

RED WEEKLY

22 MAY 1975

No 102

PRICE 10p

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE EEC

LONDON Sat. 31 May 2.00pm,

Hyde Park, Speakers Corner

Speakers include: Joan Lester and Eddie Loyden, with Peter Taaffe (Editor, *Militant*).

This demonstration has been called by the Labour Party Young Socialists.

The IMG will be giving the demonstration its full support.



LEFT MUST UNITE AGAINST WILSON

Calls for a coalition government and a wages freeze are now coming from every corner. The Tories have made it clear they will support any right-wing economic package proposed by Wilson.

The new demands for an openly anti-working class government spring from an economic crisis so severe that even one million unemployed, gigantic public sector spending cuts, and soaring inflation have not cut working class living standards by the amount that capitalism requires. An open war on the working class must be launched.

The new economic measures which capitalism demands are so drastic that bourgeois strategists feel that even Wilson cannot force them through the Labour Party. Tory votes must be used to put down any Labour opposition in Parliament. As this week's *Sunday Times* said 'it would be the Tory duty to sustain the government over the specific measures both sides thought essential. That would be a de facto voting coalition Wilson would carry on, with Tory support, with his government growing weaker and more demoralised until it founders.'

In reply to these ruling class attacks, Wilson, in words, rules out collaboration with the Tories, but has already used Thatcher's votes to ram through measures on the EEC. Threats of a coalition are to be used to push the working class into accepting yet higher unemployment and wage controls. Obedient as lap dogs, the TUC leaders have been revealed as holding secret talks with the bosses' union, the CBI, while Jack Jones is carrying out an impassioned campaign for 'wage restraint'.

So far the Labour left has taken not one single serious step to deal with the policies and threats of Wilson. It is the capitulations over the social contract, the sending of troops to Glasgow, and the Budget which have opened the way for the new round of anti-working class measures and coalition threats.

Against this mounting campaign the working class movement must hit back. It must make it clear that it will not allow the economic situation or coalition threats to make it bear the costs of capitalism's crisis. This means rejection of the social contract, organisation of mass industrial action, a general strike, to prevent imposition of incomes policy or austerity measures; defence of the right to work and living standards through a sliding scale of wages, work sharing with no loss of pay, and nationalisation without compensation of all firms creating redundancies. It also means demanding immediate expulsion from the Labour Party of anyone advocating or entering into any form of coalition open or hidden, with the Tories or other capitalist parties.

Wilson has made his position plain—he stands four square with the capitalists and their interests. The workers movement must now make its stand clear. **THE LEFT MUST UNITE AGAINST WILSON.**



INSIDE -Ernest Mandel on the EEC

NEXT WEEK: Exclusive interview with ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement. DON'T MISS IT !!!

'...I'm very sorry but I shot your son...'

(taken from the Dublin *Sunday World*).

Two weeks ago, Mr. and Mrs. McLarnon who live in Etna Drive, in the heart of the Catholic ghetto in Belfast called the Ardoyne, received a letter from Kent. It was an admission by an ex-soldier in the British Army that 'I killed your son as an act of vengeance.'

The soldier was Lieutenant Clifford Burrage, age 26, of the Green Howards, who at teatime on 29 October 1971 had killed Mr. and Mrs. McLarnon's son, Mike, as he was crossing the road only a

few yards from his front door, on his way back from buying a packet of cigarettes. 22-year old Mike McLarnon had been killed by three shots; in the same incident a pregnant woman had also been hit by the British Army.

Lieutenant Burrage has left the Army and is studying to be a clergyman. He explains that he is writing the letter to ask forgiveness. The shooting was, he wrote, an act of vengeance because three days earlier, while he had been out in another part of the Ardoyne on foot-patrol, he had been hit on the back of the head by a bottle.

POLITICAL PRISONERS OUT OF JAIL!

Rita O'Hare is 32 years old and has three children between the ages of 8 and 12. She has lived in Dun Laoghaire in the South of Ireland for three years. Before this she lived in Andersonstown in Belfast—until she was shot by British soldiers.

She had bullet wounds in her head, shoulder and stomach which were so serious that despite a long stay in hospital she nearly died. She was however transferred from the Musgrave Military Hospital to Armagh Prison accused of attempting to murder a British soldier. This is why she went to live in the South.



RITA O'HARE

But from the moment of her arrival the 26 County police were out to get her. On two separate occasions the Gardai (Southern police) failed to get her extradited to the North. Even the High Court threw out the police plea on the grounds that the charges against her were clearly political.

But Rita is now in Limerick prison along with Rose Dugdale, serving a three year sentence. She was sentenced on an explosives charge, having been accused of trying to smuggle explosives to prisoners. This charge was upheld despite the fact that all the warders who were with her all the time had thoroughly searched her and found nothing. Furthermore, she was not arrested until six hours after she had returned home.

•CONDITIONS•

The conditions under which both Rita and Rose are held in this 26 County jail are even worse than those which the Price sisters endured in England. Their close friends are not allowed to see them, and their relatives have to speak through holes the size of a penny in the sheet of glass which separates them. Rita's children are not allowed to hug their mother, and when they once tried to get through the visiting box to do so they were assaulted and thrown crying from the prison. The women are allowed no parcels at all and the censor holds up Rita's letters for

days. He does not pass Rose Dugdale's on at all.

Since she went inside Rose Dugdale has seen only her parents, who travelled from England to see her. In protest over the withholding of her baby's presents and her letters Rose has been on hunger strike since 25 April. Rita is supporting her because of her own conditions and because although she would like to appeal, she has not so far been allowed to see a solicitor.

Why is the 26 County Labour/Fine Gael coalition Government hounding these women? Because the desperate economic and social crisis which besets Britain has an even more drastic impact on Southern Ireland. Faced with the big stick of British capital on the one hand and a developing militancy in its own working class on the other, the coalition is driven further into the arms of British imperialism.

•HANDMAIDEN•

The British ruling class has its own problems and needs an end to the situation in the north of Ireland. The Southern Irish bourgeois Government is nothing more than a handmaiden to diseased British capitalism. Britain pays the piper and therefore calls the tune. If more repression is needed in the South to hamper the struggle in the North, then the Government of the South is expected to co-operate. The problems of Southern Irish capitalism



ROSE DUGDALE

are so immense that it is only too ready to do so.

The Dublin Committee for the Defence of Women Political Prisoners has appealed for support from organisations in Britain as well as Ireland. Militants of the women's movement, of trade unions and of students unions are urged to take this matter up and send messages and resolutions of support, condemning the jailing of Rita O'Hare by the Special Criminal Court (the court with no jury), condemning the conditions under which she and Rose Dugdale are kept, and demanding the release of Rita immediately, to: Committee for the Defence of Women Political Prisoners, c/o 51 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Dave Fox

'TROOPS OUT' CAMPAIGN BUILDS UP

Everything appears set for the Troops Out Movement Labour Movement Conference to be a major success. Over 200 delegates from all sections of the labour movement have already been registered and many more will be observers. *Red Weekly* is particularly pleased at the prospect of a genuine basis for a massive movement against British troops in Ireland which opens out from this conference.

We have consistently agitated throughout the labour movement for 'Troops Out Now', not just because of our historic responsibilities towards the Irish working people, but because the whole question of Ireland and the attempts being made by the ruling class to defeat the struggle of the anti-Unionist population has a very direct significance for British workers at the present time.

We know to our cost how the Labour Government used the bomb explosions in Birmingham as an excuse to rush through the Tory prepared and inspired Prevention of Terrorism Act. This Act came into force without so much as a whimper from the Labour MPs and very little more even from the grass roots of the movement. But it soon became clear just how dangerous this Act was when Irish militants active in the British labour movement began to be hounded and victimised.

This has, however, at last provoked the first ripples of protest and real opposition within the British working class. When strike action was threatened over the case of James O'Rourke, the matter was quickly dropped. Both Hammersmith Trades Council and the T & G WU have begun to take this 'draconian Act' up in a serious way. The lessons are clear. The actions threatened over O'Rourke were small but, as with the Pentonville 5, the bastions of law and order can be easily elbowed aside when real action is proposed that has a possibility of involving wider layers of the organised workers' movement.

CONVENTION

So the question of 'Troops Out Now' is increasingly important in the present situation, and a growing number of British workers are coming to recognise this. But the latest developments in the North of Ireland make this demand and the linked demand of 'No concessions to the Loyalists' even more urgent. As a result of the Provo boycott the elections for the so-called-Convention revealed an average poll of below 50% according to the *Irish Times*, and a turnout of the anti-Unionist population of only around 40% according to Provisional Sinn Fein. This shows that despite years of bitter struggle, the minority in the North is undefeated. It shows that the sell-out merchants and double dealers of the Social Democratic and Labour Party have not been able to hood-wink the Catholic masses.

But at the same time the forces of the Loyalists emerged from the elections in a predictably strong position.



The Loyalist working class is only too well aware of the dire economic straits which British and Irish capitalism are in at the moment. They are even more determined since the election to hold on to their meagre privileges at the expense of the Catholic workers. The perks for being a Loyalist may be small, but they are better than nothing. Hence the baying and straining at the leash about no 'power sharing' with Catholics and no 'Irish dimension.'

CONCESSIONS

These ideas of the British ruling class are buried in the dust that arose when Sunningdale collapsed. But as the Loyalist working class forces demand increasing concessions from the Labour Government, so too the anti-Unionist population is limbering up. The Loyalists may not want to see Sunningdale resurrected, but the anti-Unionists fought Sunningdale too. They are certainly not going to settle for less now than they over-threw then.

This is the background to a situation in which the Provisional ceasefire is likely to break down over the next period. If and when this happens, the stakes are bound to be higher than before the ceasefire. Not only are the battle lines clearly drawn between the two communities, but British imperialism has no way forward.

Every single initiative tried by both Tories and Labour shows one thing: there is no British solution. But this is precisely where we come back to the troops. The question of the troops will become even more crucial in the developments ahead, and their real role will be even more clearly exposed. On this issue at least the Labour MPs who remained so deafeningly silent during the passage of the Prevention of Terrorism Act have found their voices. Well, 12 of them have.

Despite the fact that these 12 want to see British troops removed

from Ireland in a variety of ways and for a variety of different reasons, it is to the credit of the TOM that these MPs have been drawn into some kind of action. This can only assist in mobilising greater numbers in the labour and trade union movement. But the various views of these MPs are worth considering, especially as they will find some echo within the workers' movement. They range from those of Leo Abse who is concerned at '...the loss of life of our young soldiers,' to those of Marcus Lipton who wants to see a repartition of the north of Ireland. Abse represents the 'let them get on with it' wing of 'troops out' sentiment, without in any way seeing the question of Ireland as being of significance to British workers, other than the fact that our cities are in danger the longer the troops stay. The arguments of Marcus Lipton, who has evidently forgotten the consequences of the last artificial British partition of Ireland, have been effectively answered by one of the other MPs who said that it was useless for the British to impose conditions on the Irish.

Andrew Bennett MP wanted the troops removed quickly, but first of all to barracks where they could guarantee that a Bill of Rights for the minority could be implemented within a Loyalist-dominated Six Counties ('I think the majority have the right to run a country'). It is this argument which causes most confusion within the ranks of the labour movement. When confronted with a resolution in their trade union branch or Labour Party for immediate withdrawal, many workers genuinely believe this would cause a bloodbath.

BLOODBATH

The fact is that since British troops went in there has been a continual 'bloodbath'. What else can you call 1,600 dead, thousands maimed, hundreds serving savage sentences and hundreds in captivity even though they have not been sentenced? What else can you call the countless sectarian assassinations, many of them carried out under the eyes of British troops? What else can you call the endless harassment of the anti-Unionist population and the now admitted torturing of suspected Republican prisoners with 'white noise' and deprivation? We say the troops have provoked a mini-bloodbath already, and their continued stay in the North of Ireland can only prepare a bigger one.

Despite the thousands of men and women the Loyalists have under arms, the vast majority of arms searches



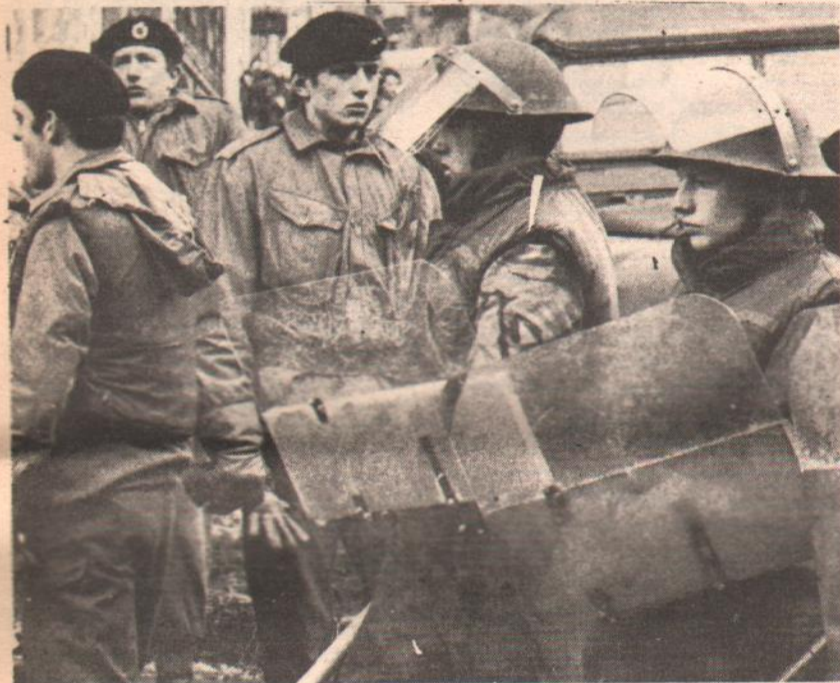


and arrests before the ceasefire were in the anti-Unionist areas. Just look at the lists of prisoners. The vast majority were and are anti-Unionists. This is exactly what the Loyalists have always been able to rely on—the strength of the British state to back up their own sectarian little statelet, so that whenever the 'croppies' get too out of hand, too much for the B-Specials and their ilk, then they could be dealt with by more powerful forces. It is under the umbrella of the British army, and emboldened by the concessions they have forced out of the Rees and the Labour Government, that the Protestant para-military groups and gangs have developed.

The Young Militants, the Red Hand Commando and the countless other tiny sects of swaggering bully boys have wreaked their vengeance on the anti-Unionist population in ghetto areas that are literally filled from top to bottom with British troops. Amaz-

It is ideas such as these, whether advanced by Stan Thorne or the *Morning Star*, that we have to fight, because they will lead to the defeat of the anti-Unionist population and will severely set back the movement in Britain. We have to be clear that it is utopian to think that British imperialism will pass a law through its very own Parliament that will abolish itself in the North of Ireland. Not only is that utopian, it is farcical when the same people tell us that the army of that imperialism will preside over its own abolition in the northern part of Ireland. We have many examples from our own history of where the army stands, but the Chilean working class have an even bloodier example in Chile today.

Imperialism is not just another aspect of government policy, like incomes policy. It is not something that can be abolished through Parliament, like health service charges.



ingly, although not really surprisingly, they are never caught. When the RUC and the British army arrived at the Divis Flats early last month after some 200 Loyalists had stormed the building, they shrugged their shoulders and complained that the mysterious attackers had run off before they got there. But this did not stop them laying into the crowd of anti-Unionists who had gathered as their homes were being attacked.

This is the army that mutinied before the First World War when its senior officers thought that the Liberals might grant Home Rule (not independence or the right to self-determination, just Home Rule!). This is the same army which General King said could have smashed the resistance if it had not been fouled up by the Provisional ceasefire on the one hand and Government policy on the other.

This is the army which has smashed into resistance movements in every corner of the globe and more recently has practiced counter-insurgency with policemen in London and smashed a strike in Glasgow. And this is the army which Stan Thorne, MP for Preston South, thinks will stay in its barracks and come out just long enough to hit the Loyalists bigots on the head when they go on the rampage against a Bill of Rights designed to make things better for the Catholics.

Imperialism has created its own Parliament to pass its own laws, to finance its own armed bodies of men, to preserve its own social, political, economic and cultural existence. This includes its dominant relationship to Ireland as a whole.

FIGHT IMPERIALISM

The fight of the Irish workers and the British workers is against imperialism. You can't ask imperialism to have that fight for you. Imperialism artificially divided Ireland; imperialism fostered and encouraged sectarianism; and now imperialism will have to pay the price. On that Labour MP Jeff Rooker is right when he says that a Bill of Rights will not solve any of the problems, that there is no British solution, and that, as Joan Maynard says, there will be no solution until the northern statelet is completely dismantled.

It is for these reasons that delegates at the TOM conference who support the IMG will continue to fight as they have always done for the broadest possible united fronts to mobilise workers on the question of Ireland, but within those united fronts we will fight for: NO CONCESSIONS TO THE LOYALISTS—TROOPS OUT NOW!

Ted Coxhead

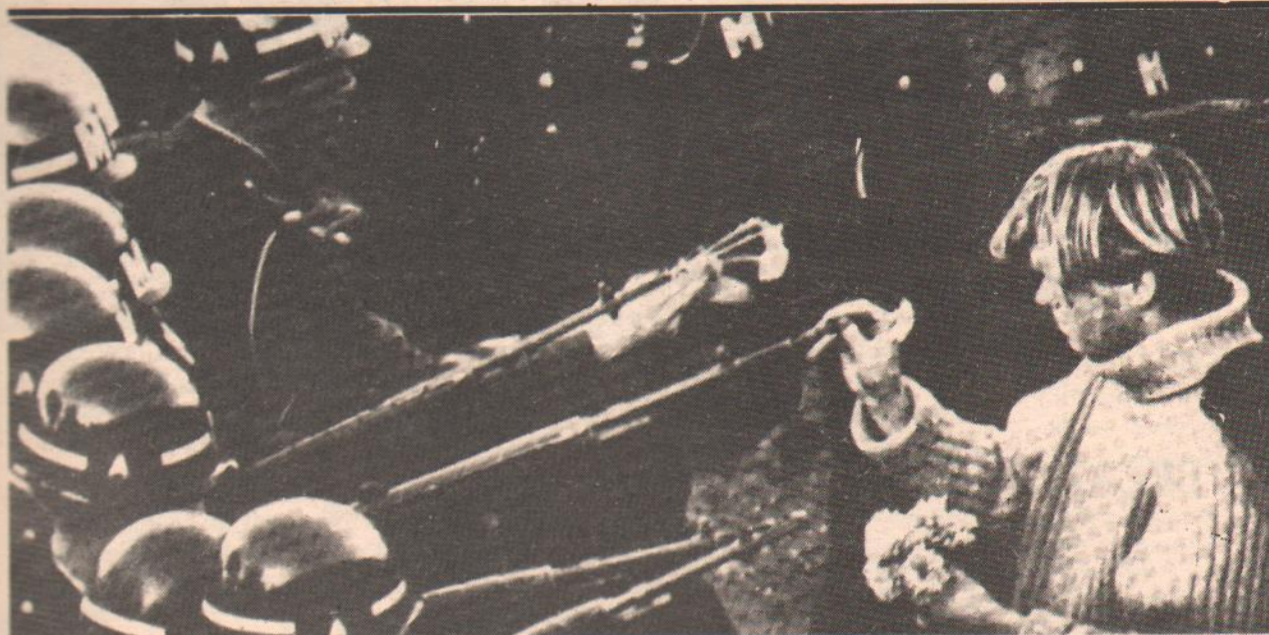
WHY TROOPS OUT NOW?

- BECAUSE** British troops are only in Ireland to protect British imperialist interests. This is the source of all Ireland's problems. The Six County statelet was artificially established to protect these interests.
- BECAUSE** in pursuit of these interests, British troops have for the past six years terrorised and brutalised the nationalist minority in the Six Counties. Hundreds have been interned in concentration camps, thousands put behind bars, and still others shot down. The only peace that the troops can bring to Ireland is the peace of the graveyard.
- BECAUSE** the troops prop up a sectarian system which keeps Catholic workers as second class citizens. Protestant workers are won to the sectarian system by caste privileges granted through Loyalist control of the sectarian statelet in jobs, houses and welfare benefits. The rate of unemployment amongst Catholics in Derry and parts of Belfast is over 20%.
- BECAUSE** the propping up of the artificial Six County statelet by the troops only serves to reinforce the idea that Loyalist Protestant workers can best resolve their problems *at the expense of* the Catholic workers. The troops give confidence to the Loyalist workers that the most backward demands of the United Ulster Unionist Council (UUUC) for the restoration of all their privileges can be won. The presence of the troops perpetuates the divisions of the Irish working class.
- BECAUSE** in pursuit of their reactionary attempts to subdue the Catholic working class, the British army gives cover to the Loyalist terror gangs who openly boast of murdering Catholics. The British army does its best to smash up the attempts by the Catholics to defend themselves, leaving Catholic workers prey to sectarian attacks.
- BECAUSE** Ireland is a laboratory for the development of repressive techniques (counter-insurgency methods, torture, 'riot' control, rubber bullets, gas, joint army-police actions). These techniques are being developed for use against the British working class itself. Joint army-police manoeuvres at Heathrow, the invasion of small towns by the army 'practising', and the intervention of troops in the Glasgow dustcart drivers' strike are small indications of what is in store for British workers based on the experience gained in Ireland.
- BECAUSE** the toleration of this situation in the Six Counties by British workers makes them vulnerable to the attacks of the ruling class in this country. The Prevention of Terrorism Act introduced by Jenkins last year shows how police state laws can be introduced in this country for later use against British workers. As the strength of the trade unions prevents them from defeating the working class at the level of the economic struggle, the capitalist class will turn more and more to using issues like Ireland to split the labour movement and prepare the ground for future defeats.
- BECAUSE** behind the cover of the troops, a reactionary Loyalist base is being beefed up for use as the springboard for an offensive against the British working class. This is the meaning of the intervention of Powell in Irish politics. Airey Neave, Tory spokesman on Ireland, stated after the Loyalists' victory in the Convention elections that he supported their aims. He has already written to the ex-B-Specials Association commending the 'valuable role played by the gallant men of the Special Constabulary down the years'.
- BECAUSE** under the protection of the troops, the Loyalists are reorganising and rearming themselves. The Loyalists now have once more, under the Labour Government, their very own sectarian police force with the establishment of the extended special reserves of the RUC and the UDR.
- BECAUSE** this rearming and reorganising of the Loyalists is laying the basis for a mass Loyalist attack on the nationalist minority. The Ulster Co-ordinating Committee is a united body of the Craigs, the Paisleys and the Wests with the paramilitary gangs. British troops are preparing the way for a bloodbath and a civil war. Despite the continuation by the Provisionals of the truce, the Loyalist assassinations and pub bombings have continued unabated, and Army GOC Sir Frank King has protested against the release of Republican internees whilst doing nothing to curb the Loyalist terror gangs.
- BECAUSE** a victory for the army will be a massive boost for the worst enemies of the working class in this country. The success of the struggle of the nationalist population so far in the Six Counties has divided the ruling class and prevented them from single-mindedly concentrating their attention on defeating British workers. The defeat for the ruling class which the removal of British troops from Ireland would signify would be a big boost for workers' struggles in this country. The nationalist struggle in Ireland and the struggle to defend living standards in this country are inextricably intertwined.



'OUR VICTORY TOO'

- HOW THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT WAS BUILT



USA 1967: Anti-war demonstrator places carnations in raised rifle barrels of military police outside Pentagon

The victory in Indochina was of course won above all by the heroism of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. But the fact that the US rulers no longer felt able to use B-52s and napalm, let alone combat troops, to prop up their Indochinese puppets was also a victory for those millions of people who marched in the anti-war demonstrations throughout the world and in the United States itself.

The US Government might be able to carry off a coup in 'rescuing' the Mayaguez, but fear of a massive reaction by the American people to the renewed use of US military might in Vietnam forced Ford and Kissinger to stand by while the Saigon and Phnom Penh regimes disintegrated. Indeed, Kissinger complained on 26 March: 'We have gone through the experience of Vietnam, through the anguish of Watergate. And I think the cumulative effect of nearly a decade of domestic upheaval is beginning.....to take its toll'. Kissinger's reference to 'nearly a decade of domestic upheaval' is a grudging admission of the power of the American anti-war movement.

But this massive anti-war movement did not develop spontaneously. It was consciously fought for by the American Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

From the mid-1960s the SWP and YSA understood that Vietnam had become the central battleground of the international class struggle. Recognising that the war was fundamental to American imperialism's offensive against the world revolution, the SWP and YSA, living in the heartland of the imperialist monster itself, understood their special responsibility to do every thing possible to build a powerful anti-war movement.

With the Trotskyists playing a key leadership role, the movement began to assume a mass character. On 15 April 1967, half a million marched in New York and San Francisco, and on 15 November 1969 more than one million demonstrated in Washington and San Francisco.

by
ALAN HARRIS

The biggest outburst of anti-war activity came in May 1970 following Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. Several million went on strike in colleges and high schools throughout the country. The Government reacted by sending police and the National Guard onto a number of campuses. At Kent State University, Augusta and Jackson, the National Guard opened fire on anti-war demonstrations killing 12 students. Within this growing movement the SWP/YSA sought to convince anti-

war activists to make 'Troops Out Now' the central demand of the movement. In sharp contrast to the demands for 'negotiations' put forward by the liberals and Stalinists, the demand for 'Troops Out Now' expressed the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination.

Furthermore, the Trotskyists understood that only by bringing masses into action could the Government be forced to get out of Indochina.

The SWP and YSA continually fended off attempts by the CP and liberals who tried to use the anti-war movement to play pressure politics within the Democratic Party. At the same time the Trotskyists fought to prevent the movement from being

diverted into small adventurist actions which would have isolated the vanguard and prevented the movement from winning the support of the masses.

While most of the American left concentrated its attention on simple trade union struggles and declared that any movement 'must start with the working class' - which given the lack of activity in the American working class at that time was simply a formula for inactivity - the SWP/YSA set about organising whatever forces it could into the movement against the war in Vietnam.

Driving force

The initial driving force of the anti-war movement came from the university and high school students. It was this sector of the population more than any other which gave the movement its militant character.

At the same time the rise of the Black Liberation movement led to growing support by American Blacks for the struggle of the non-white Vietnamese and the colonial revolution in general. The disproportionate number of Black youth drafted into the army and shot up in Vietnam deepened the hostility to the war in the Black communities and brought greater participation by Blacks in the demonstrations to bring the GIs home.

But while the anti-war movement found its first focus amongst University and high school students, it also began to break down the deep conservatism of the American labour movement as the bombing and destruction in Vietnam continued.

Attacked

At first the anti-war movement was attacked by the trade union leaders, who - enmeshed in Democratic Party politics - gave unqualified support to Washington's war drive against the Vietnamese people. But as the Johnson and Nixon administrations tried to make the workers pay for the cost of the war through mounting inflation, trade unionists increasingly refused to foot the bill. Divisions appeared in the trade union bureaucracy, and local unions - reflecting rank and file pressure - started to voice opposition to the war.

The Trotskyists sought to maximise trade union support for the demonstrations. Labour contingents were organised and many unions chartered trains and buses to bring thousands of their members to the anti-war mobilisations.

Because the ranks of the army represented a cross section of youth in society, the SWP and YSA argued that

the anti-war movement must find ways and means to approach the GIs as allies and not opponents. The GIs began to insist on their democratic rights to discuss the war on base, to publish anti-war newspapers and participate in demonstrations.



Feting of horribly maimed veterans of Vietnam war could not hide their demoralising effect on public opinion as a whole

In 1969 three Trotskyist GIs at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, were imprisoned by the Army brass for organising against the war. The growth of GI anti-war activity confirmed in practice the correctness of the SWP's and YSA's orientation to the troops, which eventually became accepted by the anti-war movement as a whole.

The growth of the anti-war movement and the mass demonstrations which occurred in the United States reflected the sentiments of tens of millions. These demonstrations were far more than symbolic shows of protest. They were the main factor in preventing a climate of social peace being established for the duration of the war.

We can learn

They limited US imperialism's room for manoeuvre and prevented Washington from repeating in other parts of the world what it was doing in Vietnam. The anti-war movement was a major factor in creating the conditions for victory in Vietnam. Socialists everywhere - notably those campaigning against the presence of British troops in Ireland - have much to learn from the experience of the anti-war movement in the United States.

NF 'honour guard' routed in Oxford

A motley collection of thugs hit Oxford last Monday, 12 May, brought by National Front leader John Tyndall to attack an anti-fascist picket at his meeting in the Oxford Town Hall. But their assault - with meat hooks, bicycle chains and knuckledusters - was sent packing by a tightly stewarded demonstration.

Tyndall did finally manage to sneak into the Town Hall and his depleted meeting began two hours late. Many of his thugs, however, had to send their apologies. The anti-fascist mobilisation was therefore a partial success, but the demonstration - the biggest in Oxford for six years - showed the potential for united front anti-fascist work.

Consistent work by the Oxford Anti-

Fascist Committee brought together the IMG, the International Socialists, the Communist Party and the Workers Socialist League, ably supported by the local women's movement and the local Gay Liberation Front, who formed the hard core of the stewards.

Apart from support from Anti-Fascist Committees outside Oxford, a significant development was the turn-out of more than 100 local Pakistani workers, some of whom brought their families. Because they feared attacks on these people the stewards marched the well-guarded demonstration to a massive open-air rally, where nearly 2000 people heard speakers from all the organisations which had taken part.

The violence of the NF 'Honour Guard' had not however finished. Frustrated at not getting into the meeting, some of them

roamed the streets picking up individuals. One student had to spend the night in hospital. The police showed their impartiality by escorting the NF assailants to their coach, protecting them from a hostile crowd.

The responsibility for this violence rests squarely on the shoulders of the local Labour councillors, who booted the Race Relations Committee out of the Town Hall and allowed the NF to use the Town Hall to spread their racist poison. Indeed Webster and Tyndall deliberately underlined their appeal to violence in their speeches. Webster said he was 'proud to be a racist', while Tyndall capped it all by saying that 'most of the problems of this country could be put right in a week if you put about ten thousand people in jail, starting with the people who are disrupting industry.'

ANNOUNCEMENT

Red Weekly regrets to announce that the Irish Republican Socialist Party tour of Britain, jointly sponsored by the IMG and the IS, has had to be cancelled. Unfortunately the IRSP does not have the resources to send a speaker to Britain at the moment. During the next week it is involved in a tour of West Germany and another of the South of Ireland.

Red Weekly and the IMG will endeavour to co-operate with the IRSP in organising a future tour as soon as it can be arranged.



WHAT'S ON

DEFEND THE IRANIAN 21 - END THE CONSPIRACY LAWS!

DEMONSTRATION-Monday (Bank Holiday) 26 May. Assemble 2pm, Bull Ring nr Waterloo tube. March to Downing Street, Iranian Embassy.

PICKET-Thursday 29 May, 9:30am-12 noon, Bow Street Magistrates Court, Bow Street (Covent Garden tube).

BUILD ANTI-EEC DEMO, 31 MAY: Public meeting Thursday 29 May, 7.30pm in Barking Town Hall with speakers John Fisher (LP, in personal capacity), John Ross (Red Weekly Editorial Board), Terry Barret (Barking & Dagenham Shrewsbury Defence Cttee, in personal capacity).

MIDLANDS AGAINST THE MARKET demo and rally on Sat 31 May. Starts 11.30am, Birmingham.

SOUTH BIRMINGHAM Committee Against the EEC
For details of campaign phone 472 5552 or write to Flat 1, 14 Woodstock Road, Moseley, Birmingham.

AFTER THE REFERENDUM-Which Way Forward? Public meeting Thurs 12 June, 7.30pm in Barking Town Hall. Speakers: John Hartnell (IMG Nat Cttee) and Steve Harper (Shrewsbury Defence Cttee, in personal capacity).

CALLING ALL MANCHESTER ANTI-FASCISTS! Urgent meeting Thurs 22 May, 7.30pm, in Manchester Town Hall Basement Theatre. Speaker: Maurice Ludmer. Chair: Phil Widdall. Essential all

HACKNEY IMG public meeting: 'Vote No to the Common Market. Fight for a Socialist Europe'. Speaker: Bob Pennington (IMG Nat Cttee). Friday 23 May, 7.30pm, Community Centre, Kate Greenaway Library, Weymouth Terrace, E.2.

STRIKE: 1926-a musical show by Popular Theatre on the theme of the 1926 General Strike, appearing at Unity Theatre, Goldington St., NW1 from Thursday 29 May until Sun 1 June... the collision of class conflict that led to Crisis.

WORKERS FIGHT MEETING: 'Ireland'-After the Convention Elections. Speaker: Sean Matgamna. Sun 25 May, 8.30pm, at 'The George', Liverpool Road, N1 (Angel underground).

FREE DESMOND TROTTER CAMPAIGN: Picket every Friday 4.30-6pm outside East Caribbean High Commission, Haymarket, London SW1.

WANTED-permanent accommodation in London for Chilean political refugees. Contact Box RW/8/5.

READ 'YOUNG SOCIALIST' Labour's independent Marxist youth paper, obtainable from 98 Gifford Street, N.1. 10p p&p.

PRESTON WOMEN'S GROUP meets at Moorbrook

Indochina CAMBODIA— IMPERIALISM'S BLUFF

Since the Second World War, imperialism's grip on the former colonial world has been based on a policy of building up regimes with a facade of independence but tied hand and foot to its apron strings.

Behind them stood the USA, confident in its role of world policeman and guarantor of imperialist profits. But the victories won by the liberation forces in Vietnam and Cambodia and currently being consolidated in Laos have left that entire strategy in ruins. On the scale of the whole world the balance of forces is firmly set against imperialism.

The victory of the Indochinese Revolution is only the latest of a rapid series of setbacks for imperialism, following on from the failure to engineer a deal in the Middle East, the effects on the NATO alliance of the Greek-Turkish confrontation and the events in Portugal, and the mass upsurge in southern Africa. All this is taking place within the framework of a world recession affecting all the major capitalist powers simultaneously; within the framework of the rise of a mass vanguard in the imperialist countries; and within the framework of a crisis of strategy and leadership within the imperialist world and in the USA itself. Of course, the imperialist powers—and especially the USA—still have massive economic, technological and military resources. Their intention to use these resources in the service of plundering the world for profit has not been shaken one jot. But what is important is that the political balance of forces—both internationally and within the imperialist countries—no longer allows the USA and its allies to behave as they would prefer.



in Thailand were all good reason to suspect that it was not quite as innocent as it seemed.

It is also rather difficult to imagine how the Cambodian 'gunboats'—which are 30-foot fibreglass dinghies armed only with light machine-guns (the entire 'navy' only consists of about 20 such boats)—operating more than 40 miles from the shore, could have succeeded in arresting the cargo-ship unless

There is therefore strong evidence to suggest that the whole incident was fabricated by the USA. The suspicion is strengthened by the knowledge that the 39 crewmen—whose liberty was allegedly so precious—were not taken into account when the Cambodian vessels were bombed, the island blitzed and Sihanoukville raided.

UNAMBIGUOUS

The final piece of evidence is that the Cambodian Government sent a clear, unambiguous message to Ford telling him that they were prepared to release the ship and its crew which was received in the White House four hours before the attack was launched.

So what was it all about? As *The Times* (16 May) put it: 'By recovering the Mayaguez and her crew with speed and determination the USA was able to demonstrate to herself and others that she has not lost the will to fight or the ability to mount a quick and effective operation a long way from her shores. This needed to be demonstrated in order to establish... that the USA is not to be trifled with in any part of the world merely because she is pulling out of Indochina.'

In other words, the whole show was designed to improve the morale of the imperialist camp. It is a fitting reflection of the decline of imperialism that the grandest operation it can fabricate to resolve the crisis in its own confidence is to blitz a bit of rock and a few dinghies.

SLANDER CAMPAIGN

The battle for the cargo-ship was prepared by a massive orchestrated slander campaign against the Red Khmers. The alleged statement of Dr Piquart describing the rape of French women, the mass execution of 300 people in Phnom

it proved to be a complete fabrication.

President Ford stated that there was 'irrefutable proof' of the execution of over 900 people, but US journalists who were in Oudong—where many of the executions were supposed to have taken place—saw nothing.

The final 'proof' of the genocidal and anti-humanitarian nature of the Red Khmers was said to be the emptying of Phnom Penh. But it was quite clear that the Red Khmers half-expected the USA to send its B-52s to flatten Phnom Penh in the same way it had dealt with Hue after its capture by the liberation forces in 1968.

RESETTLEMENT

It was also assumed by the capitalist press that the people from the city were just going to be turned loose in the countryside to die or survive as best they could. While it is true that some did die, there is abundant evidence that the resettlement of the refugees in Phnom Penh (during the civil war the population of the city increased from about 100,000 to 2 million due to forced urbanisation) was in the main well prepared.

Far from being abandoned to starvation (which most had experienced in Phnom Penh under the old regime anyway), they were being resettled in areas that, according to *Newsweek* reporter Sydney Schanberg, 'had been developed and organised over a long period and had remained untouched sanctuaries throughout the war'.

Nevertheless there is a desperate shortage of labour and a vast amount of work to be done. Throughout Cambodia there is hardly a bridge or pagoda left standing, and most villages have been destroyed. It is probable that not more than 12 per cent of the land has been planted. It is therefore a high priority to mobilise all the resources to work on the land immediately.

WHAT PERSPECTIVE?

What is very difficult to understand, however, is the perspective of the victorious insurgents.

The representatives of the Government have stated that they must develop agriculture, which is of course true, but it is very unclear whether this is seen as a prerequisite to industrialisation or whether it is



Marines land on the Cambodian island of Koh Tang during the operation to recover the Mayaguez—a crude bluff

intended to follow some sort of mythical 'third way' between socialism and capitalism based on the peasantry—a path doomed to failure, which can only lead to the re-emergence of capitalism in Cambodia.

Certainly this latter conception is being emphasised by some spokespersons, is allowed for in the programme of the FUNK (National

United Front of Cambodia) and is consistent with the equally mythical positions of 'neutrality and non-alignment'

The huge weight of the national question in the revolution, the low level of independent class struggle, and the empiricism of the leadership has led to many strategic and tactical mistakes in the past. The bureaucratic and militarist emphasis of the organisation in the liberated areas is itself incorrect.

The situation still remains very unclear. Many questions cannot be answered yet—and many cannot even be posed. The revolutionary vanguard awaits the unfolding of the social revolution in Cambodia. Only the leadership of the Red Khmers can supply the answers—and they should do so soon.

David Johnson



LAOS THE NEXT DOMINO TO FALL

When the United States of America ended its 11-year secret war against the Laotians in 1973 it did not see the Vientiane Accords as a total loss. Because of the limited direct intervention of US forces in Laos, it could withdraw without admitting defeat.

At the same time, it was intended that the coalition government should freeze the class struggle for as long as the US gave backing to the right wing. Even more importantly, it was intended that the experience should be duplicated in Vietnam and Cambodia. What in fact happened was that the dynamic in Cambodia and Vietnam accelerated the class struggle in Laos, bringing the urban youth and workers to the centre of the stage.

The defeat of the US in Vietnam has struck a deep response in Laos. In the last few weeks the class polarisation has gained momentum. The capitalists, the rich merchants, the rich landlords and the right wing of the old state bureaucracy have been leaving the country in their hundreds, queuing up for planes and ferries across the Mekong.

In the week leading up to 9 May, the exposure of a right-wing attempted coup, coupled with mass mobilisations in Vientiane, Pakse and Krasy and the mopping up of right-wing army positions around Vientiane, forced the resignations of five leading right-wing politicians.

The same day saw the flight of Vang Pao, who had commanded the CIA Secret Army and who was the only militarist capable of leading a coup.

Throughout Laos, units of the Pathet Lao began to disarm the troops formerly commanded by the right wing and to fraternize with these troops. The right-wing forces were too spread-out and demoralised

urged to join the attempted coup occupied the technical college in Vientiane and joined mutinying troops of the 'Royal Lao Army' in pledging support for the coalition.

On 13 May the entire armed forces declared their support for the coalition—which now consists nearly entirely of Pathet Lao delegates—and voluntarily grounded all planes. Police cadets also occupied their college, refusing their officers admission and declaring their total support for the Pathet Lao.

On 14 May demonstrations of students, urban workers and policemen broke out in Vientiane, Luang Prabang and Savannakhet. In Savannakhet the radio station was occupied and the resignation of the right-wing governor was demanded. The US aid office was also occupied and the officials held hostage. In all three cities the immediate resignation of all right-wing elements was demanded, together with the withdrawal of their US backers.

Very soon the sham coalition will be

AGAINST THE EUROPE OF THE BOSSES!

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



Extracts from the speech by Ernest Mandel, member of the United Secretariat of the Fo

We first of all have to understand what the Common Market is all about and what this referendum is all about.

It is the contention of many people who agitate in favour of Britain remaining in the Common Market that it is just what it says it is: a common market, an agreement between independent capitalist governments to allow the free circulation of commodities, of capital and of migrant labour within their boundaries.

That view is incorrect and purely formalistic, because it takes the Treaty of Rome by which the EEC was set up—and a lot of institutions which have been set up around it—at face value. It does not look at the problem of the emergence of the Common Market in the light of the dynamics of economic, social, political and military development on the continent of Europe since World War Two. More especially, it does not answer the question *why* this specific institution arose at a specific moment, why it stays at a given stage of its development, and where it is going.

DECAYING CAPITALISM

I would approach the question of the nature of the EEC in an entirely different way—not from the point of view of analysing treaties and juridical forms and contents, but from the point of view of a stage in the development of decaying capitalism.

I would say that what the Common Market expresses is an attempt by the European capitalist class—or at least important sectors of that capitalist class—to overcome within the framework of capitalism one basic contradiction of the system: that between the growing international character of the productive forces, the growing international character of capital and production on the one hand, and the survival of the capitalist nation state as the basic form of political organisation of the capitalist class in Europe.

The fact that capitalism as a world system is unable to overcome that basic contradiction—of that I have not the slightest doubt—does not imply at all that parts of the capitalist class can make no efforts towards a partial solution of that contradiction. The longer capitalism survives under conditions of decay, the more such kinds of attempts become absolutely unavoidable.

MULTI-NATIONALS

In the context of the present world, this means something very precise. Today you have increasing international competition between multi-national corporations, between the big international monopolies, and in this competi-

tion the American-based multi-national corporations have a tremendous advantage of size. Their average size is twice or three times that of the biggest nation-based European or Japanese monopolies.

Under these circumstances the basic historical trend which leads to the emergence of the Common Market is the trend towards international interpenetration of capital on a European scale, the emergence of European multi-national corporations going beyond the frontiers of the former nation states, trying to amalgamate on a semi-continental basis, in order to get the minimum of financial, economic and political power necessary to stand up against their American and Japanese competitors.

If we understand the problem in that way, we can immediately draw a conclusion: that the present form of the Common Market is to a large extent irrelevant because it is completely transitional. The Common Market as it is today is not an adequate instrument of self-protection and self-defence of the big European monopolies against their American and Japanese competitors. What is lacking is a key factor of imperialist self-defence and self-protection in an epoch of growing economic difficulties and crisis: a strong state power.

When you have expansion, when you have a big rate of growth of the economy, then of course the decisive role of the state for protecting the rate of profit, for defending the particular, specific self-interests of each specific group of the world bourgeoisie, is less pronounced.

But once we understand that the economic climate has changed, then it is clear that the Common Market cannot stay at this transitional stage.

CONCRETE EXAMPLE

Let me give a very concrete example to show what I'm talking about. We all know what the British Labour Government is doing today to rescue shattered capitalist combines like British Leyland. But these firms are basically small fry, and it is precisely because they are small fry that they still can be saved by the British bourgeois state. If you go into a higher category—if you look at ICI or Fiat or Siemens or Phillips, and if you look at banks of the same size—then it is absolutely certain that the British Government (not to mention the Italian Government, or the Dutch Government) is absolutely incapable of saving that kind of firm from a threat of bankruptcy. Yet given the economic perspectives which we have, such threats are not at all out of the question in the coming period.

To save that kind of multi-national corporation, with that kind of tremendous capital

accumulation, you need such powerful means—monetary, financial, social, political, and economic means—that not a single European Government as it is today would be able to do the job. Only a super-state on the level of the Common Market would conceivably be adequate to save the biggest multi-national European corporations should they be threatened during the coming economic difficulties of international capital.

POSSIBLE OUTCOME

So that's one of the possible outcomes of the trend which has led today to the emergence of the Common Market: the further transformation of the Common Market into an imperialist super-power in Western Europe. The steps towards this are very well known: the setting up of a common currency reserve fund in the Common Market, leading to a common European currency—which could even substitute itself partially for the dollar if the decline of the latter continues as one of the props of the international monetary system of decaying capitalism—leading obviously to a common European budget and then to a common European economic policy. All that implies a strong European state power and government, that is to say a political superstructure which expresses the particular interests of these big European multi-national corporations.

Obviously there is also another possible outcome: that confronted with a grave recession of the kind we are witnessing today, the basic trends of European capitalist economic development would be towards a disintegration of the Common Market, with each capitalist class trying to defend its smaller, immediate peculiar self-interest even over and above the interests of the European multi-national corporations, leading to a surge of protectionism and economic nationalism.

Up to now this has not happened. I do not say that it cannot happen. It could happen, and I would even say it will happen if the efforts of the multi-nationals in pressing towards the setting up of a real integrated super-state on a European scale are not successful. But these alternatives will be decided by strong struggles inside the capitalist class between the contending interests. And when you look at those interests which stand on the side of the amalgamation, which are rather stronger, and those which stand on the other side, which are rather weaker, then you can make some kind of prediction as to what will occur *if*—the big *if* underlying this whole analysis—capitalism continues to survive for a long period, and *if* all these processes continue to develop without being combatted, neutra-

lised or overthrown by the forces of the working class.

That is the starting point of the analysis. But because certain trends under conditions of capitalism are more or less inevitable in the long run if capitalism survives, that does not mean at all that we have to take them for granted and do nothing to oppose them. On the contrary, we have to approach the problem not from the point of view of economic fatalism but from the point of view of an assessment of the political and social relationship of forces.

The basic question is not 'what are the long term economic trends of development of capitalism if it survives', but 'what are the trends of the class struggle today in Britain and in Europe and how, by basing ourselves on these trends of the class struggle, can we intervene in the Common Market debate and referendum in such a way as to help and further struggles to overthrow capitalism.'

Once you approach the problem in that way the answer is absolutely obvious: the referendum in Britain today is part and parcel of a political class struggle. It is sufficient to see the facts of life—that the British capitalist class, that the European capitalist class (with the exception of a small and completely negligible fringe) stands nearly as one man in favour of Britain remaining inside the Common Market. Nobody can deny that. All the big organisations of the employing class in Britain and Europe ask you to vote 'Yes' in this referendum.

And you have a second fact of life which is no less important than the first one—namely that again practically without exception all the militant sectors of the British working class are against Britain staying inside the Common Market, and express in however confused and wrong a way a *class* opposition to this capitalist outfit.

AFTER

THE REFERENDUM

Or you can approach the question from a second point of view—what will happen after the referendum. Suppose by accident—one could even say under the present circumstances by a miracle—the 'No' were to win, it would be a political disaster for the bourgeoisie.

Such a political defeat for the Tories, for the Liberals, for the CBI employers' association, and for the right-wing capitulationist Wilson wing of the Labour Party would help the development of a militant class struggle, not only on the issue of the Common Market but against the attempt to impose a new incomes policy; against the attempt to make the workers pay the costs of the crisis of capitalism; and against all the treacherous policies



'don't join the Europe of



'don't join the Europe of the trusts;



'join the Europe of



TOWARDS A SOCIALIST EUROPE!



th International, at the IMG rally against the Common Market in London on 30th April.

which the right wing of the Labour Party will try to get this Government to apply in the coming six to twelve months.

On the other hand, a victory for the 'Yes' campaign would shift the relationship of forces not only between the classes in Britain, but also inside the labour movement. And by no stretch of the imagination can anybody prove that a victory for the 'Yes' campaign will shift the relationship of forces inside the trade unions or inside the Labour Party in favour of the left.

So we cannot be abstentionist or indifferent to the outcome of this referendum. We have to take a clear cut stand in favour of 'No'.

REACTIONARY AND UTOPIAN

When I say that we have to be an active force of the 'No' camp, I do not mean that we can limit our struggle just to that 'No', because we have to accuse those who organise the struggle to get Britain out of the Common Market inside the Labour Party and the labour movement of both reactionary and utopian ideology.

If they had put before the British working class a clear cut case—this is a class conflict between capital and labour, and we have to join with the workers against the capitalists, both in Britain and on an international scale, and for that reason we are against the Common Market—the outcome would at least be unsure, even the relationship of forces between the classes today in Britain. But once they started a campaign for national sovereignty—that is to say, on a nationalist basis against the Common Market—the outcome was not very unsure. On that basis you're not going to mobilise tremendous enthusiasm in the British working class, you're not going to unify the class forces against the supporters of a 'Yes' vote, and it's early certain that you're heading for defeat unless there is some miracle.

Why is such a campaign utopian? It is utopian because the whole emergence of the Common Market proves that to defend national sovereignty today within the framework of capitalism against the international amalgamation of capital is the same thing as to defend small capitalist combines against big capitalist monopolies. That's completely hopeless, it's utopian, it is trying to turn the wheel of history backwards.

And it is utterly reactionary because instead of a class line up, it creates an inter-class combination with many innuendos which are not only nationalist but racist, and with many innuendos which can lead to very serious consequences if workers are taken in by this type of reasoning. Once you give such a big impor-

tance to national sovereignty, to national parliament, to national economy, then you will be caught very quickly in the trap of being called upon to make sacrifices at the expense of the class interests of the working class to uphold these shining 'national' institutions—the capitalist parliament, capitalist law, capitalist national sovereignty, the capitalist government, and the capitalist state apparatus.

For all these reasons we say that a successful campaign for a 'No' vote in the Common Market referendum is only possible from the point of view of the class interests of the working class if it is an internationalist campaign, if it counterposes to the capitalist Europe of the bankers and the monopolies a socialist Europe of the workers. But when we say we have to make an internationalist campaign, a campaign for the United Socialist States of Europe opposed to the Common Market, we don't oppose a 'socialist' European-centred type of approach to a capitalist European-centred type of approach.

We are internationalists on a world scale. We know for example that if today there is a tremendous opportunity for a victorious socialist revolution in Western Europe, this is due in the first place to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, who have created that possibility on a world-wide scale. We know today that if there is a tremendous upsurge of the Portuguese revolution, this is due to a large extent to the heroic struggle of the peoples of Angola, of Mozambique, and of Guine-Bissau—because it was their struggle which created the political preconditions for the upsurge of the proletarian revolution in Portugal today.

When we call for the United Socialist States of Europe, we only call for that because we think that the political and social relationship of forces between the classes in Western Europe today is more favourable for a breakthrough towards socialism than anywhere else in the world. We would consider that only as a platform out of which the struggle for the United Socialist States of the World would start, because you have really no basic problems today in this world which can be solved on a continental basis.

We are not going to create socialist plenty in Western Europe while millions and millions of people are starving in India, in Bangladesh, in Pakistan, in Sri Lanka, in the Sahel area of Africa, or anywhere else in the world. That kind of socialism would be unworthy of conscious workers anywhere in any country.

IMMEDIATE STRUGGLE

Nor is the struggle for a United Socialist States of Europe something abstract which remains at the level of very vague, general propaganda. We think that there are two

basic thrusts inside the class struggle in Europe which push in this direction in rather an immediate sense.

The first is the growing awareness among militant workers everywhere on our continent that against the multi-nationals which operate on an international scale—which divert orders, production, and the setting up and closing down of factories on an international scale—nationally limited trade union activity, not to mention nationally limited revolutionary activity, will become less and less efficient.

When the British firm of Plessey wants to close its Portuguese subsidiary, and when the shop stewards from the Portuguese factory—among whom we are happy to see Trotskyists, indeed one of our candidates in the Portuguese elections was a Plessey shop steward—come to Britain to see the Plessey workers in Britain to say we have to make a common struggle against the international operations of that combine, then you have the beginning of a concrete trend in the class struggle which leads in the direction of the United Socialist States of Europe.

CONQUEST OF POWER

We will have more and more occurrences of that type in the coming months and years, and revolutionary socialists should be in the forefront of all concrete practical attempts to create a new instinct, if I can call it that, among radical militant shop stewards right through Europe. Over any new demand which is raised in a factory which is part of a multi-national combine, over any attack by the employers against the workers in such a factory, the first reaction of a socialist shop steward should be to pick up his telephone and contact his comrade the socialist shop steward in Belgium, in Holland, in England, in France, in Italy, in Spain or in Portugal who is working for the same combine.

The second thrust is still more important, though less immediate than the first one, because it is a political one. The United Socialist States of Europe means the overthrow of capitalist state power, means the overthrow of the capitalist state machine, means the conquest of power by the working class, the setting up of a real workers' republic based on democratically elected workers' councils—first in one, then in two and then in many other countries throughout our continent.

We are convinced—and that is one of the other reasons we are opposed to the Common Market—that while the building of socialism cannot be achieved in one country, nor will the overthrow of capitalism be simultaneous in all countries, because you have different

social and political relationships of forces at different moments in different parts of the continent.

Today the Portuguese workers are at the forefront of this struggle, much more advanced than any other working class in Western Europe, although they were so much behind a couple of years ago. Tomorrow we are sure—as are the Portuguese comrades—that the Spanish workers will step in their place and be in the forefront of this struggle, because they have greater objective strength, they have higher class consciousness, more experience of struggle, a better relationship of forces, once they succeed in overthrowing the dictatorship.

POWERFUL IMPETUS

And the day after that, probably France and Italy will line up on the same plane, and that will give you a very powerful combination of which we hope the results will be felt very quickly in countries like Britain, my own country Belgium, and other countries in Western Europe.

This concrete way in which the revolution will spread throughout Western Europe in the coming months and years implies again a concrete content for the struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe, because we will need to spread these revolutions in order to protect them, we will need to organise huge solidarity movements which can become a powerful impetus in different European countries to get the revolution itself on a higher level.

Under these circumstances what we have to say is: don't join the Europe of the trusts; don't join the Europe of the bankers; don't join the Europe of the riff-raff of the generals and the admirals and the police chiefs; don't join the Europe of those who are organising a strong state, who are starting on the road of torture, who are starting on the road of limiting and suppressing workers' rights and democratic rights all over the place.

But by all means join the Europe of the workers' commissions in Spain and Portugal; join the Europe of the factory occupations; join the Europe of the soldiers' committees and the soldiers' organisations in Portugal, in Spain, in France, in Holland, and in many other countries; join the Europe of the big rise in working class struggles; join the Europe of the workers' councils, which we will see as the new emergence of the new implantation of the soviet idea in the coming months and years throughout our continent.



factory occupations;



'join the Europe of



'join the Europe of the big rise in

A NEW FORMULA FOR IMPERIALIST PILLAGE

One of the charges levelled against the Common Market by its 'left' Labour opponents used to be that it followed economic policies designed to perpetuate the imperialist exploitation of the 'third world'. However this charge is not heard so much these days, since the EEC recently signed a new deal which makes important changes in the terms of the economic relationship with the third world. Indeed a prominent left Labourite, Minister for Overseas Development Judith Hart, was an active participant in these negotiations.

But has the imperialist Common Market changed its imperialist spots? Or is it just that the 'left' Labourites, never having understood properly what imperialism was in the first place, simply cannot recognise it in its latest guise?

When the Common Market was formed in 1956 a number of its members still had important colonial possessions—notably France and Belgium in Africa. These colonies provided their masters with many essential raw materials for their industries, and acted as important markets for their exports.

If these colonies had been left outside the EEC and their products subject to import duties, this would have placed a serious additional cost on French and Belgian capitalist industry. So an arrangement was made that these 'territories' could be 'associated' with the Common Market—their products would not be subject to the external import duties of the EEC, and in return EEC products were to be freely admitted to the colonies.

In effect this was an agreement that the EEC countries would exploit the colonial possessions in common. They would acquire equal rights to purchase raw materials from the colonies and export manufactured goods to them. The colonies, of course, remained stuck in their subject status.

EXPLOITATION

At first glance it might seem like a considerable concession on the part of the colonial masters like France to open the doors of their possessions to competition from other EEC 'partners'. But in fact this was already well under way—with considerable German investment and exports flowing into France's African colonies.

As the ruling colonial power, it was France which had to provide the capital (both public and private) to furnish the essential facilities necessary for this trade (road, railways, ports, etc.), while West German capital reaped its benefits. At the same time France's shortage of capital (which was needed to revamp backward French industry to compete in the EEC) made it difficult to do this job adequately, so that the inefficiencies of the colonial transport system added to the cost of the raw materials imported by France.

Thus, as part of this agreement for common EEC exploitation of the colonies, a deal was made to provide common financing of the projects essential to imperialist exploitation. A so-called 'European Development Fund' was set up to do this, with France and Germany putting up 35 per cent of the cash each and the remaining EEC partners 30 per cent between them.



Judith Hart—helped negotiate Lome deal

By 1960 most of these former territories had become independent, but a new agreement was negotiated—the infamous 'Yaounde Convention', signed in 1962—which kept most of the newly 'independent' nations linked to the EEC economically on basically the same terms that they had been subject to as colonies. A new—and larger—'European Development Fund' was set up under the Yaounde Convention, but once again the money in it was earmarked for those projects necessary for imperialist economic exploitation.

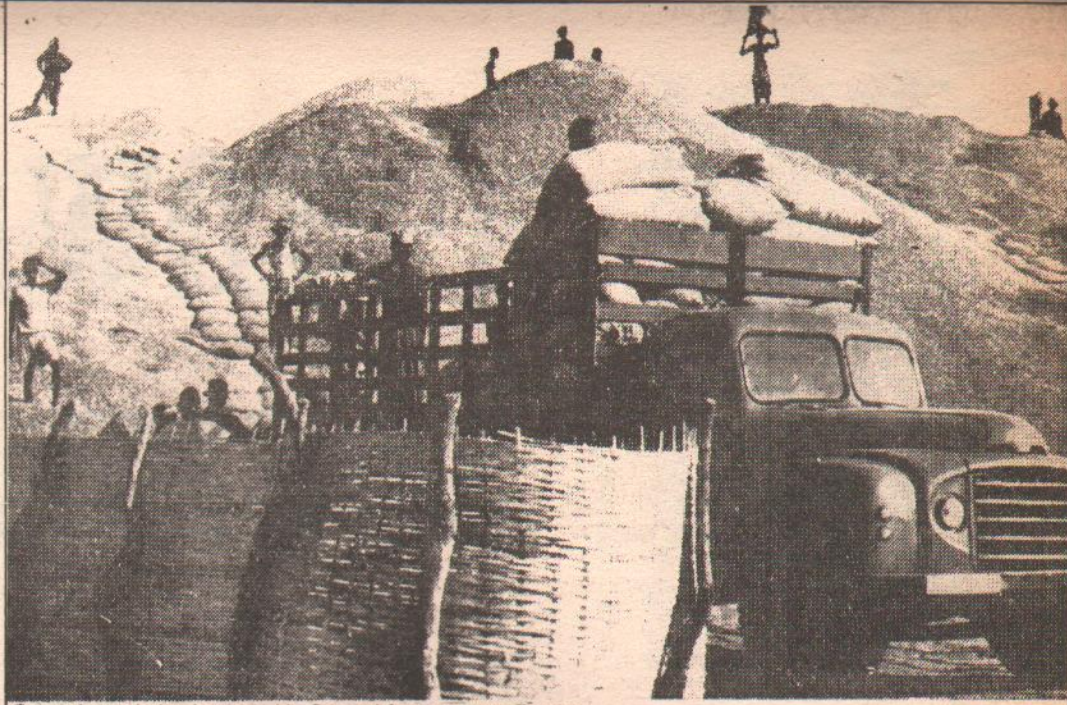
From 1962 until the entry of Britain into the Common Market, the relations between the EEC and its third world 'associates' was governed for the most part by the Yaounde Convention (although a few late-comers, who had not been former colonies of EEC members, were able to negotiate slightly better terms).

The entry of Britain, however, posed a new problem, for Britain brought with her a series of her own former colonies with whom she had maintained 'special ties'. Thus a new series of negotiations were opened between the EEC and all these countries—both old associates and potential new associates from the Commonwealth—leading, after 20 months of bargaining, to the signing of the Lome Agreement in February of this year.

LOME AGREEMENT

The Lome Agreement is certainly an important document. For it links all the countries of black Africa south of the Sahara, along with a number of former British Caribbean and Pacific possessions, with the economy of the EEC.

Superficially the terms of the agreement might appear to be favourable to the third world countries. As before, their products (with a few



Ground nuts being harvested in Senegal for export to Europe

named exceptions) are to be admitted to the EEC market without import duties. In sharp contrast to the Yaounde Convention, however, the third world countries are *not* required to offer any special treatment of EEC exports in exchange. A new 'Development Fund' has been set up, this time containing four billion dollars: four times what was provided in the period from 1969 to 1975.

It is these features which have so confused the Labour 'lefts', and led them to accept that the Lome Agreement represents a step forward in the position of the EEC's 'associates'. But the Lome Agreement does not contain a single provision that cuts across the dominant economic interests in the imperialist countries of the EEC.

'DEVELOPMENT FUND'

All the agricultural goods given free access to the EEC market from the signatories of the Lome Convention are ones on which the EEC economies depend and which they themselves do not produce. The prospect of a deluge of cheap industrial goods from Africa flooding European markets is just not on. As for the provisions of the 'Development Fund', 10 per cent of this amount will go to making up for any fall in export earnings by the third world associates in the face of falling world commodity prices.

The allocation of money for this end is not at all self-sacrificing, for the alternative would be mounting pressure from third world commodity producers to club together and keep up world prices in the way that the oil producers have done: something which would cost the imperialist countries much more in the long run. Moreover most of these countries are in hock up to their neck to the bankers and governments of the imperialist world, with close to a half of total government spending going to pay interest on these loans. So this 10 per cent will very rapidly find its way back into imperialist pockets.

As far as the rest of the 'Development Fund' is concerned, the 'benefits' that flow from it will go to those who dominate the economies of the third world—the big multi-national firms of the imperialist countries. Moreover the Common Market imperialists can afford to be generous with this money, since they are not planning on paying much of it out themselves. The idea is that the funds for these projects will be raised by the EEC governments and agencies in loans from the Middle Eastern oil producers, and then passed on to the third world EEC associates. (Some top Common Market bureaucrats see this as a new triangular pattern for world imperialism, with cash from the oil producers financing the flow of capital equipment and technology from the imperialist countries, under the control of the multi-nationals, for the exploitation of the third world countries.)

MULTINATIONALS

This brings us to the final point. All that is new in the Lome Agreement is that it does not leave the economies of the associates wide open to exports from the industrialised EEC countries; it allows them to erect their own tariff barriers and stimulate the development of local industries for the home market. (Indeed, the special terms under which Nigeria was granted 'associate' status in 1966 gave similar concessions.)

The reason for this is simple. Imperialism is no longer interested in the third world exclusively as a source of raw materials and a market for manufactured exports. The growing importance in the imperialist countries of the industries making capital goods, and the growth of multinational firms with world-wide production operations, has brought about a situation where imperialism is quite happy to see the limited growth of manufacturing industry in the third world—under its control of course. It is this

which the Lome Agreement expresses.

For imperialist, multi-national capital will be able to move freely behind the tariff barriers erected by the third world associates, to reap all the benefits of the new 'Development Fund', and to take advantage of import tariffs and cheap local labour to reap much greater profits than it could have gleaned from staying at home. While a measure of industrialisation will thus be brought about, it will leave the economies of the third world totally under the thumb of the multi-nationals, and bring little to the impoverished masses of these countries—except higher prices for their manufactures necessitated by the super-profits of the multi-nationals and the protectionist duties on imports.

Whatever is 'new' in the EEC's 'new deal' for the third world simply reflects the new economic interests of imperialism at the present time. The individual West European capitalist powers are now too weak to maintain their imperialisms separately at the level which is needed. Lack of infrastructure, lack of 'aid', fear of neo-colonial producers using their bargaining power, all necessitate new mechanisms of imperialist domination. Under the Yaounde Agreement France, Germany and the other EEC states organised themselves to ensure more 'efficient' imperialist exploitation. Under the Lome Convention the same task is carried out in the new conditions of the 1970s.

IMPERIALISM

But the leopard has not changed his spots. Right from the beginning one of the roles of the EEC was to ensure that the West European capitalists could stand together as a bloc to increase their imperialist exploitation. The destruction of the EEC, while it would not end imperialism, would gravely weaken the position of the European imperialist powers and help to shift the relation of forces against the imperialist system as a whole. It is just one more reason why socialists opposed the EEC, work for its destruction, and oppose Britain's membership of it.

Ray Alexander

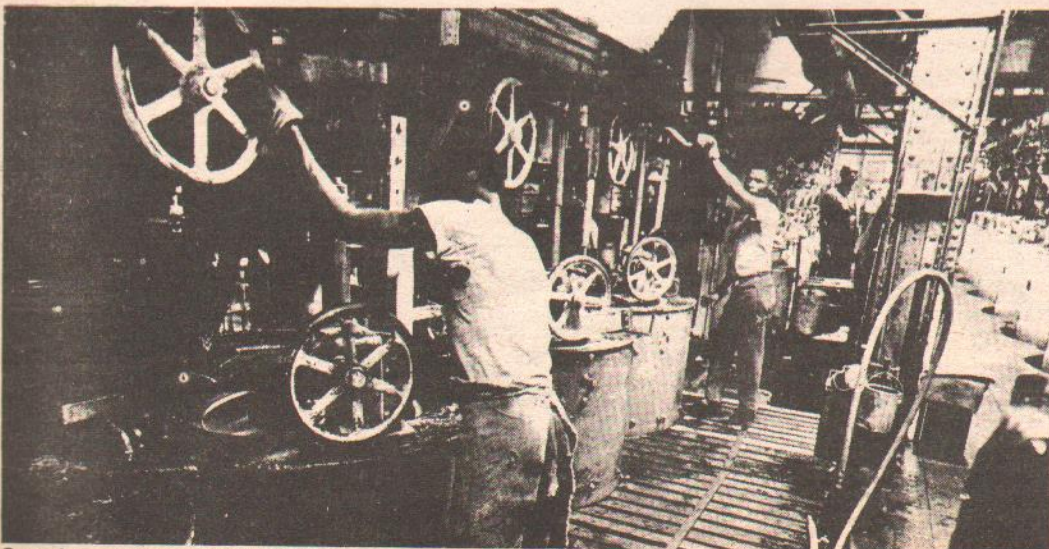
NO TO THE CAPITALISTS' COMMON MARKET

FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST EUROPE

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP
PAMPHLET PRICE 15p

Distributed by Red Books 97 Caledonian Rd London N1

Now available from RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1., price 22p (including p&p)



Sugar being refined in the Caribbean

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

ABORTION— DOCTORS SPEAK OUT

1. *****

Could we ask you why you think it is important that women should be able to get abortions readily.

Yes, because I think that they have a right to control their own fertility. The modern means that we have for controlling fertility, apart from abortion, are firstly not entirely foolproof—mistakes occur both with the methods as they are and in people's use of them.

Secondly, not all people realise that they need to protect themselves from pregnancy until they have gone too far, and therefore abortion is needed as a back-stop. Women need this ability to control their own fertility because they have a right to equal opportunities, and the lack of control which they would otherwise have over their own fertility would restrict their rights in obtaining equality in society.

Do you see abortion as a means of contraception or as a stop-gap?

The question of the relationship between abortion and contraception as a means of controlling fertility really depends on the society you are talking about.

If you are dealing with a society where contraception has a long tradition, then most people will resort to abortion not as a contraceptive, but as a back-stop. Or alternatively they may use it as an emergency means for dealing with unforeseen mistakes.

In other societies where contraception is not well developed they have chosen to use abortion as the prime method of controlling conception. In this country this does not apply because we have the long association with contraception.

Under the terms of the 1967 Abortion Act, safe legal abortions became available to women for reasons other than severe injury to their physical or mental health, provided that two doctors would agree that the abortion was justified. Despite the reluctance or refusal of many doctors to sanction abortions for 'social' reasons, and despite the total inadequacy of NHS abortion facilities, an average of 80,000 out of the 110,000 legal abortions per year performed under the Act have been justified on 'social' grounds.

This access to safe legal abortions, although restrictive in that two doctors must agree, and limited because of inadequate NHS facilities, is now under attack. The Abortion (Amendment) Bill put forward by Labour MP James White, which is now before a Parliamentary Select Committee, will remove the 'social' grounds for abortion and thereby cut the number of safe legal abortions by 80 per cent.

The National Abortion Campaign (NAC), set up in March of this year to fight the Bill on the basis that it should be a woman's right to choose whether or not to continue with a pregnancy, has called a national demonstration for 21 June. One of the sponsors of this demonstration is PETER HUNTINGFORD, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology at London University. In view of the important divisions in the medical profession on abortion — on the James White Bill and particularly over the question of 'free abortion on demand' — Red Weekly asked Professor Huntingford for his views on these questions.

Do you therefore think that it should be a woman's right to choose whether she has an abortion rather than letting the medical profession decide?

I see no reason at all for the medical profession to make this choice on behalf of women.

You mentioned that you thought that the medical profession should not have anything to do with whether a woman chooses to have an abortion or not. Do you think that with the new modern techniques available for performing abortions it needs to be doctors who even carry out the operation?

Obviously the medical profession must be involved somewhere and there are undoubt-

edly medical risks, particularly in late abortions. The medical profession should be involved in indicating what these risks are but putting them in the perspective of the particular individual and her circumstances and her requests.

I still do not think that the doctor should make the decision. I think that the woman has the right to decide whether she is going to take what might be a greater risk to her life in asking for a late abortion. She still ought to be able to do that, although the doctor ought to be able to inform her accurately what those risks are.

For pregnancies of less than 12 weeks I do not really care whether doctors are involved or not, because the risk is less.

Do doctors need to carry out the operation? So far as the simple aspiration techniques which do not require dilation of the cervix* are concerned, I think that the answer is no. This means up to ten weeks in somebody who has had a baby and up to

eight weeks in someone who has not had a baby. Once you have to dilate the cervix you require a degree of skill which means that it is probably better done by a person who has been properly trained.

When dilation of the cervix is not necessary then I think that you can train any reasonably dexterous person to carry out the operation, whether they be medically qualified or not.

What do you think of the present 1967 Abortion Act and the way it is operating within the National Health Service?

The 1967 Act is all we need to give women control of their own fertility. But of course an Act of Parliament does not make people change their behaviour, and does not make doctors behave as they should do to operate the Act properly.

I am not convinced either that if we repealed every law relating to abortion, or at the very least made it permissible to perform abortions on request up to 12 weeks, whether we would see a greater proportion than now of those women who seek abortion having it done under the NHS.

In other words I do not think the problem that we have reached now—leaving aside James White's Abortion (Amendment) Bill for the moment—is one of the law not being adequate to allow what women need, but one of the attitudes on the part of doctors and other people who are supposed to implement the Act.

What do you think would be the most dangerous aspect of the James White Bill if it succeeded in amending the Act?

The most dangerous part is the attempt to restrict the grounds for abortion, because this would affect the greatest number of women. The other clauses are restricted to a much smaller number of women and are therefore less worrying. But the attempt to restrict the grounds for abortion would particularly affect the vast majority of women who are seeking early abortion.

It is in their cases that the medical reasons for abortion are the least obvious and the social ones are the most outstanding. To restrict the grounds to purely medical indications would eliminate this particular group of women, who according to the statistics account for 60 to 70 per cent of women being aborted under the Act.

If the amendment did become law, would you be prepared to go against the law and carry out your present abortion policy?

Yes, I do not intend to alter my practice in any way.

Even if the James White Bill is defeated, what do you think are the possibilities of women obtaining free, safe, legal abortions under the NHS given the present state of the NHS and the cut-backs in expenditure that are going to continue over the next years?



I am a pessimist concerning that because of the reasons you give. However I will certainly continue to work for that end. There is a lot that could be achieved in a relatively short space of time by the provision of cheap, readily available out-patient abortion services. We could satisfy the majority of the demand very easily, very quickly, with little trauma.

Many doctors seem to think that abortion is really a medical matter and nothing to do with Parliament at all. What do you think about the Select Committee that has been set up?

Abortion has medical consequences but in fact it is a social problem. In this sense doctors should not have the overriding voice in deciding what is happening. This is a question for the people to decide. Doctors should obviously give their expert guidance concerning risks but they should not be taking the final decision.

So far as the Select Committee is concerned. I have no objections to a Select Committee examining medical Acts for the sake of protecting the public health. I take exception to this particular Select Committee because of the very hasty way that it was set up and as a compromise to continuing with the Abortion (Amendment) Bill which was then coming up for its Second Reading.

Furthermore, its composition is biased and heavily selected in favour of people who are expressly against abortion. This is not right. Although it might represent the composition of the members who voted for the Second Reading of the Bill, it certainly does not represent the women of this country.

*Dilation of the cervix is necessary before entering the inside of the uterus in order to evacuate the growing baby.

2. 'Take this decision out of doctors' hands'

Speech by Dr. Berry Beaumont, IMG member and delegate to the ASTMS conference from its medical section, the MPU. She was supporting a motion condemning the Abortion (Amendment) Bill, which was overwhelmingly carried.

I want to urge support for this motion from three standpoints.

As doctors in ASTMS we are absolutely opposed to the James White Bill. It will make it extremely difficult to obtain an abortion—the clock will be turned back to the time when women risked and lost their lives at the hands of back-street abortionists.

As a woman, I join with the millions of women all over the world who are fighting for control of their own fertility, who are fighting for the decision about whether an abortion should be given to be taken out of the hands of doctors and given to us women ourselves to decide—if and when to bear children. Unfortunately there is nothing in the NEC resolution about this. Let's make sure there is next year.

As a trade unionist, I want to stress why it is important for ASTMS to take up the fight for women's rights to free and safe abortion. Trade

opportunities and equal rights and opportunities to participate actively in the trade union movement. But these things can only become a reality if women can be freed from their position of having sole responsibility for the care of the family.

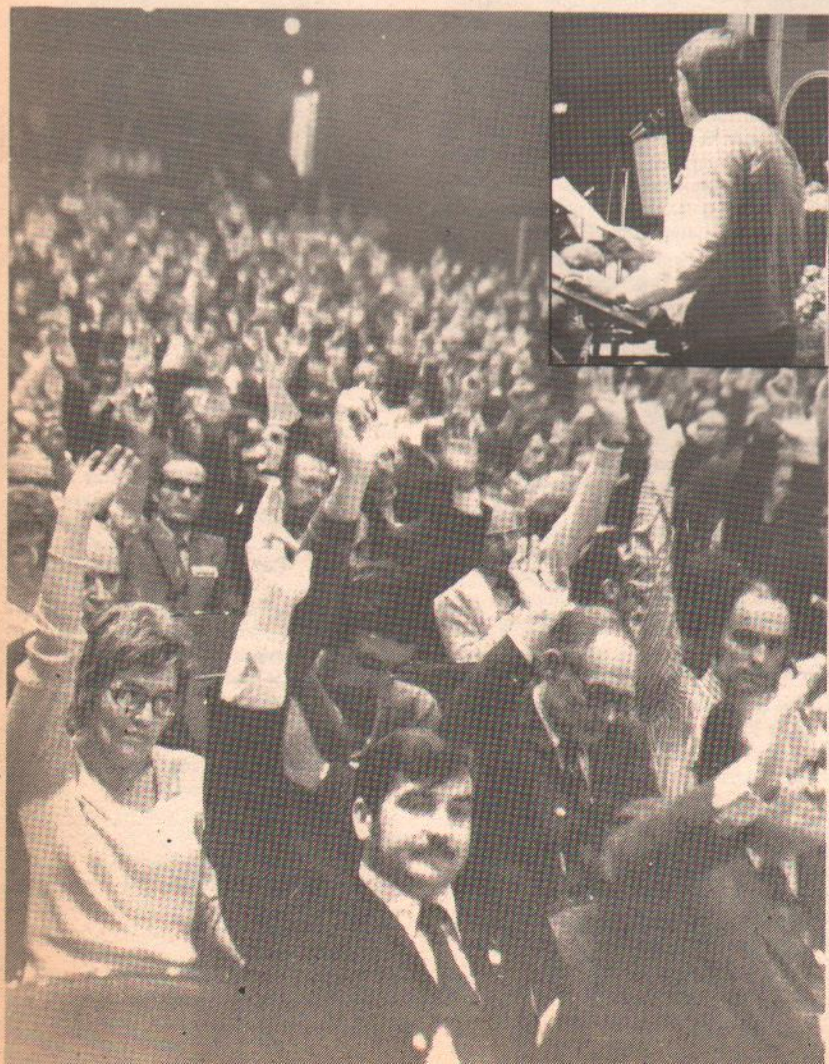
That means not only campaigns for such things as the provision of creche facilities; it means that the labour movement as a whole must lend its weight to a campaign for the right of women to choose if and when to have children. The Women's TUC Conference earlier this year gave a lead by overwhelmingly supporting a resolution from the MPU section of ASTMS calling for free contraception and abortion facilities for all women. Now is the opportunity for all ASTMS members to take this up.

But not only must we in the trade union movement take up the question. We must also be clear about how to build the campaign, so that the Labour

class. You see, Labour MPs like Dr Shirley Summerskill (an ASTMS member) are saying this is a question for each MP to decide according to his individual conscience—note 'his'—and five MPs from the ASTMS Parliamentary Committee, including two doctors, actually voted in favour of the Bill.

So what we need to do is build a mass campaign that will force the Labour Party to regard this not as an individual moral question but as a matter of political policy. We must go out and organise meetings in our branches, in places of work, in hospitals, go out to other trade union branches and trades councils in our areas with ASTMS health workers, to speak on the question.

Above all, we must build mass support for the demonstration on 21 June organised by the National Abortion Campaign. Let's see the biggest possible turn out of working



Photos: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

THE ECONOMICS OF BENNISM



Until the Second World War the policy of virtually every capitalist country when faced with a slump was the same: wages were cut, public expenditure was cut, and money was taken out of the economy. The explanation given for this policy was that goods would become more competitive internationally and the cut in working class living standards would allow profits, and therefore investment, to increase.

There is no doubt that in certain countries at certain times these policies did produce short term success for capitalism – at the expense of vastly increased misery for the working class. Where, however, these policies were disastrous even from the point of view of capitalism was when every economy moved into a slump, when there was a world recession.

Then deflating the economy in every country leads not to an increase in exports and an expansion of investment but to a massive contraction of the world economy and market. Every country is then catapulted deeper into recession as a vicious downward economic spiral is created. For example, it was these policies which helped to make the great slump of the 1930s develop with its extreme rapidity and force.

KEYNESIAN

Following the Second World War various of the more intelligent representatives of the ruling class attempted to correct the policies which had prevailed up until the 1930s. These new policies were known as 'Keynesian' after the main bourgeois theorist who advocated them. While the details of these policies differed in many countries their essence was very simple – when a government was faced with a slump it should not cut expenditure but on the contrary pump funds into the economy through tax cuts, increased government spending etc.

This finance would increase the demand for goods and put unused economic capacity in machines and men to work. The argument was that this would lead in turn to further increases in demand for goods and production as the spending power of re-employed workers came onto the market, as government expenditure increased, and so on. This increased output would then stimulate investment and long term expansion of the economy. This is the policy which virtually every capitalist government followed in the post-war period when it was faced with a slump.

There is no doubt that for a period of years Keynesian policies did help the capitalist economies to avoid a repeat of the 1930s. They could not stop slumps starting, but they could be used to check the depth of the decline.

CONTRADICTIONS

But it is not possible to cheat the underlying contradictions of capitalism for long. Keynesian solutions run up against an insuperable barrier in the rate of profit. The increased investment necessary to increase output by any serious amount will only take place if the profit rate is high enough. But under capitalism there is a long term tendency which works itself out, not in a direct fashion but as an underlying process, for the rate of profit to fall – for example, the rate of profit in British industry has fallen from around 15% in the 1950s to around 7-8% now.

Under these circumstances it becomes harder and harder to force capitalism to increase investments, and while each injection of money into the economy does generate some increase in demand, and some increase in profit, it is less and less able to counteract the long term decline of profit rates.

Under these conditions – and by the 1970s the rate of profit at the height of the booms was much lower than at the bottom of the recessions of the 1950s – Keynesian policies produce very different effects to those of the 1930s. The rate of profit is

Larger and larger sums have to be pumped into the economy but are less and less successful in increasing investment, and therefore no basis exists for a serious long term increase in investment.

The result of pouring money into an economy where increased production is confined to consumer goods and not investment goods, and where no basis exists for long term expansion, is absolutely inevitable – it produces soaring inflation. For the individual least competitive economies it also means huge balance of payments crises as their goods become uncompetitive on the world market and imported goods are sucked in to make up for the lack of production in the home market. To overcome these effects it is necessary to put Keynesian policies 'into reverse' by taking funds out of the economy, creating unemployment and forcing down production.



Keith Joseph—deflation the answer.

Faced with the increasing inflationary impasse of Keynesian economic policies, two solutions are put forward by the ruling class. The first, supported in this country by the Thatcher/Joseph wing of the Tory Party, the *Financial Times* and most banking interests, is to go back to the policies of the 1930s. Working class living standards must be driven down, and profit thereby raised, through deflation of the economy and the creation of mass unemployment.

INCOMES POLICY

The second solution is proposed by those sections of the ruling class – for example the Heath wing of the Tory Party, the Liberals, the Jenkinsites and the *Economist* magazine – who point out that the Thatcher/Joseph policies not only threaten to bring about a greater slump than the 1930s, but more importantly would lead to a massive anti-capitalist revolt by the working class. This second ruling class strategy therefore suggests that working class living standards should be driven down through incomes policy instead of through mass unemployment.

While no socialist has much trouble in working out that neither incomes policy nor unemployment spells good news for the working class – there are only disagreements on how to drive down working class living standards – one apparently new solution which does gain wide support is that represented by Tony Benn. It is argued that Benn makes many 'mistakes' – for example, supporting the use of troops in Glasgow, voting for the budget, calling for steel workers not to push their wage claim – but that on the decisive questions – rejection of incomes policy, and opposition to unemployment as a solution to the economic crisis – then he has the right position.

DIFFERENT SOLUTION

In a certain sense it is true that Benn does represent a truly different solution to the unemployment/incomes policy debate with within the ruling class. The essence of his position is that both the deflationary and the Keynesian views are wrong as they start with the 'wrong end' of the economy. The real problem, it is argued, is not just to expand demand in the economy, although that is necessary, but also to ensure a dramatic increase in investment. If this can be done,

In recent weeks a vast campaign against Tony Benn has taken place. His economic proposals are denounced as 'Red Socialism'. In the first of a series of articles, ALAN JONES looks at Benn's policies and how they fit into the crisis of the capitalist economy.



demand will lead to a real long term expansion of the economy.

The policy that follows from this analysis is firstly that unemployment should not be massively increased. Instead consumption must be increased by upping public spending and expanding demand for goods from the working class and this must be accompanied by measures to ensure that investment is increased regardless of the short term rate of profit.

CHILE

The classic example of the application of this sort of economic policy – although it was introduced for rather different reasons than the ones we have outlined – was the policy of Allende in Chile. This Government came to office at the peak of an economic recession which meant that 25-40% of industrial capacity was not being utilised, while unemployment, even on official figures, stood at over 6%.

Popular Unity immediately attempted to overcome the effects of the recession in consumption through increasing wages, transferring finance to the workers through taxes, increasing social expenditure and so on, and simultaneously attempted to increase investment through a policy of state directives and some not unimportant nationalisations. The short term effect of these policies was to cut unemployment by around a third and bring about a real improvement in the living standards of the masses.

While it would be wrong to make any strict analogy between Britain and Chile, and Benn is not anything like as radical as Allende, nevertheless the similarity in economic policies is clear. Benn's are a combination of a transfer of resources to the working class – the famous 'irreversible shift of wealth' – and attempts to control investment, partly through nationalisation. This is the same combination which made up the economic policy of Allende.

INVESTMENT

The way in which Benn sees the short term transfer of resources to the working class and the control of investment taking place is firstly through state intervention in private industry, and secondly through the extension of the public sector of the economy. In relation to private industry Benn has already spelt out his proposals in the creation of the National Enterprise Board and its £1,000 million of funds, the £1,000 million raised through the Finance for Industry set-up, and the proposals for instructing various financial institutions, notably in pensions and insurance, to invest £1,000 - £1,500 million in manufacturing industry.

As for the public sector, this already accounts for nearly 60% of the economy, with the nationalised industries alone accounting for quarter of total investment. The aim is to extend this still further through a series of nationalisations, and to use the public sector as a decisive regulator of the economy.

The aim of all these measures is a very specific one which has been clearly spelt out by Benn – to double investment in manufacturing industry from £3,000 million to £6,000 million a year. Once the basic economic strategy of Benn is grasped then the other details of his

on the deliberate creation of mass unemployment are not purely rhetorical – unemployment simply does not make sense in Benn's policy. His opposition to incomes policy as a central economic policy is not just words, as his economic orientation does not demand a cutting back of working class expenditure. He must clearly oppose any major cut back in the public sector – as this removes weight from what is seen as the decisive regulator of the economy.

INFLATIONARY

The support for important controls comes not simply from 'little Englandism' although that is naturally a factor, but from the fact that the initial phase of the Benn strategy, even in his terms, must be extremely inflationary and would create a massive balance of payments crisis if left to itself. The aim is therefore to use import controls as a measure to protect the economy until the expected increase in investment begins to exercise its weight. Finally, as such economic and trade policies are clearly contrary to the rules of the EEC, it is necessary to withdraw from the Common Market.

If Benn's policies are taken as a whole there is no doubt that they have an apparent consistency. Nevertheless they too are wracked by insuperable contradictions – and of very much the same sort as those that hit the Allende Government in Chile.

Firstly, the short term transfer of resources to the working class necessary to create an expansion of consumption has an initial effect of leading to a decline in profits – which discourages investment. Secondly, the atmosphere of political instability created by such radical economic measures would lead to a further collapse of investment. The limited nationalisations and state planning are not sufficient to force up the rate of investment.

TWO CHOICES

Two choices are then faced: either the workers take increasing direct control over the whole economy, or inflation takes off at record levels. Thus for example in Chile, where Allende refused to let the workers take control of the economy, inflation reached 114% in 1972 and was running at nearly 500% during 1973.

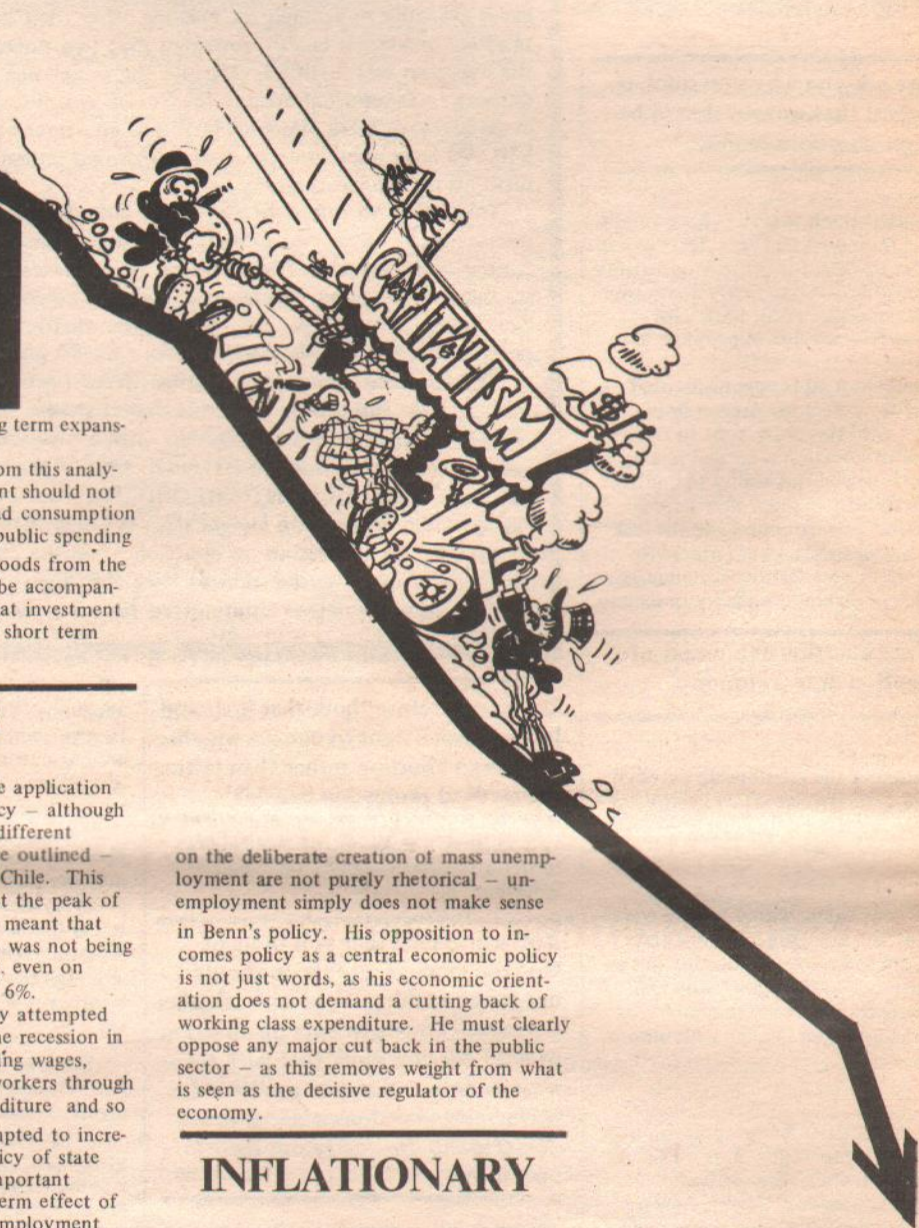
The application of any radical 'Bennite' proposal policies in Britain would have exactly the same result as Chile, and would lead to a



standards begin to fall under the impact of soaring prices, but to control the raging inflation the economic processes would have to be put into reverse and massive unemployment created. In short the final effect of Benn's policies, if they were ever put into effect, would be to arrive by a different route at the mass unemployment which his strategy is supposed to avoid.

The attitude which the working class movement has to take to the different economic policies put forward by the ruling class and reformists is therefore very clear. The policy of creating mass unemployment through wage cuts and cutting public expenditure not only means vast misery for the working class but provides no solution whatever to the economic crisis. It leads the world economy at a rapid pace towards a repeat of the 1930s. The proposals for incomes policy, which is merely another way of cutting working class living standards, must be rejected for the same reason.

Benn's policies must also be rejected as providing no real answer to the economic problems facing the working class. However, while Benn's policies must be rejected socialists must note that they are in many ways genuinely different policies to those of the incomes policy/unemployment merchants. In next week's *Red Weekly* we will look at the implications for the working class movement of these differences and will examine what attitude socialists should adopt towards them.



DEFEND THE RIGHT TO PICKET

The right to picket took another savage blow in the Court of Appeal last week. With the Shrewsbury pickets still languishing in jail, the Court of Appeal upheld by a two-to-one majority the decision reached by Justice Forbes last November to restrain members of the Islington Tenants Crusade from picketing the offices of property 'developers' Prebble's.

The Crusade was launched against the housing rackets that have 'winked' hundreds of working class families out of the area over the last few years. Now tenants have been restrained by an interim order (interlocutory injunction) from continuing to picket Prebble's offices—and the actual trial will probably not take place for two years. By then, of course, Prebble will have been able to do what he likes.

The grounds on which the Court of Appeal upheld the decision are of particular concern to the labour movement. The Court backed away from the Forbes ruling which made all pickets not directly parts of a trade union dispute illegal. But the effects of the Court of Appeal ruling is that anyone not involved in an industrial dispute who pickets a supermarket, or a government department, or even joins a picket outside a factory in which he/she is not employed, could be 'advised' by police to move along on the basis that the owners could get an interim order against them for committing a 'private nuisance'—without any trial taking place.

In this case the judges simply decide that the likely outcome of the trial—profit from property speculation vs. workers' homes—will be in Prebble's favour.

This new attack on picketing seriously undermines a common form of action taken by students and tenants or even housewives who want to picket a supermarket over inflated prices. Instead of acting in the inter-

ests of the workers who elected it, the Labour Government defends capitalist 'legality' to the last dot and comma while the hard won rights of the working class are whittled away.

James Drake

APPEAL BY ELDON SQUARE DEFENCE COMMITTEE

AN APPEAL TO ALL TRADE UNIONISTS

Ten scaffolders are to appear before the Crown Court in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the near future. They were arrested for picketing a McAlpine building site in the town where scab labour was being used. On 29 January 1975, the police suddenly descended in force, and flanked the rows of pickets. Before the scab vans had moved a few yards out of the gate, the ten men had been arrested. The police on the picket line made immediate bee-lines for the most active branch members.

Most of the charges brought against the pickets are for threatening behaviour likely to occasion a breach of the peace. Many of the men are accused of such violent crimes as swearing and attempting to hit the side of the scab vans. These crimes are deemed so serious that they have all been sent for trial at the Crown Court. The police tried to charge one picket with using a shoe that came off whilst being thrown in the back of the police van. But they dropped the charge at the Magistrates Court.

Let us be clear about one thing. There are two Shrewsbury building workers at present in jail. It was McAlpine who was instrumental in the bringing about of their court cases. Here in Newcastle we can see the same involvement occurring again. The trade union movement was slow to bring pressure to bear to free the two, but they must not lose any time in supporting the Newcastle ten. The Transport and General Workers Union 8/214 Scaffolders Branch are calling for a national response to a call for a mass picket outside the Newcastle Crown Court as and when the pickets are called to attend.

We ask all those brothers who are able to send a delegation to the mass picket to notify us. Because the courts will not give advance notice of the date of the trial, arrangements can only be vague at this point. However, all delegates will be given the maximum possible notice.

The scaffolders are now facing a major confrontation over their basic rights to picket. If sufficient trade union support is shown on the day of the trial, then not only will the pickets realise that they have the support of their brothers in other trade unions and in all parts of the country, but also it will be seen throughout the area that whenever the police try to jail men for basic trade union activities, they will be met with other trade unionists who will be willing to stand alongside their brothers as a sign of protest.

Please send all messages of support, donations, etc. to the Defence Committee, c/o Eddie Brady, 86 Benwell Lane, Newcastle upon Tyne.

SPG IN ACTION AT WARWICK

'We were not expecting trouble, but we had to get prepared in case there was any', said Coventry's Police Chief Superintendent after 750 police had evicted students in occupation at Warwick University. Amongst this 'massive show of force', as the Coventry Evening Mail called it, were units of the Special Patrol Group, some of whom carried riot shields.

The students had already decided to leave peacefully—as the police knew—and immediately occupied another building on the campus. No doubt for the police it was good practice, but it also showed many of the local working class, who are on strike at Chrysler, and in occupation at Massey Ferguson, what they can expect.

Warwick students have been in occupation for four weeks to defend rent strikers from victimisation. The authorities have used all sorts of intimidation to get them out—withholding of grants; threats not to pay college workers' wages; postponement of final examinations; and finally the police.

These moves have been met by strong opposition from the mass of students. On Saturday 800 students, including representatives from other parts of the country, marched through Coventry in support of the Warwick struggle, which is now the focus of the national attacks by the Vice Chancellors against the rent strikes and the grants campaign.

This fact does not seem to have sunk into the thick skulls of the Communist Party dominated Broad Left, which controls both the executive of the NUS and the Warwick Students Union. At Warwick the Broad Left have vacillated between ending the occupation by lowering the demands or staying in. Nationally the NUS did next to nothing to mobilise support for last Saturday's national dem-



Part of last Saturday's 800-strong demonstration through Coventry

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

from the bitter experience of the last four weeks. The Warwick Students Union has called for an emergency national conference of the NUS within six weeks to discuss how to fight the cutbacks and also called on the NUS to convene a conference of all colleges on rent strike within three weeks to coordinate action to the end of term. The IMG urges all students to support these calls.

Such a national conference must see as its central task the building of links with the working class for a joint defence of living standards and the gains of the welfare state. With the hard line of the college authorities, support from the working class is all the more important for students in struggle. The presence of Chrysler workers and speakers from the Trades Council and the AUEW (TASS) on the Coventry demonstration was important provided the links are built upon. However in the college the attitude of the

building from which they were ejected. The T&GWU has left the crossing of the picket up to the individual members conscience, while the NALGO branch has decided to ignore the students' campaign and enter the building. In the past Warwick students have supported college workers in their struggles. Both are fighting the same enemy of the social contract which brings with it inflation, unemployment and the cuts in education and public spending.

The defence of the Warwick struggle, and with it what is left of the grants campaign must be taken up by all students. An emergency national conference should be called. This occupation also has grave implications for the working class. The state uses students as a testing ground for techniques that can be just as easily used against factory occupations. Next time the riot shields will not be on the campus but



LUCAS

Workers at Lucas Aerospace, Wolverhampton, occupied their factory on 12 May following management threats of a lock-out if sanctions by 900 despatch workers in pursuit of a monthly indexing system to defend the value of wages against increases in the cost of living were not called off. These were first applied by nearly 16,000 Lucas workers employed in 13 different plants four weeks ago. A national meeting of the Lucas combine shop stewards committee in Birmingham on 14 May pledged Lucas workers to a national strike from 21 May if the attempted lock-out was not withdrawn.

The Lucas struggle is one of the most militant to break out around demands for the automatic protection of wages against inflation since the Labour Government allowed threshold deals to lapse in November 1974. Since then many groups of workers have included threshold-type demands in their wage claims but most of these have been used simply as 'bargaining counters'—being dropped from the claim as soon as existing threshold payments were consolidated and an increase on the basic offered.

But now the Scottish TUC have adopted the demand for a sliding scale of wages based on a cost of living index calculated by the organisations of the working class. And the miners are thinking of re-submitting a claim for a threshold deal that was left over from their last pay settlement. With inflation running at an annual rate of nearly 35 per cent over the last three months, automatic protection of wages against inflation is vital if living standards are to be protected. Although the action at Lucas was provoked by a hard-line management, the sit-in could be used as a focal point for the fight for nil-norm thresholds not just for Lucas workers but for the rest of the working class.

EQUITY

The Working Women's Charter was passed and proposals for creche facilities at future meetings adopted by the Annual General Meeting of Equity, the actors' union, on 11/12 May. A sub-committee on issues of particular concern to women was also established—despite the opposition of the Workers Revolutionary Party led by Vanessa Redgrave. Motions supporting the 'fringe' theatre and giving provisional members the same rights as full members were also passed.

SQUATTERS

On Friday morning 16 May at 5.20 am between 30 and 50 members of the Special Patrol Group sealed off Spencer Road in Brixton, London. Private bailiffs helped by the SPG broke down the door of a house squatted by homeless families and their children. One mother of three young children was dragged out of the house by police men who did not even allow her to return to look for her children. When members of the All-Lambeth Squatters arrived on the scene, two of them were arrested and beaten up.

Later that same day Judge Morris delivered a few homilies about attacks in Brixton and Clapham. Sentencing five black youths to five years in jail, he said: 'These attacks have become a monotonous feature in the suburbs of Brixton and Clapham, areas which within memory were peaceful, safe and agreeable to live in. But the immigrant re-settlement which has occurred over the past 25 years has radically transformed that environment'.

As the Spencer Road squatters will tell you, the Special Patrol Group were not immigrants. They were members of a police force which clobbers immigrants, squatters and pickets alike. But then that is not a violence with which capitalist judges disagree

CROSFIELD'S

The seven week old struggle against redundancies at Crosfield Electronics, North London, is over. It was defeated by a combination of court judgements and the failure of the North London District Committee of the Engineering Union to campaign around the issue, rather than doing just enough to say they weren't scabbing. Similarly local Labour MPs, who early on expressed their solidarity, did nothing to mobilise support to force the Labour Government to intervene against the owners—De La Rue, a powerful multi-national combine—in order to save the jobs. Hardly surprising when Dennis Healey is happily watching unemployment rise over the million mark.

So despite the efforts and determination of the Crosfield workers the struggle was defeated by an order for repossession granted by the Appeal Court on 12 May. A rule of procedure which was first dreamed up a couple of years ago by the Supreme Court Masters—a bunch of aging legal luminaries—to deal with squatters is now being used against trade union struggles.

The urgent task facing trade union and socialist militants in the area is to overcome the isolation of redundancy struggles which are notoriously difficult to fight at the best of times. If such struggles are to be successful ongoing rank and file co-ordination throughout the area will have to be built so that immediate support in terms of money, demonstrations and mass pickets can be quickly mobilised in support of any section in dispute.

MCAPP

Some 40 trade unionists turned out in pouring rain for a picket of the private-BUPA Nightingale Hospital in Lisson Grove in London last Saturday. The picket was organised by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice and supported by Arthur Latham MP, local Labour councillors, Geoffrey Drain (Gen. Sec. NALGO), Westminster Trades Council, and Marylebone AUEW among others. The picket was the first step in a central London campaign to defend the NHS and end all private practice.

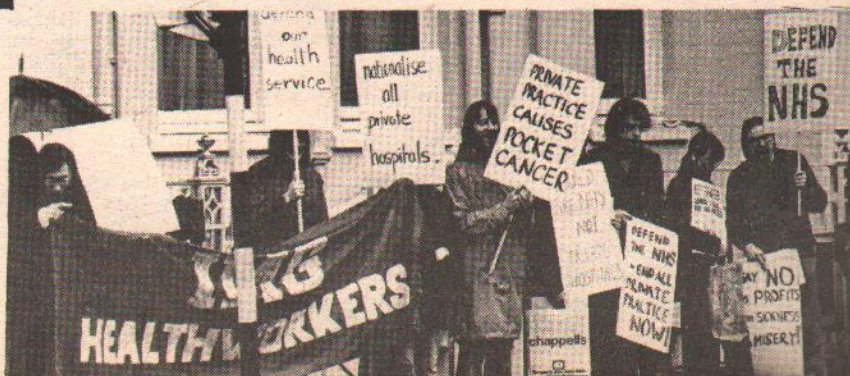


Photo: MICHAEL TOMLINSON (1)

RED WEEKLY

March for a socialist Europe

FRANK CHAPPLE, the right-wing leader of the EEUU, told delegates to the union's national conference that the only alternative to Common Market membership was 'red revolution'. Mr Chapple, like former Tory Premier Edward Heath, uses red-baiting tactics to smear the anti-Market campaign and gather votes for a capitalist Europe.



Frank Chapple

However, Chapple is more correct than those on the Labour 'left' who offer the alternative of a cosy social democratic utopia resting on a 'mixed' economy where 'loyal' British capitalists cooperate with the trade unions in operating the social contract. Chapple, like the rest of the spokesmen for capitalism, knows full well that if British capitalism is to have the best chance of surviving, it must stay in the Common Market.

Because the 'left' has not stated quite openly that the alternative to a capitalist EEC is a fight for socialism, its anti-EEC campaign has remained bogged down in the murky swamps of national sovereignty. This has left all the initiatives in the hands of the ruling class and their right-wing allies.

Now the campaign is being stepped up.

The employers, assisted by their press, are hammering at the anti-Market in the Labour Party and blaming their nationalisation proposals for capitalism's crisis. This also serves the purpose of whipping into line doubting voters on the referendum.

The Labour Party anti-Marketters have fought these attacks with both hands tied behind their backs. They have neither offered an alternative socialist solution to the EEC nor had the courage and good political sense to defy the Wilson leadership. Instead, they have buried their differences and meekly allowed the Government to introduce measures which are openly against the interests of the working class.

Only by fighting the social contract; by defeating the plans of the bosses for mass redundancies; by carrying out an extensive programme of nationalisation without compensation; and by raising the banner of working class internationalism can the plans of the pro-capitalist EEC be defeated.

There is an urgent and burning need to mobilise the working class around such a programme. For such a campaign a national focus is badly needed. This is why the IMG will be giving full support to the 31 May demonstration called by the Labour Party Young Socialists. It calls upon all sections of the labour movement to make it a priority to mobilise for that demonstration, and condemns the Communist Party for its splitting tactic of trying to call local demonstrations on the same day.

A massive working class demonstration against the capitalist Common Market and for a United Socialist States of Europe is needed on 31 May. The 'left' MPs should stop cuddling up to the Labour right. They should be out on the streets on 31 May and they should unequivocally declare their intention to fight the Labour right wing—not just on the EEC, but to oppose in practice every one of its pro-capitalist betrayals.

Bob Pennington

CHRYSLER *****

'LONG, VICIOUS STRUGGLE AHEAD'

'Don't think for a moment that this will be a short, sharp dispute. It could be a long drawn out one, and it could get vicious at the end.' These were the words of warning with which Bob Morris, Transport and General Workers Union convenor at the Chrysler engine plant in Stoke, Coventry, greeted a mass meeting of 3,000 striking carworkers last Thursday. The carworkers voted overwhelmingly to continue their stoppage in support of a claim for £8 and negotiations towards £15, two weeks extra holiday, and equal pay for women workers from 1 July.



Scabbing role of some workers' wives led by Mrs Sheila Willis (left) was challenged by others led by Mrs Maureen Enever (right)

Chrysler have tried to con the workers into going back on the basis of phoney proposals for worker participation. But along with this carrot goes a stick. With a deficit of £18 million on its UK account last year, and a strike which will close all its British operations, Chrysler is now threatening total closure of its UK subsidiary.

In this they have been aided by a tiny reactionary band of housewives around Mrs. Sheila Willis who are campaigning for a return to work. Mrs. Willis has a historic view of the situation. 'It's not just the jobs of our husbands that are at stake. It's the jobs of our children and our children's children.'

EATING GRASS

If one accepts Mrs. Willis' 'logic' that her grandchildren will still be working for Chrysler if her husband doesn't press for a wage increase now, then one can only presume that they will be eating grass.

The publicity given to Mrs. Willis' hare-brained ideas and her scabbing role far outweighs her real significance in the struggle. But to underline the point a Workers' Wives Committee has been set up to campaign in support of the strike. These events again emphasise the importance of involving women outside of the workforce in the struggles of the working class

if they are not to be used as a reactionary force.

But despite their obvious seriousness about the strike, the plant leadership are approaching it purely from 'the point of view of a trade union struggle for wages. In fact Bob Morris has played into the hands of Chrysler and the Labour Government by accepting that wages and jobs are counterposed.

Mick Gosling

'We're not going to be used as cheap labour by this multinational company,' he told a cheering mass meeting. 'If they can't pay a living wage I will not work for Chrysler UK. I'd rather be unemployed.' But jobs and defence of living standards together are the key issues throughout the motor industry and the workers movement.

Solidarity must be mobilised through the 'Standing Committee' of the Birmingham Car Convenors Conference which met last week only to pass clichéd resolutions against the Common Market and in favour of nationalisation without saying how to achieve any of these things.

The strike leadership also has to face up to where the money is going to come from for the wage increase. If the strikers demanded the opening of the company's books—not just

the sales figures, but details of all Chrysler's accounts and investment programmes—they could work out for themselves where the money was going to come from. And if Chrysler is broke such investigations would lay the basis for a workers' plan to nationalise without compensation and under workers control the whole of Chrysler UK—the first step to the nationalisation of the whole of the car industry, to defend wages, jobs and conditions.

The choice is not a living wage or unemployment. The choice is a living wage and expropriation.

Bosses locked out !!

Four thousand striking workers at Massey Ferguson's Coventry tractor plant seeking a substantial pay increase have rejected a new company offer worth about £5 a week to most workers. Some have now moved into occupation of the administration block and locked out staff and management.

The management have tried to move operations into local hotels but at a mass meeting in the occupied plant on 14 May the strike leadership called for flying pickets to go to the hotels and stop staff and management from working. The struggle continues.....

Doing us proud ...

Our branches did us proud this week: Newcastle IMG £10, Central London £17.70, North London £11.50 and Bristol £30.41 from the rally organised against the Common Market with Ernest Mandel speaking. Our thanks also to E. Binwell who sent us a fiver and C. Todd for another 75p.

But we still need much more if we are to meet our monthly minimum target of £500. With the ruling class calling for coalition government and a wages freeze, and the so-called 'lefts' in the Labour Party refusing to put up a fight, the ability of *Red Weekly* to put across the socialist strategy is vital for militants. To do this we need your money. So please rush all you can afford to Red Weekly, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

RED WEEKLY

SUBSCRIBE

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

DOMESTIC: £6 per year

£3.00 for 6 months

FOREIGN: £9 per year surface mail

£12 per year airmail

Write to RED WEEKLY (distribution)
182 Pentonville Road,
London N.1. ENGLAND.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....AMOUNT ENCLOSED.....

Workers seek international links

In response to continuing redundancies and short time working at Wilmot Breeden Holdings in Birmingham, the convenors have resolved to take the fight throughout the whole of the corporation which extends to France, Italy and Spain. Steps have already been taken to contact the plants in France and Italy and the stewards are writing to the Spanish Workers Commissions in exile in Paris to contact the plant in Spain.

These moves are in response to attempts by the company—which makes locks and bomb channels for Ford's in

its car components sections—to turn one factory against another by transferring production of orders for the new Ford 'Bobcat', a projected rival to the BLMC mini, to a plant it owns in Barcelona, Spain.

Previously work for Ford's has always been done in plants in Birmingham. However both Ford's, who are manufacturing the 'Bobcat' in Spain, and the Spanish dictatorship are insisting that all the components for the new model are made in Spain.

This policy has not been decided out of the blue. 'Labour troubles' and high production costs make it far more profitable for Ford's and Wilmot Breeden to produce the cars in Spain than in Britain. It will also give the employers greater leverage in future dealings with the unions, as they can always use the threat to transfer all production abroad to blackmail workers out of pursuing struggles.

Wilmot Breeden had obviously been informed by Ford's of their policy to

shift production to Spain several years ago, as the factory they own in Barcelona—Industrias Telco—has only been opened in the last 2-3 years on a new industrial estate. While they are tooling up this plant for the 'Bobcat' components they are gradually running down production in the Birmingham plants.

Before this information became known the convenors had not led any resistance to voluntary redundancies (700 so far accepted) and short time working. But now that the threat of the eventual closure of the plant has become a reality, the first steps to launch a fight are being taken.

In an industry dominated by long traditions of sectoral wage struggles, it is an important step forward for the stewards to begin to take up their fight not only in the local labour movement through a resolution to Birmingham Trades Council, but also by attempting to build international workers' links to combat the multinationals.

John Graham (Wilmot Breeden-All)