Socialist Worker*.

WHAT'S ON

BENGALI FRIENDS in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and *Lara* (Fourth International paper), contact: Bengali, Mullvadén, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.

LIVERPOOL RED BOOKS: Revolutionary literature — Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Eastern Europe, Third World, Ireland, Women's Liberation, 81a Renshaw Street, Liverpool. Tues-Fri: 12.30-3. Sat: 11-3.

NOTTINGHAM RED CIRCLES: Wide-ranging series of discussions based on the politics of the Fourth International. Every 2nd and 4th Tuesday in the month at 8 pm in the Lion Hotel, Clumber Street.

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

LONDON RED FORUMS: A comprehensive political education series, every Tuesday at 8 pm in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road, N1. 5 August: 'Imperialism and Armed Struggle in Latin America'; 13 August: 'Women Workers and the Women's Movement'.

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

URGENT: Dave Newton please contact Mike 278 9526, re Red Lion Square.

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND! — Self-determination for the Irish people! Leaflet and picket Colchester Tattoo, Saturday 3 August. Meet 1 pm at Liberal Club, St Isaac's Walk, Colchester.

NEW ISSUE of the Plough (paper of RMG, Irish section of the Fourth International) now out. Send 5p for each copy plus 5p postage to RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. Orders of more than 10 post free.

JID-O-JEHAD: Urdu revolutionary periodical available from RED BOOKS and from 107 Nelson Road, London SW 19, price 5p.

JUST OUT: 'The Road to Revolution in Britain', a pamphlet analysing the present crisis, the response of various workers' groups, and the revolutionary alternative. The pamphlet consists of articles reprinted from *The Torch*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League — USA, recently split from International Socialists — US. Introduction by Sy Landy. 15p, British or International cheques. Send to: RSL, 13755 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Mich. 48203, USA.

WORKERS FIGHT FORUM: 'Antonio Gramsci and "The Revolution Against Das Kapital"', speaker Martin Thomas. 8 pm, Sunday 11 August at 'The George', Liverpool Road, N1. For more details, contact 98 Gifford Street, London N1 0DF.

NEW PAMPHLET: 'Why socialists should support Ireland's struggle for freedom'. Authors: Finnbar D'Doherty (Derry) and Fran Brodie (Women's Lib). 15p post free from Polytechnic TOM, c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester.

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IMG 'Struggle for Health' pamphlets:

1. NHS — a suitable case for socialist treatment 10p
2. Crisis in the NHS — Action Programme for health workers 10p

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Trotsky — The Struggle against Fascism in Germany £1.65

RED BOOKS on Portugal/the Colonies:

Boavida — Angola: Five Centuries of Exploitation 95p
Cabral — Revolution in Guinea 45p
Cheliland — Armed Struggle in Africa 90p
Davidson — The Liberation of Guinea 35p
Ferreira — Portuguese Colonialism 75p
FRELIMO — Interview with Marcelino Dos Santos 25p

Minter — Portuguese Africa and the West 60p
MPLA — Revolution in Angola 60p

RED BOOKS on Chile:

Prieto — The Gorillas are amongst us 50p
Sampson — IT: The Sovereign State 50p

PLUS:

Marx — The First International and After £1
Trotsky — The Young Lenin 60p
* Papers from 2nd Women's Liberation and Socialism Conference 33p plus 22p p&p

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CYPRUS COUP AND AFTER

Eye-witness report from a Cypriot Trotskyist

ANDREAS IOANNOU was walking past the Presidential Palace in the Cyprus capital of Nicosia on 15 July when the appearance of tanks and the sound of gun fire forced him along with other passers-by to dive into the safety of the nearest houses. The Sampson coup had begun. *Red Weekly* asked whether it had been expected.

Since Cyprus became formally independent there have been various attempts to replace Makarios by pro-*enosis* [union with Greece] right wing elements. Both elections and assassination attempts have proved unsuccessful.

However, more recently — in fact, in the weeks before 15 July — there was open press speculation about a coup. This was caused by the ultimatum that Makarios had sent to the Greek Junta, telling them to remove their troops and to stop giving support to the EOKA-B terrorists.

The very Saturday before the coup the papers had reported the meeting in Athens between Greek President Gizikis and Demis (Greek head of the Cypriot National Guard). Many people concluded that some sort of plot was 'hatched' at that meeting. In the general atmosphere of Cyprus, the coup did not come as a surprise.

What was the reaction of the people to the coup and to the initial report that Makarios had been killed?

At first most people did not believe that Makarios had been killed. There was no support for Sampson outside the gangs of the EOKA-B. He was regarded by most Cypriots, Greek as well as Turkish, as being a mad-man, but a dangerous one.

Had Makarios made any plans to forestall a coup against him by the right wing?

The only practical actions he had taken were to strengthen the Special Tactical Reserve Force, his personal defence force. His basic strategy had been to proclaim that the Soviet Union would not stand by if a coup occurred.

In fact no political force had undertaken any preparations for such an event. This was criminal, because as soon as Sampson's gangs had been let loose, mass attacks on left wing militants took place. Over two thousand were massacred in the first few days. Outside Nicosia, tractors dug mass graves for the victims of the reign of terror.

The responsibility for this lies in the way in which the biggest working class party in Cyprus, the AKEL, had refused to prepare the workers politically and organisationally during the Makarios government. For months the danger had been clear for all to see, and yet the Stalinist AKEL continued to sow illusions in Makarios and his ability to defend the working class.

In fact support for Makarios certainly waned when workers heard his first broadcast after the coup, in which he said he was going to the

UN, but told the Cypriot people to be prepared to fight against the reaction.

When the war was declared by Turkey, did support for Sampson grow?

No. The general reaction was that it was not their war, it had been caused by Greek and American interference in Cyprus' affairs. However, they did attempt to resist the Turkish invasion, and this meant that a great number of people found themselves fighting alongside the very people they had been killing the day before. The reaction to the Turkish invasion only underlined the determination of the Cypriots to fight for their independence.

Given the present situation in Cyprus, and the history of the relations between Greeks and Turks, what sort of policies do you think should be put forward today?

First of all, it is important to remember that the present president of Cyprus, Clerides, has not changed the Sampson cabinet. This means that most government posts are still in the hands of people sympathetic to the coup. Secondly, the AKEL will now find itself in greater conflict with the Soviet Union over the latter's support for Turkey.

The most important single factor will be the unity of the working class, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, to fight for the independence of Cyprus, which means that all foreign troops must be made to leave. After 14 years it is quite clear that Makarios has no intention of carrying out any such thing.

In providing the basis for such unity we have to emphasise the independent role of the working class, which means breaking from all blocs with the bourgeoisie. During the coup some groups from EDEK [a left social-democratic group] and AKEL bravely attempted to fight the Sampson troops. This sort of activity was too late and ill-prepared for. However it shows the fighting spirit of the working class.

This fighting spirit must be developed into a programme which can lay the basis for the solution of the problems of the workers and the poor peasants. This must include the nationalisation of all foreign-owned industries under workers control, the nationalisation of the banks and the foreign trade, and massive land reform to allow the peasants to develop agriculture. Land reform in particular is very important — the present system of land tenure and the fact that the Church still owns one third of all the land has strangled agricultural development until now.



Anti-imperialist slogans were prominent on this poster demonstration at the Cyprus High Commission last week

'In Nauplion, *democratia* is still only a headline. But the 5,000 soldiers at the barracks in the edge of the town are completely real.'

Even the bourgeois press commentators — like Max Hastings of the *London Evening Standard*, reporting on Monday from a town 100 miles south-west of Athens — are being forced to admit that little has so far changed in Greece.

The early euphoria, when the masses came out onto the streets to celebrate the fall of the junta, is now being replaced by suspicion.

US IMPERIALISM

That suspicion is certainly well justified. The role of US imperialism in persuading the junta to step down and hand over to Constantine Karamanlis and the old politicians was transparently obvious.

As the *Guardian* reported on Tuesday 23 July: 'Dr Kissinger at his mid-day press conference in Washington [on 22 July] left little doubt that the United States anticipated a change of Government in Greece — though "we have had no official word" . . .

"The assumption was clear: Dr Kissinger expected change. Moreover, there were hints that he knew a little more about the men who might take over from General Ioannides than he was admitting.'

These were prophetic words. But although the civilian politicians have taken over the Government, the military still remain firmly in the back-ground. The members of the junta all remain at their posts in the armed

HANDS OFF CYPRUS! DOWN WITH NATO!

IMG-sponsored picket of US Embassy, Grosvenor Square, Friday 9 Aug, 6 pm

practical steps to grant such independence (eg withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa) — and no such measures were announced.

But Spinoza's words, whatever their intention, had an electric effect across the colonies and in Portugal itself.

In Mozambique armed supporters of the liberation movements were reported to have flooded into the cities to celebrate their victory. Black soldiers serving in the Portuguese army, concluding that the game was up, were said to be laying down their arms in line with instructions from the main liberation movement, FRELIMO.

At least one political group set up in Mozambique after the Portuguese coup to try and build a 'liberal' alternative to the guerrilla groups announced it was dissolving itself in view of what it saw as FRELIMO's victory.

White settlers were reported to be petitioning FRELIMO for assurances about their future in Mozambique.

Imperialism wilts, Greek workers wait

forces. And the country is still under martial law.

Indeed, the only significant measure of 'liberalisation' so far has been the release of the political prisoners. Their condition more than confirmed the charges of savage torture levelled at the previous regime.

Of course, it remains true that the collapse of the junta — hastened by the fiasco of its adventure in Cyprus — was a setback for imperialism, and opens up new opportunities for the workers' movement.

But Karamanlis was brought back to do one job — unite the capitalist forces to deal with the grave economic crisis which the junta failed to tackle. The annual rate of inflation has reached 32% and industrial production is falling; while the drastic decline of tourism as a result of the economic crisis in the rest of the world has combined with other factors to produce a deficit in the balance of payments of no less than £230 million in the first four months of this year.

The task of the civilian Government will therefore be to begin to overcome these problems, using all the political and material resources of the capitalist class. On the receiving end of this manoeuvre will be the working class movement.

In this situation it would be criminal to place any trust in the Karam-

anlis Government, or simply to complain — as does the Greek Communist Party, the KKE — that the left forces have been excluded, and that what is needed is a *real* 'Government of National Unity' (including the KKE) to set Greek capitalism on its feet again.

On the contrary, the experience of the years leading up to the 1967 coup showed only too clearly that the interests of the workers' movement can in no way be defended by manoeuvres with the 'democratic' capitalists.

WORKERS' MOVEMENT

That is why it will be necessary for the workers' movement to organise independently both around issues such as the lifting of press censorship, legalisation of the KKE and other left-wing groups, etc, and to deal with the capitalist offensive through demands for work or full pay, a national minimum wage, a sliding scale of wages, and so on.

It is by organising around such questions — drawing on the lessons of the Athens uprising last November, when representatives of workers, students and peasants came together to lead a united struggle for their demands — that the capitalist schemes can be thwarted and the struggle for socialism prepared in Greece today.

MARTIN METEYARD

SPINOLA ON THE RUN OVER COLONIES

PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT SPINOLA appeared on television on Saturday to announce a new policy towards the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

He told the Portuguese people that he had enacted a new decree which recognised the right of the African colonies to independence (thereby overturning a law adopted in 1933 which made the colonies part of Portugal). He said that decolonisation had begun 'from this moment'.

It is not clear what Spinoza's intentions were. His decree goes no further than statements he has previously made.

After all, recognition of the 'right to independence means little without

In Angola the recent situation has been gloomy, with the liberation movements divided and a campaign of mass murder of blacks being mounted by white extremists.

In the wake of Spinoza's speech, however, came news that the two main liberation movements — the MPLA and the FLNA — had signed an agreement to negotiate jointly with Portugal about independence.

A third liberation group, UNITA, was not included in the agreement even though it has declared itself in favour of a joint struggle.

In Portugal itself Spinoza's speech was also greeted as meaning an end to the colonial wars. The Portuguese Communist Party called for mass popular demonstrations to show ' . . . joy and support for the decision to recognise the right of the colonial people to independence'.

But the wars are far from over. Spinoza made it clear that the Government would

first move only to sort out its relation with the colony of Guine-Bissau (where the guerrillas are virtually in total control anyway). A deal with Mozambique and Angola would be worked out only *after* such a settlement in Guinea.

The delay this involves will undoubtedly be exploited by all the reactionary forces at work — Portuguese capitalism, other imperialist powers, the white-racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa, and the white settlers — to try and rob the colonial people of the full fruits of their victory.

For this reason it is urgent that the socialist and workers' movements around the world press forward with solidarity for the liberation movements, and insist that the Portuguese government immediately translates words into action by withdrawing all its forces from the African continent.

CHRIS BALFOUR

HOW TO MAKE BARBARA RUN

THE UNHURRIED LORD HALSBURY says his report on nurses will not be ready until 16 September.

Obviously the committee are playing for time—time granted to them by the leaders of the health service unions.

Instead of intensifying the industrial action carried out by the rank and file the union leaders settled for Mrs. Castle's deliberately vague promises and called off their actions.

The one weapon that could have kicked Halsbury and company into line was discarded. The Inquiry was allowed to go its sedate way, uninterrupted by strike action from the trade unions.

The radiographers, by their use of industrial action have brought Mrs. Castle running. Kenneth Denley, secretary of the Society of Radiographers said: 'It is a little unusual for the Secretary of State to come and meet the Council...'

Mrs. Castle had just spent 50 minutes pleading with the Society to call off its industrial action and settle for an interim award to be paid in six weeks.

She made it clear that the radiographers' demand for an 'on account' immediate rise of 20 per cent was not on.

Mrs. Castle's offer to go to the Society's headquarters should be seen as confirmation that the industrial action carried out by the radiographers is the only way to get results.

Reliance on Mrs. Castle and the Halsbury Committee will achieve nothing, for either the radiographers or the nurses. Both sections must step up their industrial action. If the unions fail to do this then it must be organised through the action committees.

J. KING

TURNING WORDS INTO ACTION

Last week three west Wales pits came out on strike in support of the nurses.

Ken Price, secretary of the Morriston Hospital NUPE branch and a member of the Swansea Nurses' Action Committee told our correspondent how the strike came about and gave his views on what should be done next.

What are the advantages of an Action Committee?

The Action Committee grew out of the lack of a lead given by the union leaders. The Trades Council is good for resolutions. But for action it is bloody useless. It's better to get out to the workers. Most workers support the nurses but talking is not sufficient. The Action Committee turned words into action.

The good thing about the Action Committee is that there is no leader, everyone shares responsibility, everyone plays their part.

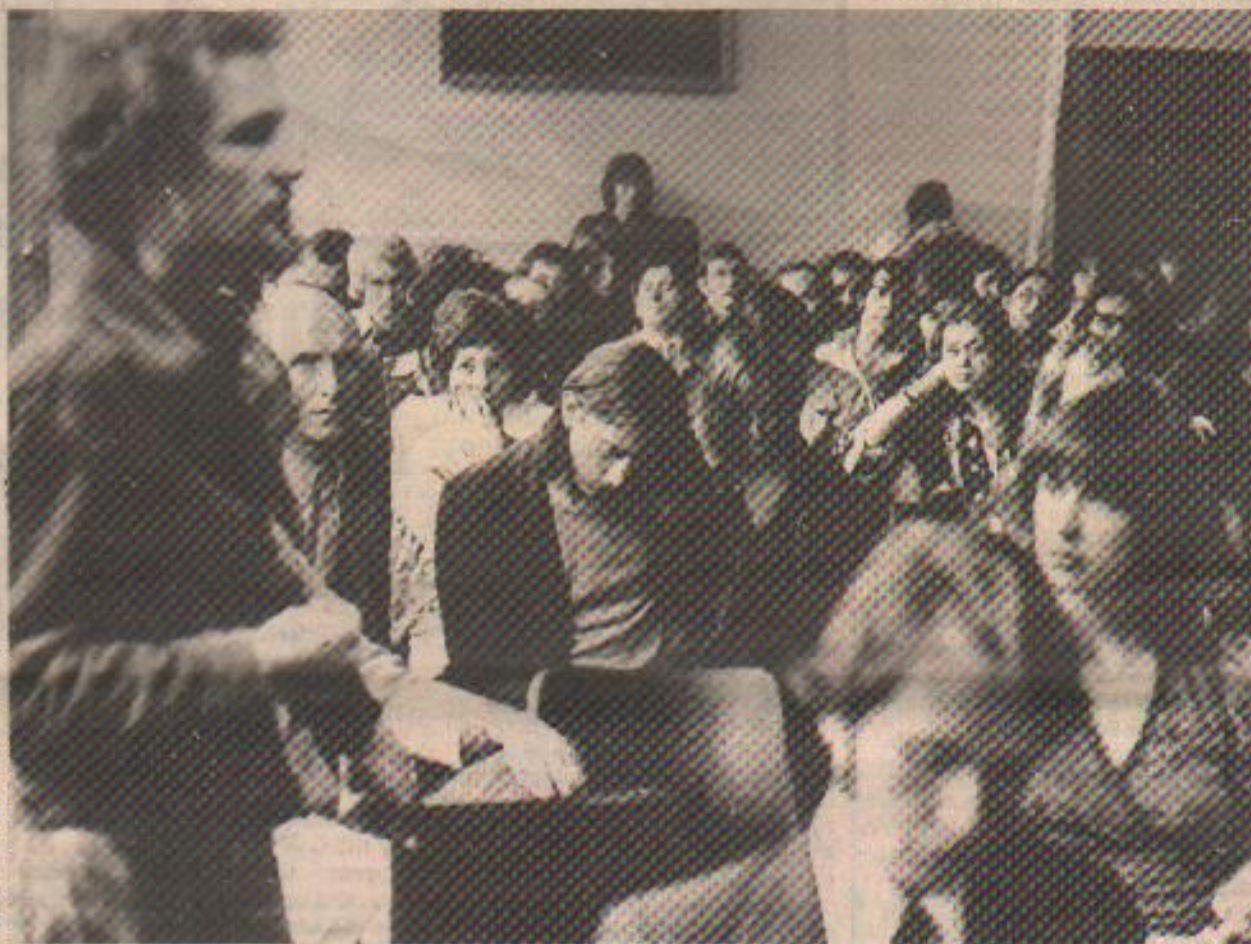
What about the crisis in the NHS, the nurses' claim and private practice?

Unless you pay decent wages to health workers you won't be able to get them. There is an acute staff shortage already.

As for private beds I have only one private bed under me. Last week the hospital tried to move a private patient into it. We threatened industrial action and they backed down.

Why did you go to the miners?

They are the best organised sec-



Merseyside delegate Hugh Firth speaking at last Saturday's conference on the crisis in the Health Service

tion of the labour movement. They have expressed verbal support in the past so we asked them to turn it into action.

We have shown the only effective way of getting anything done.

Last week the west Wales pits held a meeting with a NUPE district representative; what was decided?

The meeting decided to call delegate meetings from the west Wales mines to discuss further action in support of the nurses. They have also called on the south Wales executive to take action.

Have you any advice to nurses and workers in other areas?

Yes. Do the same as we have done.

EDUCATION - Leeds attacks flash national warning

The Labour Council of the Leeds Metropolitan area, in a recent directive, proposed massive cuts in social expenditure.

This is meant to recoup the increase in wages and threshold payments they have been forced to concede to their employees.

The directive, which was circulated to all council departments including the Education department, stated that unless special approval was given by the Chief Executive:

1. No extraordinary expenditure to be allowed.
2. No further appointments to be made.
3. All promotion to be suspended.
4. No supply teachers to be available.
5. No contracts of temporary staff to be renewed.

Following a meeting in the Town Hall of 3,000 teachers and the shutting down for one afternoon of 400 schools, some concessions were made. The Education Department, and not the Finance Committee, now has the right to veto appointments and all schools will receive their full quota of teachers. However, schools now staffed 'above quota' will have their staff reduced.

It seems likely that the cuts in expenditure will be made in areas

Red Weekly

London conference discusses way forward

About one hundred militants attended the conference in London last week on the crisis in the National Health Service.

The conference had been called by the Central London branch of ASTMS and was sponsored by 11 other bodies.

The plenary session discussed aspects of the struggle for a health service run in the interest of the working class. In the workshops the particular problems of the different sectors of health workers were more thoroughly discussed.

The main emphasis of the conference was on learning the lessons of the recent industrial action and what steps to take next. Discussions

took place on how best to unionise health workers and how to combat the ideas of professionalism—rampant amongst nurses, doctors and radiographers.

Dominic Costa, a member of the Medical Practitioners' Union (attached to ASTMS), said that trade unionism on its own was insufficient. What mattered was what workers actually did when they were in the unions.

The main discussion was on two resolutions, both of which were carried by the conference. The first called for the banning of all private practice, in and outside the NHS. The picket and demonstration called by the Westminster Trades Council against the Wellington Hospital, a plush, new and half empty private hospital in St John's Wood, was suggested as a first step in such a campaign.

A resolution, put by the organising committee calling for a *Workers Inquiry* into the NHS was carried overwhelmingly. It proposed that an organisation such as the Institute for Workers' Control be approached to initially get this off the ground. Further, that all sections of the trade union and labour movement, inside and outside the NHS, be involved.

The crisis in the health service is not one that can or should be solved by hospital workers alone. The health service, in its many aspects, concerns all of the working class: the dangers of industrial diseases like asbestosis and pneumoconiosis; the long waiting lists; expensive dental treatment; abortion on demand—to name a few.

Recent solidarity action for nurses by the South Wales miners is one way of broadening the struggle. An Inquiry is another practical way of drawing in all trade unionists around the demand for a health service operated in their interests.

The conference made the first step in its call for an inquiry. It is now up to trade union branches, trades councils, students' unions, women's groups etc to take this into the main body of the labour movement.

HILDA KEEN

plans for building 31 new primary schools.

In this situation we have another example of how it is impossible to resist the capitalist offensive when the struggle is confined to only one section of workers.

The latest attacks on education have their most serious effects on the education of working class children. It is essential that trade unions and bodies like trades councils should follow the example of the Hackney Trades Council, who held a conference last week to discuss and formulate proposals of action around the cuts in social expenditure.

CATHY YOUNG

FUND DRIVE

ABSOLUTELY MAGNIFICENT—there's no other way to describe it.

This week's post brought no less than £155.45, lifting us (on Monday, with two days to go) to

£335.87

Pride of place must go to London IMG members and sympathisers, who between them collected £108.55.

We should also mention Coventry IMG (£10), Nottingham IMG (£10), J. Swinburne (£6), Leeds IMG (£6).

Oh ... and Norman Atkinson, MP, who gave us 5p at the Cyprus rally last Sunday. Every little bit helps!

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