

RED WEEKLY

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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.

NO TO THE CAPITALISTS' COMMON MARKET



FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST EUROPE

NO TO THE BOSSES' MARKET



NO TO WILSON'S TORY POLICIES

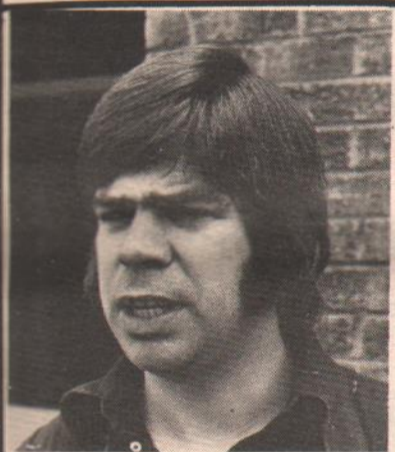
'GET LOST'



'When Duncan Simpson [Chairman of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee] said what Mr. Wilson should do, somebody said 'get lost'—and I'm sure Anthony Wedgwood Benn would second that motion ..

'I have never known, nor has any person standing on this green, a socialist Prime Minister taking the part of an American company against underpaid and exploited British workers...

'I shall be travelling to London today with my colleagues and I most sincerely hope that I will start something that will topple Harold from the top of the tree, because he is a disgrace to socialism. Somebody said he was a turncoat—he has got four coats and four faces so you'd better be a bit careful.'—Bob Morris, Transport and General Workers Union convenor at the Chrysler Stoke, Coventry plant, speaking to a mass meeting of strikers on Thursday 22 May.



'We don't need a coalition government, a national government, we've got it now. Wilson's leading it with the help of the Tories and the right wing of Labour.'—Gerry Jones, Shop Steward, Engine Machine Shop.

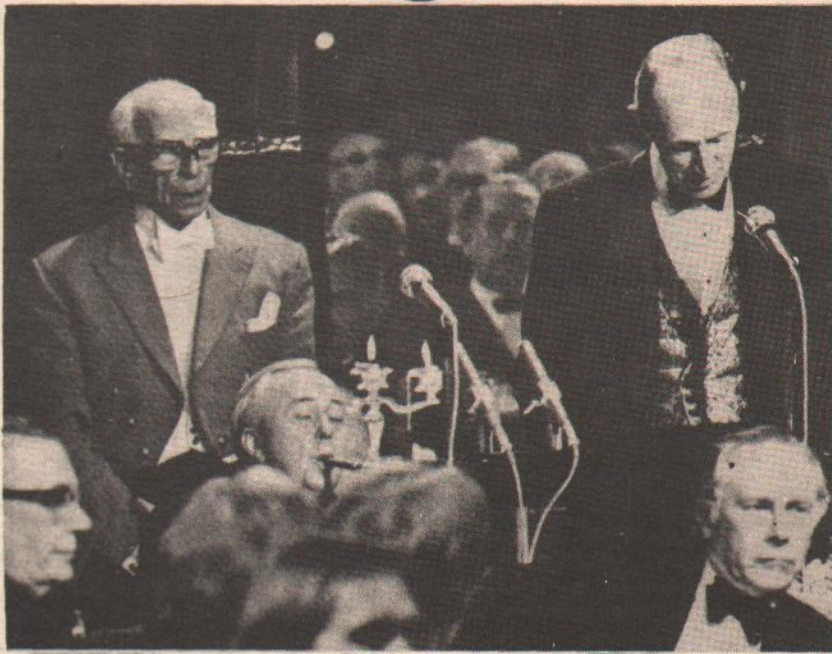


'I think Wilson is on the way out, the way he's talking. He was certainly in the right place when he spoke at the CBI—he seemed to be amongst friends.' Eddie McCluskey, Secretary of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee.



'What Wilson said is a load a crap. He's trying to make political capital

THE WRECKERS



'I am not prepared, and the Government is not prepared, for one moment to contemplate the use of one penny of taxpayers' money or money borrowed by the Government to gratify that kind of politico-industrial ambition.'—Harold Wilson speaking of the Chrysler strike at the annual dinner of the bosses' union, the Confederation of British Industry, on 20 May.

'Is the time coming when Government or no Government, law or no law, we should rebel and look after ourselves?'—Ralph Bateman, president of the Confederation of British Industry, also speaking at its annual dinner.

A Question of Politics

Wilson has wrongly accused the Chrysler strikers of attempting to bring about the nationalisation of the firm. Unfortunately, this is not true. But Wilson is right when he says the Chrysler strike is political—at least the bosses realise this.

Any strike in the car industry at the present time immediately raises the question of in whose interests and by whom the car industry is to be run. Benn should be supporting the strikers' demands for a decent standard of living and—if he is serious about defending jobs—calling for the nationalisation of the firm to achieve this.

Political solutions will have to be produced by car workers to resolve the crisis in the car industry in their interests, while taking not one jot of responsibility for the capitalist crisis racking it. It is not enough to demand money to defend living standards. Car workers have to say where the money is going to come from, and the only way to find out is by opening the books—in the United States as well as in Britain if necessary in the cases of Chrysler, Ford and Vauxhall.

At the moment only a minority of Chrysler stewards at the Stoke, Coventry plant want the firm to be nationalised. But if the bosses' plans for speed-up and mass sackings are to be defeated, then workers throughout the car industry will have to draw up a plan, through the opening of the books, for the nationalisation of the whole industry under workers control to defend jobs, wages and working conditions.

NATIONALISATION - 'THE OBVIOUS REQUEST'

Red Weekly asked Roy McLaney, AUEW Shop Steward in the Engine Machine Shop, for his views about the strike.

● What do you think of Wilson's comments on the strike?

Wilson's allegedly the leader of this country on behalf of the socialist people, the working class, and he has proved exactly what he is: he is no better than the opposite—the Tories. They're not opposite, they're both the same.

He comes back from sitting on the beach in the West Indies, steps off the plane and immediately he starts the 'get back to work you idle buggers' sort of thing. All that Wilson's doing is trying to split the workforce and do the company's job for them.

He's now accusing us of being 'politically motivated', and with all due respect to our convenors that's the last thing they are. Johnny Worth (a member of IS) was sacked for being 'politically motivated' two years ago. It was a set up job. But when he was sacked it was said on the Joint Shop Stewards Committee that 'we don't discuss politics'.

● Are you campaigning for wider support for the strike?

We've taken steps, a bit belatedly, to contact convenors within the area and hopefully get support from other parts of the country. We've got a fighting fund and as the strike continues we'll be

We've got to inform people of the facts—not Harold Wilson's facts but *our* facts—and we've got to try and get as much moral and financial support as possible.

● Do you think you should be fighting alongside British Leyland workers to defend living standards and jobs?

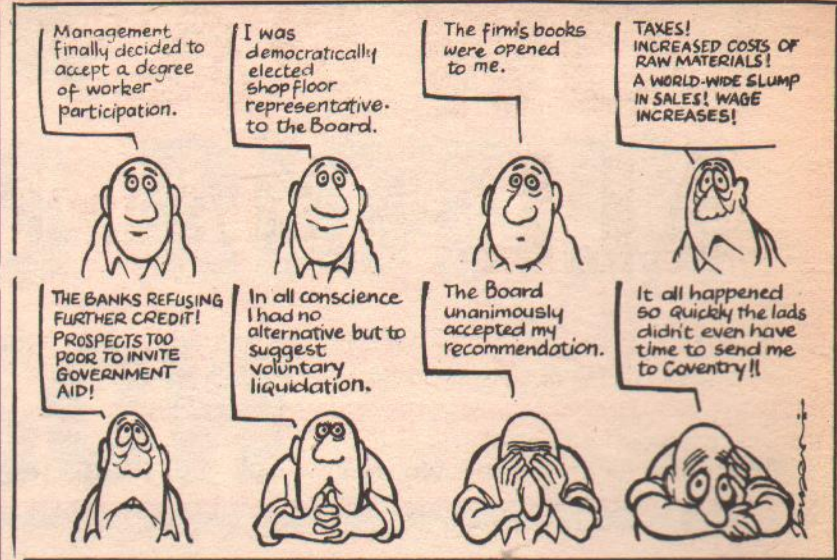
If you're talking of the possibility of a link-up with British Leyland, what you are now talking about is nationalising the motor car industry under workers control. To be quite honest, our Joint Shop Stewards don't want to know at the moment. The attitude of our convenor is that we're Chrysler Stoke and we will look after ourselves, which is wrong.

● Do you think the Standing Committee of the car convenors conference that met recently in Birmingham should be mobilising support for you?

It should be, but our convenors never went. They should have done.

● Ten thousand cars bound for Iran are sitting on Southampton dock—have you approached the dockers?

Unofficially, yes. But Jack Jones doesn't want to know about this strike, and the AUEW has instructed us to go



Bosses can live with participation, as this cartoon from the Sunday Telegraph shows!

Chrysler offer STRINGS THAT STRANGLE

Prime Minister Harold Wilson has thrown down the gauntlet to every worker in Britain by his vicious attack on the striking workers at Chrysler's Stoke, Coventry plant. He wants to use them as whipping-boys before introducing a hard-line incomes policy in the wake of a 'Yes' vote in the EEC referendum.

But while Wilson lapped up the applause of his wine-swilling cronies at the annual dinner of the Confederation of British Industry on 20 May, the resolve of the 4,000 Chrysler workers to win their strike hardened.

pay offer of an extra £8 makes no mention of future negotiations for £15. It is equivalent to 15 per cent at a time when price inflation is nearer 35 per cent.

Although some outlying Chrysler plants will get overall increases of more than £10 to bring them nearer the Coventry rates, and women workers are to get equal pay for the grade or job for which they are classified, the deal offers too little money and too many strings.

Mick Gosling

On 22 May they voted overwhelmingly—with only a handful against—to continue their strike until the company met their claim for £8 now, and negotiations towards £15, two weeks extra holiday, and equal pay for women workers from 1 July.

The company's offer, made last Friday on the eve of a seven day holiday, includes so many strings that acceptance could only strangle the future struggles of Chrysler workers on a national scale. The basic

'PARTICIPATION'

The biggest string is that of 'worker participation'. Anyone who still believes that such proposals are designed to give power to the shop floor has only to ask themselves why a powerful multi-national firm like Chrysler will pay its workers to accept them. Chrysler are offering a £50 lump sum provided certain principles contained in the management's proposals are agreed by 12 July, and another £50 lump sum if full agreement and implementation of the programme is carried through by the end of the year.

These proposals along with talk of profit-sharing have only one aim: to make Chrysler workers accept that the current crisis sweeping the motor industry—with markets shrinking, and Chrysler UK itself losing £18 million last year—is their responsibility.

These proposals will be linked to a savage productivity drive and the slashing of manning levels which every car company is trying to carry through at the moment. This is what the Ryder Report on British Leyland is all about. This is why management at Ford's Dagenham have been prepared to lock out 6,500 workers for the last four weeks to break a strike by 80 doorhangers, setters and welders in the Body Plant.

COMBINE

Chrysler's want a national deal so they can force through a co-ordinated rationalisation programme on a national level. And if they can't force through these proposals against the resistance of the workers, they want 'worker participation' to do it for them. Chrysler's plans cannot be defeated simply by resisting national deals and relying on plant bargaining. The strengthening of a Chrysler shop stewards' national combine committee, which would systematically report back on their negotia-

Chrysler are far from bankrupt—they are making enormous profits. The only thing is proving it.

We found out that on the Iran order—we suspected it for a long time—the money isn't debited directly from Iran. What they do is send the parts to Iran and then they send the accounts along to Switzerland. We sell them at cost price and Zurich sells them at a profit. The profit shows up in Zurich and America, it doesn't show up here. The Iran order is very profitable.

● Are you in favour of demanding the opening of Chrysler's books?

That has been raised and again it fell on deaf ears. It's very difficult to open the books of Chrysler because where are the books—are they here or in America?

The company have said they'll give us an audit for workers' participation. We don't want an audit, we want the books. An audit is no good, anybody can bend or interfere with the audit. But if we could get hold of the books that would be good.

● Are you in favour of nationalising Chrysler?

The stewards as a whole don't want the company nationalised, and have never asked for it. In the event of Chrysler pulling out, the feeling of some of the stewards—not all of them—is that we want it nationalised under workers' control. This has

LOW PAY FOR ALL — says Jack Jones

by

JAMES DRAKE

The Wilson Government and the trade union bureaucracy are preparing to tighten the screws on the social contract and turn it into a hard-line incomes policy. Now Jack Jones, head of the Transport and General Workers Union, has produced his own wage-cut plans.

If Jones' plans—for flat-rate wage increases tied to the Retail Price Index and linked to average earnings—are accepted by the trade union movement, then all workers, low paid as well as higher paid, will suffer a cut in their living standards.

Over the last three months prices have been going up at an annual rate of nearly 35 per cent, while wages—even before tax and National Insurance—have been rising at an annual rate of only 30 per cent. The core of Jones' plan is to further reduce the level of wage settlements to 20 per cent—well below the increase in prices. But the effect of his proposals on living standards would be even more severe than these bare figures suggest. They do not take into account increased taxation, pension and insurance contributions as earnings rise.

Furthermore, compensation for increases in the cost-of-living would be calculated on the global increase in the Retail Price Index, which underestimates the rate of inflation on working class items of consumption. Even ASTMS leader, Clive Jenkins, who is putting forward similar proposals to Jones, wants such increases based on an index more strictly related to the increases in price of essential items of working class spending.

●●TAX FIDDLE●●

Not surprisingly, Chancellor Healey has welcomed Jones' initiative. After all, he is an expert on how the tax fiddle works. In his budget he claimed to have removed an additional 400,000 workers from the tax net. What he didn't point out was that over the previous year another 1½ million had started paying tax because of increases in money wages gained to defend the real value of existing wages against inflation.

In April 1974 the tax threshold for a married couple with two children was £24.87. The Budget raised it to £26.09, in money terms. But in terms of the real value of wages, taking into account an annual rate of inflation of 20 per cent in the year up to Healey's budget, £26.09 was worth only £21.74 by April 1975. Thus the tax threshold fell by £3 over one year.

Jones' plan is 'Healeyism' on a grand scale. Many low paid workers would get money increases slightly bigger than the ones they are winning at the moment under the leadership of unions like Jones' T&GWU. But this would immediately bring them into the tax net. For them and all other workers, up to one third of any increase would go straight back in tax and contributions.

●●BOSSSES' TRICK●●

Jones' plan is just another version of the old bosses' trick of turning low paid against high paid, promising bigger increases for the worst off if only the relatively better off will desist. This is another fraud. If Jack Jones really cares about the low paid why did he put up no opposition to the abolition of threshold payments by the Labour Government last November? However inadequate these payments were, they did give some protection to the real value of all workers' wages, and particularly the low paid.

This at least is recognised by the bosses, with the CBI forecasting a slowing in the rate of wage increases as threshold pay-

ments disappear from the system. And a recent survey* of 82 major national agreements for workers earning less than £30 a week during the period 1 March 1974 to 28 February showed that 62 of the 82 settlements gave workers on the basic rate below £30 a week a percentage increase greater than the 27.5 per cent increase in basic weekly wage rates for all workers. However, without threshold payments only 43 of the 82 settlements would have given above average percentage increases.

The lessons of this are clear. Firstly, any flat rate increases, which can unify workers' struggles on a class-wide basis, must be based on the highest rates. At the Ryton plant of Chrysler, Coventry, the convenors are now calling for a 30 per cent increase across the board based on the present top rate for production workers, worth about £16 a week.

●●'NIL-NORM'●●

Secondly, it is necessary to fight to defend all working class living standards against the effects of inflation by campaigning for 'nil-norm' thresholds, based on a working class cost-of-living index, which give automatic and complete protection to working class incomes.

It is by unifying the workers' movement on this basis that the strongest position from which to defend the low paid and defend jobs will be gained—not by sacrificing living standards on the altar of the capitalist crisis in the mistaken belief that the bosses will sack fewer later. Jack Jones' proposals must be rejected by the working class.

*Frank Field and Chris Pond in Low Pay Bulletin No. 2. Price 35p post free available from Low Pay Unit, 9 Poland Street, London W.1.

IN FOCUS

Exit Benn Enter Coalition?

Wilson's attack on the Chrysler strikers, Jack Jones' plan on wages, the growing calls for the sacking of Benn and some form of coalition and the revelations of secret negotiations between the TUC and the CBI—events have been dramatically speeding up within the economy and the Labour Party in recent weeks. Clearly a turn in the political situation is taking shape. But what are its chief outlines and what should be the response of the workers' movement?

CRISIS

The pattern is actually very clear. Underlying the recent speed up in the political crisis is the deteriorating state of the British economy. Britain now has an inflation rate which is twice that of its major rivals—with the inevitable declining position in inter-imperialist competition. In order to end this situation the ruling class requires that the living standard of the working class be savagely cut.

Under normal circumstances there is no doubt that the ruling class would at present be looking to dump a Labour Government and turn to a harsh right-wing Tory one. However no qualitative change in the relationship of class forces has taken place since the ruling class defeats suffered with the downfall of Heath. The capitalists' fear that any new Tory Government would suffer the same fate.

For this reason the ruling class cannot at present turn to a Tory alternative but is forced instead to look to the Wilson Government as the instrument for meeting the needs of capitalism. Ruling class policy works itself out not in terms of 'dump Wilson', as it did in 1968-70, but in terms of 'demand Wilson acts'. The capitalists demand that Wilson bring the working class under control forthwith.

The problem for the ruling class in their relations with Wilson is that the Labour Party is not a party of the ruling class like the Tories but, despite its leadership, is a party of the working class. This means not only that Wilson himself can sometimes desert the needs of the ruling class on certain questions—and the capitalists have not fully forgiven him for dropping *In Place of Strife*—but that various Labour 'lefts' are constantly under pressure to do so in order to maintain their support within the working class. For this reason they are sometimes forced to break with what the bourgeoisie immediately requires—although naturally the Labour 'lefts' never break with the historic interests of capitalism.

At present the ruling class calculates that no matter what their previous betrayals the Labour 'lefts' simply cannot—for fear of being completely exposed in the eyes of the working class—afford to vote for the kind of draconian economic measures which capitalism now requires. For this reason the ruling class demands that Wilson clearly break with Benn and rely on Tory votes in order to pass the needed measures through Parliament. That is why the ruling class is keeping up its present clamour for a coalition and why Thatcher has promised Wilson support in Parliament for suitably anti-working class measures.

SOCIAL CONTRACT MARK II

Despite the ruling class call for some form of coalition the emergence of such a government is not the most likely development in the coming few months. Nor is it absolutely clear that Benn will immediately get the chop after the referendum. Wilson fears that any moves to a coalition might start a civil war in the Labour Party which could well lead to his being dumped as leader. For that reason he will almost certainly try every other resort first.

The most obvious avenue which Wilson can try is to use the threat of a coalition to toughen up the terms of the social contract. This is almost certainly what is behind the emergence of the Jack Jones wages plan, and the secret CBI-TUC talks. Almost certainly any new version of the social contract could only last a few months, but it is hoped it would demoralise the working class and at least allow Wilson to gain a short breathing space. Only after this had clearly failed would Wilson once again be faced point blank with the coalition decision.

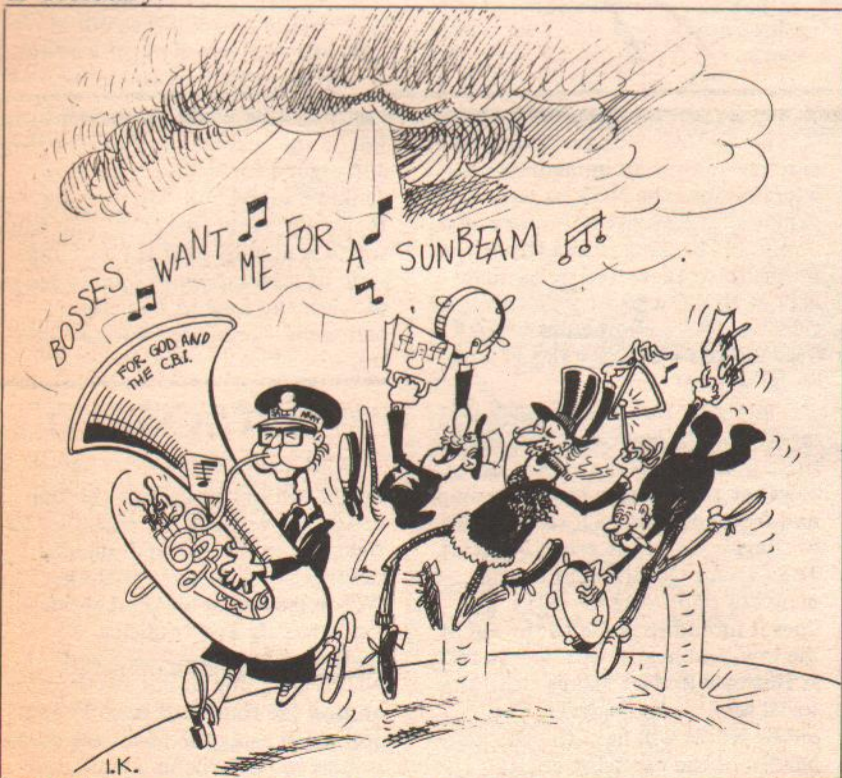
It is also because the gaining of such an agreement is Wilson's primary aim that it is not altogether sure that he will immediately chop Benn—this would make an agreement with the trade union bureaucrats a bit more difficult to achieve. However the pressure of the ruling class on the Benn question is now so intense that Wilson may have no option but to remove him, and if Wilson wins the referendum this may convince him that he can appeal over the heads of the Labour left.

But no matter what the details of Wilson's timetable, the tasks of socialists over the coming months are very clear. First, there must be clear opposition to any continuation or new version of the social contract, and instead the demands must be raised for a real sliding scale of wages, for work-sharing with no loss of pay, and for nationalisation without compensation of all firms creating redundancy. Secondly, use of the coalition threat should be met with the demand for immediate expulsion from the Labour Party of anyone advocating any form of coalition. Thirdly—and despite the fact that Benn's policies are utterly misconceived—it is clear that in the present situation any moves against Benn would be simply one shot in the opening of a new phase of Wilson's war against the working class. All moves by Wilson against the Labour left must be resisted.

In the present rapidly developing political situation it is clear that despite differences on a whole range of questions, the interests of socialism demand united action of all working class forces against the increasingly open capitalist policies of Wilson. **THE LEFT MUST UNITE**

NO LEAD — SO BOYD CASHES IN

John Boyd, anti-communist tuba-playing member of the Salvation Army, has romped home in the election for the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' post of general secretary.



Boyd, who has a long record of service to the right wing and is notorious for his strike-breaking activities, got a record 164,276 6 votes against 96,216 for the Broad Left candidate Bob Wright. This is a clear thumbs down sign by the Union's members to the Scanlon leadership of the AUEW.

When Scanlon took over the presidency of the AUEW in 1967 the members expected results in the form of higher wages and better conditions. However, the

militancy reaching a new peak in the union, a national wages struggle was launched. But instead of co-ordinating this on a national scale, the Scanlon leadership—supported by the Communist Party—left the initiative up to the local areas. Long, bitter, drawn out strikes took place in areas like Manchester. But in other areas right-wing district committees waged no struggle at all. The employers who were not hit therefore financed those who

In 1973 the engineers' wage claim was being put in at the same time as the miners. A weak Tory Government was faced not just by the miners but also by the threat of action from both the AUEW and the rail unions. A general strike situation was on the agenda. Both the employers and the Government could have been driven against the wall.

Instead the AUEW kept quiet—proposing only an overtime ban once the three day week was over! The miners went into action and rolled the Government over, winning a big wage claim.

Since the advent of the social contract, Scanlon has taken particular care to avoid either a showdown with the Government or any public declarations for a campaign against wage restraint.

A complete failure to produce the goods—this year's settlement for 30 per cent on the basic rate meant a wage cut for most members, who got very little because they were already on higher rates—has led to a growing disenchantment and left the members open to the propaganda of the capitalist press.

EASY TASK

If the 'left' leaders of the union cannot produce the goods then there is no reason why the rank and file should vote for 'communists'. Boyd therefore had an easy task from the beginning. He could play on anti-communism.

The AUEW elections give a salutary lesson to the left. If you do not fight, then the only ones to gain will be the right wing.

The politics of corruption

On Monday 5 May three former Co. Durham Labour councillors were sent for trial accused of receiving payments over a period of 14 years from a local building contractor, Sidney McCullough, to make sure he got contracts dished out by the local Council.

Sidney Charlton Docking is a former chairman of Durham County Council, Robert Hush Urwin is a former member of Durham County and Chester-le-Street Rural Councils, and Matthew Allen has an even more impressive record. He is a former chairman of the old North-East Development Council and the Regional Advisory Planning Committee, a former Durham County alderman and Planning Committee chairman, and a former chairman of Washington Urban Council.

The three Labour councillors are also ex-pupils of former GMWU bureaucrat and Labour Party NEC member Andrew Cunningham—friend of T. Dan Smith, the self-proclaimed architect John Poulson, and Shadow Cabinet minister Reggie Maudling. All these—with the exception of Maudling—are now in jail.

Pickets

The following day the trial began of Gateshead Labour councillor Francis McKenna, who is also charged with fiddling building contracts together with Sussex businessman Cyril Arthur Rance, director of Carlton Contracts Ltd. The judge in this trial is Lord Justice Mais, who sent down the Shrewsbury 2, and it will no doubt be of great interest to the Shrewsbury pickets to see what punishment Mais hands out to these worthies.

Next month the trial begins of yet another Gateshead Labour councillor, Gerard Thomas Herron, who is also charged with fiddling contracts for Carlton Contracts. In the near future seven policemen, two police-women and another 'respectable' businessman, all from Felling, Gateshead, will go on trial charged with more than 40 offences involving theft, receiving, burglary, etc. The former head of the Co. Durham Police Authority is none other than Andrew Cunningham!

While all these trials have been coming up the scaffolders at T. Dan Smith's prestige project at Eldon Square in Newcastle have been on

by

Geoff Ryan

strike for six months for the reinstatement of 14 scaffolders sacked for having a few hours off work. Ten pickets are also due to go for trial. The Eldon Square site is 51% owned by the Labour-controlled Newcastle City Council. The main contractors are a Darlington firm, Leslie's, who sub-contract to McAlpine's—the firm with which the scaffolders are in dispute.

Leslie's is a subsidiary of Bovis (one of whose directors is Sir Keith Joseph, 'law and order' caveman of the Tory shadow cabinet and Mrs. Thatcher's most ardent admirer). Bovis unfortunately have a rather bad reputation for tax-fiddling, so they tend to operate under other names nowadays.

In the early 1960s Leslie's built a large number of multi-storey blocks of flats in Newcastle, mainly under contracts got from T. Dan Smith, then chairman of the Housing Committee. Sixteen of these blocks are now falling down. Yet the City Council has given the lucrative Eldon Square contract to these people who have placed the lives of hundreds of working class families in possible danger.

The Labour Council has had a lot to say about the Eldon Square workers 'holding the public to ransom'. It has said nothing about Leslie's endangering workers' lives.

Friendly

The Council has of course been extremely friendly to McAlpine's (who recently gave a large donation to the pro-Common Market Keep Britain In Campaign). After all, T. Dan Smith gave McAlpine's the contract for Eldon Square and the Civic Centre (cost £40 m and £5m respectively). McAlpine's also have the contract for the Tyne Bridge House and built the new Tyne-Wear County Council offices.

From this brief history it is clear that the Dan Smith/Poulson case was no isolated case. Corruption is rife throughout the Labour Party in the North East. However, corruption within the Labour Party is by no means limited to the North East. Peter Byrne, former Mayor of Pontefract, was jailed two years ago for corruption; Ronald Dileigh, leader of Northampton Borough Council, is currently awaiting trial along with T. Dan Smith on corruption charges; several councillors in Dundee are also expected to face charges following the exposure of their connections with Crudens, for whom T. Dan Smith once worked.

Here to stay

Corruption is no accident in the Labour Party. Social democracy accepts that capitalism is here to stay—at best the rough edges can be knocked off. If you don't organise for the overthrow of capitalism, you end up accepting it along with its dirtier methods—graft and corruption.

The possibility of corruption inside the labour movement is strengthened by the lack of internal democracy in working class organisations. In the Labour Party this factor has been increased by the decline in its organisational strength over the past decades—many ward organisations are empty shells exercising no control at all over local councillors.

Nor do the trade unions and Labour Party have any control over their supposed representatives in Parliament. Brian Walden, Labour MP for Birmingham Ladywood, recently suggested that the British Leyland plants at Bathgate and Cowley should be closed, throwing tens of thousands of workers and their families on to the dole. Walden receives £5,000 a year to represent betting and gaming interests in the House of Commons—not the interests of his working class voters.

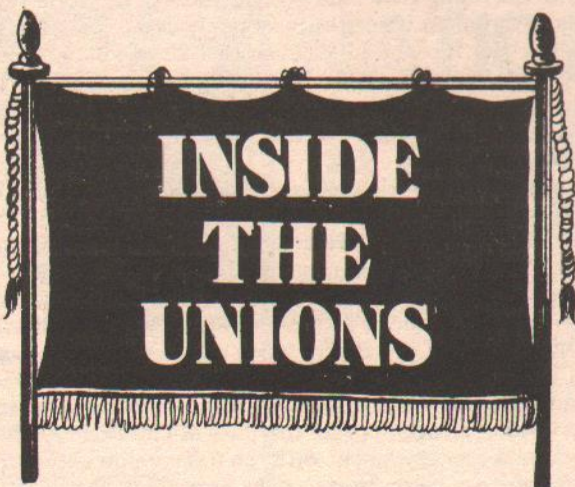
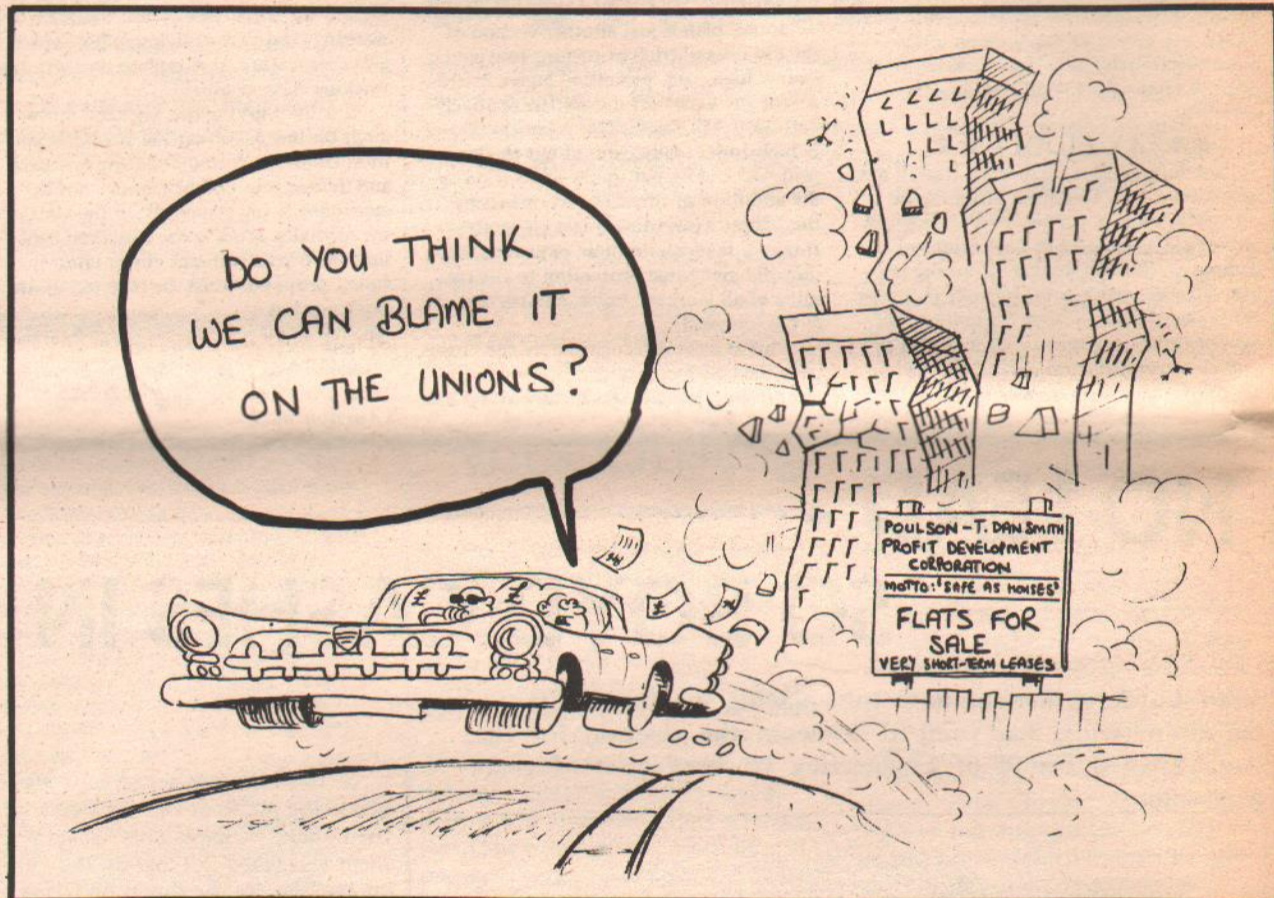
Furthermore Labour MPs have no control over the Labour Cabinet—as recent events on the Common Market referendum have demonstrated. The

TUC, Scottish TUC, Labour Party, Scottish Labour Party, Co-op Party, LPYS, and a majority of Labour MPs all voted against the EEC—yet the Labour Government simply ignores this and decide to stay in.

Contempt

The attitude of Wilson, Jenkins and company is in no way different from the total contempt for the working class showed by T. Dan Smith. As Smith once put it: 'The vote never solved any problem. By the vote you could prove that Beethoven was a footballer.'

Without the fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system which necessitates the maximum democracy and involvement inside all the organisations of the labour movement and the accountability of representatives at all levels, then corruption is inevitable and will continue. It is the logical counterpart of the social contract, and the rest of Wilson's anti-working class policies.



UNIONS TAKE STAND AGAINST HEALTH CUTS

Resistance to the social contract and the attempts of the Labour Government to squeeze the social services is beginning to grow inside the trade unions. SAM BOYD and JEFF KING report on the recent conferences of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS) and the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE).

more militant policies. The task now is to organise to make sure that these decisions are put into practice.

Despite opposition from its 'left-wing' General Secretary, Clive Jenkins, the ASTMS Conference went on record to fight private practice both inside and outside the National Health Service. Motions on this issue—which had originally been moved by IMG members of ASTMS—also called for an immediate Government cash injection of £1000 million into the NHS and a united campaign for a Workers' Inquiry into the NHS.

CAMPAIGN

The NUPE Conference called for a campaign to be mounted by the Union around demands for the abolition of private practice, the extension of preventive health centres and the nationalisation of the drugs industry. The 500,000-strong Union—which includes amongst its members nurses, ancillary workers and ambulance drivers—also came out for a minimum wage of £40 a week. Delegates voted for the continuation of thresholds as a means of combatting inflation.

The National and Local Government Officers Association, which includes a number of nurses amongst its members, has also decided to seek an immediate review of nurses' pay.

The ASTMS decision on private practice and for an immediate cash injection into the NHS, as well as the demand for a Workers' Inquiry, give important backing to the struggle of all health workers like those members of NUPE who over the last year were to the fore in the nurses' pay fight and instituted a series of bans on private patients.

Obviously the Labour Government is not going to welcome any of these decisions. Nor are they likely to get anything more than a passing nod from the TUC, who are desperately clinging on to the social contract. The Labour Government has no plans for improving the NHS, nor does it intend to come to the aid of the low-paid health workers. In fact, as Healey's Budget makes clear, the social services and workers in the public sector will have to carry the burden of the capitalist crisis if Wilson and company have their way.

DENOUNCED

Clive Jenkins of ASTMS understands that only too well. Although the Union President, Len Wells, had denounced Healey's Budget and its attacks on the working class in his opening speech, Jenkins pulled every trick in the book to get the motions opposing the social contract re-mitted back to the Union executive.

Bill 'is the best way to fight inflation and argued for a 'Five-Year Plan'. Jenkins' suggestions are nothing more than a diversion from the main issue, which is now to fight for a sliding scale of wages; how to oppose redundancies; and how to fight for nationalisation under workers' control.

ORGANISED

Any real programme of nationalisation will not be carried through unless the workers are organised to fight the employers and unless a definite break is made with the Wilson leadership of the Labour Party and its Tory policies.

If members of ASTMS and NUPE are going to put the decisions around the NHS into practice that will mean using the resources of the unions to back the next round of wage claims inside the health service. Furthermore it will mean backing with solidarity action the steps taken by health workers to put an embargo on all private practice both inside and outside the NHS.

The Medical Committee Against Private Practice, which has been campaigning on these demands, is holding a conference this autumn. Members of both ASTMS and NUPE should make sure that their branches regional committees, etc. are represented at that conference as an im-

'I'm sure that the social contract is now being used a means of wage restraint'

In recent weeks speculation has been growing that the Wilson Government intends to take on the railwaymen as a first step in its campaign to force down wages and lower the living standards of the working class. *Red Weekly* has presented the way it sees the situation in relation to the social contract developing and has made criticisms of the leaderships of the unions.

Now Mick Gosling interviews RAY BUCKTON, Secretary of the locomen's union ASLEF, who presents his side of the discussion on the railwaymen's struggle and how it relates to the social contract, the debate on the EEC, and the way forward for the labour movement. Obviously we do not agree with many of the views which Ray Buckton puts forward but it is important that different views within the workers' movement are heard. For this reason we are pleased to print this interview.

What is the present stage of the negotiations around ASLEF's and the railway workers unions' claims?

We have put in for a substantial percentage increase in the basic rates of pay of all our members' grades. We've done this to retain the position that we were in last year compared with outside industries. We are asking for an increase of between 30 and 35 per cent.

How do you see the question of protecting wages against inflation through automatic cost of living increases such as thresholds?

Part of our claim to the British Railways Board was also for an incomes protection formula. We have submitted evidence to the Arbitration Tribunal that there should be such protection—in other words a threshold arrangement—for the next twelve months.

What is the attitude of British Rail?

The only argument they've used is that they haven't got the money—except for the 'cost-of-living' increase of 21.2 per cent, which they feel duty bound to give us. We argued that this is not our responsibility, that it is the responsibility of themselves and the Government, and one of the principal reasons they haven't got the money is the lack of a real integrated transport policy in this country. I put the whole responsibility on the Government.

You talk about an 'integrated transport system', and Arthur Scargill has referred to the need for an 'integrated energy policy'. Surely things cannot be organised on a rational basis, in the interests of the working class, if they are run through what remain capitalist institutions?

It would be impossible to run them unless you have got full public control over them. I mean, as a full-time trade union officer I have never met many members of the British Rail Board—this is how democratic we are!

The transport services must really be in the hands of the public and not as they are.

The railway system today is run on a profit motivated policy. You will never run a public service on profit motivation. It should be there as an essential service. It should be run efficiently—I don't disagree with that—but I am convinced of this: run strictly as a public service, you could run the railways far more efficiently than they are now.

What do you feel about the social contract and the way it is being used?

I am sure that the social contract is now being used as a means of wage restraint. It was never intended for this. My union was opposed to the social contract, for the reason that we anticipated that it would be used as a means of wage restraint.

As far as I'm concerned, as a member of the TUC General Council I accepted it, although reluctantly, as a means of endeavouring to bring some real coordination between the Labour Government and the trade union movement of this country. And I thought we could have perhaps used it as a lever to keep the Labour Party on what I would have termed the real

socialist track. I have my doubts now, of course, when we listen to some of the speeches being made and also with the last Budget.

Why do you oppose British membership of the Common Market?

In advocating Britain's withdrawal from the Common Market I speak from the standpoint of an internationalist. I want to see good relations—economic relations, social relations, cultural relations—progressively strengthened between the peoples of the world. I want to see the world's material resources developed and applied for the benefit of mankind—not ruthlessly exploited and misused for the benefit of a small charmed circle of financiers and industrial potentates.

In my view all of us who claim to hold such views must of necessity be opposed to our continuing in membership of the Common Market. When we're discussing the Market we're talking about a regional trading block—not about true internationalism at all: we're talking about an organisation set up to serve the needs of the giant monopolies and near-monopolies which every year, every month, are tightening their grip on the lives of ordinary citizens.

Stripped of all the phoney idealism, that is what the European Economic Community really is. The Common Market represents capitalism, capitalism

What is the present stage of the negotiations around ASLEF's and the railway workers unions' claims?

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in its real, true sense. What the capitalist class are doing is using the Common Market system as one of their last defences against socialism.

In your speeches you have talked about the 'fake internationalism' of the EEC. How do you think it will be possible to develop a real international working class response to the Common Market.

This is difficult. My opinion is that if we could only get over the real story of what the Common Market stands for, then I think the working class people of

this country would bitterly rear up against it. But I don't think the message is really getting over, the ordinary men and women in this country are still looking for the real answer to the problem, and that real answer will only come by word of mouth.

We're up against the whole media. If we could get the message over to the working class that one of the principles that they have been fighting for all their lives is socialism and the emancipation of the working class peoples, then of course they could see that the principles of the Common Market are out to stop it.

On your recent trip abroad to discuss with European rail unions you were particularly surprised to find that the French trade union organisation, the CGT, and the Italian unions of the CGIL have changed their positions of opposition to the Common Market over the last few years. Why do you think this is so?

They are not in favour of the principles of the Common Market as such. I think from my contact with them that one of the main reasons why they're saying 'we would like you to be in the EEC' is to strengthen their arm because their own countries are a party to it. I think they want the strength of the British trade union movement to be in to overturn the structure of the EEC as it is at the moment with the Rome Treaty.

Now whether or not this is possible I think is something that can be doubted. On the other hand I can see maybe their reasons for getting as many positive militant trade unionists into the EEC as possible, to strengthen the trade union side, with a view to changing the EEC. I think that's really what they're after. I don't think they accept, well they can't accept the EEC—surely to goodness they are fighting capitalism too.

One of the biggest arguments of the pro-Marketeers is that Britain would face economic disaster if we withdraw from the Common



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

who have publicly joined in the campaign of press hysteria against Benn?

I don't think that is good at all. Everybody who is a socialist should realise that the media is definitely out to get Benn. It is not Benn as such, it is what Benn is saying—I'm not saying that he believes in what he is saying at the moment—it's really the capitalist system which is trying to put a stop to anyone who is pushing socialism.

So therefore I criticise anyone who criticises these people for doing it. I would criticise anyone in the labour movement who takes the side of the media, or takes part in the media's campaign often by innuendo, criticising people who are pursuing socialism.

Do you think there is a contradiction between saying that the outcome of the referendum is a decisive test not only for our relations with the Common Market but for the future direction of the whole of

should be doing that now so that we are ready with the alternative economic strategy. When we go into a new era, which I hope we will be after a 'no' in the referendum, then I think we've got to have Labour Party conferences, trade union conferences immediately to adopt new strategies.

Do you think it is possible to rely on the Labour Government and Parliament for socialist solutions?

It's not going to get us where we all want to be, but my own opinion, rightly or wrongly, is that in this country we have got to use the means that are available. I don't think in this country, knowing the workers as I do and seeing the backlash from even other workers when workers make a fight, that we will get the type of revolution that perhaps you would stand for.

If the possibility were there then, of course, we would all say 'let's use it', but I don't think that possibility is there. This is where I perhaps part company with many of my colleagues. I want socialism the same



'We've got to have Labour Party conferences, trade union conferences immediately to adopt new strategies.'

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Market and indeed, this is true as far as capitalism is concerned. What is the alternative economic strategy if withdrawal from the Common Market is forced by the referendum?

If we get a 'no' vote we will have to start all over again many of the things that have been undone by being a member. We shall definitely have to change the economic system of this country.

At the moment we battle along with this 'mixed economy'—they call it a mixed economy but it is not equally mixed, there is far more capitalism than there is socialism. Therefore we will have to switch the balance—ultimately to real socialism. But definitely we will have to switch the balance to more socialism in this country.

What do you think of Wilson and other members of the Labour right

government economic policy; and then on the other hand calling, as Heffer did after he was unceremoniously dumped, for the uniting of the Party around Wilson.

I personally agree here that we should be pursuing a new strategy, we should have a new economic policy. Our difficulty at the moment is to have that laid before the public of this country when the Government of the day recommends that we should stay in.

If the Government of the day were to recommend that we should stay out, then I suppose we would have then the economic strategy necessary for when we come out. So, therefore, who is to put forward an economic strategy? The Labour Party, yes, has voted to stay out—so I would ask the Labour Party to put forward what would be their new economic strategy if we come out of the Common Market.

That has got to be done, and we

as them but the differences are over the ways of achieving it. I believe we have got to use the democratic machine as we have it today.

I'll hang on, and I'll use all the powers of persuasion that I've got behind the scenes to endeavour to get masses of people to our way of thinking. Then if we get too left for some people who are holding high office they will drop out—indeed, two members have already said that they will drop out of the government if the referendum says 'no'.

It is a slow process but I believe we can speed it up by being united, and if we can only unite the working class people around more socialist thinking then I think we can get there—but we have a lot of pruning to do within our own structure. I accept this. So when you see we have a Labour Party conference decision and we see people in the Labour Government and Labour Party even publicly opposing it then I understand the frustrations of many people who say well let's for heaven's sake find another way of doing it—but I don't think we can



Behind the EEC — the imperialist NATO military alliance

1. Why 'NO' ?

The Common Market represents an attempt by the capitalist class to solve their political and economic problems at the expense of the working class.

The capitalist system is facing a recession which could be as great and severe as that which hit the capitalist world in the 1920s. That recession is opening up when the working class movement has never been stronger. In none of the countries of western Europe has the workers' movement suffered a decisive defeat since the end of the second World War.

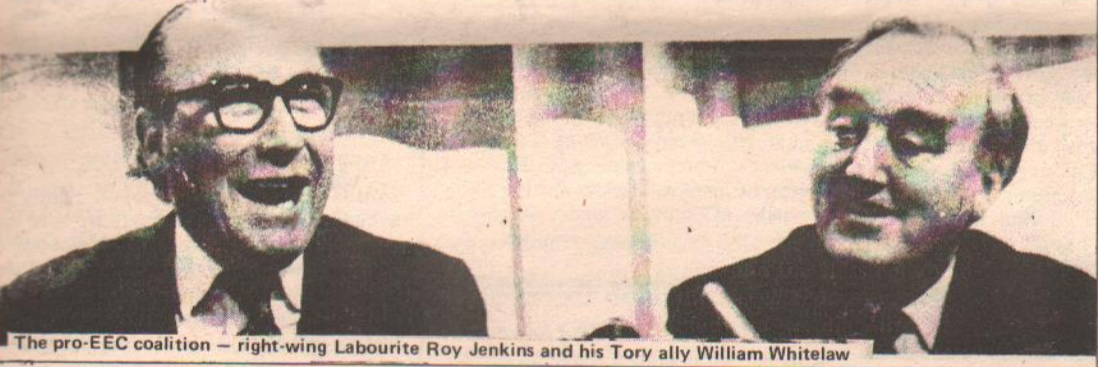
In Portugal and Greece the working class has thrown off the yoke of the fascist and military dictatorships, and the spectre of the collapse of Francoism in Spain haunts the minds of the European ruling classes.

The aim of the EEC is to try to create a supra-national European state in order to swing the balance of forces in favour of capitalism. The EEC therefore attempts to centralise the military, economic and political needs of European capital. It aims to serve the interests of the giant multi-nationals, so that during a period of economic recession the defensive measures taken by the crisis-hit economies of the nation states do not damage the interests of the international companies.

Like all political and social institutions, the EEC is not a neutral body but is specifically designed to serve the needs of capitalism. Along with NATO it is an integral part of imperialism's military and political alliance against the workers' states. The EEC is organised to ensure the most 'efficient' exploitation of the colonial countries. It also has the objective of organising the forces of capitalism to push back the growing revolutionary process which is more and more beginning to seep into the metropolitan countries. It strengthens the capitalist class in each of the EEC countries against its own working class.

Although capitalism is once again entering into a period of severe crisis—accompanied by a radicalisation within the working class—it will not obligingly fall over and die in order to make way for the socialist order. Capitalism will resort to every political, social, military and economic measure to maintain its existence. The EEC is one of the key steps it has taken to save itself.

A 'No' vote in the referendum is just one of the practical and concrete steps necessary to oppose a central strategy for survival of the capitalist class.



The pro-EEC coalition — right-wing Labourite Roy Jenkins and his Tory ally William Whitelaw

2. What are the Labour leaders up to?

For a whole period after the war Britain was able to take advantage of a seller's market. Competition was not sharp and even the ill-equipped, under-financed and semi-archaic British industry could limp along. But by the 1960s supply began to outstrip demand and the superiority of the US firms over their European competitors threatened to assert itself.

Because of its concentration of capital and technological advantages, US industrial capital was able to produce at a cheaper unit cost. The US domestic market was also much greater than that of its European competitors and this provided a basis for much larger firms.

Faced with increasing inter-imperialist competition the Europeans could only hope to compete on roughly equal terms by merging their resources, thus both increasing the size of their markets, centralising research and basing their production on a larger capital base. The more far-sighted members of the capitalist class in Britain recognised that unless British industry could become integrated into this process it faced a bleak, cold, isolated, future. As the CBI pamphlet—*Britain into Europe*—put it: 'Only in this way can it (British industry) create the units of the number and scale necessary to meet world competition.'

As the economic crisis of British capitalism has bitten deeper, with the bankruptcies of the motor giants like BLMC and the slump of the

pound, the ruling class and their representatives have become unified on the urgent need to stay in Europe. Even the once rabidly anti-EEC *Daily Express* has now joined the pro-Market chorus.

Wilson and Callaghan have been convinced pro-Marketeers for some time now. However their preparedness to campaign openly for the EEC has been restricted by the need to preserve the 'unity' of the Labour Party. Every single important body in the labour movement is on record against the EEC—ranging from the Labour Party Conference, the TUC, the Coop Party, the Labour Party Young Socialists and even the Parliamentary Labour Party itself.

Wilson was therefore anxious to 'steer' Britain along the EEC road without causing 'deep divisions'—in other words the danger of left wing opposition—inside the labour movement. But the effects of the dramatic and irreversible decline of the fortunes of British capitalism have exploded with such a ferocity that like Beaverbrook's press he has had to swing into line. He knows that the effects of leaving Europe would have the most catastrophic results on the capitalist economy.

It is because of the opposition of the majority of the labour movement that Wilson has had to come out so openly. He has been forced to get off the fence and use his position as Prime Minister to appeal over the heads of the decisions of the Labour Party and the TUC to try to get Labour voters to move into the 'Yes' camp.

EEC REFERENDUM



'Conference Will Advise' — and the Cabinet will go its own way — the Labour Party's full resources behind the Conference decision

3. Why has the Market crashed so ineffectually?

The working class are worried about inflation which is now running at record levels. Last month's figures are only a foretaste of what is yet to come. Unemployment is soaring at a rapid rate and is now over the million mark and Healey's Budget has not started to bite yet. What is uppermost in people's minds is what can be done about these problems.

The capitalist class and their agents inside the Labour Party appear to have an answer. They say accept the social contract. Increase productivity. Improve the efficiency of British capitalism by making it more attractive to investors. And then they add that the best way to take advantage of these measures is by staying in Europe. This can appear to many people as a coherent, plausible—even if rather unpalatable—solution.

The 'left' have failed to provide any alternative to the policies of the right wing. Many of the anti-Marketeers are the most determined defenders of the social contract. They meekly accepted Healey's Budget with all its consequences of increased unemployment, higher taxation on workers' incomes, and cuts in the social services. They have not acted in a united way to support struggles against unemployment nor have they fought the Government on issues like the jailing of the Shrewsbury pickets—except for the odd protest in Parliament.

LOYALTY

Their opposition to Wilson has been restricted to the issue of the Common Market, and they have gone to great lengths to assure everyone of their loyalty to the Wilson leadership. Because the right wing understand that if British capitalism is to function efficiently in Europe it must raise the level of productivity at home, its domestic policies of holding back wage increases, rationalising industry—i.e. increasing unemployment and weakening the power of the trade unions by anti-picketing laws etc—make sense. Europe is not separate from these questions but is the logical outcome of such policies.

Because the 'lefts' have no policy for fighting British capitalism they have no solutions to the

NO TO THE COMMON MARKET

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FOR A UNITED SOCIALIST FRONT

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SOME KEY

THE TRENDS



...arket way, while Michael Foot and the 'lefts' fight shy of mobilising
Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

...e left's anti- ...ampaign been ...ective?

issues which are dominating the minds of the working class, and they give that ground away to the right wing.

The 'lefts' are also then forced to resort to the narrow arguments of nationalism. The ruling classes of Europe were in the past able to buy off their own working classes by the super-exploitation of their colonial empires. The nationalism which grew out of this situation has begun to lose its usefulness to the big, powerful international firms. The nation state with its restrictive tariff barriers, currency and taxation laws and barriers on the use of labour have become something of an obstacle.

TOUCHING FAITH

As the ruling class and the Labour right wing preach their phoney 'internationalism' based on the needs of the multi-nationals, the arguments of the anti-Marketees fall back on the old nationalist demagoguery. This leads them to support tariff barriers, and the class collaborationist politics of the *mixed economy*. Their vista is confined to a peculiar 'British way to socialism' dependent on the co-operation of the British capitalist class, which is why they are so firmly tied to the social contract and the defence of the British Parliament.

Because the 'lefts' are unable to fight their own ruling class they need a social contract which will ensure the cooperation of capital and labour. They have no alternative to capitalist forms of rule and share a touching faith in the intrinsic democratic nature of British capitalism. So they are forced to defend its Parliament against the 'Brussels bureaucrats' who might interfere with their efforts to legislate their own brand of socialism through Westminster.


Therefore all the anti-Marketees can present is a defence of a system that everyone can see is sick and ailing. They offer an isolated, declining capitalist Britain sandwiched between the US and European multi-nationals. Despite their majority they are unable to use it for fear of 'splitting' the labour movement. Parliamentarians to the last, they have allowed the democratic decisions of the mass organisations to be overridden by the Cabinet.

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.



FOR
A UNITED
SOCIALIST EUROPE



4. Has the anti-Market campaign boosted the extreme right?

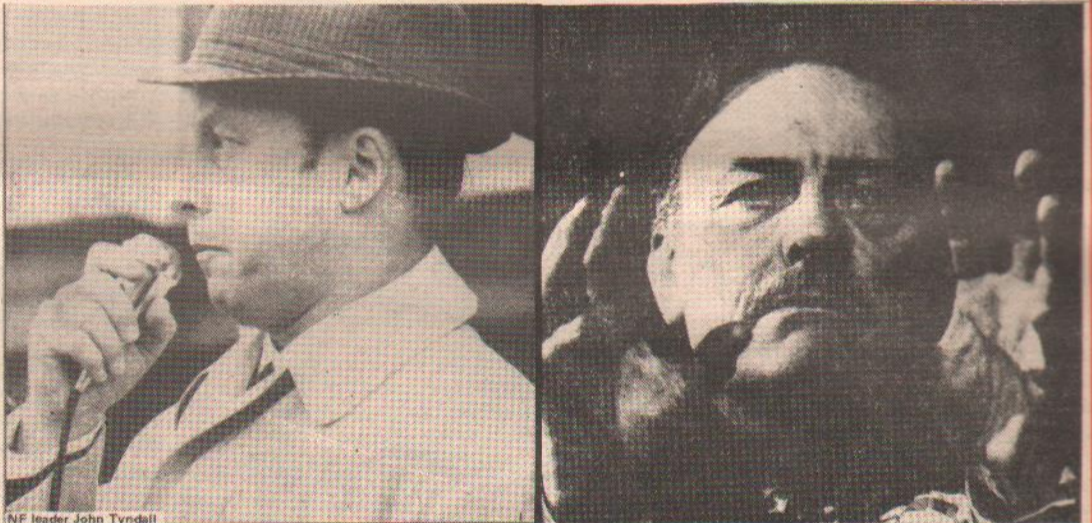
For the National Front the answer is no. This is because some of the organisations on the revolutionary left in alliance with many left wing Labour Party members and supporters have opposed any collaboration with these people. The anti-fascist campaign waged last year was very successful in pinning the fascist label on the NF.

Although this campaign was originally inspired by small groups of revolutionaries, it got a response in wide sections of the broad workers' movement. Every time since then when the NF has tried to call a demonstration or meeting of any significance, it has been opposed by much bigger anti-fascist forces. Two thousand people turned out against the NF in Oxford a couple of weeks ago.

This activity prepared the way for taking the fight against the NF and the right wing into the

anti-Common Market campaign, with the result that most Labour MPs and trade union leaders have refused to share a platform with the NF and the Tories. The hopes of the extreme right to get a base inside the working class through the anti-EEC campaign have received a real setback. Furthermore it has helped to educate many trade unionists and Labour Party members on the need for a workers' united front.

The situation with Powell is more complex. He started the campaign by speaking on the same platform as trade union leaders such as Clive Jenkins. But the opposition of many sections of the working class movement to any collaboration with Powell has meant that he has not so far been able to make much of the running. However Powell may try a real last minute campaign based on racist outbursts or some similar ploy. The working class movement must be on its guard to repel this.



NF leader John Tyndall

5. What can we do if there is a 'YES' vote?

The problems that confront the working class will be presented in a new and to a certain extent more disadvantageous way. Firstly Wilson will have successfully appealed over the heads of the working class movement to impose anti-working class policies. He may well try to repeat this on incomes policy or unemployment.

Secondly, the capitalists will try to move towards international state-like institutions which can more adequately serve their needs. The old nationalism which has been so deeply rooted in the workers' movement, and which the capitalist class used as an ideological weapon when they were constructing the nation state, will be used in its reverse way.

Previously the ruling class used nationalism to link the working class to its imperialist adventures as it built its empires and raped the colonial world. Now as it confronts the working class from its own much more centralised 'internationalist' position, it will try to use the old nationalism of the working class and its parties to keep the latter firmly in the ghetto of national politics. It will try to keep the working class in Europe divided and will attempt to exploit the organisational weakness of the working class on an international scale. With the exception of the small forces of the Fourth International there is not one organisation that attempts to unify workers' struggles at an international level.

If the ruling class exercises state power on a

ing class will have to oppose the capitalists. This will mean more than ever taking up practical issues of workers' solidarity within the EEC.

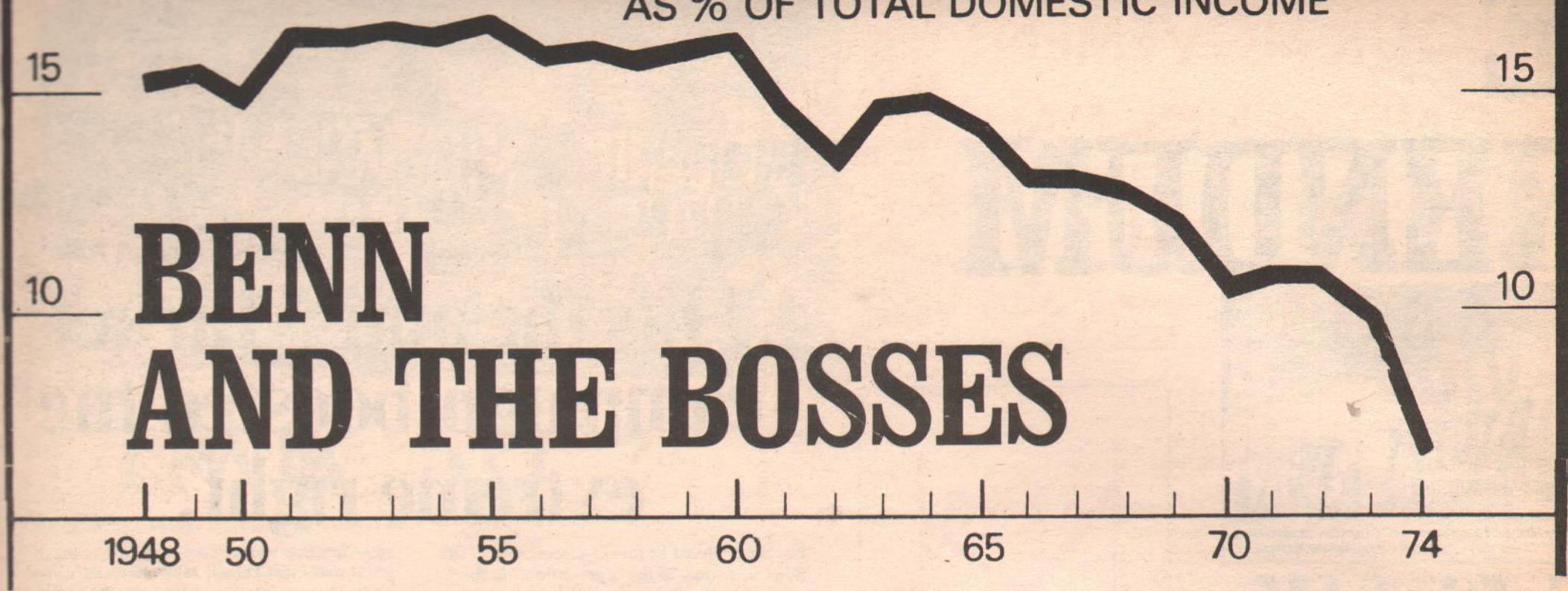
Links must be established at every level within the workers' movement. This means that a big emphasis must be placed on the building of international workers' committees in the multi-national combines, and working towards a European Congress of Labour.

It also means rejection of any and all forms of incomes policy under capitalism; for a sliding scale of wages; and the nationalisation - without compensation - of all firms creating redundancies. It involves campaigning across the European labour movement for withdrawal from NATO; building solidarity and support for all workers' struggles inside the EEC, and extending the movement for troops out of Ireland into all the organisations of the European working class.

The Fourth International pledges itself to these international tasks. But it cannot be a substitute for the mass organisations of the working class, which themselves must be brought into action against the Europe of the bankers and the big trusts. The Fourth International will therefore work with all those forces in the workers' movement who want to create a workers' alternative to a capitalist Europe and who are prepared to build real international solidarity of the workers against

QUESTIONS

PRIVATE COMPANY PROFITS*
AS % OF TOTAL DOMESTIC INCOME



BENN AND THE BOSSES

As we showed in the last issue of *Red Weekly* the basic line of 'Bennite' economic policies is to increase demand for goods in the economy through the transfer of resources to the working class, tax cuts, and increased social expenditure; and to gain a large increase in investment through widespread state intervention in the economy. The idea is that the increase in demand for goods will cause an initial spurt in production, and then the state intervention will ensure the increased investment necessary to lay the basis for a long term growth of the economy.

The fatal flaw in these economic policies is that they do not allow real control over production and investment. The State can exercise more or less direct control over the public sector, but in Britain this only accounts for around a quarter of investment. As long as the central 'commanding heights' of the economy remain in private hands — and the 'Bennite' policies reject the nationalisations and workers control necessary to end this — then production in this dominant sector of the economy will be determined by profit and not by the need to fit in with any 'Bennite' scheme for the long term expansion of investment.

an immediate and severe cut in the living standard of the working class. Radical Bennite policies, no matter what their long term effects, would mean a short term increase in living standards and a drop in unemployment. Hence the immediate effect of such measures would clearly be contrary to what the ruling class at present requires. Undoubtedly Benn's present proposals are not a very radical form even of 'Bennite' policies, but the ruling class has nevertheless no interest in allowing even one step down this particular road.

● Secondly, a radical 'Bennite' policy would involve a definite programme of nationalisations — something in

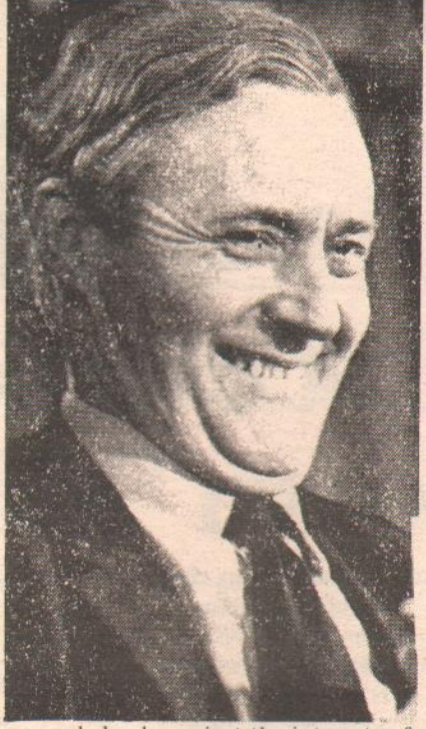
'Bennite' policies would go clearly against the immediate economic interests of the ruling class.

But while 'Bennite' policies clearly run counter to even the short term interests of the ruling class, the reasons for the continual witch-hunting of Benn by the capitalist press do not lie mainly in economics. There have been occasions when capitalism has carried through very radical economic re-organisation stepping on not a few corns within the ruling class — for example, de Gaulle in France carried through such a re-organisation after he came to office in 1958. The real decisive question is not economic but political.

CONTRADICTIONS

The actual implementation of radical 'Bennite' proposals would lead to insuperable contradictions because of their inability really to control production and investment. Both the transfer of resources to the working class, which could lead to a fall in the rate of profit, and a situation of State control and threat of nationalisations — not to mention conscious sabotage by the capitalists — would lead to cuts in production and investment.

The inevitable outcome of a combination of cutting back production and investment together with a policy of pumping funds into the economy to create a spurt in output would be to create gigantic inflation. Such inflation would lead either to the collapse of the government implementing such measures, or to a situation in which the economic policies had to be put into reverse and mass unemployment would develop.



RULING CLASS

It is quite clear that 'Bennite' economic policies provide no real solution to the problems facing the working class. These policies also fail to challenge the historic interests of the ruling class — the defence of the capitalist economy, and the defence of the capitalist state. Nevertheless it would be quite wrong to conclude from this that 'Bennite' policies do not involve a real clash of interests with particular sections of the ruling class or with the immediate interests of the ruling class as a whole.

There are at least five clear economic reasons for this.

● Firstly, 'Bennite' policies are not at all the same thing as the mass unemployment supported by Thatcher and Keith Joseph or the incomes policy advocated by Heath, Thorpe and wide sections of the Labour leadership. Both the unemployment and the incomes policy proposals would mean

general clearly against the interests of those capitalists threatened with nationalisation.

● Thirdly, a radical 'Bennite' line would run into conflict with the enormously powerful finance-based bourgeoisie. This section of the ruling class would, under Benn's proposals, have its funds directed for it into particular industries and would find its foreign operations enormously cut back.

● Fourthly, the development of planning agreements, State financing and control over investment would involve real clashes of interest with the capitalists, as the State would interfere in their production, attempt to direct investment to areas which were not considered the most profitable, and would possibly threaten them with nationalisation.

● Fifthly, the raging inflation and transfer of resources to the working class could lead to a precipitate decline in production and profit.

For all these economic reasons there is no doubt that any radical

DETONATOR

Under what relation of class forces and under what political situation will such a re-organisation of the economy be carried out? That is the question the bourgeoisie asks. It is one thing to attempt to carry through a massive re-organisation of the economy after the working class has been defeated — as in France in 1958 — and quite another to attempt to carry it out in a situation in which not only has the working class not been defeated but its struggles are actually advancing.

The classic illustration of this point is again the case of Chile. Considered purely from an economic viewpoint, Allende's programme of nationalisations and other measures was not at all irrational from the point of view of certain sections of the ruling class. But in the actual political situation the attempt to carry out Allende's policies led inevitably to a gigantic class polarisation. Allende might have started off with only limited proposals on nationalisation, but by the end of his Government the working class had taken over 200 factories not scheduled for nationalisation, while whole sections of industry threatened to fall under workers control.

POLITICAL

It is from this political point of view that the British ruling class considers Benn's policies. Of course the British capitalists are not so stupid as to believe that Benn is as radical as Allende, but nevertheless they are very well aware that the decisive factor is not the proposals in themselves but the sort of class relation of forces and political climate in which they are going to be carried out.

If the British working class had suffered a major defeat, then a section of the ruling class might consider attempting to carry through an economic re-organisation containing many of the



things Benn proposes. But in the actual situation of working class combativity the ruling class believes that 'Bennism' may well lead to working class demands which go well beyond anything Benn proposes or can control. When Wilson says that just because the Government is taking over British Leyland no-one should think that they will do the same to Chrysler, he precisely reflects the fears of the ruling class that even limited economic interventions of the Benn type will lead to very wide sections of the working class demanding the nationalisation of their industries.

It is for this combination of econ-

omic and above all political reasons that the ruling class keeps up such a witch hunt against Benn.

But if radical 'Bennite' policies would clearly be against the immediate interests of the ruling class, nevertheless it does not automatically follow from this that socialists should demand the implementation of such policies — not every policy against the interests of capitalism is necessarily in the interests of the working class. In the next issue of *Red Weekly* we will consider what attitude socialists should take to Benn and his present proposals.

WHAT'S ON

- PRESTON WOMEN'S GROUP** meets at Moorbrook Hotel (North Road) each Wednesday at 8pm.
- DEFEND THE IRANIAN 21:** Picket Bow Street Magistrates Court (Covent Garden tube), Thursday 29 May at 9.30am-12 noon.
- 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.
- HACKNEY IMG** public meeting: 'Vote No to the Common Market, Fight for a Socialist Europe'. Speaker: Bob Pennington (IMG National Cttee). Tuesday 3 June, 7.30pm, Dalston Library, Dalston Lane, London E.8.
- IMG SOCIALIST FORUM:** 'The Repression in Iran'. Speakers include S. Hormus of the Iranian 21 Defence Committee. Tuesday 3 June, 7.30pm, in the 'Earl Russell, Pancras Road (Kings X tube).
- SOUTH BIRMINGHAM** Committee Against the Common Market public meeting. Thurs 29 May at 7.30pm in Tiverton Road Junior School, Selly Oak, Birmingham. Speaker Tom Litterick (Labour MP).
- SOUTH BIRMINGHAM** Committee Against the Common Market public meeting. Sat 31 May at 7.30pm in Kings Norton Junior School, Pershore Road, South Birmingham.
- MIDLANDS** Against the Common Market rally. Sat 31 May at 12 noon in the Town Hall, Birmingham. Supported by TUC. Speakers include Tony Benn and Audrey Wise.
- SOUTH BIRMINGHAM** Committee Against the Common Market public meeting. Mon 2 June at 7.30pm in Kings Heath Junior School, Alcester Rd.
- SOUTH BIRMINGHAM** Committee Against the Common Market public meeting. Weds 3 June at 7.30pm in Stirchley Junior School, Pershore Rd.
- BUILD ANTI-EEC DEMO, 31 MAY:** Public meeting Thursday 29 May, 7.30pm in Abbey Hall, Axe Street, Barking with speakers John Fisher (LP, in personal capacity), John Ross (Red Weekly Editorial Board), Terry Barrett.
- 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).
- FREE DESMOND TROTTER CAMPAIGN:** Picket every Friday 4.30-6pm outside East Caribbean High Commission, Haymarket, London SW1.
- FIGHT FOR YOUR CHILD** with Hackney's nursery nurses. Public meeting at Central Hall, opposite Hackney Town Hall, Mare St, E.8.—Tues 3 June, 7.30pm. Support the action of the nursery nurses against the Council. Organised by NALGO.
- SOCIALIST WORKER** Public Meeting: 'No to the Common Market'. Tuesday 3 June at 7.30pm in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1 (Holborn tube). Speakers: Tony Cliff and members of European revolutionary organisations.
- NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN** North West London Committee public meeting to discuss the James White Bill and the fight for free abortion on demand. Tuesday 10 June, 7.30pm, in Anson Hall, Anson Road, Cricklewood. Speakers include Gwyneth Dunwoody MP, Terry Marsland (Asst Gen Sec of Tobacco Workers Union), Dr Berry Beaumont (NAC Steering Cttee). Supported by Brent Trades Council and Working Women's Charter Campaign. For further details contact Ingrid or Ann at Brent Women's Centre, 138 Minet Avenue, NW10.
- 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.

LABOUR MOVEMENT CONFERENCE ON IRELAND A BIG SUCCESS

The Labour Movement Conference on 24 May called by TOM at last made the building of a movement against British troops in Ireland a realistic possibility. This was the assessment of Eamonn McCann, one of the main speakers at the conference. It was an opinion echoed by many of the 325 delegates.

In all, the conference was attended by 43 delegates from 34 trades councils; 138 delegates from 81 trade union branches; five delegates from shop stewards committees; and 62 delegates from official Labour Party organisations of which 10 were LPYS branches. In addition there were 77 delegates from 37 student unions and 208 observers.

The importance of the Irish struggle for the entire British working class was emphasised by many speakers and delegates. It was Paisley himself who once declared that a defeat of the status quo in the North of Ireland would be a defeat for 'civilisation' everywhere. We know what Paisley means by civilisation.

The civilisation of the Loyalist ultras and the British army brass was amply demonstrated by another speaker, Dr Tim Shallice of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science.

INCREASING

He elaborated on the stages by which repression in the North of Ireland had been stepped up since 1968. It is a fact, for example, that whilst in 1971 there were only 17,261 house searches (often involving the destruction of the house), in 1974 there were 71,000 such searches.

It is difficult for workers in Britain to imagine what these searches entail and how terrifying they are for working class Catholic families. But for workers in the north of Ireland the dawn bang at the door is only too familiar in the anti-Unionist areas.

Dr Shallice illustrated how the British army had systematically developed and 'improved' upon its anti-working class skills. Crowd control has now gone beyond the early primitive days of water cannon and rubber bullets fired point blank at 160 mph (sending 70 people to hospital in the first 18 months). New complex noise machines have been experimented with such as the 'squawk box' which can paralyse a crowd by totally disorienting it. And now vicious

plastic bullets have replaced the old rubber bullets which were so widely and randomly shot at the Catholic population that many a tourist was able to pick one up off the pavement as a macabre souvenir.

COMPUTER

By the middle of last year the army had installed a computer which although not yet fully operational is able to store and rapidly reproduce details on the majority of the anti-Unionist population. This is extremely useful in assisting the joint work of the military and the police. Indeed, although Brigadier Kitson failed to get military/civilian agreement in 1971, a Civil Service 'Mr Fix-it' has been attached to the military.

In fact between 1972 and 1975, the British ruling class has been able to develop probably the most experienced counter-insurgency force in the world! Apart from its experiences in something like 50 small wars since 1945, it has been receiving very concentrated practice in the streets and council estates of the north of Ireland.

CLASS STRUGGLE

As *Red Weekly* has explained many times, the experience gained by the ruling class in Ireland will be very useful to them in Britain as the class struggle heats up. It was Edward Heath who told the United Nations that the big danger of the 1970s was not external war but internal strife. He undoubtedly had his eyes fixed on Britain at the time.

This point was made very sharply



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Harry McShane speaking at the TOM Conference with (l to r) Father Brian Brady, Dr David Thornley (Labour TD), Eamonn McCann, and Dr Tim Shallice of the BSSRS.

by veteran revolutionary Harry McShane at the conference, when he reminded delegates of the use of troops in the cities of Britain in 1919; when in Glasgow, for example, the major buildings sprouted machine gun nests on their roofs. He explained that when John Mac Lean campaigned against the use of Scottish troops in Ireland it was not just because the Irish people had the right to determine their own future. It was also because if Scottish workers denied the Irish that right they would never be free themselves, and the army would eventually come for them too.

In the same way that ultra-reactionaries like Paisley dread being defeated in the north of Ireland, British workers can only benefit when the army of British imperialism and the whole imperialist system is driven out of Ireland. As Mike Cooley (past president of TASS) said, the British working class is beginning to recognise that it is not in its interests to have the British army in Ireland. The task from this conference is to build the broadest possible mobilisations and especially the conference call for a massive demonstration in November.

CIVIL WAR

The 50 or so IMG militants who were trade union delegates at the conference tried to explain how this could best be done in the hundreds of 'Troops Out Now' pamphlets sold and in the pages of *Red Weekly*. The IMG delegates who managed to get to the rostrum emphasised that a massive working class movement for the immediate withdrawal of troops would not only advance the struggle of British workers but would be a material factor in preventing a Loyalist-unleashed civil war.

They explained that although a troops out movement was beginning to be a possibility, it was still a long hard fight within

the workers' movement. In the broad ad hoc committees that would have to be formed to draw in the widest forces from the workers' movement to build for Nov-

ember and similar events, IMG militants would be arguing for: Troops Out Now! No Concessions to the Loyalists! Self-determination for the Irish people!



WHY WE JOINED THE IMG

I am writing on behalf of several members of the former 'Left Opposition' of the International Socialists, expelled by that organisation six months ago. Since then we have examined and had discussions with a number of groups to the left of the CP, and having completed that process we have now applied for membership of the IMG. This decision is based both on the lessons we learnt in our struggle in IS, and on our estimation of the IMG and the Fourth International.

While we were in IS the Left Opposition offered a far-reaching criticism of the theory and practice of that group. The fact that within two weeks of issuing our platform we were expelled without a hearing obviously limited the effect of our criticism.

The expulsion in itself did not surprise us, for an integral part of our critique of IS was that it was developing internally into a bureaucratically repressive clique that could neither countenance nor afford serious self-criticism. This estimation was borne out by the manner of our expulsion and has since been confirmed by a whole series of events, the latest of which is the decision of the IS leadership to limit attendance at its national conference to one delegate per thirty members.

Yet the internal life of any political organisation is often no more than a consequence of its external practices and policies, and our criticism of IS was more elaborate than a mere objection to the suppression of internal debate. For here is an organisation which concentrates its agitation on shouts for bigger and better trade union militancy, offers no more than moralistic judgements on class enemies with a reliance on exposure and shouts of 'hypocrites', and whose final solution to capitalism is 'join IS'.

Consequently there is a conscious avoidance of any issues which are seen as obstacles on the economic road to socialism. Thus after the Birmingham bombings *Socialist Worker* chose as its main emphasis 'Stop the Bombings', echoing the sentiments of the bourgeois press; thus on the issue of women's liberation the latest agenda for the IS 'Rank and File' women's conference omits any mention of abortion, placing IS to the right of the Women's TUC; thus a recent issue of *Socialist Worker* described Cambodia under Prince Sihanouk as 'a happy-go-lucky land', a political judgement well to the right of Amnesty International.

Flowing from this lack of political education both to the working class and to its own members there arose the necessity for bureaucratic repression. Any group that avoids Marxist propaganda could not survive if it allowed serious

political debate within its own ranks. An organisation such as IS which recruits on the lowest common denominator—to the extent of containing within its membership supporters of Orange rule in Northern Ireland (i.e. advocates of the 'Two Nations Theory')—cannot place too many conditions on membership, lest that membership fades away.

In contrast to such practice and theory—or rather the lack of it—we found the IMG refreshingly different. You were serious enough to allow us to attend your national conference despite the fact that during the conference there was much criticism of the IMG. That you still encouraged us to attend as observers displays a serious approach to political development, and contrasts well to IS, which allows only just over 3 per cent of its members to attend its conference and which now bans all observers, even those in IS.

But again such differences, while important, are no more than an indication of more important matters such as women's liberation and Irish liberation on which you have a principled revolutionary position. Indeed your whole estimation of the working class, that it can and will look for political answers, contrasts well with the patronising view of IS that the rank and file are too thick to appreciate the relevance of politics. And yet the IMG has no reason to be over self-congratulatory on the stand it has taken on such issues as women and Ireland—it is only to be expected from any organisation which takes Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism as a starting point.

But what has also become apparent over the last few months is that political positions by themselves in 'one country', however correct, are not enough. The internationalism of the proletarian struggle has been proved vividly with the events in Portugal and South East Asia. We stand opposed to the view that revolutions in one country can evolve to a communistic society—we stress instead the need for an international strategy and, accordingly, an international party of the working class.

We do not approach the IMG and the Fourth International as offering the embodiment of that party, nor do we see the IMG as being a panacea for all our ills, a solution to all our problems; indeed, we do not seek to hide the fact that we are entering the IMG with constructive criticisms. However we do recognise that within the IMG and the Fourth International there is a willingness and a potential to seek for and to find the basis of the only alternative to capitalism and imperialism; the solution of international socialism.

JEFF BELL, London.



CALL FOR BOYCOTT OF NAMIBIAN GOODS

An appeal for worldwide solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Namibian people has been made in London by Solomon Mifima, Secretary of Labour of the South West

African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO). 'We hope' Mifima told *Red Weekly*, 'that the British workers can assist us by refusing to unload goods from Namibia'.

Namibia has been a colony since 1884 when the country was occupied by German imperialism. Following Germany's defeat in the First World War at the hands of its imperialist rivals, Namibia was placed under a 'mandate' of the League of Nations and became a South African colony. The South African government has consistently refused to accept the demands of the Namibian people for independence despite a ruling by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 terminating South Africa's mandate.

The imperialists have huge interests in maintaining their domination of Namibia. Says Mifima: 'In mineral resources, we have copper, diamonds, uranium. The British company, Rio Tinto Zinc are mining uranium in our country and

are not in the hands of the Namibian people. Most of the land in the rich part of the country is occupied by the settlers. Africans are allowed to live in these areas merely because of their labour power'. Namibia is also considered to be rich in untapped oil reserves.

Democratic rights are ruthlessly suppressed in Namibia. Hundreds of SWAPO militants are in jail. Strikes are banned and unions are illegal. Recently five workers were shot dead by South African police and troops in the Katatura Compound, an African workers' slum in the capital of Windhoek. The South African authorities, Mifima explained, 'had a rumour that the workers in Katatura were planning to go on strike. They surrounded the Compound area in the morning and shooting started then and there.'

The United Nations has voted that all goods exported from Namibia after 31 May will be deemed illegal merchandise if South Africa still refuses to withdraw from the country. Though few governments, if any, are likely to implement this decision,

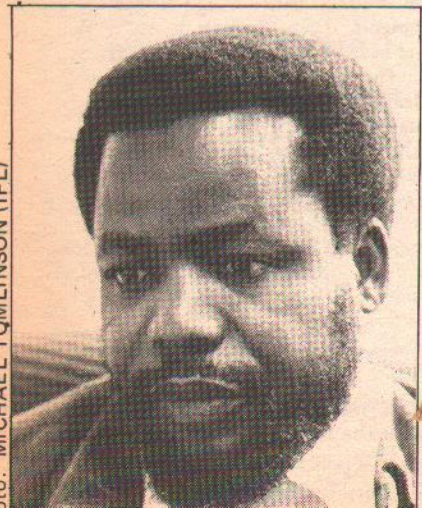


Photo: MICHAEL TOMLINSON (IFL)

CROSFIELD'S JOINT SHOP STEWARDS COMMITTEE
9 Elthorne Road, London N. 19.

Dear *Red Weekly*,

May I on behalf of the Crosfield's Joint Shop Stewards Committee thank you for your support of our struggle for the right to work. A settlement has been reached and the official appeal is closed as from 15 May 1975. We feel we have made a significant contribution to the overall struggle for the right to work and in some way encouraged



'If the people lose confidence, we are lost'

Interview with Admiral Rosa Coutinho of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement

The following interview with ADMIRAL ROSA COUTINHO of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (AFM) was carried out by Alain Krivine just before the 25 April elections. It first appeared in the French Trotskyist paper *Rouge*.

The interview reveals the confused political ideas that exist within the AFM left. Rosa Coutinho is known as one of the pioneers of the view that the AFM should continue to hold political power for the foreseeable future and that the political parties should all be fused into a single movement whose sole purpose would be to back the AFM.

The 'electoral pact' signed just before the election envisaged the preparation of a 'common programme' between the AFM and all the major political parties - including the bourgeois CDS and PPD parties. But Rosa Coutinho in this interview talks about a front of socialist parties, for which even the Portuguese Socialist Party might not qualify!

Meanwhile Rosa Coutinho's fellow AFM left, Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho, commander of the COPCON security forces, has begun to talk of the 'natural death' of the political parties. In his view they would be replaced by the AFM

itself, reorganised as a 'liberation movement' with its own mass base.

The most recent meeting of the AFM took a cautious compromise approach, limiting itself to a call to 'reinforce the direct relations of the AFM with all the structures of popular participation, such as the district commissions and workers commissions, with a view to consolidating the alliance of the AFM and the people and overcoming partisan divisions in the common struggle of the battle for production and the effective construction of socialism'.

In this interview Rosa Coutinho also stresses the importance of these emerging mass popular bodies. But neither he nor any of the AFM leaders take a clear position about the relationship between these bodies and the capitalist state - which continues to exist in Portugal and with which the armed forces, and therefore the AFM, remain firmly bound up. The only way to defend the gains so far won by the Portuguese working class and really begin the 'effective construction of socialism' is not by limiting these organisations to a subordinate role as organs of 'popular participation', but by extending and strengthening them into organs of workers' power, the basis for a workers' government and for replacing the capitalist state with a workers' state.

What is the political place of the AFM in the country, and what are its aims?

The big political problem existing in this country is the political vacuum created by the links between the Socialist Party and northern and German social democrats. We lack a real socialist party. The present situation - such a sterile struggle between the parties - cannot last long. It is this vacuum that the AFM should help to fill.

It is true that at the beginning we did not have a socialist perspective. The AFM was more an intention than an ideology, and our main preoccupation was to end the colonial wars as soon as possible. But by decolonising the African territories we realised that we had to proceed to our own decolonisation in Portugal. This is why we have opted for a socialist project.

You have a project of a civil party as a counterpart of the Armed Forces Movement. Is it possible for you to define its ideology and its composition?

It is true that our ideology is not very precise. Nevertheless we could see an electoral coalition of all those who claim to be socialist and working class parties: the Socialist Party, if it is not a social democratic party any longer (this is my obsession!), the Popular Socialist Front (FSP), the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP), the Communist Party, and the Movement of the Socialist Left (MES). It would then be a coalition or a socialist alliance.

It would be good that within this front all parties could defend different projects, which would allow a debate in

the whole country. I would like to see the parties competing in the factories and in the fields, so that the people could decide, from practical results, what form of socialism is best suited to Portugal at this stage.

Then you are in favour of a broad debate in front of the workers?

A very broad debate indeed, because the parties must debate between themselves and not fight each other. You talked to me earlier about a popular assembly of delegates. This can be considered, but there is not just one model of democracy. At the beginning we can have a European style democracy, then after four years it may change.

Today everybody talks about socialism when they talk about Portugal. Some nationalisations have occurred but up to now no foreign interests have been touched and the real problem of compensation has not been discussed.

In our country the multi-national firms are not very representative of the whole. We have been the victims of a different kind of colonisation from the rest of Europe. The big trusts pillaged the raw materials, then they exported manufactured products, and the only thing left to us were very low wages for the working class. Even the surplus value was exported, just like in Formosa.

These big firms like Champalimaud have already been affected. As far as the nationalisation of foreign firms is concerned, we are proceeding to bilateral negotiations. As far as Portuguese nationalised firms are concerned we will reimburse some money, but within a long term perspective.....We are in no hurry.

In many factories the workers are demanding workers control and raising the question of the management of the factories. What is your attitude to that?

Workers control is something absolutely fundamental for us. But at the present time we think that the task of the workers should be control, rather than the management. They control employment, line-speed, etc. For us this is already the beginning of socialism. But up to now, we still don't know which type of socialism we want to build in Portugal. We will have to adapt, progressively, to the Portuguese reality. We will do that through a permanent dialogue between the AFM and the Portuguese workers.

In Portugal there already exist workers' committees, some tenants' committees, some village committees What do you think about the national centralisation of all these committees, which would allow the building of real workers power?

We support all these committees because we must encourage all forms of active participation by the workers, who can then choose the type of socialism they want to construct. Today, however, it is impossible to say which form of socialism is the best one. We will judge by experience and see, in practice, if it is successful. We will then be in a position to legitimise the initiatives that you are talking about, if they have been successful.

The AFM is very popular in the country, but it only includes a minority of soldiers. What would your attitude be to an organisation that would involve all soldiers?

We can envisage it later, but immediately it would be too dangerous. We would see a class division in the AFM itself, especially between the soldiers and the officers. We prefer to have a vertical structure.

If there were elections in the army we would automatically lose them, because of the political backwardness of parts of the country - a bit like for civil elections. Yes, the AFM is more left than the rest of the army. It acts as the yeast in the bread; you cannot make bread without yeast, but likewise you cannot make bread with only the yeast.

Everybody remembers the example of Chile and the eventual coup d'etat. In such a case would you refuse, as Allende did, to arm the workers?

Today a coup has less chance of success, but I can assure you that we would not hesitate for one second to arm the workers. On 11 March I was in the Alfeite arsenal, and I could have counted on the support of 3,000 workers, who if necessary would have been armed.

The difference from 28 September was that then when there was the rumour of a coup the left was clandestine; on 11 March it was out in the streets and prepared to take the offensive - that is why the coup lasted only two hours. If Spínola was chased out of Tancos, it was thanks to the popular revolt. If the people lose confidence, we are lost. Today the biggest battle is for economic survival.

What do you think of the wage demands that the workers have put forward, especially in the private enterprises?

It is an important problem: some of

lead to bankruptcy. As far as nationalisations are concerned, we will not multiply these measures for a long time, we do not have enough capable cadres. In three or four years the workers will be able to run their factories. Today, with one or two exceptions, this is not possible.

Do you think that it is possible to construct socialism while there is a bourgeois party like the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) in the Government?

No, but we hope for its evolution. There are inside both the PPD and SP some advanced cadres, as opposed to its backward social base, and these are the people to back. At the level of government the continuation of the coalition will depend on the election results. If we have a socialist coalition, with more than 50% of the votes, then we will have no more problems. In any case we have taken precautions and the Revolutionary Council will always have the right of dissolution.

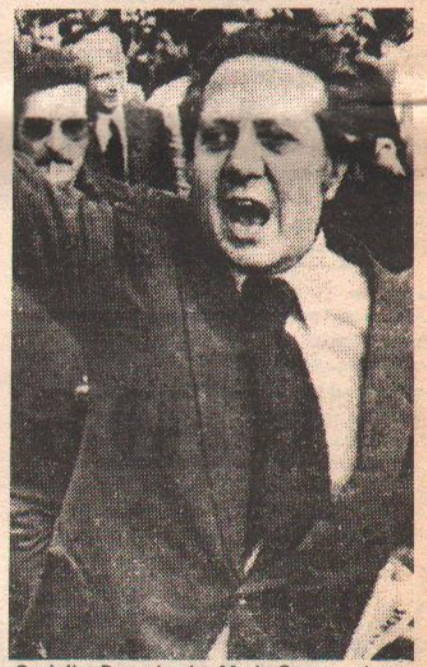
We could take the power, but we prefer that the parties play their part and that socialism continues at a rank and file level. But this depends largely on the evolution of the SP. In this country, simple anti-communism has always been exploited. But for us the CP has always been loyal and never posed any problems.

Why hasn't China recognised Portugal?

The People's Republic of China has pragmatic international politics, bearing no relation to its ideology. We have no problems with it over Macao, and if it has not recognised Portugal it is only because it wants to differentiate itself from the Soviet Union.

Can Portugal remain indifferent to what happens in its old colonies?

It is difficult for us to take action, especially in Angola, but it is true that we need international pressure on Zaire if we want Angola to have real decolonisation. We don't want to have it freed from white fascism to see it under black fascism. It has been easier for the other colonies.



Socialist Party leader Mario Soares - the problem, says Coutinho, is his close links with the European social democrats: 'we lack a real socialist party'.

You have taken repressive measures against the Maoists. Don't you think that it can set a precedent for all those who while claiming their belief in socialism criticise the politics of the AFM?

We have only taken repressive measures against a few organisations; there are many others which continue to make negative propaganda. It is not at all a question of banning organisations which criticise the AFM; but the MRPP is a puppet group which has its base among bourgeois students. These students do not work and have not recruited any workers.

There are, perhaps, in their group idealist people with a more or less anarchist ideology, but this group is infiltrated. They have a lot of money. Besides I tell you, if I was a reactionary I would attack through the left. The youth must understand our revolution and draw their forces behind it - but not the degenerated youth of the MRPP, I speak of the youth who work in the fields and the factories.

Don't you think that the revolutionary crisis about to break out in Spain with the fall of Franco will have huge repercussions on the Portuguese revolutionary process?

Absolutely. For us, all that is going to

CHILE-Boycott actions counter Labour betrayal

It seems that the Labour Government is preparing to deal yet another blow to the Chilean workers by handing over two submarines to the Chilean Navy. This follows the delivery of two frigates, the continuation of all trade links—particularly the importing of copper—and the maintenance of full diplomatic relations with the murderous regime. This last fact, for example, enabled the Chilean Navy to hold a celebration banquet in the middle of London last week.

The only major sanction the Labour Government has applied against the junta has been its refusal to renegotiate the foreign debt with Chile. This was an important step forward, but one which was only taken after enormous pressure from the labour movement and which on its own is nowhere near enough.

The two submarines are nearing completion in the Scott-Lithgow shipyard at Greenock. Technically these ships have already been officially handed over to the junta with the Government's blessing—but since they are still in Britain there is no reason why that decision could not be reversed.

The Labour Government does not share that view, however. Questioned in Parliament last week, Mr. Callaghan expressed 'some regret' that these ships had been handed over but felt 'it would be wrong to interfere.' Of course, if you put Britain's credibility as a capitalist trading nation above everything else then there is nothing that can be done.

The labour movement must reject this shameful attitude and demand that the Government instead puts solidarity with the Chilean workers and peasants first by breaking all links, refusing to hand over the submarines, and ending all trade. That,

among other things, would be the most effective way of demonstrating solidarity with the Chilean sailors at present on trial for refusing to support the military coup.

Resolutions to this effect are not sufficient, however. In the face of the refusal by both the Labour Government and the TUC to organise a ban on all trade with Chile, it is necessary to organise independent boycott action of Chilean goods wherever possible.

Such a campaign—which has been called for by the exiled Chilean TUC—is already getting under way, with effective boycotts now operating in at least a dozen places. In Bristol workers at Imperial Smelting are refusing to work on any Chilean copper, while at the printing firm of J.G. Arrowsmith in the same city the workers have said they will print no more labels for Chilean wine

BOYCOTT ACTION

At Anderson Mavor in Glasgow, workers discovered that conveyor belts for use in the Chilean copper mines were being made in the plant. Too late to stop the delivery of the belts themselves, they were able however to prevent the gear-boxes being sent—thus making the belts useless.

In Hull, Liverpool and London

docks there is a general boycott being operated on Chilean goods. And at Newhaven docks, action by crane-drivers in the NUR meant that a cargo of Chilean onions had rotted by the time it could be unloaded.

These actions show what real working class solidarity means. Every effort should be made to extend them and ensure that they get overwhelming support from the rest of the labour movement—including official backing.

CONFERENCE

An important factor in this must be the Chile Solidarity Campaign trade union conference, which a recent meeting of the local CSCs decided to call for October. This conference must ensure—unlike the TUC conference on Chile, which was intended only 'to show our abhorrence to the junta'—that really effective action in the form of boycotts is organised which can help to bring the junta down.

The same meeting of local CSCs also took an important decision to allow all organisations represented on the national CSC Executive to sit on national and regional executives as of right. This was necessary following an attempt by the Communist Party in Scotland to exclude completely members of the IMG and IS from the decision-making bodies. In reversing this position, the local committees' meeting struck a powerful blow for the broad unity of the solidarity campaign.

Gerry Hedley



LONDON NALGO RALLY

We will not be the sacrificial lambs for any government incomes policy and are ready for a hard struggle. That was the message coming from a rally on 20 May of the London Metropolitan District of NALGO, the local government workers union, in support of their pay claim.

The claim of £10 plus 15 per cent gives an average rise in pay of 38.7 per cent. So far the employers have refused to enter into serious negotiations over the claim. NALGO's negotiators are bound by a decision of a national meeting of branch delegates to produce the goods by 1 June. If no settlement is reached by then, the union will be putting forward a plan of strike action to win their demands.

Many speakers at the rally pointed out that it isn't just local government workers' pay that is under attack but the whole of local government spending—witness the massive cuts inflicted on the social services by Healey's Budget. But despite this the union leadership has failed to link the pay claim to a fight against the threatened cutbacks in social service spending.

A struggle for automatic compensation of both wages and expenditure against inflation would gain widespread support throughout the labour movement for the action local government workers will be forced to take to defend both their own living standards and the quality of the social services provided for the working class.

MEDIA REDUNDANCY CONFERENCE

Nearly 200 delegates and observers attended the first ever conference organised across union lines to discuss the fight against redundancies in the media industries.

The initial impetus for the conference—held in London on 17 May—came from rank-and-file militants in the various media unions, although official backing came later from the NUI. Among the speakers were delegates from firms already hit by redundancies, like Penguin Books, the *Stratford Express*, Mabbutt & Johnston, and Crosfield's.

Drawing from these experiences the conference went on to discuss a general programme to fight redundancies based on a resolution put forward by the organising committee. Among the points stressed were the need to break down the present divisive craft divisions in the industry, the importance of the occupation tactic and the democratic organisation of struggles, the role of solidarity action, and the relevance of the demand for nationalisation under workers' control.

An amendment put forward by IMG members in the industry which called on media workers to black newspaper and radio/TV stories distorting the struggles of workers to defend their jobs and living standards was carried despite the opposition of the IS group. This tactic can both help to boost the morale of the strikers involved and deprive the bosses of one of their most powerful weapons. Such actions would also lay the basis for establishing workers' control over the media.

An ongoing committee was elected by the conference to help organise support for future struggles in the industry and to centralise and disseminate information and experiences. One of its first tasks will be to generalise support for the occupation against closure by the plate-makers at Mabbutt & Johnson.

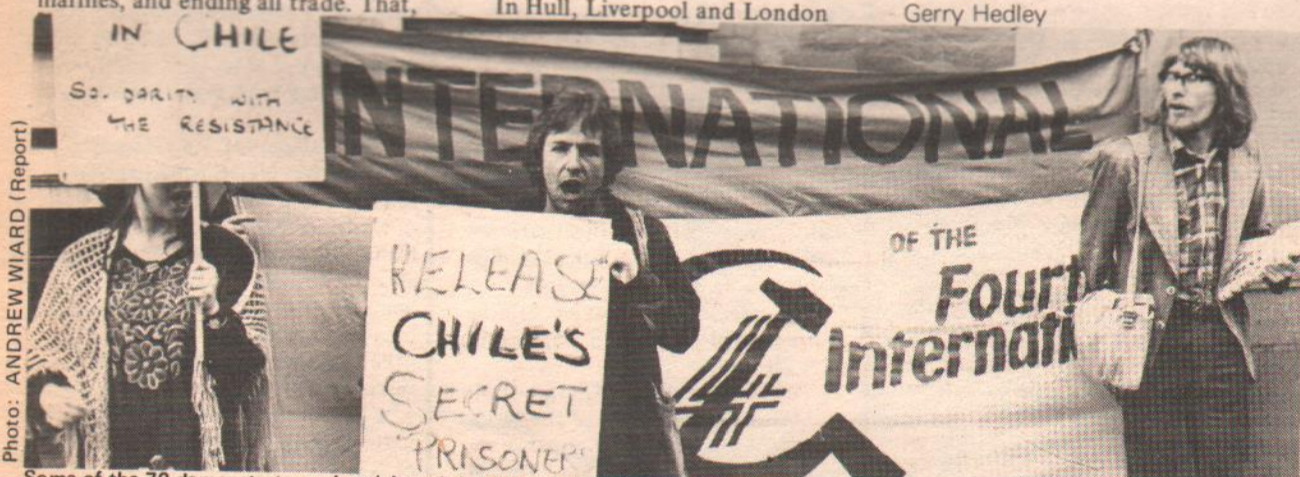
Copies of the resolution and information about the committee's activities can be obtained from Carl Gardner, 50 Ingham Road, London N.W.6 or phone 01-837-9987 (day).

MASSEY WORKERS OCCUPATION

More than 4,000 production workers at Massey Ferguson's three Coventry Tractor Plants are out on unofficial strike in pursuit of a 'substantial' pay increase in the region of £10 a week. Management have offered about £6 across the board. The strikers have been out for three weeks, and since Tuesday 13 May have been in occupation at the Banner Lane assembly plant.

The workers have also taken up the shop stewards' call for flying pickets to go out to hotels where staff have been scabbing on the strike. Hotels in Leamington have been approached, and the Post House Hotel in Coventry successfully stopped.

Attitudes have hardened since the discovery of a management document indicating the possibility of a month-long strike in May 1975, which was taken into account in estimating production targets for the year. Accusations of theft against the pickets have also been made by managing director Rolan Jennings—these have since been withdrawn, but not before they were plastered all over the front of the local rag, the *Coventry Evening Telegraph*. Not surprisingly the strikers have adopted the attitude of not talking to anyone from the press.



Some of the 70 demonstrators who picketed the Chilean Navy banquet in London last week

STUDENTS UP AGAINST IT

The writing is on the wall. Students are in for a tough time. Last week Reg Prentice announced that students were to receive a grant increase of 22 per cent. A student living outside London will now be given the princely sum of £740. The reality of this measly award is that students are expected to take another cut in their living standards. Twenty-two per cent is not enough to compensate for inflation, let alone take the grant back to the 1962 level below which it has fallen.

But already the college authorities are trying to redirect this small increase straight into their own coffers. What the State gives with its left hand it snatches back with its right. No sooner had Prentice spoken than it was announced that rents at University College, Cardiff would be going up by 43 per cent. For some students this will mean an increase of £150.

However, at least they will have somewhere to stay. From a recent report of the University Grants Committee, the body that dishes out the cash, it is clear that thousands of students face the prospect of no accommodation next term. They admit that the number of places has 'dwindled': in 1972-73 just over 10,000 new places were built, while this year it will be only 3,000.

These cuts in spending are part of a wide range of penny-pinching policies. The report spells it out: 'It will be inevitable that most of the economies instituted in 1974-75 will have to continue... This means that costs per student will be reduced in expanding universities.'

action at the start of next term for a rent and price freeze, and to demand that student facilities match student intake.

This term students at Warwick University have set an example by occupying against the victimisation of rent strikers. While demands for a rent freeze have not been met, the authorities have been unable to break the rent strike or the determination of students to carry on the fight.

However the authorities also set an example others may follow in the autumn with the use of hundreds of police, including the SPG, and writs to kick out the occupiers. Next term could be a turning point for the grants campaign, for at some point the law must be defied if the authorities and the police are not to walk all over students and impose severe cuts in living standards.

The campaign for an autumn offensive must be prepared now. The paltry grants award, the proposed rent

have left colleges in struggle like Lancaster, Warwick and Surrey, to fight alone. The strategy of the NUS leadership has failed yet again.

Warwick students know that only too well, which is why they have called for an emergency national conference to discuss the grants campaign. But true to form, the Communist Party opposes this conference. The International Socialists, too, have taken a similar stand. They would prefer such a conference in October, when the IS consider they will be better prepared to debate the Communist Party.

If you think the decisive next step for the student movement is building IS, then by all means wait until October. But the IMG and Warwick students would disagree. The bankrupt line of the NUS leadership has to be challenged before it is too late. Preparations for a national rent strike, occupations and other forms of direct action are necessary now. The IMG urges all students to support and campaign for the



Dr Berry Beaumont reads out the occupiers' demands to BMA secretary Dr Stevenson

The British Medical Association's headquarters in Tavistock Square London had its first-ever occupation last week. A group of doctors and medical students staged a sit-in at the BMA insisting that Dr Derek Stevenson, the BMA secretary, organise action by the BMA in opposition to the James White Abortion (Amendment) Bill. Copies of the BMA's confidential evidence to the Commons Select Committee have since been released.

Dr Berry Beaumont, a member of the IMG and a leader of the sit-in, said: 'We regard this as just the beginning of a campaign which we must wage amongst doctors against this disastrous Bill'. Dr George Meridith, another of the occupiers said the James White Bill 'will simply assure the success of abuses'.

Even the staid and ultra-conservative BMA in its evidence to the Select Committee, according to another IMG member, Dr Dominic Costa, had been forced to 'criticise almost every clause in the Bill'.

RED WEEKLY

POLICE THUGS RIOT IN GLASGOW



Glasgow police pulling a demonstrator's hair out (above) and beating another demonstrator's head into the ground — two examples of what was described by a police spokesman as only 'necessary force' to disperse the anti-fascist picket on Saturday night.



ONE LAST PUSH...

Amongst the welcome donations this week were Birmingham IMG—£15; Ealing Technical College Students' Union—£5; Edinburgh teachers—£13; S.M. Jessup of Manchester—£2; Norwich IMG—£3.15; J. Taylor and E. Muir—£3; H. M. Jones—£1.93; P. Barber Lomax—£15; and the London teachers once again, this time with £25.

Time is running out. One last real push and we will shoot over the top of the target. That means Oxford, Leeds, Sheffield, Glasgow and Manchester must make a real effort to get their promised quotas in by Friday. We know they can do it — we need the money badly — so please comrades, do not let us down.

In case you have forgotten, the address is 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

More than 60 people including prominent trade union leaders, were arrested last Saturday when police waded into anti-fascist demonstrators picketing a National Front meeting in Glasgow's Kingston Halls. The picket was a result of a determined campaign by the IMG and International Socialists. The day before the Glasgow Trades Council had also decided to picket the meeting.

The pickets had linked arms to stop the fascists getting into the Halls when a wave of uniformed police and their plain clothes colleagues under the control of Chief Superintendent Dunnford started to kick and punch their way through, systematically arresting everyone in sight. One plain-clothes copper was discovered to be carrying a marching baton of the Orange Order in his pocket.

'DISORDERLY'

Five van loads of arrested pickets were driven off to Marine Police Station, Govan, to be charged with 'being part of a disorderly crowd'. In the security of the van the pickets were manhandled and beaten up by police. But for 25 of the pickets their stay at the Marine Station was shortlived. A window was discreetly opened and they quickly departed. A number then took a bus back to the picket!

At nine o'clock the dispirited fascists closed their meeting. Protected by a cordon of police, NF leader Kingsley Read — shaking so badly he had to be supported by his police escort — and 12 of his gaggle were taken up the road past Kingston Bridge. As anti-fascists surged round this motley crew the police flagged down an empty Corporation bus and bundled the demoralised NF members aboard. Six of these were stuck on the Edinburgh train and another six slunk back to England.

UNPROVOKED

As the anti-fascists followed, the police moved in again carrying out more unprovoked arrests.

Among the anti-fascists arrested were David Bolton, vice-president of the Scottish National Union of Mine-workers; Hugh Wyper, Glasgow district secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union and also vice-president of the Glasgow Trades Council; John Sheridan, member of the Scottish Regional Committee of

Statement by Glasgow IMG

The decision of the scabs on the Labour Council to give freedom to the racist and anti-working class poison of the National Front has created Glasgow's Red Lion Square.

However, because of the discipline and militancy of the united front of 500 anti-fascist demonstrators in the face of fists, boots and police batons, there was no Kevin Gately. Despite the arrests, the Glasgow labour movement has issued a clear and unmistakable warning to the fascist scum — and the Gestapo-like thugs who hired themselves out as the fascists' protectors — that fascist ideas will not be tolerated in Glasgow.

A defence campaign must and will be waged for the dropping of all charges against all those who were so savagely attacked and arrested whilst opposing the fascists. It must sound out a warning to Glasgow's Labour Council and their free-masons' Gestapo that this is the price they will always have to pay for any assault on the labour movement.

The IMG supports all calls for mass deputations to the Corporation, for mass strike action to back these deputations, and for mass pickets of the Courts in support of the dropping of all charges. The lesson that the labour movement taught the fascist NF on Saturday 24 May must now be taught to the Labour scabs who permitted members of their own class to be beaten, bloodied, or arrested by allowing the NF to stage an open provocation.

On Saturday a united campaign barred the road to the NF. Now we must sweep all obstacles off the road that try to stop a successful defence campaign. The IMG will take its stand for the broadest-based defence campaign and will demand loud and clear that all charges be dropped against all the anti-fascists.

IMG militants will fight at every level — on the pickets, in the demonstrations, and in the dock — to show the Labour scabs that they cannot with impunity use troops against strikers or police against the labour movement.

the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians; and Maggie Osborne, secretary of the Scottish Immigrant Labour Council.

Others arrested include John Reidford, general secretary of the Glasgow Trades Council; Ian MacKay Glasgow secretary of the Communist Party; 14 members of the International Marxist Group; as well as many members of the International Socialists and other political groups. Members of the shop stewards' committees at Rolls Royce, Albion Motors and John Brown Engineering were also arrested.

The brutality of the Glasgow police and their open support of the fascist NF has aroused massive anger in the local labour movement. Jimmy Milne, the general secretary of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, said: 'This was Gestapo-style tactics... They just waded in, punching, grabbing and kicking anyone they could....I will be demanding an immediate investigation of the police conduct.'

duct.'

Andy McMahon, a Labour Party councillor, called it 'Glasgow's Red Lion Square'. He added: 'The police used strong-arm tactics...and I will be reporting back and demanding action.'

The Labour MP for Glasgow Kelvingrove, Neil Carmichael, insisted that he would 'see the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Chief Constable to ask why the meeting was allowed to take place...'. He says he will also call for a 'full investigation into the brutality of the police'. Another Labour MP, Jim Sillars (S. Ayrshire), was amongst leaders of the Glasgow labour movement working on the Saturday night to get the pickets out of jail.

REAL CULPRITS

Meanwhile, the real culprits remain unrepentant. Police boss Dunnford says his blue-uniformed hooligans 'used only necessary force' and claim their action was 'taken to ensure that the public highway was not impeded or any public property damaged....'

The Labour Council that upheld the letting of the Halls to the NF made their position very clear from the beginning. Fresh from smashing the dustcart drivers' strike, councillor Dick Dynes justified granting the fascists the right to use the Halls by saying that 'to refuse to let would interfere with the law and morality of politics'.

Mr Dynes, however, has yet to invoke the 'morality' of politics against his former Labour Party council colleagues who are facing charges of corruption.

Again the lessons of Red Lion Square have been driven home. Reliance on capitalist law, the police and Labour councils is useless if the fascists are to be stopped. Whenever fascism rears its head violence will occur. The only way to stop that is by the mass, militant action of the labour movement.

No judge cared about Mathew's ideals. He was a revolutionary who wanted to 'steal' back the money that the capitalist class had stolen from the working class. Hosie's offence was to kill a black man. He had not threatened the system that the judges defend. That is why Mathew Lygate got 24 years and the National Front hoodlum Hosie got his sentence.

—Jeff King

Tale of two 'criminals'

Mathew Lygate had a passionate hatred of the capitalist system. He knew that the bosses robbed and exploited working people and he hated the barbarism and savagery that capitalism had unleashed on humanity.

His determination to fight the capitalists was so intense that he was prepared to risk his freedom to rob their banks in order to get funds for his operations. When the police brought him before the courts they didn't even try to prove that he took one penny piece for himself. To them he was a 'nutter'—one of that strange species which believes that the money and resources of capitalist society actually belong to those that have created them.

Lygate was driven to despair by the poverty and cruelty of capitalism. He got impatient and decided to try and solve this by taking his own individual actions.

Brian Hosie was a man who accepted—nay, fervently believed in the values of capitalism. He pimped off the unfortunate women who are prostitutes in

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