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Pennies from heaven

* We have told you that inflation was a fact and not some figment of our writers' imaginations. Well, it's not only hitting the *Red Weekly* but is clawing its way right up to the portals of heaven as well.

* Last week divine intervention spirited a joint of pork off the shelf, ghosted it past the check-out and miraculously deposited it in the shopping of Canon Wright, who is a big shot at Coventry Cathedral.

* The good canon displaying little faith in Christian miracles, put it all down to absent-mindedness.

* The moral of this story is if the ecclesiastical orders are driven so spare by inflation that they lose their memory, what effect can you imagine inflation has on the heathens who produce your paper?

* The *Red Weekly* distributor has even offered to take holy orders if some similar miracle will pay all our outstanding bills. Reluctantly conceding that she has no direct line to heaven, she admits the only hope is for you, our readers to rush in the maximum financial donations. Send to Red Weekly, 182 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.

BENN'S BANKRUPT BILL



AMIDST HOWLS OF PROTEST FROM THE TORY OPPOSITION, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, introduced his Industry Bill in Parliament last week.

'The grasping hand of state socialism,' screamed Tory industry spokesman Michael Heseltine. 'Nothing is more likely to destroy the confidence of British industry', wailed Aims of Industry.

If only it were true! But Benn's Bill will do nothing to solve the problems facing 742,000 unemployed workers and a further 170,000 who are on short-time working. It will not stop inflation ravaging the living standards of the working class. Far from having anything to do with socialism, and despite its pretensions to 'extend public ownership into profitable areas of manufacturing industry,' it's just another way of giving state hand-outs to the capitalist class.

RYDER

Benn's billion (£1,000 million) will go on direct investment in industry through a National Enterprise Board. The board is almost certain to be headed by Sir Don Ryder, former £46,000-a-year boss of paper and publishing giant Reed International - hardly a friend of the working class.

So why all the fuss? The more astute spokesmen of the ruling class have noticed that 'in switching Labour policy from outright nationalisation to something approaching a corporate industrial state, Mr. Benn will be assailed

more by critics from the trade union left-wing than by the country's beleaguered businessmen.' (*Observer* 2 February 1975)

What really scares the big firms is that they might have to disclose company information to the trade unions and enter into planning arrangements. These things in themselves do not frighten the bosses. What does worry them, however, is that these ideas might be seized on by sections of the trade union movement demanding the opening of the books so they can see how the whole capitalist system works, and not simply the parts which are bankrupt, and calling for a plan for the whole economy to be implemented by the organisations of the working class. That, of course, would demand a break from capitalism.

It is precisely these ideas that militants in the trade unions must be fighting to spread in the coming months. Benn's Bill can only prolong the agony of capitalism, not produce a solution to the crisis in the interests of the working class.

Foger Teal



Part of the large IMG contingent on last Saturday's Irish demonstration. For this week's Irish coverage, turn to page 2



'Support Wigan marchers, but only a national strike can free the 2.'

PAT HICKEY, a member of the International Marxist Group and UCATT convenor at Wimpey's Yorkwood site, Birmingham, gave the following interview to *Red Weekly* on the Shrewsbury 2 Campaign.

'A lot of the best militants are disillusioned over Shrewsbury. They are fed-up with one-day stoppages that get nowhere. Of course they want to get these lads out of jail. But up to now they feel they have been led up the garden path.

'At the moment it is a struggle to get the lads out over Shrewsbury. The only thing that will get them to take action is the conviction that a final push is being made. A national strike is needed. The TUC must set a date. Failing that then a key section like the miners must take the lead.

'The Wigan March must be supported. But that means building local Action Committees in every town and locality which are committed to working for national strike action.

'These Action Committees can form a spearhead to campaign for strike action. Also they can intervene in the Liverpool Conference to offer a lead and break that Conference away from simply relying on the trade union leaders.

'There is a big local feeling. The Birmingham Trades Council took over 700 people to the lobby of 14 January. But no real action was proposed from that lobby. Those forces must now be grouped around the new campaign that can be sparked off by the Wigan March.

'What we need is united action, and that is what we will be fighting for in Birmingham, both on the sites and in every section of the labour movement.

'In Newcastle 14 scaffolders have been victimised by McAlpine's - the same firm who played such an important role in getting the Shrewsbury workers prosecuted. A big movement is growing in their support.

'We have to explain that defending the Shrewsbury brothers involves defending all pickets and fighting all the attacks that the ruling class is making on the right to picket by using its state and its laws.'

REPATRIATE THE PRICE SISTERS!

AN IMPORTANT CHALLENGE to Roy Jenkins' 'draconian' attack on freedom of speech and assembly was mounted last Saturday in the city of Durham. More than 50 demonstrators paraded through the streets of Durham calling for British troops out of Ireland and the repatriation of the Price sisters.

An open air meeting was held in the market square where a convenor from the building union UCATT, Stewart MacLennan, appealed to all trade unionists to take action to force the Labour Government to honour Jenkins' pledge to return the Price sisters to Ireland.

At a picket held earlier outside Durham prison,

On 1 June last year, the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, issued a statement about the Price sisters and their comrades who were then on hunger strike for political status and their return to Ireland. He said: 'I believe it would be possible and reasonable for them to serve the bulk of their long sentences near their home in Northern Ireland.'

On 6 June Lord Brockway, Jock Stallard, MP, and SDLP Assemblyman Paddy Devlin informed the Price sisters that the Home Secretary interpreted the above statement as 'I will send them back to Northern Ireland before the end of 1974'.

The three emissaries repeated an assurance from Mr. Jenkins that a 'security considerations' clause was a formula that had to be included for political purposes and should not cause the hunger strikers any concern. Despite feeling deep distrust for this promise from the British Government, the prisoners called off their hunger strike after 206 days. In November, a week after bombs had ripped apart two Birmingham pubs, Mr. Jenkins informed Dolours and Marion Price: 'There can now be no question of an early move to Northern Ireland.'

HAZARDS

Three weeks later they were transferred from Brixton Prison to the maximum security wing for women at Durham Prison. Until then the two women had always been held in prisons for men, but in their own separate accommodation. Since the end of forcible feeding during their hunger strike, their treatment by the Brixton prison authorities had been tolerable. *The situation in Durham Prison*

is very different. The Price family have specified a number of hazards in the sisters' present situation, including threats to their lives, overt lesbian behaviour towards them by some prisoners, forced association with persons who show strong symptoms of drug addiction, and constant posturing by inmates who want to 'sell their stories' when they get out of prison.

Deputy Prison Governor Miss Ford, in charge of the female section of the maximum security wing, has shown particular hostility towards the sisters. On 4 January she threatened to terminate a visit even before it started if her staff could not understand everything that was being said on the visit.

During a visit by their sister Clare, their brother and an aunt on 18 January,

Miss Ford again created a scene. This time she refused to pass on a cassette player for Dolours because it had a recording button.

By the time they had reached the prison gate on the way out, however, a message had been phoned through that the cassette player would be let in after all. But the prisoners and their visitors had once again been caused grave annoyance.

SPLIT UP

The most serious move against the sisters by the prison authorities has been to split them up. This serves not only to make them more open to physical attacks, but essentially involves an attempt to break their morale.

The authorities are encouraging the anti-Irish feelings of other inmates, and are using Judith Ward against the sisters in

Albert Price, the sisters' father, said: 'I believe it is because my daughters are socialists and not just that they are Republicans that they are getting such vicious treatment from the British Government.' He went on to stress that we are in a war situation and that the Irish people intend to fight until they have forced Britain out of Ireland forever.

At a public meeting held in Durham University after the demonstration it was decided to form an action committee to develop the campaign further. The meeting was informed that Durham Trades Council is calling for the immediate repatriation of the Price sisters.

a particularly nasty fashion. Judith Ward was convicted of involvement in the M62 coach bombing, but has no connections whatsoever with the Republican movement and is in urgent need of mental treatment. As Dolours wrote on 21 January:

'I've been banished to another part of the wing beside a lesbian; Marion has been moved to a cell beside Judith Ward. We were told, when we questioned the reasoning behind this apparently senseless and needlessly upsetting move, that it will happen at intervals...

'It makes me mad from the point of view that we specifically asked that a certain third party [Judith Ward] be kept out of our hair and that we in turn would not acknowledge her existence. It looks to me that it's now not just a case of her shoving herself up our noses but that she is being ably aided and abetted.'

THE TROOPS

These political prisoners are being held hostage in order to try to deter the Republican movement from bringing the war to Britain. However there is only one way to stop the bombs and to bring peace to Ireland. The Irish people must be allowed to determine their own future. This means getting the British troops out of Ireland. As Dolours wrote from prison:

'...then, of course, the death of a British soldier is also sad. Because he's just some kid who doesn't even know why he's in Ulster, let alone why he has to die. At least our Volunteers know what they are giving their lives for, that's the difference between the idealist and the cannon fodder of the British Government.'

IRISH GOVERNMENT — AGENT OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The Southern Irish Government has a consistent policy towards the conflict in the six-Counties.

Obediently it grants every concession demanded by British imperialism. Ruthlessly it tries to suppress every voice of protest in the south.

With a stubbornness that it has never shown to the British it has adamantly refused to concede the demands of the 16 IRA prisoners who have been on hunger strike in the Portlaoise Prison since 3 January.

IN POCKET

The Minister of Justice, speaking of the hunger strike, had the gall to say: 'The basic issue is who runs the country—the Government or the Provisional IRA.' In fact the Southern Irish Government is—as the Minister well knows—firmly in the pocket of British imperialism.

As the British are preparing to crack down even harder in the North the Southern Government knows that it dare not make any concessions in the South. To do so would make Merlyn Rees' job of getting tougher and more vicious that much harder.

This is why during the cease-fire they arrested two of the most militant members of the IRA Army Council and why they are digging in their heels over Portlaoise.

At the same time the army has announced the ending of its fake 'low-profile' stance and is preparing more repression. The astounding proposal to build a 'Berlin' Wall around Belfast is being given serious thought in top military and political circles.

As usual the reactionary government in the South does not want to embarrass its British allies in the North—hence its stance on 'law and order.'

Fortunately, the Southern Government is not getting all its own way. The actions of the hunger strikers is setting in motion the biggest protest movement seen in the South for a long time.

Sixteen leading trade unionists and two prominent members of the

Labour Party have started a petition calling for the strikers recognition as political prisoners. In their statement they debunk the arguments of Conor Cruise O'Brien, the leader of the Irish Labour Party and a prominent member of the Government, who claimed that the IRA men had been 'convicted of crimes'.

INQUIRY

They explain that 'these men have been convicted by non-jury trial in the Special Criminal Courts.' The General Secretary of the Irish Transport & General Workers Union has called for the setting up of a special inquiry. In Dublin, the No. 2 branch of the National Engineering and Electrical Trade Union has passed a unanimous resolution for the granting of full political status to the prisoners.

Despite the massive propaganda campaign to put the blame for the breakdown of the cease-fire on the IRA, despite the Peace marches mobilised by reactionaries to try and isolate the IRA—there is a growing sympathy in the workers' movement in the South for the national struggle.

The Provisionals have not been able to take advantage of this new movement inside the working class in the South. Their response has been simply to make the moralising accusation that the Southern Irish Government is blocking the moves 'towards a just and lasting peace.'

But that avoids the main issue, which is rooted in the complicity of Southern Irish capitalism with British imperialism. This erects a bridge head straight to the Loyalists, who are the base on which imperialist rule rests in Northern Ireland. To fight British imperialism in the Six Counties means to fight its allies in the South.

The Southern Government is not neutral in the conflict. When the chips are down it supports its British capitalist allies against its own working class. The task for the republican movement is to direct support for the national struggle towards the removal of the capitalist government in the South.



Conway Hall was packed out for last Saturday's rally organised by the Troops Out Movement to mark the third anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Derry. Among the speakers was Bernadette McAliskey.

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

Oppose Powell in Islington

The Islington Campaign against the Common Market, a body which involves such local worthies as Richard Devonald-Lewis (ex-Tory candidate for Central Islington) and John Score (National Front candidate in the same constituency), has invited Enoch Powell to address a meeting in St. Emmanuel's Church Hall in Hornsey Road on Saturday 22 February.

The disturbingly close relations which Score and Devonald-Lewis have had in the past with right-wing Labour members of the local council underlines the dangers to the local labour movement of allowing Powell and his ilk to pose as allies of the working class against the EEC.

The Islington Anti-Fascist Group has called for a picket and demonstration at the Powell meeting, and has approached local working class organisations in the hope of organising a concerted campaign. All militants in the area should fight for support for this campaign in their trade unions, colleges and tenants' associations, etc. For further details contact: Islington Anti-Fascist Group, c/o Box 24, 197 Kings Cross Road, London N1.

One politician who has suddenly shot to prominence in the anti-Common Market campaign after remaining remarkably quiet over the last few months is that infamous ex-Tory J. Enoch Powell.

Ever since his election on a United Ulster Unionist ticket last October, he has taken great care to avoid embarrassing his new-found Loyalist friends with his previously habitual racist and pro-imperialist outbursts. It would, no doubt, be somewhat awkward for Powell to reveal to his Irish constituents that he regards his seat in South Down mainly as a base from which to pursue ambitions in the British political arena.

At the time of the Birmingham bombings, Powell—who in his Wolverhampton South West days would have screamed for blood all the way to the BBC—restricted himself to asking the Home Secretary a polite technical question in Parliament.

A couple of years ago, the smallest report on immigrants' use of health facilities brought Powell out with demagogic speeches about the 'rivers of blood' which would flow in the streets of Britain if immigrants were not deported (or 'humanely repatriated' as this most kindly man would put it). Today he restricts his racist views to the considerably more discreet and subdued confines of the BBC's 'Any Questions' programme.

BASIC STRATEGY

Powell's basic strategy remains the same, however. By exploiting the racist, sexist, and chauvinist divisions which already exist within the British working class, he intends to carve himself out a mass base inside the labour movement. Powell knows very well that if he can win over a few million voters from the Labour Party and even split a couple of million members from the official trade union he will then be in an excellent position to put himself forward as the man who can resolve—at least temporarily—the crisis of leadership faced by the ruling class.

When the Tories were convincingly defeated in the last two general elections this was a defeat not just for one political party, but for the entire political strategy of the ruling class. The traditional instrument through which they



Powell on the prowl

exercised power—the Conservative Party—had proved itself incapable of inflicting the major defeat on the working class which was required for the imposition of a capitalist solution to the economic crisis.

Their alternative strategy of getting the Labour Party to use its links with the trade unions to restrain workers' struggles is also, clearly, incapable of fulfilling this role.

In the context of the present economic situation, the Labour leaders—despite any subjective wishes on their part—are unable to grant the concessions which alone could secure the success of any 'integrationist strategy'.

It is in this situation that Powell demands consideration as a serious contender for the role of a 'Bonaparte', who by taking on the role of an arbiter apparently above the hurly-burly of conflicting class interests can in fact lead British capital out of its apparently hopeless political predicament.

If his 'Irish connection' has so far tended to act as a restraint on his public outbursts, it is only because he has been waiting for a suitable moment to re-emerge from the political wilderness. And the Common Market referendum provides him with an excellent opportunity to do just this.

While Powell considered himself the natural future leader of the Tory Party a couple of years ago, he clearly under-

stands now that if he is to build a base in the working class he will have to dissociate himself from the hated Tories. This was obviously in the back of his mind when he gave up his Wolverhampton seat to stand with the less obviously pro-capitalist Loyalists. It is small wonder that he can't resist the opportunities that the anti-EEC campaign offers him.

What could better suit his objective of hiding his anti-working class politics behind a populist veil than sharing a platform with well-known 'lefts' in the trade union bureaucracy? When Powell is able to speak from the same platform as Clive Jenkins, general secretary of the Association of Salamed Technical and Managerial Staffs—at a meeting organised by the 'Get Britain Out Campaign' in Folkestone last Saturday—the working class movement should sit up with alarm.

What has a man like Powell—who off-handedly revealed to lobby correspondents several years ago that 'often, when kneeling down in church I think to myself how much we should thank God, the holy ghost, for capitalism, in common with the aims of the trade union movement? The 'Get Britain Out Campaign', which apart from Jenkins boasts among its supporters Jack Jones (TGWU), the recently ennobled Lord Briginshaw (NATSOPA), and ex-Labour cabinet

ministers Lords Shinwell and Wigg, is itself a prime example to the working class movement of how *not* to organise a campaign against the EEC.

These 'pillars' of the trade union movement, in company with some 20 Labour MPs, share their places on the GBOC list of sponsors not only with Powell, but also with a couple of Tory MPs and the owner of the right-wing *Spectator*. The presence of these bourgeois figures in an anti-EEC campaign is as insidious as that of Powell.

CAPITALIST CRISIS

The capitalist class has only one solution to the economic crisis. Despite the fact that it is the insane logic of capitalism itself—which produced for profit rather than needs—that is at the root of the crisis, the ruling class is not prepared to undermine its own existence and power by accepting a more rational system of production.

Rather, it intends to impose the same prescription for economic crisis which it used in the 1920s and '30s—a cut in the living standards of the working class in order to get capitalism back on the rails at least for the moment.

Undoubtedly, on a world scale, imperialism is in a weaker position to impose this sort of solution than ever before. The hunger marches of the weakened and defeated labour movement in the 1930s stand in stark contrast to the strength of the workers' movement in the imperialist countries today. On a world scale the victories of the world revolution in China, Cuba, Vietnam as well as Eastern Europe have dealt hammer blows to imperialist domination.

Where the ruling classes of the imperialist countries previously considered the armed power of their own individual states to be sufficient to impose capitalist solutions on the indigenous working class, they now see the need to supplement their power through the creation of international bodies. In common with NATO and its counterparts in other regions, the Common Market was developed, above all else, as part of an international system of alliances for the defence of imperialism.

WORKERS' SOLUTION

For the very reason that the ruling class has no solution to the economic crisis other than an anti-working class solution, it is essential that the working class puts forward its own independent solution to the crisis. This solution can only be an international solution, not least because of the increasingly international nature of production and international division of labour.

In any struggle against an institution like the EEC, which the ruling class will attempt to use to shore up capitalism and centralise its attacks on the working class, it would be sheer lunacy to co-operate with Powell and his fellow agents of the capitalist class.

The central task of socialists in the months to come will on the contrary be to transform the anti-EEC campaign into a real anti-capitalist campaign, which by developing international links within the labour movement, can lay the basis for a real working class solution to the crisis. An essential part of this task will be the exclusion of all those bourgeois forces who will attempt to lead the campaign back up the blind alley of a crisis-ridden capitalism.

Andy Newton



George Lennox, the man who revealed the facts about British Army torture in Aden, is still in Wandsworth Prison on a trumped up charge. It is perhaps not surprising that the Labour Government should be unwilling to hold an enquiry into the case of a man who so unerringly exposed the brutality of their colonial role, particularly now that there are growing demands for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland as well. But George Lennox has friends outside who are determined not to let his case be dropped. Some of them picketed Wandsworth Prison last Saturday.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE AT BRISTOL MEETING

The scene in Transport House, Bristol, on Sunday afternoon, 26 January, must have been rather confusing for the few nervous trade unionists in attendance.

Squeezed between the fur coats and floral hats of assorted local Women's Institutists, Tory backwoodsmen and gentlemen farmers, they were confronted by a most peculiarly motley selection of platform speakers. There, on the most chummy terms, were Monday Club Tory MP Richard Body, three Labour MPs, including Tribune Ron Thomas, and the Liberal candidate for Chippenham.

The 'key' to this most unholy of alliances was to be found on the ban-

ner adorning the rostrum. In big letters it screamed the legend 'Get Britain Out'. As Ron Thomas's election agent explained: 'We agree on the need to sink our differences' (ie the fight for socialism) 'in order to get Britain out'.

This will in the months to come quite clearly be the formula to cover a multitude of capitulations to the forces of the right. Indeed, it was reported from the platform that T & G leader Jack Jones had agreed to throw out anyone who attempted to use the campaign for 'political reasons'.

The local Communist Party organiser went even further in an 'off-the-record' aside; completely unab-

ashed by the number of right wingers, he explained that it was an extremely good sign that so many Tories were present. The joint Enoch Powell-Clive Jenkins meeting in Folkestone the following weekend, he continued, was 'just one of those funny things that happen in a broad front movement'. No doubt a deal less funny for the black and Irish community than the local hacks of the CP!

Militants in the Bristol area, however, are not prepared to row in the same chauvinist boat as Messrs Powell and the Monday Club. They are circulating an 'Open Letter' on the Common Market in the local labour movement which has already, after only a few days, been signed by 12

shop stewards, convenors and trade union branch secretaries.

Explaining that it is *only the workers not just of Britain but also of France, Germany, Portugal and all the other European countries who can provide the answer to the present crisis*, it calls for a united front of socialists, trade unionists and other workers' organisations against the EEC.

It quite clearly rejects the attempts of certain trade union leaders and Labour MPs 'to join forces with right-wing Tories, Enoch Powell and the Monday Club in a united campaign'. 'Such a campaign', it continues, 'can only confuse the working class and thus aid the pro-Marketters'.

BOLSTERED BY NATO AID

TURKISH REGIME STEPS UP REPRESSION

MORE THAN 40,000 people, shouting anti-fascist slogans escorted the body of a young murdered leftist, Kerim Yaman, through the streets of the Turkish capital Istanbul on 25 January. Yaman, a student, had been killed by a fascist commando squad two days earlier—the latest incident in a rising tide of right-wing and State violence.

A few days previously, on 19 January, armed police wielding batons and throwing smoke and tear gas bombs attacked another mass rally of students and workers demonstrating against the indiscriminate killing of 20 smugglers at the Syrian border.

The smugglers are impoverished, mainly Kurdish and Arab peasants driven to this deadly means of subsistence by the feudal relationships that still dominate the area. They have to run the gauntlet

freedom of action, while major strikes and struggles are being broken by the State apparatus.

On 12 January the offices of the pro-Maoist monthly were raided. All those present and those arriving at the offices during the raid were arrested. Fifty of them will stand trial in the special State Security Courts formed to track down revolutionary organisations.

Kerim Yaman was not the first victim of the fascist commandos, organised under the wing of the National Action Party. On 19 December a committee member of a student organisation was shot down in front of his university. On 23 December a worker was beaten to death by the fascists after a public meeting. On 18 January a group of 50 fascists walked down the main street in Istanbul in broad daylight and destroyed all the left-wing bookshops. The police were conveniently not to be seen at the time.

Attacks by the fascists have now become a daily event. This is reminiscent of the pre-1971 period when, faced with the onset of mass economic and political struggles, the reaction of the ruling class was to mobilise the fascist forces.

Armed confrontations in the towns, with the fascist bands enjoying police protection, then made it possible for the armed forces to gain the support of the petty-bourgeoisie and intervene to secure the pressing requirement of the ruling classes and imperialism: a defeat of the working class.

Revolutionary and working class organisations were physically liquidated; thousands of socialists were arrested, many others were shot during armed clashes, while three leaders of the student movement were hanged.

ELECTIONS

After less than three years of extreme political and economic repression, however, the army was forced to seek another way out by calling elections for October 1973. The party which emerged with the largest number of seats (though not an overall majority) was the Republican People's Party (RPP) led by Bulent Ecevit. Its success was the result of a demagogic left turn to win working class support;

its social-democratic programme pledged a return to democracy, amnesty for political prisoners, free speech, reforms for workers and peasants etc.

Under a coalition Government dominated by the RPP there was a certain easing of the repressive machinery, and an amnesty motion was passed. Revolutionary currents began to gain momentum. But capitulation was round the corner—the RPP remained imprisoned within its reformist limitations and therefore unable to break with the historical interests of imperialism and its national agents, the Turkish capitalists.

Imperialist plots aimed at the destruction of even the limited independence of Cyprus found a willing ally in Ecevit. But the acute and untackled economic and social crisis was accelerated by the Cyprus invasion, and shortly afterwards the Ecevit Government had to resign.

The unresolvable contradictions within the ruling class can be seen in its inability even to form a viable new government. Early elections are blocked by the right wing parties united in the 'Nationalist Front'. The only perspective of the ruling class to contain the explosive nature of the class struggle is military adventurism coupled with fascist terror and repression.

UNITED FRONT

A united front to fight fascism is today taking shape in Turkey, embracing working class organisations, students and revolutionary groupings. This must be given every possible support by British socialists.

For years one repressive regime after another in Turkey has benefited from massive amounts of aid channelled through the imperialist NATO alliance to strengthen this vital strategic area against the workers' states.

Britain alone has contributed more than £60 million in the last ten years, under Tory and Labour Governments alike.

It is only days since the Labour Government further strengthened the hand of the Turkish regime by allowing thousands of Turkish Cypriot refugees to leave the British bases on the island for Turkey. They are now being flown to the Turkish occupied part of Cyprus to occupy former Greek Cypriot homes and villages.

Working class organisations in Britain must demand an immediate end to this collaboration, and use the example of NATO's role in bolstering up the repression of the Turkish workers and peasants in a campaign to demand that the Labour Government immediately withdraw from this imperialist alliance.

Aydin Oral



Turkish police lay into demonstrator

of the State authorities at the frontier in their villages, while their feudal landlords and bosses enjoy full state protection to sell the contraband goods in the large towns at a huge profit.

In the confrontation with the police 30 demonstrators were arrested. On the same day police forced their way into the branch offices of the newly formed Turkish Socialist Worker's Party and the Youth Socialist Union, arresting a further 126 people present there and confiscating books, documents and membership records.

MARTIAL LAW

Martial Law, imposed following the Cyprus invasion and extended periodically since, has allowed the fascist gangs and police full



Further pickets to draw attention to the case of Desmond Trotter took place last week during the visit to Britain of Dominican premier Patrick John—the one above coinciding with his attendance at a cocktail party at the Eastern Caribbean High Commission.

Trotter, a leading opponent of the John regime, was recently sentenced to death in a framed-up court case—the latest incident in a wave of repression now sweeping this British colony. His appeal is scheduled for the end of February.

The next stage in the campaign to win his release is a public meeting this Sunday, 9 February, organised by the Caribbean People's Solidarity Campaign. The meeting will be at the Kesidee Community Hall, 1 Gifford Street, London N.1, at 4 p.m., and among the speakers will be well known black militant Althea Jones.

RUSKIN STUDENTS DENOUNCE COLLEGE LINKS WITH APARTHEID

Students at the trade union movement's Ruskin College in Oxford have launched a campaign against their college's 'association' with the Institution of Industrial Education in South Africa.

The decision to establish links with the IIE was taken in November by Ruskin's Executive Committee, following recommendations from the college Principal, who had just returned from a visit to South Africa.

As the working party set up by Ruskin's Student Association to look into the matter say in their recently published Report: 'No attempt was made by the Principal to consult with informed and interested Ruskin students prior to his visit to South Africa. Interested students included members of the Kitson Committee, active members of the Oxford

and students from Southern Africa at present studying at Ruskin College.'

While the IIE is nominally concerned with the education—mainly through correspondence courses—of black workers 'to understand their industrial environment and to improve their situation as workers', it cannot be neutral in the struggle against the vicious apartheid system. As the Ruskin students state: 'The Chancellor of IIE is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi...who recently featured in advertisements in the British Press, advising capitalists intending to invest in South Africa that they would enjoy the benefits of a "trouble-free workforce".'

Despite this fact, the TUC has recently announced that it is donating £11,000 to the IIE. As the Report points out, this is part of a continuing retreat by

Even *Tribune* accepted the TUC's decision as a step to strengthening African trade unionism, but, as the Anti-Apartheid Movement (quoted in the Report) has warned about similar projects:

It is certain that the centre would need the agreement of the Vorster regime to function, otherwise the leaders and full-time black organisers would become a very easy prey to the security forces and suffer the same fate as those before them. If the South African Government, with its strongly held opposition to black trade unionism, allows the centre to operate freely, then it is likely that the motives of the parties involved will be open to doubt.

The Report suggests that the TUC has been deceived by the superficial 'face lift' that the South African Government is trying to give its repressive

Portuguese colonies. But the fact that the TUC's projects are being carried out in conjunction with the so-called 'International Confederation of Free Trade Unions'—a notorious tool of American imperialist policies freely used by the CIA—gives ground for even graver suspicions.

After a thoroughgoing study of the whole question, the Ruskin students' working party comes to the following conclusion:

1. There can be no effective African working class organisation within the present repressive economic and political structure. Therefore such a body as the IIE would either have to conform to and be accommodated within this structure—or challenge it. None of the evidence available indicates that they would take the latter course. In any case, either alternative would render it practically impotent until the present apartheid system is crushed.
2. There must be a continuation of the policy by which British trade

for the full effective implementation of the Geneva Resolution of the International Trade Union Conference on Apartheid [which calls for a policy of total 'non collaboration' with the South African regime] and to stand firmly against any attempts to divert the struggle.

3. As a result of 1 and 2, we recommend that Ruskin College and the British labour movement continue the policy of total economic, social and academic boycott of South Africa thereby breaking off this new association with the IIE which all too clearly contravenes the Geneva Resolution.

The stand of the Ruskin students deserves every support, and we would urge militants in the Labour movement to take up their request 'to make known your support for these recommendations to your own organisation and to the Principal of Ruskin College'.

Further information and copies of the Report can be obtained

Yugoslavia - eight professors sacked

On 28 January eight dissident Yugoslav professors in the Philosophy Faculty of Belgrade University were dismissed from their posts.

Their case has for some time been something of an issue both inside and outside Yugoslavia, highlighting among other things the shift in the Yugoslav regime away from a relatively liberal one to a more repressive bureaucratic system. This latest event appears to suggest that the bureaucracy has won a decisive round in its long battle with its left critics. But has the battle been won as well?

An open conflict between the Serbian leadership of the Yugoslav League of Communists and the Philosophy Faculty of the University of Belgrade has, with varying intensity, been going on since about 1968. In the last instance, this has been an aspect of a struggle about the moral and political leadership of the country, which both divides the bureaucracy itself and has involved intellectuals—especially those around the radical journal *Praxis*—and the student vanguard. The latter has maintained considerable political activity throughout—eight of its militants received jail sentences of ten months each in 1974 alone.

DIFFICULTIES

The economic and political difficulties of the last decade, partly related to the troubles in the capitalist world economy and partly to bureaucratic mismanagement, have drastically eroded the once considerable moral authority of the Yugoslav League of Communists. Other things being equal, the Yugoslav leadership would not have hesitated so long to use direct repression to stifle persistent critical voices from the left.

But in a worsening economic and political climate, it preferred to move against the dissident intellectuals in a slow and cautious manner. Even so, there is still a price to be paid because the students in the philosophy faculties of the three main universities have for some time declared their intention to strike in the event of the professors' dismissal.

There is also the important question of the attitude of the mass of working people. Although as yet unwilling to question the credentials of the leadership, they have nevertheless shown little enthusiasm for persecution of the left, particularly as these students and intellectuals have given political and theoretical expression to many of their own aspirations and grievances.

LAWS CHANGED

It is notable in this respect that the Republican Government of Serbia has been forced to change its own



ABOVE: Tito (right) greets Soviet leader Brezhnev—but their political relationship is really not so simple. BELOW: Tito opens 1972 conference of League of Communists.

laws in order to get rid of the professors. Until 1974 the University of Belgrade, like other basic social and economic units, was run on the basis of 'self-management' by an elected University Council. Unable to oust the eight professors simply by the sheer weight of its authority, the Serbian Government had to change the law to curtail the principle of 'self-management', so that half of the Council members would be government appointees.

But even this measure did not succeed: early last autumn the University investigation of the case against the eight rejected the charges against them as false and unfounded. In the end, late last year, the law had to be changed again to allow the Government to 'temporarily dissolve the self-managing body' and directly suspend the eight professors.

This move is unprecedented in recent Yugoslav history. The irony is that the Yugoslav League of Communists has derived much of its authority in the eyes of the Yugoslav masses through its ability to identify itself with the popular ideas of self-



management. Now it has been forced openly to go against them.

The case of the eight has also illustrated the tensions that exist between the Federal Centre, represented by President Tito, and the Republican leaderships—in particular, that of Serbia. If the old Serbian leaders—removed by Tito in 1972—were silent in their refusal to use openly repressive measures, the new leaders—themselves until now unwilling to move—tried to demonstrate their loyalty in

words, causing great commotion in the media since the most drastic measures were announced without ever leading to any action.

This has, among other things, produced a considerable political ferment among the students, which has resulted not only in a firm show of solidarity with the dissident intellectuals, but has also flowered in independent political initiatives (see the 'Resolution of the Students' Unions of the Faculties of Philosophy of Belgrade, Ljubljana and Zagreb' in *Critique* No. 3*). The present victory may indeed bear bitter fruit for the

internal tensions. First of all, there are the potentially powerful nationalist tendencies—to be found both inside and outside the bureaucracy—that represent perhaps the single greatest threat to the integrity of the country.

The radical critics of the bureaucracy associated with the journal *Praxis*, and the student militants, have consistently defended the unity of Yugoslavia in theory and practice against nationalist attacks. They have therefore been significant allies of those forces within the leadership trying to check powerful nationalist and parochial interests. Then there is the constant danger of pro-Soviet tendencies: any Stalinist-type cracking down on liberalisation and democracy inevitably strengthens the pro-Soviet factions. The recent discovery of an underground pro-Soviet party which even managed to hold a congress in the town of Bari last year only highlights the danger of a pro-Soviet fifth column.

But the eight professors have now been suspended, and *Praxis* is being starved of funds so that it may have to close down. While there are undoubted limitations in the scope, content and aims of the intellectuals' opposition, the fact nevertheless remains that in their stand against the bureaucracy they have made a major contribution to the creation of a vanguard out of which a future revolutionary leadership will be born. The international workers' movement must therefore stand unhesitatingly alongside them in their hour of need.

Nicholas Ray

**Critique* is a Marxist journal of East European studies which can be ordered from RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1., price 50p plus 10p p&p.

Czechoslovakia - revolutionary jailed

Ivan Dejmal, a militant revolutionary socialist arrested in 1970 after the Soviet invasion had allowed the bureaucracy to reconsolidate its hold, is once more in prison. Below we print an appeal on his behalf produced by a socialist group working underground in Czechoslovakia.

One of the proudest boasts of the present Czechoslovak regime is that it has managed to win over the 'opportunists' and 'revisionists' by purely political means. If we forget about the Soviet tanks which brought this government to power, there remains a lot of evidence indicating the use of 'non-political' means. The Czechoslovak leaders try to retain their power by the use of these methods. In addition to the hard evidence provided by trials and imprisonments, the apparatus has other means to repress and literally hunt down people who are 'undesirable'.

Ivan Dejmal, 28 years old, is one of the victims of the present regime who is in danger of liquidation. He has been the object of repression since the beginning of 1970. He was arrested and accused of being a member of the youth revolutionary movement just before he was due to finish his studies at the University (faculty of agriculture).

For 18 months he was detained in custody, in atrocious conditions, along with his friend Peter Uhl. He was very brave and refused to give in, in the face of the physical and psychological torture conducted by the secret police. He was equally brave when he refused to participate in the staged farce of a court trial, by not testifying.

Dejmal's courage provoked further repression by the authorities. After



police, all led to his attempted suicide in the summer of 1974. However, the leaders and their assistants were not satisfied by all this. He was treated in a sealed psychiatric ward of an army hospital in Prague (again very similar to prison conditions). After several weeks he was returned to his division.

It did not take the secret police even a week to produce evidence leading to further detention. Ivan Dejmal was sent to Ruzyně prison charged with 'slandering the Soviet Union, other fraternal countries and their representatives'; and with 'undermining the morale of the army, and undermining the field and political readiness of the army' (Articles 100 and 288 of the Czechoslovak penal code).

The maximum sentence under these laws is three years. There is no doubt that the sentence will be carried out. In Czechoslovakia the verdict and sentence are decided beforehand. The regime has the resources to provide the requisite number of witnesses.

There is every reason to be worried over Ivan Dejmal's fate. It is not so much a matter of the length of sentence as the psychological pressure exerted by Musak's secret police. Without the solidarity, support and an appeal by the world's progressive and democratic public, it is certain that there is little chance of saving Ivan Dejmal's life.

He would not be the first Czechoslovak political prisoner in the 1970s to 'voluntarily' choose death, be it in prison or after returning home. The fact that he was followed persistently even when he was unable to undertake any political and professional activity highlights the reasons for our concern. He has had a terrible time already, waiting to learn of his fate, and the means that the regime will use to carry out their sentence.



August 1968: There is only token resistance as Russian tanks move in to shatter the revolutionary aspirations of millions of Czechoslovak workers and students

his release from jail he received his army call-up papers despite his poor health (he is suffering from the effects of jaundice and has gall bladder trouble).

This entailed a further two years in the army. In the army he was a marked man.

He was classified as 'politically undesirable' and therefore had to be continuously guarded. Therefore the army was in fact an extension of prison.

The limited possibilities, the persistent threats to his individual freedom, his continuous shadowing by the secret

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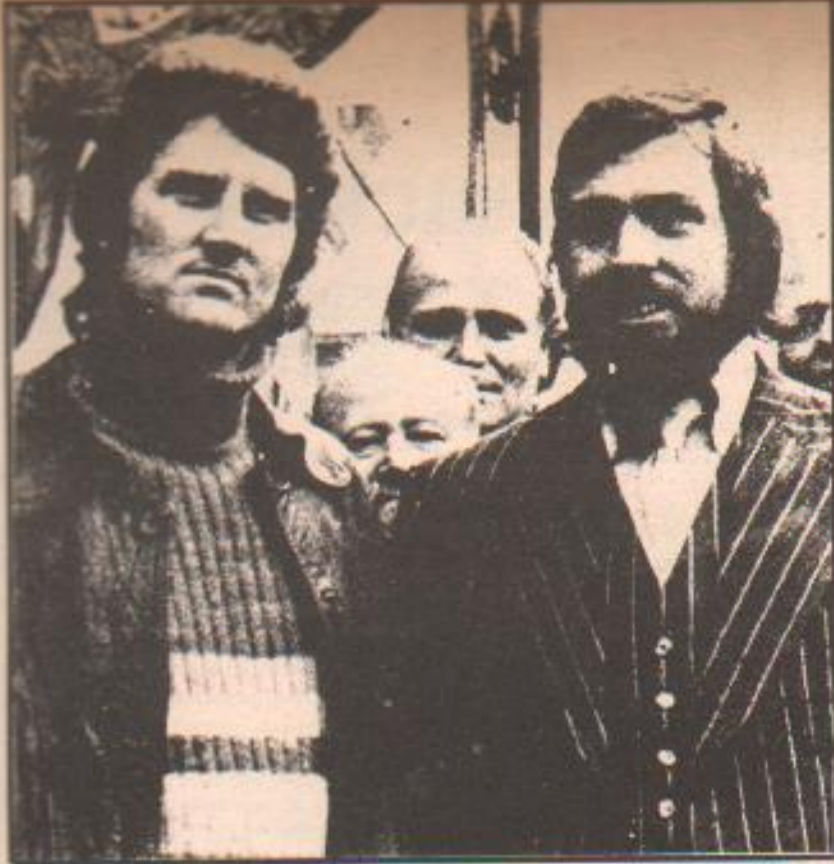
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'FREE THE SHREWSBURY PICKETS'. There is no militant who hasn't lost their voice shouting this in the last two years.

Now the campaign has reached a stage where those who have sweated blood to release these hostages from the claws of the employers, the Tories and the Labour Government, must be feeling rather like Canute when the tide still kept coming in.

After two years of campaigning, and after the election of two Labour Governments, the pickets are still in jail. Last week, Home Secretary, Jenkins even had the gall to consider moving them from an open to a closed prison.

The working class, unlike Canute, does have some power to change the course of events. Right now a torrent of resolutions are descending on the union leaders calling for concerted national strike action to free Des Warren and Ricky Tomlinson. If this movement could get real action from the miners and engineers, the Government would be forced to immediately order their release.

Time is, however, running out. By May, both Warren and Tomlinson, the last of the Shrewsbury 24, will be eligible for parole.

As time runs out for the Shrewsbury 2, it is also time to take stock of the campaign over the last two years. If a campaign to get the 2 released before they are paroled is to succeed, then a new and drastically different campaign is needed.

Every time the question is asked—'What is at stake over Shrewsbury?'—the various organisations active in the campaign all differ on how to get the two brothers out of jail.

When the pickets were arrested and jailed under the Tories, the press, employers and all those trade-union leaders who now want Shrewsbury to be the biggest issue since the Pentonville 5, ganged up to put a wall of silence around the trial. After the miners and the building workers had belted the Tories all over the place by the use of flying pickets, the ruling class were determined to break this weapon. To do this the ruling class has to make sure that Shrewsbury did not become another Pentonville. At the beginning of 1973, it was only the organisations of the revolutionary left and the IMG in particular who saw what was taking place. The employers knew they had to smash militant picketing.

Weak

The state deliberately picked on a weakly organised section of the building trade and stuck over 200 charges on 24 pickets from the '72 Building Workers' strike. They calculatedly included the ominous charge of common law conspiracy which carries an unlimited sentence.

The press clampdown and the refusal of the leaders of UCATT and TGWU, the building unions, as well as the TUC, to fight the law, made sure the matter was hushed up until the prison doors had banged firmly shut.

The press did their job well. Their

role then was to prevent an outcry. Now, when the trade union bureaucrats have been forced to raise Shrewsbury, the press has another job to do. They have to build up an hysteria about anarchy and the 'rule of law'. In the last few weeks, the capitalist press has employed its hacks like Bernard Levin and company to denounce all trade unionists who are for the release of Warren and Tomlinson as enemies of 'law and order'.

The *Daily Mail*, more noted for its links with the Special Branch and other ruling class agencies than for its support of workers' struggles, printed a

by Sam Boyd

vicious two-page smear on the campaign to free the pickets. After the TUC-backed demonstration in London on 14 January, Peter Rost, a Tory MP and member of the Monday Club bitterly complained in Parliament about the waste of £1600 of public money on extra police to keep the demonstrators in good order. But for Rost and his friends, the cool half a million doled out of the public coffers to pay for the prosecution of the Shrewsbury pickets was money well spent.

Since then, every paper has done its bit. Edward Lyons MP, claims in a letter to *The Times*: 'Many good trade unionists have been badly misinformed about the background to the case'. He goes on to quote how Lord Justice James 'described it as a "terrifying display of force and violence."'.

For Mr. Lyons, 'unfortunate' facts such as the failure of the police to bring any charges against the pickets until six months after the strike during which they had escorted every picketing squad on its tour of duty, don't count.

The constant meetings between Police Federation chiefs and the Government in late '72, the grip held by the Macalpine family—who had 'kindly' supplied six previous High Sheriffs to the Denbighshire court where the pickets were prosecuted—and this 'conspiracy' against the Shrewsbury workers was all irrelevant to this Labour MP. No doubt such a 'terrifying display of force and violence' as the cold-blooded murder of 13 Catholics by the British army in Derry three years ago pales next to the actions of the Shrewsbury pickets. And not surprisingly it was Lord Widgery who presided over the white-wash of the army after that event and over the court where he sent the Shrewsbury pickets back to jail last year.

The trade union leadership cannot answer these charges about 'law and

order'. When the employers and law-lorders scream about militant and effective picketing being a threat to the rule of law, they're dead right. For the TUC, and even the Communist Party, there are 'good' laws and 'bad' law.

The task of the trade unions over Shrewsbury is to plead with Roy Jenkins in 'his wisdom and mercy' as Len Murray, General-Secretary of the TUC said, to consider whether the law used against the Shrewsbury pickets was too 'biased' and whether or not he could see his way to finding some 'legal formula' to release the men early and amend the picketing laws.

Everything the TUC has done since it took up the case, last year, is based on these sort of ideas. Earlier in the campaign, the UCATT leadership called the pickets 'criminals' and said a campaign for their release would be a diversion. According to UCATT leader George Smith, the job was to avoid making martyrs and concentrate on getting the law changed.

To these worthy gentlemen we say: Yes, there are good laws and bad laws. All laws are good for the ruling class and all laws are bad for the working class. The law has one function in capitalist society: to serve the employers and all those who support them. The law has been used to enforce and defend the power of the capitalist employers.

True, we can fight to change parts of it and win 'democratic rights' for the workers' movement. But such rights have never been won by pleading with judges or appealing to parliament.

Neither are they defended by ignoring an outright use of the law in a political attack on pickets and saying the main issue is to amend the law. Such a strategy, relying on Parliament and Roy Jenkins as the ultimate arbiter of the fate of working class militants rests on a fundamental misunderstanding of the law and has been the basis of the campaign of the Communist Party since last year.

Insulting things

The CP, the most powerful political force in the campaign, can hardly say such outrageously insulting things as the leaders of UCATT. They have concentrated on the urgent need to get the pickets released through a combination of mass action and pressure on Parliament by using official TUC channels.

No matter how many one-day strikes take place, no matter how many mass lobbies of Parliament, there can be no guarantee of success in the campaign unless it takes a turn to being firmly based on the ideas that the only argument the employers and this Labour Government will understand when the issue of capitalist law is at stake, is the threat of massive strike action. This is the kind of action which ultimately decides 'Who rules', not what

SHREWSBURY
2-

TIM
RUNNING



So many demos. . .so many
...and they're still

is written on the statute book. And these lessons of Shrewsbury, which must be taken home to become the basis of the campaign at this late stage, also confirm that eventually the working class will impose its own socialist law and order on society not through Parliament and the rewriting of existing laws, but by creating their own democratic organisations in which all the people take part at every level.

Because the Communist Party

prefer to ignore these lessons, we are in a situation where for all the 8,000 on the 14 January demonstration in London, for all the mounting calls for one-day national strike action, the mass of workers, particularly in the building trade are disillusioned with the Shrewsbury campaign. Countless and ineffective one-day local strikes, rallies, demonstrations and reams of paper articles in the working class press have not released the pickets.

THIS GOUT



y pickets . .
in !

In a TV debate with Quintin Hogg, Bert Ramelson, industrial organiser of the CP, put forward the monstrous argument that the pickets were jailed under 'judge made' (i.e. common law) and not under laws passed by Parliament. This sort of rubbish continues to give credence to the CP's fetish that while mass action in the factories and on the streets (officially backed by the TUC, of course) is all very well and has its place, it is

ultimately Parliament and the good offices of the Labour Government that will decide whether to please the ruling class or the working class. If the law is merely 'biased' and made by the wrong kind of people, then it can be changed in Parliament for the Communist Party and the TUC and all the Labour 'lefts'.

So where do we go from here on Shrewsbury? Since the demonstration in London two weeks ago, the activity at a local level has been patchy. Only Sheffield Trades Council has started the kind of campaign that can make any national strike action really effective. They have printed 50,000 copies of *Forward the Trades' Council* paper, devoted to Shrewsbury.

They have organised a mass meeting in the City Hall on 16 February to plan the local campaign. Other areas should take off from this example either through Trades Councils or special Action Committees to put real life into the one hundred calls on the TUC to back a one-day national strike. Such national action will only be powerful enough and will only gain the breadth and impetus to turn into indefinite action until the pickets are released if a broad campaign in the localities offers the hope of real action this time round.

While the big London demonstration on 14 January was a real show of force, it took place against a back-drop of many defeats in factories and sites up and down the country for stewards recommendations and votes to take action on that day. The reality is that many workers are so frustrated at the ineffectiveness of the campaign in the last two years, they are not prepared to act now unless there is some chance of success.

Local bodies of the movement should demand that the TUC set a date for national action and organise regional conferences of stewards delegates from all industries and unions, to prepare the final push. If the TUC ignore these calls, the Kent, Yorks and Scottish areas of the NUM, who have all added their voices to the call for strike action, should set a date for their own concerted action and campaign for this to be taken up by the rest of the movement.

As part of the build-up to effective strike action, support should be given to the call by Liverpool Trades Council for a conference in Liverpool on 9 February. Such a conference can play an important role in the debate which must turn the campaign onto the road for victory. Delegates should press the conference to support the march organised by the Wigan Building Workers' Action Committee.

The Wigan march can be a torch to set alight the campaign for the mass of workers. Rallies and delegations of stewards should greet the march. The need is for action—which is the only way to get Warren and Tomlinson out of prison.

Red Weekly has consistently warned of the dangers of leaving the campaign to free the Shrewsbury 2 solely in the hands of the trade union bureaucracy.

Len Murray, George Smith and Jack Jones have no intention of organising strike action to force the release of Warren and Tomlinson. But without such action these workers will remain in jail.

A new initiative to get the 2 out of jail has been started by the Wigan Builders' Action Committee. It is an initiative that can unite into a national campaign those militants who recognise the need for a general strike to force open the prison gates.

In every trade union branch, and in every organisation of the labour movement, resolutions should be put giving support to this march. The resolutions should include financial support, the sending of the biggest possible delegations to join the march, and calls for solidarity strike action.

Whenever the march reaches a new town or city it should be greeted with the biggest possible demonstration of solidarity from the sites and the factories, the student unions and tenants' organisations, women's organisations and the political organisations of the left.

This can lead to the formation of Action Committees in each area. The trade union bureaucracy and their allies in the Communist Party want to isolate the march. The so-called 'left' Labour MPs prefer to lobby Mr. Jenkins. They will not fight their right-wing friends because this means declaring war against the Government's anti-working class actions.

Responsibility

An enormous responsibility falls on the shoulders of the revolutionary left. By throwing its weight and resources behind this initiative it can help to break the stranglehold of the bureaucracy. To stand idly by on the sidelines would constitute a betrayal, not simply of the interests of the Shrewsbury 2, but of the interests of the entire working class.

Of course the march is organised mainly by members and supporters of the Workers Revolutionary Party—an organisation with which the IMG and other revolutionary organisations have many differences. But that is no excuse for not giving the march the maximum support.

If the trade union bureaucracy and the CP are allowed to keep their grip over the Shrewsbury campaign it means that nothing will happen. The two workers will stay in jail and people will be convinced that there is no effective way in which you can challenge the law of the ruling class.

The WRP, by the way that it is organising the march, unfortunately plays into the hands of the bureaucracy and the CP. Instead of using it as a battering ram to break through the bureaucratic wall imposed by these forces, and thereby build a broad powerful movement, it is trying to turn it into a party-building exercise.

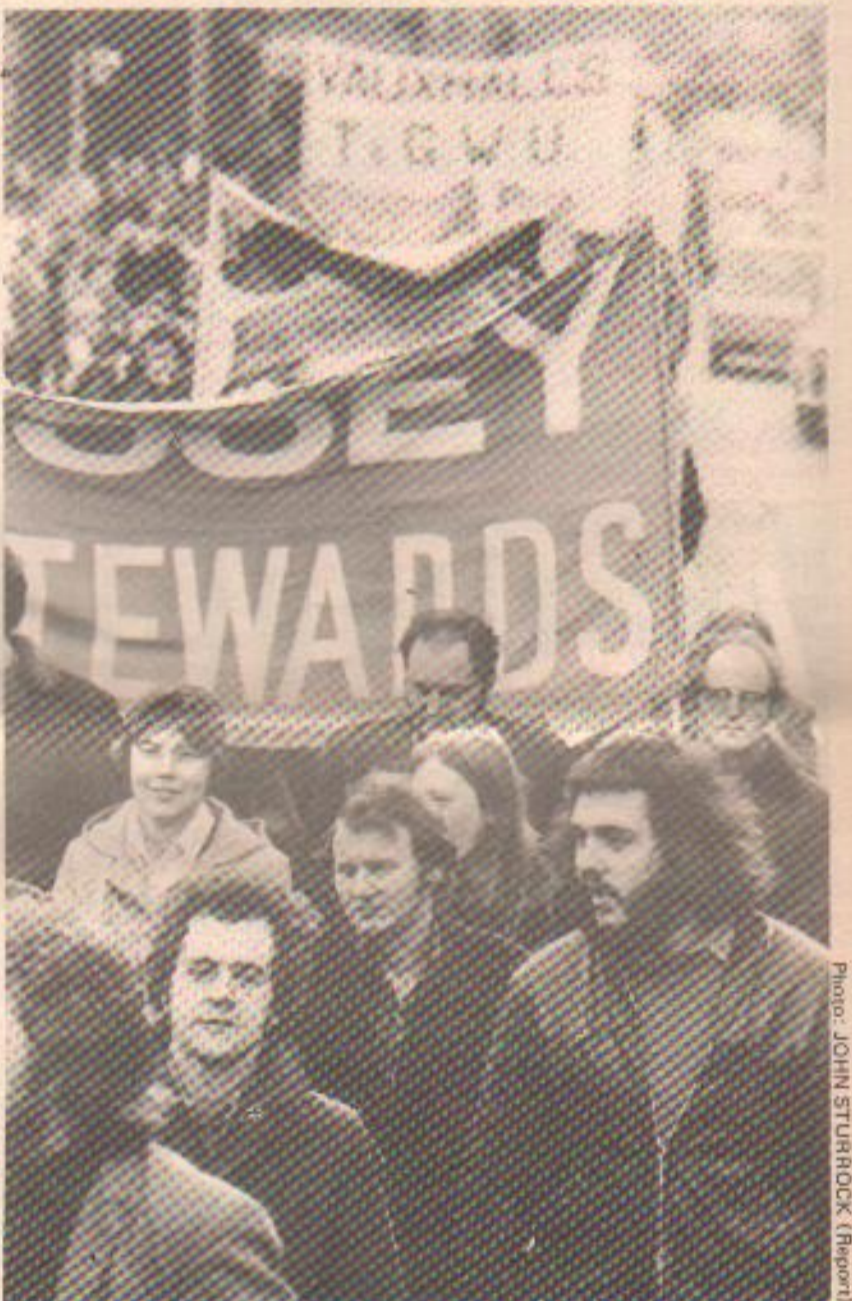
Withdrawal

Red Weekly interviewed Mick Abbott, a leading member of the Wigan Builders' Action Committee, on why they were organising the march. Although we were prepared to publish the interview without making any editorial alterations, Brother Abbott rang up at the last minute withdrawing the interview.

No doubt the WRP had issued instructions to its supporters not to have anything to do with the other groups on the revolutionary left. This is in direct contradiction to the claim of the Wigan Builders' Action Committee that they had written to all the papers of the left seeking support for the march.

Red Weekly did not receive such a letter. If we had we would certainly have printed it. Perhaps the WRP and its supporters think the 'left' is restricted to the *Morning Star* and

THE LONG, LONG WALK TO FREE THE TWO



The march leaves Wigan last Saturday on the first leg of the journey to London

Tribune. If this is the case, it shows that the WRP has no understanding of what the forces are that can be mobilised to smash the reformists and the stalinists who want to throttle the Shrewsbury campaign.

Alternatively, the WRP might think that the main task over Shrewsbury is simply to expose the reformists and the CP. Such a policy might gain the odd member for the WRP, but if the campaign is simply going to be restricted to 'exposing' the inadequacies of these people then Warren and Tomlinson will stay in jail.

Wrong

Both these approaches are wrong. They will not help to build a movement to free the pickets. What is more they play right into the hand of the bureaucrats and the CP.

The action of the Wigan Builders' Committee can re-ignite the flame of opposition to the jailing of the pickets. It can be used as a launching pad to provide a focus for militants to start strike action. But that is only possible if it starts from the understanding

that it must involve all those forces inside the working class movement that are for independent action.

What is more it can re-group the militants who will be at the Liverpool Conference, helping to make sure that this is not simply a talking shop. A powerful march, a demonstration of real support, even token strike action, can show the way for those workers at Liverpool who want to take action and not simply rely on the bureaucracy.

Again we stress—all support to the Wigan march. At the same time the WRP must not be allowed to turn this into some publicity stunt. The outcome of the march will not be determined by the plans of the WRP. It will be determined by the fight of revolutionaries and militants to make sure that it genuinely tries to organise a united front of all those who want to build national strike action to free the Shrewsbury 2.

Bob Pennington

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

WAY FORWARD IN PRINT

In your article about the recent disputes in the printing industry (*Red Weekly*, 23 January), Mick Gosling asserted that the craft consciousness of print workers stood in the way of mass redundancies and closures in newspaper offices. But in the next paragraph he more or less admitted that this consciousness encouraged craft unions like the NGA to conduct exclusive campaigns, to fight for jobs at the expense of 'non-craft' unions like NATSOPA.

He then went on to insist that the split in the ranks of the print unions — that is, the lack of unity, mostly due to the craft elitism of the NGA, its leading bureaucrats and more backward members — must be overcome if the press barons are to be defeated. Finally he ended by proclaiming that the way to fight any redundancies and closures in newspaper offices was not through the maintenance of craft differentials (and presumably not through craft consciousness).

If some readers found the logic of this rather obscure, they must have felt less confused when he reassured them that craft consciousness was contradictory!

The NGA is an amalgam of old craft unions, some of which were among the first trade unions to be organised — an achievement which to a large extent res-

ted on printworkers being able to bargain on the basis of their special skills, as part of a small, highly privileged labour aristocracy, with a strategy of narrow sectional gains.

Most of these 'super' skills have long since been made obsolete by mechanical methods and automatic machinery, to the point where skills have been spread more evenly through the industry, with craft and 'non-craft' unions absorbing skills of a broadly similar, less complex nature, making the skills monopolised by one union no more or less important from the point of view of bargaining and industrial action than any other.

In this situation craft consciousness has tended to degenerate into mere snobbery, an attitude that is guaranteed to provoke false and damaging divisions between the print unions, that must delight the employers.

Inter-union hostility based on craft and 'non-craft' union membership will have to be forgotten if unity is to be created to face the newspaper proprietors' threats to replace the present hot metal process with superior technological methods. If these threats materialise in a practical way it would put craft and 'non-craft' unions (manual work) on an equal footing with the prospect of being retained if they are lucky.

A development of this nature would provide the material conditions for the complete abolition of craft-union barriers, opening up opportunities for integration and co-operation of print unions like NATSOPA and NGA, so that the newspaper industry can be reorganised on the basis of tasks performed rather than craft and 'non-craft' union differences.

But the dominant section of the NGA bureaucracy have no intention of leading a mass struggle to demand that the benefits of improved technology be handed over to all newspaper workers, no matter what union they belong to. They will no doubt lean on and organise the more insular NGA members to emphasise the superior right of craft union members to any new skills that need to be learned, and jobs to be had, which could spill over into a competitive jostling for jobs between NGA and NATSOPA.

To be fair to Mick Gosling, he also added that strong trade union organisation was also necessary to prevent redundancies, but this vague, if correct generality does not help us to understand what kind of strength will be needed, and in which way the unions will have to fight closure. Nor did his failure to make distinctions within the unions help to clarify the issues.

At one stage in his article, he appeared to be saying that the NGA were turning to the law courts for aid, rather than rely upon their own action, when he probably meant to say that the handful of NGA functionaries who initiated this were not carrying out the course of action that could win struggles in the print. The membership of the NGA, especially at the level of Fathers of the Chapel (shop stewards), have been prepared to struggle, but unfortunately this has been for the preservation of the differential as a principle, following the position of Bonfield (NGA general secretary) rather than in defence of jobs and against rationalisation at the expense of printworkers.

Strong union organisation did not pro-

vidently, the NGA leadership reiterated the management threats that the entire *Daily Express* would be closed down if the Manchester office refused to print the Scottish edition.

This misleadership opened up the floodgates of fear amongst printworkers in the Manchester office of the *Express*, and helped the management to intimidate the workforce into scabbing on the Scottish men and agreeing to print the Scottish edition for the payment of a few hours overtime, for the extra hours it takes to print the extra copies. It is now a common grumble in the *Express* office among the workers that Beaverbrook Newspapers have now got two papers almost for the price of one.

There is a feeling among some men at the office — which many of the men don't like to think about too much — that the management are adopting the same tactic of first chopping the Scottish office and then, after a polite waiting period, giving Manchester the same treatment.

Beaverbrook's might be inspired to imitate Sun boss Rupert Murdoch and print a national edition from a single office in London with all the latest technological wonders, which has apparently left them with an enormous overdraft. There has also been gossip that a similar future is being planned for the *Daily Mail* in Manchester, and talk that machinery to replace the hot metal process is to be introduced in the near future at Thomson House.

How much of this gossip has any foundation it is difficult to determine, but it is almost certain that the newspaper proprietors are grossly exaggerating the speed and ease with which these new methods can be introduced, although in the long term these kinds of developments are very much on the agenda.

The Glasgow Action Committee do not provide an example of how these drastic changes can be fought, despite their initial protest 'sit-in', for publicly their policy adhered to capitalist legality by negotiating to buy the plant with their redundancy money (keeping on good terms with Beaverbrook) and appealing for money to the trade union bureaucracy — which meant in practice that they did not attempt to mobilise printworkers for solidarity. — NGA PRINTWORKER, Manchester.

A Sense of Our History



Jean-Paul Sartre speaking at a pro-Algerian demonstration in Paris

8 FEBRUARY, 1962: At the height of the Algerian liberation movement against French imperialism, 60,000 people defied De Gaulle's ban to march through Paris in solidarity with the Algerian struggle and to get French troops out. At the Charronne Metro station, the riot police charged into the Algerian part of the demonstration and pushed a section of it down the Metro stairwell. They then threw heavy iron gratings and marble cafe-tables onto the heads of the demonstrators below. In this incident and the ensuing police-riot, hundreds of demonstrators were injured and eight were killed.

At the funeral of those killed, a million people marched — the biggest demonstration in Paris since the end of World War Two. Despite the terror tactics of the French army in Algeria, the vicious intimidation of the solidarity movement in France and the frequent bombings of the pro-colonial, semi-fascist OAS, France was finally forced to withdraw from the colony six months later.



9 FEBRUARY, 1972: In the third week of the national miners' strike, the huge Salkley coke depot in Birmingham was still open, despite the attempts to close it by miners' flying pickets. Then the local area of the Engineering Union called for a half-day strike in solidarity with the miners; and 10,000 workers marched on the depot to close it down, along with miners from Scotland, Wales, Yorkshire and Durham. After brief resistance by the totally outnumbered police, the depot was finally closed.

This event was really the turning point of the whole strike, which itself was a real blow to the Tory government's anti-working-class measures. It demonstrated to thousands of workers that it is the balance of forces between the two classes which decides the course of events, not what the law or the police say. This was demonstrated again later in that year, when mass action by thousands of workers got the five London dockers out of prison within days.

ABORTION campaign sharpens

The campaigns for and against abortion are becoming more sharply polarised at the present time. Both are focusing attention more directly on Parliament and attempting to achieve changes in the law relating to abortion.

The anti-abortion organisations (SPUC, Life, etc) in particular have been building up the 'political' side of their campaign. A private member's Bill to introduce strict limitations on the medical grounds for abortion and to restrict abortions to within 20 weeks of pregnancy (from the present 28) gets its second reading in the House of Commons on Friday 7 February.

The anti-abortion organisations must be very pleased that this bill has a Labour sponsor — James White, Labour MP for Glasgow Pollok — for this reinforces their efforts to portray their fight against abortion as a non-party, non-class question. The Labour Party's own determined refusal to take any position on abortion has contributed to the success of the anti-abortion organisations; and in addition it shows the limits any commitment by the Labour Party to the fight for women's rights.

LABOUR MPs

However there is some polarisation within the Labour Party itself on the question of abortion. Six women Labour MPs have sponsored the campaign launched in early January by the Abortion Law Reform Association which will work for 'every woman to have the right to control her own fertility through contraception, and if she becomes pregnant, to end or continue her pregnancy as she wishes'.

The campaign calls for 'abortion on request' up to the twelfth week

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST WHITE'S BILL

Friday 7 February — assemble 12.30pm, Lincoln's Inn Fields for march to Parliament



The Catholic element is to the fore in the new attempts to roll back the Abortion Act

of pregnancy with unacceptable risk to the woman's health as the only ground for refusal after that. Recognising that the availability of contraception and abortion alone will not provide most women with any real choice, it also demands improved state assistance to mothers, improved family allowances, and local authority housing provision.

The ALRA campaign, combined with the demand for contraception and abortion in the Working Women's Charter, provides the opportunity to extend the work of the women's liberation movement on contraception and abortion, and

to fight for wider support within the labour movement for the establishment of free abortion on demand as a legal right.

NATIONAL HEALTH

The financial and political crisis in the National Health Service makes it even more important to take up these questions now. Ten months after contraception became available under the NHS, family doctors are still not freely prescribing contraception because the alterations to their contracts have still not been finalised.

It seems that areas of medicine

which are especially important to women are widely regarded as an optional extra. This has been the position of consultants working to rule, who in many parts of the North West have been refusing to undertake NHS abortions for social reasons. When it comes to closing hospitals it seems that women's hospitals like the Elizabeth Garret Anderson and the Liverpool Road branch of the Royal Free in London are particularly easily expendable.

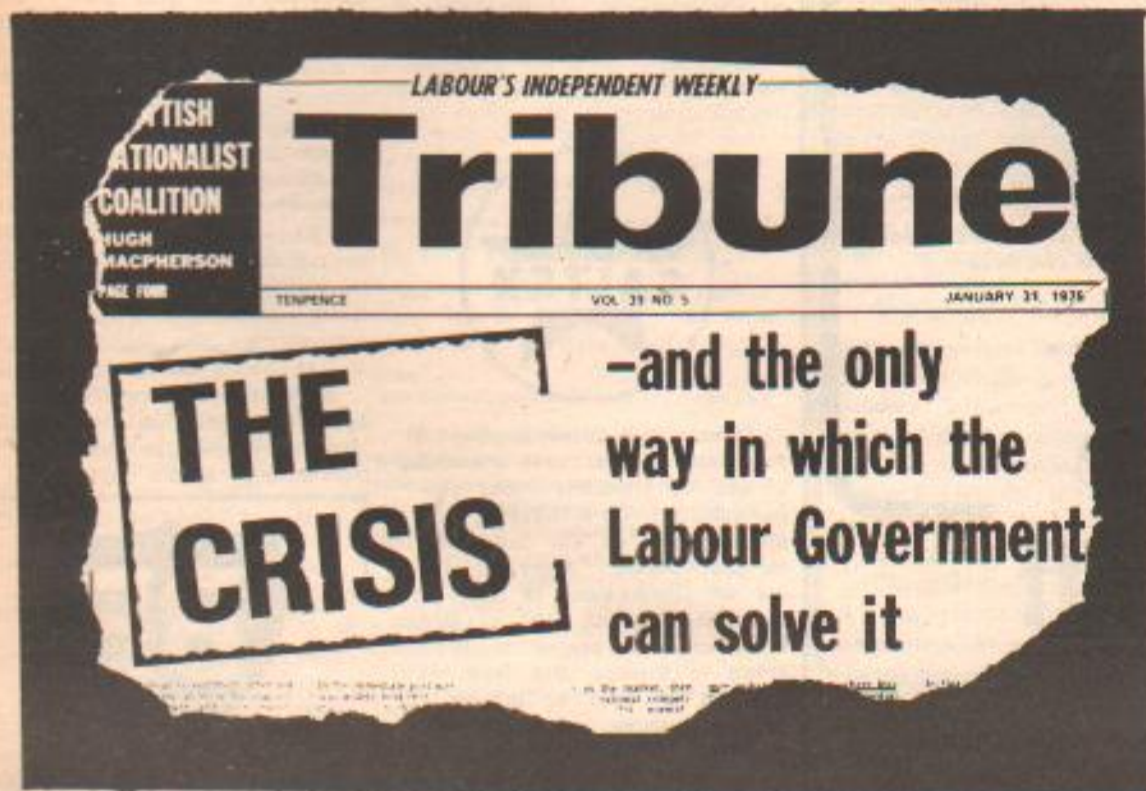
In demanding free contraception and abortion on demand now we are fighting for the provision of medical facilities to serve people's needs. And we place this particular demand clearly in the context of the struggle for women's liberation, seeing that the right of women to control their own bodies is one necessary element in this struggle.

In this we distinguish ourselves firmly from the reactionary supporters of contraception and abortion (such as Sir Keith Joseph), who believe that social problems could be avoided if only the working class had fewer children. The traditions of the labour movement and of the socialist movement have been particularly confused and inadequate in relation to this question in the past, and it is important that as we develop activity against White's Bill and in support of the ALRA campaign and the Working Women's Charter we do so on the clear political basis outlined above.

Margaret Coulson

TRIBUNE'S ECONOMIC DAY-DREAM

Chris Balfour



ONCE UPON A TIME, in the good old days of capitalist prosperity, virtually the entire population of Labour's parliamentary benches agreed that the age of capitalist crises was gone forever.

But now with bits and pieces of the collapsing capitalist system littering the very floor of the House of Commons, a section of the Labour Party—curiously, the *right wing*—has woken up to the fact that capitalist crisis is here again.

Labour's right-wingers are now prepared to point to the deep-seated difficulties of British capitalism and bemoan the terrible state of our economy. Of course they do this for totally pro-capitalist reasons—to try and club the workers' movement into submission on such life-or-death questions for capitalism as unemployment, wages and the Common Market.

DREAMS

Meanwhile the Labour "left" continues to slumber on, dreaming about the long-gone days when capitalism still had the wherewithal to fork out the odd concession to the working class, and one could make a reputation as a "left" in the labour movement simply by shouting "stand and deliver" louder than anyone else.

The latest emanation from this last remaining dream world of social democracy is the statement of the *Tribune* group on the economy, "The Crisis— and the only way in which the Labour Government can solve it". The reference to "crisis" in the title belies its view point, which finds considerable grounds for optimism in the fact that "despite this very serious economic situation, Bri-

tain still has a very considerable volume of productive capacity in industry and is the home of no less than 140 of the top 500 companies... in Western Europe".

True, Britain's capitalist economy "has a very considerable volume of productive capacity". But so it did in the 20's and 30's when it was racked by interminable economic crisis. The point is not what potential resources the economy has, but whether the capitalist system is capable of setting them to work.

For the Tribunites the collapse of the Keynesian paradise is not due to the fundamental flaws of capitalism, but the rise of gigantic monopolies and multi-national firms: "It is the development of these multi-national companies which has led to the downfall of conventional Keynesian economics. They simply do not respond to conventional fiscal and monetary measures."

DIAGNOSIS

Having made this diagnosis, the Tribunites have a ready solution: the adoption of measures to curtail the powers of the multi-nationals and allow us to return to a world where "conventional fiscal and monetary

measures" can do the job. In their view this can be accomplished through a combination of expanding the public sector by the purchase of "profitable companies" in order to club the monopolies with a dose of capitalist competition, and then hitting them again with "planning agreements", through which the Government will negotiate over company policies.

This summons up a vision of Gulliver and the Lilliputians; hordes of little Tribune MPs swarming over the body of multi-national giants in an effort to bind him with their miniature threads. Such a course may be all very well as long as our giant is prepared to tolerate this activity—perhaps curious as to the exact intentions of his puny adversaries—but as soon as he gets the wind up his nose and starts to thrash around the threads snap, and all our little Tribunites get thrown in disarray to the four corners.

Tribune is not unaware of this danger. Its solution is to try and avoid a head-on clash with the monopolies. So, for example, the statement does not propose their outright nationalisation—surely the most direct and straightforward way to "break their power".

At the same time they make it quite clear that all takeovers will be purchases by the National Enterprise Board (NEB). So a considerable proportion of the funds required to finance these industrial plans will not go towards expand-

ing or revamping productive capacity, but paying back the capitalists.

CAUTIOUS

In the same way *Tribune* adopt a very cautious attitude towards nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies (after all, we wouldn't want our giant to get the scent of socialism in his nostrils). Thus while pointing out that such nationalisation would "greatly facilitate" the financing of their scheme, they do not assign this step high priority: "Until such time as these institutions are nationalised the NEB must be allowed to huddle on the open market if it so wishes."

The net result of *Tribune's* economic policies then would produce a considerably enlarged public sector, competing in the capitalist market with the major multi-nationals, and in hock to the bankers for the cash required to pay back their former owners and to finance new investment. Such public sector business would be totally tied to the laws of capitalism and would have no more in common with socialism than the National Coal Board, British Rail or BP. This fact is recognised by *Tribune* who, despite their brave rejection of the "social contract" in favour of a socialist contract, shamefacedly revive the essential content of the right-wing's social contract: "we do not desist from the view that if living standards are to be improved through the high levels of investment which we call for then there may have to be some initial restraint in the growth of some personal incomes."

UNIONS

About the only useful ideas the *Tribune* statement contains are in its discussion of how to actually get the multi-nationals to pay any attention to the planning agreements. Here they reveal a certain unease that the multi-national giants may not be prepared to go along with such restrictions on their power, and that a Labour Government basing itself on the capitalist state machine may be able to do "bugger all about it"... we would expect trade unions to take the lead in this field. They are in a far better and more powerful position than any Whitehall bureaucracy to get such agreements moving... If the Government is not prepared to use sanctions to make these companies comply, we would hope that trade unions would step in.

All fine and dandy. But why should the organised workers' movement "take the lead" only in this area,

if it's so much more effective than "Whitehall bureaucracy"? Why all this pussyfooting around the multi-nationals and the capitalist class as a whole if the unions can tame them?

The reason is simple enough. To really tackle the power of the monopolies a comprehensive system of workers' control would be needed: based on democratic workers' councils in every factory, and bodies of workers' delegates investigating, discussing and regulating the operation of capitalist firms at every level. Such a system could break the power of the monopolies and the capitalists, and allow the working class to get on with the job of working out a rational, planned, socialist solution to the crisis.

But such a move would require a radical revamping of the present bureaucratic set-up of the unions—a prospect which would not sit well with the "left" bureaucrats who are *Tribune's* political bedfellows.

POWER

But even more seriously, such an organised system of workers' control would show the *real* class power of the working class in operation. In its shadow Parliament would be exposed as the ruling class talking shop that it is. In such a situation the cry would inevitably go up for a workers' Government which based itself on the organised power of the working class, and the workers would set about scrapping the capitalist state machine and putting their own organisations in its place—not just to administer polite "planning agreements", but to take over the running of the whole of society in the interests of their class. No force in the land would be able to stop them hurling the social democrats' much-loved Parliament into the rubbish heap, along with all the other useless junk of the bankrupt capitalist system.

What all this boils down to is that those who do not understand the need to break with Parliament and the capitalists' state machine will never be able to fight for socialism—indeed, they cannot even mount an effective fight against the crisis.

The Tribunites may not be prepared to launch the kind of outright attacks on the working class that Healey, Wilson, Jenkins or Prentice would. But they are no more prepared to mount a struggle for workers' power. This puts them in a dilemma which they can only try to worm out of by kidding themselves about the rotten bankrupt state capitalism is really in. The task of those who do understand the nature of the capitalist crisis is to try and make sure they don't fool anyone else.

WHAT'S ON?

TRADE UNION CONFERENCE on Ireland: Organising Meeting to determine form the conference should take, Monday 10 February at 7.30 p.m. in the Labour Club, Bristol Street, Birmingham.

FREE DESMOND TROTTER! Stop repression in Dominica! Public meeting Sunday 9 February at 4 p.m. in Keswick Community Hall, 1 Gifford Street, London, N.1. Organised by Caribbean People's Solidarity Campaign.

SEXISM AND EDUCATION Conference: Saturday 1 March at Nottingham Teachers Centre, Cranmer Street, Nottingham. Workshops include: women and the teaching unions; non-sexist books and teaching materials; gay oppression and education; Working Women's Charter; sex education. Creche and accommodation available. Registration, including discussion papers, 50p (postal orders, etc. payable to T. Pamplin) from 18 Corporation Oaks, Nottingham.

FOR CHEAP RELIABLE IBM Typesetting with fast turn-around, phone Carl or Martin on 01-837 9987.

NATIONALISATION and Workers Control—the Crisis in the Car Industry. Birmingham IMG public meeting, with speakers Bob Pennington (IMG National Secretary) and IMG carworker from Cowley, Sunday 2 March at 7.30 p.m. in Digbeth Civic Hall, Lecture Theatre II.

DAY CONFERENCE: Socialist Perspectives on Ireland, 15 February, 10 a.m., Chelsea College, Manresa Road, SW3. Further details contact: Socialist Society, Chelsea College. Organised with the help of TOM.

BENGALI FRIENDS in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and *Sreni-Dai-Biplob* (Fourth International paper) contact: Bengali, c/o Internationalen, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.

WATFORD RED FORUM: Fortnightly meetings in the Green Man, Watford High Street. Next meeting Monday 10 February: "The Working Women's Charter."

WORKERS FIGHT FORUM: "Why Socialists should oppose the "Get out of the EEC" campaign." Speaker: Simon Temple, Sunday, 9 February, 8.30 p.m. at the "George", Liverpool Road, N.1. (Angel underground).

LATIN AMERICAN Conference at Birmingham University, 15-16 February. Sat: sessions on Mexico and Brazil. Sun: discussion on Chile since the coup. For details write to Latin American Society, Students Union, Birmingham University.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUP—Edinburgh Branch: public meeting, 7.30 p.m., Tuesday 11 February. Speaker: David Yaffe on "The tasks facing revolutionaries today."

BIRMINGHAM Revolutionary Communist Group public meeting on Britain and the Irish Revolution, White Lion Pub, Bristol Street, 7.30 p.m., Friday, 14 February.

ABORTION LAW UNDER ATTACK: Demonstrate 7 February for defence and extension of Abortion Act against attempts to restrict it in James White's private members bill. Assemble 12.30 Lincoln's Inn Fields for march to House of Commons.

MAYDAY THEATRE'S new anti-fascist play, "The Adventures of Jack Boot", exposes the myths of everyday life which are the breeding ground for fascism. Discussion after each performance. At Unity Theatre, NW1, on 14, 15 and 16 February. Or contact 223 3419 to book it for your organisation—tour begins 18 February.

SHEFFIELD RED CIRCLES: Every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. in the Lion Hotel (corner of The Wicker and Nursery St.).

"SEXISM, SEXUALITY and Class Struggle"—a new pamphlet looking into the crisis in relations between men and women. Includes interview with French women bank workers after their strike last year. Published by Bristol IMG for Red Weekly Fund Drive. Send to K. Kong Corp., c/o Villa Road, London, SW9. 15p single copy, £1 for 10—inc. p&p.

WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER Campaign—the London Co-ordinating Committee is holding a general meeting to report on its activities, discuss plans for future work, and hear what Charter groups in London are doing. Saturday 15 February at 2 p.m., University of London Union, Malet Street (Room 20). Everybody welcome. Please bring reports from your Charter group.



In London demonstrators picket the Chilean Embassy demanding the release of Chilean sailors about to go on trial for supporting the Allende regime. But in Scotland the end of the black on the Hawker-Hunter engines has given the junta a big boost.

After pressure from engineers' leaders. . . .

Chilean air-force blackings called off

UNDER PRESSURE from the national executive of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Rolls Royce shop stewards at East Kilbride have finally been forced to call off their black on Hawker-Hunter engines going to the Chilean Air Force.

Thus Europe's single most effective action of solidarity with the Chilean working class has faded out with a whimper. The responsibility for letting it die lies clearly with those who, in public, have been most anxious to declare their support for the Chilean struggle: the left Labour MPs, the left within the AUEW bureaucracy, and the national leadership of the Chile Solidarity Campaign itself.

BRIEF LOVE AFFAIR

When Rolls Royce workers first blacked the engines, early last year, their action awoke slumbering sentiments of solidarity all round. Hugh Scanlon was moved to declare an AUEW black on all arms going to Chile: a move which hindered the junta taking over frigates built for them in Yarrow's of Clydebank, and put the fear of god into them over submarines being constructed in Greenock.

In Chile, Rolls Royce workers were recognised as the 'vanguard of the international struggle against Chilean fascism'. Their concrete action of blacking was the most practical form of political solidarity with the Chilean working class and the resistance in Chile. The Rolls Royce workers had touched the military junta's life line: its ability to count on an easy and uninterrupted flow of arms from the West.

NOT WITH A BANG . . .

But in spite of the international impact of the Rolls Royce workers' action, British awareness of its importance faded very quickly. After the initial flurry of speeches, little or nothing was done to support the shop stewards in their black.

Worse: in September, the AUEW executive began not only to reconsider its earlier determination not to allow production of arms for Chile in Britain, but even to bring pressure on Rolls Royce shop stewards to call off the black! The reason given was that, as Rolls Royce was a nationally owned company, the workers' action was seriously embarrassing the Labour Government, which could acquire a

reputation internationally for not honouring its business contracts.

No Labour MP or AUEW leader spoke up then to point out that a Labour Government might have more important commitments to honour than those to international capitalism: like the commitment at least not to add to the monstrous machine of repression which continues to screw down the Chilean working class.

Nationally the Chile Solidarity Campaign also did nothing to support the Rolls Royce workers, in spite of a general appreciation of the importance of Rolls Royce in Chile. Locally, aside from many fine words and the production of a bulletin by the most active members of the far left within the CSC, no action was taken.

by
**SAM WALLER &
CLARE SWEENEY**

The reason? The AUEW executive's decision was part of 'internal trade union politics' - a pawn of right-winger John Boyd in his campaign for election as national secretary. To have mounted a public campaign on the fact that the AUEW to all intents and purposes had turned its coat - that would have been 'interference in trade union affairs'.

. . . BUT A WHIMPER

So the shop stewards were left to fight off the pressure of the right wing union bureaucracy, absolutely alone. To their credit, they held out more than four months. Then last month John Boyd showed well ahead of all his rivals in the first ballot for the post of national secretary; and the shop stewards - figuring perhaps that not only had they no present allies, but that possible future allies had also disappeared - gave up the ghost.

The Chile Solidarity Campaign should have campaigned on the change of heart within the AUEW. It should have made sure that information on what was happening reached every AUEW militant committed to helping his Chilean comrades - so that the national executive's decision could have been overturned from within.

Every political party committed to supporting the struggle in Chile should have been doing the same. The AUEW's decision should have been seized upon as a betrayal of trade union democracy.

The policy of the Communist Party, which dominates the Chile Solidarity Campaign at a national level, was 'don't rock the boat'. CP member George Anthony, as a representative of the AUEW (and the 'trade union movement') within the CSC national executive, told the executive not to interfere.

CSC DISCIPLINE

The far left within the Chile Solidarity Campaign in Glasgow (the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group) had a correct position but failed to put it into action. In practice, we accepted the discipline of the CSC. We campaigned within it to get some activity going on the black, but nevertheless did very little independently (aside from the production of a factory bulletin already mentioned) to assure those workers that their action was not doomed to remain an heroic isolated gesture.

Without a strong movement within the AUEW to restore the black there is little hope for the Rolls Royce workers. What is now required is a vigorous campaign by every political force with strength within the AUEW, a national campaign to get that black restored.

The trade union leaders must be held to their promises. Only last month they were fêting two leaders of the Chilean CUT (Chilean TUC) who were on a trade union tour in Britain. Now they must be forced to act on the latter's call to the British working class to increase the international isolation of the dictatorship by developing the economic blockade, and the boycott of all arms to the junta.

MANIPULATION

The Rolls Royce workers were isolated and subjected to the manipulation of the AUEW leadership; the isolation for the stewards in the factory was all the worse because their action was not based on meetings of the men in the factory. They ended up in this position because of the lack of support built for them, which the Chile Solidarity Campaign failed to initiate.

This means that concrete work must immediately be taken up to get blacking action against the two submarines docked at Greenock for repairs (to be used for political prisoners by the junta). This kind of concrete action will have a tremendous affect on the Rolls Royce workers.

The collapse of a projected one-day strike called by the Oil Rigs Liaison Committee (ORLC) in protest against growing redundancies has highlighted the problems facing workers throughout the Scottish oil industry.

Oil workers are bitter about Labour's empty pledges on Scottish oil. Last October the Labour Party Manifesto for Scotland boasted: 'Labour intends to see to it that the people of Scotland benefit fully from North Sea oil.' But in the face of a ruthless attack launched by the owners of £17,000 million worth of capital based on North Sea oil ('standing in the forefront of the fight against socialism in Britain', as one American finance journal put it), Labour has retreated.



Labour still plans to buy its way into 51 per cent ownership of the oil industry. But this has nothing to do with taking the industry out of the hands of the oil monopolies. After all, the Labour Government of 1964-70 controlled 51 per cent of British Petroleum, the biggest industrial group in Europe. But from 1967 onwards BP paid no income tax despite building up to a 1972 turnover of £3,431 million!

What the Labour Government is really concerned with is to pour as much of the income from North Sea oil as it can into the ever-widening balance of payments deficit. This is why it has let super-exploitation rip in the oil industry since the 'oil-boom' started.

But the oil monopolies will not tolerate even token interference. Their answer to Labour's pre-election daydreams was dramatic and direct: a consortium of 17 companies, including Shell, Esso, Texaco, Gulf and Mobil, founded the gigantic Brent system to coordinate the exploitation of five wells one hundred miles off the Shetlands.

The Brent system has the capacity to handle half of Britain's present annual crude oil requirements: the projected outlay was £2,000 million. The sight of such stakes sent Labour and its '51 per cent purchase' scheme into full retreat.

It is the oil moguls who are now forcing the pace towards a showdown, by transferring contracts out of Scotland to hold back development. Labour's attempt to 'take control' is now no more than a series of bigger and bigger concessions to the oil monopolies: 51 per cent ownership is to be taken only in selected companies; revenue tax proposals have been cut down; and Labour has promised not to take any profits from the companies it buys shares in.



For oil-related industry workers there's more at stake in this than Labour's pride in its hare-brained schemes. The transfer of contracts abroad is causing massive cutbacks and redundancies in rig and module construction and pipe coating.

The two main oil-related industries in Leith, Edinburgh give stark proof of this. Two hundred and forty workers at Bredero-Price pipes are being laid off with no guarantee of new contracts. And



along the road at Motherwell Bridge a workforce of 70, already slashed by 60 per cent after an unsuccessful six-week parity strike, face the threat of further redundancies.

It is the growing threat of redundancies that led the ORLC - an unofficial shop stewards' body representing all the major unions in the oil construction yards - to issue its call for a one-day strike on Wednesday 22 January. But because they limited their demands to ending the transfer of contracts abroad and ending the redundancies, the action played into the hands of the oil moguls.

Without a clear cutting edge against the oil monopolies' offensive, by posing the need for international liaison and action



ONE DAY OIL-RIGS STRIKE FLOPS



(the contracts have gone to France, Holland and Norway), and against the bankrupt policy of the Labour Government, by demanding nationalisation under workers control, the strike was reduced to a confused token protest.

As the weaker sections of the industry at Nigg and Ardeer backed out of the action, the Scottish TUC bureaucracy stepped in and, in return for the dropping of strike action, acted as go-betweens for a meeting between the ORLC and the right-wing Labour Oil Minister John Smith. The danger of getting trapped in the blind alley of chats over tea with right-wing hacks, while jobs go down the drain and the monopolies get more belligerent, is now becoming clear to many workers in the oil-related industries.

Oil industry workers need a fighting policy against both the oil bosses and Labour's bankrupt plans:

*The ORLC should take the lead in unionising all oil industry workers and extend the combine into all sectors of the industry.

*The international monopolies must be challenged by the international linking of European oil industry workers.

*Against Labour's concessions to the oil monopolies, workers should demand nationalisation under workers control with a guarantee of no loss of jobs.

Edinburgh IMG

Brewery men boost building

strike

 What has been the role of the police in your dispute?

In my opinion, the police are acting for McAlpines. They seem to want no approach at all to vehicles by the pickets. They seem to want us to throw daffodils at them. They just want us away out of it.

 Can you tell us about the arrest of the ten pickets on Wednesday night?

Out of the ten men who were arrested, nine were arrested for offences on the picket line. One man was arrested for non-payment of fines. One man, Cecil Valentine, has also been charged with possession of an offensive weapon.

He is an honest man. When he was arrested he asked the police what the weapon was. They said the weapon would be provided when he appeared in court, but, as yet, no weapon has been produced.

The same charge has also been brought against another man from Jarrow who was on picket duty. His shoe came off when they were bundling him into the police van to take him to the station. They claimed the shoe was an offensive weapon because he had picked it up. He had to walk home with only one shoe on. The other shoe is being labelled as exhibit 'A'.

One other person picked up, Tommy Tennant, was not even on picket duty but was one of the many members of the public who had taken an interest in the Eldon Square dispute and had decided to support the picket. Obviously the picket will help with any legal expenses that occur from Tommy's arrest.

The police tried to keep Tommy in nick all night because they claimed he was drunk and disorderly; he was only let out after his solicitor (supplied by members of Newcastle University Students Union) had insisted on seeing him in his cell, and had demanded his release. Similarly, Colin Atkinson, a merchant seaman by trade, was only freed after the intervention of the solicitor.

One lad was called twenty minutes before the arrests started taking place and was told by police that he was going to be number one in the van.

He was told this in front of many witnesses and he was number one in the van. The shouting started when the scabs came off the site, the police officer grabbed his arm and shoved it up his back, and just bundled him into the black maria. That man had done nothing whatsoever - he was just marked. All the accused were fingerprinted and photographed by the police.

 What has been the general attitude of the police towards your attempt to picket peacefully?

Well, the attitude of the police has been to throw cordons down either side of the road. They've told us that we're not allowed to shout or to stop motor vehicles. We're only allowed to stand there - I don't know what we're supposed to do!

In fact in the presence of a *Daily Mail* reporter the police cordoned off one section of the road which forms a back lane to the site and told us we were not allowed in this back lane. The police are dictating where we can go to picket.

 Do you think there are any similarities between what has happened in your struggle and the struggle of the Shrewsbury 2?

At the present moment, I don't think so. You see the Shrewsbury workers were charged a long time after the 1972 building strike. But it could possibly happen to lads like myself who have been classed as 'strike leaders' - Davy Deans, Eddie Brady, all 'strike leaders'.

Possibly the police could come along with those sort of charges after the strike, when they actually come to weigh up the damage to McAlpines and the cost of the picket to the police. Possibly this might happen. We are aware of this. What are we supposed to do? Walk away from the picket lines and ignore our struggle !!

 What has been the response from other sites in the area?

Well, at present, all the shipyards on Tyne-side - scaffold-wise this is - all the building sites on Tyne-side, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

At the moment I would imagine there is a labour force of five to six hundred scaffolders out on strike. Actually we're catching these odd stragglers who are going in to work, and when they are approached they are coming out in sympathy.

One firm in particular has said that they are sitting there, waiting to be approached, but we cannot get into the shipyard where they're working. We're working to approach these men so they can go and phone up management and say 'we've been called out on strike.'

 The local 'leaders' of the building trade unions have scabbed on your fight. Has this had an effect on your ability to get out other scaffolding jobs?

In the shipyards the lads walked out in sympathy with us and the convenors from other trades went in to management and said no scaffolding work will be done until this dispute is finished. We have taken these men on their word, but if we find out other work has been done, we will go back in and say to them 'you have gone back on your word', and take it from there.

The McAlpine's building site in Eldon Square, Newcastle, where 14 victimised scaffolders have been in dispute since November was closed down completely on Monday when the rest of the workforce - some 300 men, including scabs imported from London - walked off in sympathy with them

This development followed closely on a massive boost for the scaffolders from 370 drivers at the local Scottish & Newcastle brewery, who voted to strike in support of them on Wednesday 5 February. A motion donating £400 to the strike committee was also carried.

The drivers were planning to join the strikers and other supporters on the picket line on Wednesday morning, and then to march with them to the local offices of the Transport and General Workers Union to demand that the strike be made official. On top of this, the drivers have also issued an ultimatum to the hotel where the scabs imported from London are staying: either the scabs are kicked out or the hotel will be blacked for ever!

The action of the brewery drivers comes at a vital time. Police have stepped up repression against the picket line, arresting ten pickets on Wednesday 29 January. But support is growing in the labour movement. A defence committee has been set up at a meeting sponsored by many prominent trade unionists, including Jim Murray, convenor at the Vickers Elswick works, and Ken Ternant, vice-president of Newcastle Trades Council.

The strike itself is being run very democratically. A strike committee has been elected, and last Saturday a meeting of 80 scaffolders discussed how to extend

the struggle. A guest speaker was International Marxist Group militant Stewart MacLennan, a UCATT convenor from Edinburgh.

UCATT, along with the T&GWU, has openly scabbed on the strike, and since the North East regional official of UCATT also 'represents' Scotland, MacLennan promised to get union branches in Scotland 'to send a rocket up his arse'.

McAlpine's, the firm which set up the Shrewsbury lads, realise the importance of this dispute in their attempts to smash effective union organisation on their sites. But the scaffolders, who have now been out nearly three months, are more determined than ever. It is vital that the labour movement nationally swings its weight behind them

The IMG will be mobilising all the support it can, both through resolutions in trade union branches and collections in the colleges. Collection sheets, signed letters asking for support, or more information can be obtained from the Strike Committee, c/o Eddie Brady, 96 Benwell Lane, Newcastle. (tel.: 0632-32365).

The following interview with Colin Cookson, of the Newcastle Scaffolders Branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, was carried out on 31 January by IMG militants active in building support for the strike.

Colin Cookson was one of the first to be on picket duty when the picketing started, and is classed by both the police and McAlpine's as a 'strike leader'. As Colin says: 'I believe I am a strike leader - I will be one of the last away from them picket lines.'



ABOVE: Picketing the Eldon Square site. BELOW: Scaffolders' steward Alan Todd speaks at rally to launch Wigan march



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

 The Labour Council has invested vast amounts of public money in the Eldon Square project, and do have some say in the running of the site. What do you think of their attitude?

On the question of the Council, we marched up to the Civic Centre and approached the whole Council. Although Newcastle Corporation are paying £20 million towards the development of this site, they insist that it is out of their hands. Although they are footing the bill, they insist that it is just a dispute between us and McAlpine's.

 There was quite a funny episode with one Labour councillor who came to the picket line the other day - can you tell us about it?

Yes. Dr Wade came down to the picket lines one night at about 4.30pm. It was just starting to get dark and he was standing there, just dressed in ordinary clothes, like one of the pickets. The same man approached one of the chief police officers, I believe it was a chief superintendent, and asked him 'Is it necessary for all these police to be here?' The chief superintendent turned round to this man, not knowing who he was, and said: 'Fuck off get yourself back on that pavement.'

 How did the councillor take that?

He has taken it up with the Council, but from what we have seen, it will be a long drawn out affair. He will wait for the next meeting of the Council and say what

 How are you raising national support?

We have had small donations from some London sites. We have got a delegation going down to the start of the Wigan march. We have paid for a minibus out of strike funds to take sixteen men. Some of the men that are going are the ones who were arrested last Wednesday night. They are going to explain what happened, how the arrests came about, to explain their cases - it was just police snatch squads.

 What do you think of the T&GWU and UCATT signing a joint advert

 in the *Evening Chronicle*?

We asked one of the reporters down on the picket line how much such an advert would cost. We can't afford money to put adverts in the paper. He said an advert that size would cost £700. I believe this advert was issued by the Joint Conciliation Board, so in fact £350 of that money was paid out of trade union funds.

 You have had some support from the local Scottish and Newcastle Brewery. What form has that taken?

100 per cent support. The convenor of the transport side, John Short, has been down to see us and told us that he wants a representative from us to address a meeting tomorrow, which of course we will do. We have been told that if we ask for support the transport side of S & N Breweries will stop deliveries of beer, spirits, cigarettes and so on to the hotel that is harbouring the scabs. All supplies to this hotel will be stopped.

 What about support from the student movement in the area? How have the men reacted to this?

We have had support from students in the area, excellent support. McAlpine's are using this and are calling the help of students 'subversive'. They are labelling the students as communists and in a recent document circulated on the site they have said that the students have nothing to do with the strike whatsoever.

But the support of the students has been fantastic! When McAlpine's have issued propaganda about the strike to the workforce we have met them leaflet for leaflet all the way along the line with the

help of student facilities and so on - access to printing machines, financial support, use of rooms for meetings, 100 per cent support.

 What would you say is the general morale of the men at this time?

The morale of the men at the moment is, I believe, more than 100 per cent. The men actually involved in the Eldon Square dispute have spent Christmas and New Year on the dole. They knew what they were fighting for from 14 November when we first came out. They knew that they would have no money over Christmas when money is a necessity, and over the

Bosses soften up

car workers

loss of pay. In every plant the trade unions should monitor the amount of work to be done and calculate the length of the working week accordingly. And workers must insist on the full guaranteed week's pay.

To fight short time working it is also necessary to take the Labour Government's overall policy by the horns and smash Wilson's 'social contract' with the bosses.

TUC

The leadership of the TUC, however, has accepted Wilson's argument and called for defence of jobs as the first priority, counterposing this to defence of living standards.

Last week a national meeting of 400 British Leyland stewards voted for nationalisation and then went on to discuss elaborate plans for worker participation. But, far from gearing the workforce up for the fight, the stewards have not yet reported back the policy they have worked out at national level to plant level mass meetings, thus leaving the shopfloor disarmed in the face of Wilson and Walden's attack. It is the Communist Party that bears the main responsibility for this, thus allowing the right wing of the Labour Government to set the terms of the debate.

We are in favour of the nationalisation of the car industry by the Labour Government, which was elected by the votes of the working class and claims to represent its interests. They should use state cash to organise the industry in the interests of the working class. The trade unions must monitor such nationalisation plans at every stage and level to guarantee that no jobs will be chopped, and no deterioration in working conditions will take place. Any scheme that will lead the workforce into taking responsibility for the running of the car industry as a viable capitalist concern must be rejected. The plans being dreamt up by Benn and the TUC are the first steps on the slippery slope to workers in the car industry co-operating with management in imposing cutbacks against their own interests. What carworkers need is a system of workers' control by which they can veto any plans that run counter to their interests.

RYDER

This is why the trade unions should not co-operate with the Ryder Commission, whose final proposals will inevitably involve large scale redundancies and speed-up being imposed on the British Leyland workforce. Far from calling for its extension into Chrysler, the stewards should be launching their own inquiry into the car industry.

For this purpose a national conference of all convenors and stewards in the car industry should be held to work out a national policy against short-time working and a trade union plan for the nationalisation of the car industry under workers' control. Harry Urwin, of the Transport and General Workers Union, who sits on the Ryder Commission, should publish all the proceedings of this body and make them available for such an enquiry and to mass meetings in the plants.

WORKERS PLAN

Carworkers are well aware that it is the slump in the world car market that is at the root of their present problems. That is why an overall plan drawn up by a national stewards' meeting is needed to meet the crisis in the capitalist car industry. There is absolutely no reason why the skills of carworkers and the machinery in the plants cannot be used for socially useful ends: producing for a nationalised transport system and building cars and vehicles that do not spew out pollution. It is the capitalist drive for production for profit that stands in the way.

The imposition of a workers' solution to the crisis in the car industry would not only defend the jobs and living standards of carworkers, but unite the rest of the labour movement around their struggle.

MICK GOSLING

Some 170,000 workers are now the victims of short-time working in British industry, double the figure for last November.

Much of this thinly disguised unemployment is concentrated in the crisis torn motor and car components industry. With production back to 1962 levels and new registrations falling 25 per cent last year, short-time working is sweeping through the car industry. As the car giants catch cold many of the smaller component firms are going bankrupt while the three-day week is now rolling back into the steel-rolling mills.

Chryslers UK now have 18,000 production workers on a two or three day week, and on 14 February a 10 per cent staff cut, involving 700 workers, will be implemented. While Fords have axed over a 1,000 staff workers, the biggest employer in the car industry, British Leyland, had disposed of 10,000 workers through 'natural wastage'.

ATTACK

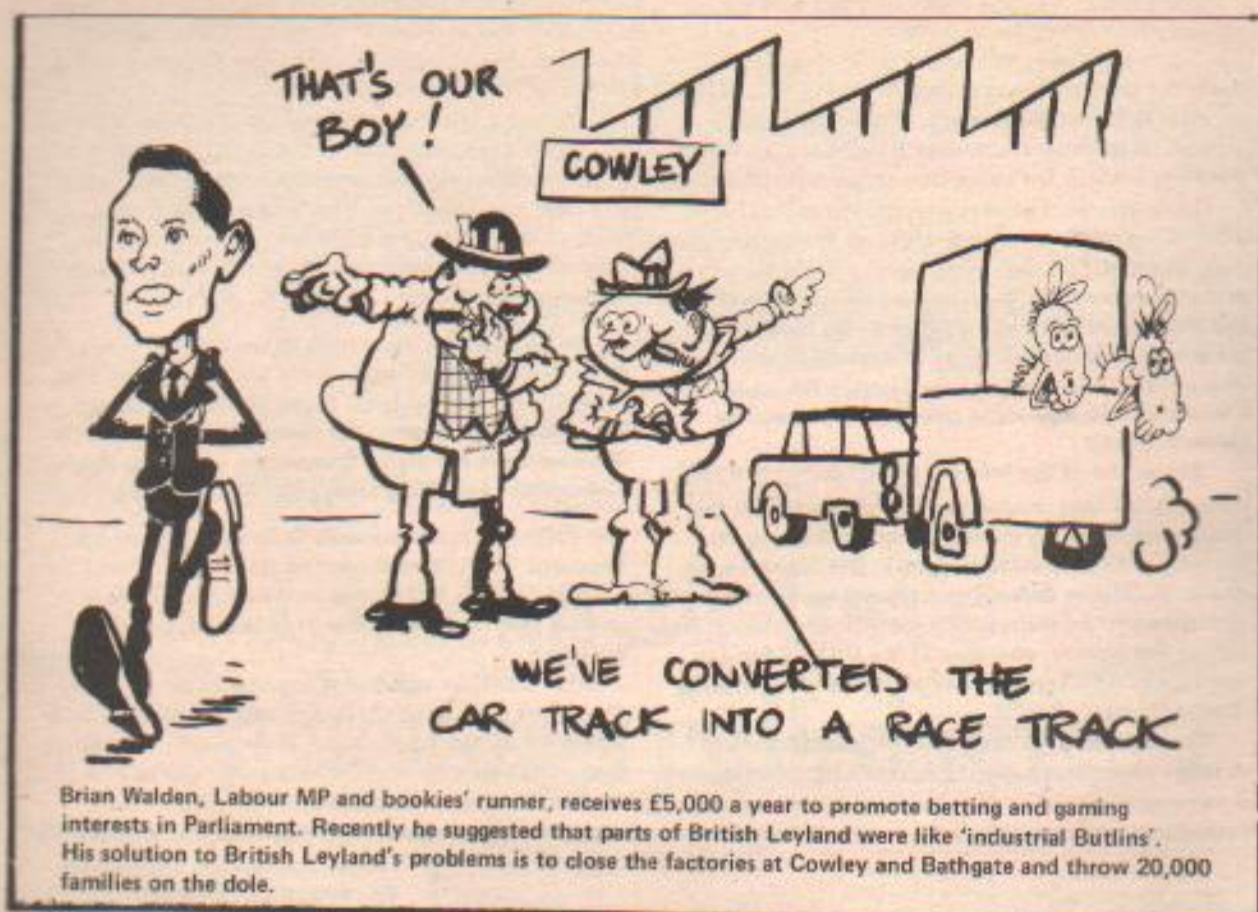
Behind the vicious attack launched on car workers by the right-wing Labour hack Brian Walden, MP, is the realisation that only a much smaller, efficient and competitive car industry can survive as a capitalist industry within the present slump in world car sales.

Harold Wilson has also changed his tune. The social con trick has failed to get the rank-and-file of the trade union movement to take a cut in living standards. So instead of getting the trade union bureaucracy to 'police' wage claims in return for a few minor concessions on pensions and family allowances, Wilson and Chancellor Healey are now waving the threat of mass redundancies over the heads of the working class—particularly carworkers.

But the car bosses know that any attempt to solve their problems through mass sackings would be met by a wave of factory occupations. Short-time working and natural wastage is just part of their softening-up process.

The response of the trade union leadership in the plants has been totally inadequate—even at the level of simple trade unionism. At one and the same mass meeting the militant Vauxhall plant at Eylesmere Port voted against a single redundancy and for short-time working as an 'alternative' to sackings! Many carworkers are protected against drastic loss of earnings by lay-off pay. But the failure to combat short-time working—the thin end of the wedge for future sackings—is due to the fact that the present leadership in the plants doesn't know how to go about it.

Plant stewards should be fighting for available work to be shared between all the workforce with no



Brian Walden, Labour MP and bookies' runner, receives £5,000 a year to promote betting and gaming interests in Parliament. Recently he suggested that parts of British Leyland were like 'industrial Butlins'. His solution to British Leyland's problems is to close the factories at Cowley and Bathgate and throw 20,000 families on the dole.

AGAINST PRIVATE PRACTICE!

THE JOINT Shop Stewards' Committee at the Hammersmith hospital is calling on all London hospitals that are taking action against private patients to unite to form an All-London Action Committee.

A letter has been sent to these hospitals explaining that the Action Committee's function will be to launch a campaign against both the consultants' work-to-rule and private

practice in the London area.

This move by the Hammersmith stewards is a direct result of the utter failure of the Labour Government to provide any solution to the crisis in the health service and the reactionary work-to-rule by the consultants.

Barbara Castle's proposal to phase out pay-beds within five years is a sham: in London hardly any private beds will be turned over to the NHS. The Govern-

ment is only phasing out those beds which have less than a 60 per cent occupancy—which means that in the better-off areas, where private practice thrives, things will go on much as before.

Even then only 20 per cent of the beds with less than 60 per cent occupancy will be turned over to the NHS. Furthermore, the period up to 1980 will give the consultants and the private medical schemes a breathing space in order to develop and expand private medicine outside the NHS.

The health service will be left in ruins; and the Labour Government is calmly presiding over the collapse. Workers at the Hammersmith Hospital have been banning private patients for several months, and the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee has helped to spread the ban to other hospitals by sending out speakers to trade union branch meetings.

CAMPAIGN

Now the task is to launch a campaign to get rid of private practice both inside and outside the NHS. Self-organisation of health workers can start to break the hold of the consultants on the NHS, and at the same time health workers can take up the fight to impose their own solutions to the crisis.

But health workers alone cannot win this struggle without involving the whole Labour movement. All sections of the working class must join the campaign to defend the NHS from the blows of the capital crisis.

This means a co-ordinating body to launch such a campaign. The call from Hammersmith can be the first step towards this.

An immediate task of the Action Committee will be to build support from the labour movement for the London demonstration on 22 February against the consultants' work-to-rule and private practice.

Details of demonstration from: Dr. Paul Stern, 55 Bridge Lane, London, N.W.11.

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