

# RED WEEKLY

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**Jean-Pierre**  
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# SMASH WILSON'S PAY-CUT PLAN

The workers' movement stands at a crucial turning point. The incomes policy measures put forward by Wilson and Healey go beyond even their previous attacks in the July 1966 unemployment measures and the 1969 *In Place of Strife*. Wilson, in the greatest betrayal by a Labour leader since Ramsay MacDonald, openly threatens to use Tory votes to pass anti-working class laws through Parliament.

There is no doubt that the situation for the working class is the gravest since 1931. Not only the capitalist class but the majority of the trade union and Labour leadership have joined in the anti-working class assault. So-called 'lefts' such as Jack Jones and Foot actively participate in the betrayal. Benn gives a left cover to Wilson by remaining in a Government which aims to slash working class living standards.

by the Editors

Despite the seriousness of the situation, a fight back is possible. The rank and file of the working class is undefeated. Some trade union leaders have opposed Healey. A few Labour MPs may vote against. The forces exist to wage a real struggle.

The decisive thing now is a campaign of mass action against the Government's measures. Wilson with the Tories may have a majority in Parliament, but so did he when he tried to introduce *In Place of Strife*; and so did Heath when he passed the Industrial Relations Act, attempted to jail the Pentonville Five, and took on the miners. It will be the struggle outside Parliament which will decide matters.

Vital for this effective mass action is a clear position of opposition to the measures and in particular total rejection of any form of incomes policy. On this basis resolutions of opposition to the measures and demands for recall Labour Party and TUC Conferences must go forward. Lobbies of the TUC and Labour Party Conferences must be held, local and national demonstrations and actions must be called, total support must be given to workers challenging the norms, and all Labour Councils should defy the laws.

## RANK & FILE

The trade union leaders opposed to the measures could play an important role here by calling for organisation and action of the rank and file. Similarly, national organisations inside the trade unions — such as the LCDTU, the IWC, and the Rank and File Movement — could play a powerful role if they co-ordinated their organisation and action. But so far the trade union leaders refuse to organise the rank and file, and the national political organisations in the unions display an important role here by calling for organisation and therefore be the establishment of local conferences and action committees against the measures. If these are established in even one or two areas they can spread to the rest of the country. Every single means of united action against



the measures sought out. Above all complete massive solidarity must be organised with the miners or any other group going into struggle against the wage norm.

The International Marxist Group will be fighting for its own policies as a solution to the crisis — for ending of the CBI-TUC talks, rejection of the Social Contract, a sliding scale of wages, nationalisation of the monopolies, and for workers control. United action must be stepped up on every area of the capitalist crisis — on abortion, on Ireland, on Portugal, in defence of the health service. But the most burning issue is to create united action against the Healey measures. If this is done, the burning resentment of millions against the effects of Wilson's attacks will be turned into

a gigantic force which will revolutionise the political situation and begin to carve out a socialist solution.

**NO TO ANY FORM OF INCOMES POLICY UNDER CAPITALISM!**

**FOR A WORKERS UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE HEALEY MEASURES!**

**THE LEFT MUST UNITE FOR MASS ACTION AGAINST WILSON'S CAPITALIST POLICIES!**

IMG's Programme for the Crisis—see page 3.

**NO TO ANY FORM OF INCOMES POLICY!**



On the surface it would seem that the tempo of events in Portugal has slowed somewhat since the hectic weeks of May.

But in reality the situation is becoming frankly catastrophic. The rate of inflation for the month of May alone was 7.5 per cent. Prices are shooting upwards, and the Government has been running from the president of the World Bank to the Socialist delegation at the European Parliament (headed by a leader of the German SPD) in search of supplementary credits and further extensions on the many repayments already due.

The Government is working on a three-month plan of ten urgent measures designed to 'boost national production' by promoting 'selective' investment and 'absolutely necessary' restructuring. A plan to safeguard jobs has also just been announced; it would create 34,000 new jobs. Even supposing that that succeeds, there still remains the problem of the 300,000 registered unemployed; to which will soon be added large numbers of emigrant workers, who have lost their jobs because of the European recession and are now on their way home.

### DISASTROUS

On top of this disastrous economic situation, there are the renewed troubles in the old colonies. For the first time in a year the Portuguese Government has tried to send troops out to Angola. Several regiments mutinied. Sixty-three soldiers, one officer and three NCOs were arrested for acts of resistance, then released and immediately put on a plane to Angola.

Since 1 May there has also been a growth in the activities of the right.

At Santa Marta de Penajiao (a little town 60 miles east of Porto), where the right had for some weeks used the discontent of the local wine-growers to mount a campaign against the regime, a 'cultural dynamisation' session held by the Armed Forces Movement was disrupted by the PPD and the CDS with behind-the-scenes support from local Socialist Party hacks. Without military protection some officers would have been lynched at the end of the meeting.

### BLOWN UP

At Viseu, also in the north, a local office of the solidarity committee with the Angolan MPLA was blown up and the signature of the ELP (the fascist 'Portuguese Liberation Army') was found on a nearby wall. At Braganca, an office of the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP — closely tied to the Communist Party) was blown up.

The groups of old fascists and Salazarist henchmen, while still isolated, are reorganising throughout the country. These first signs of a terrorist offensive, combined with continuing economic sabotage, could well be further confirmed in the next few weeks.

### LAST CARD

The right is preparing to play its last card. The political offensive it launched after the abortive 11 March coup attempt has been blocked: it has failed to put a brake on the popular mass mobilisations, and it has been unable to use the results of the 25 April elections to the Constituent Assembly to overturn the balance of forces established on the morrow of 11 March. The Popular Democrats (PPD), who have switched jobs among their leading team in order to change their image and keep close to the SP, have been almost completely marginalised.



# PORTUGAL: THE TURNING POINT



From a 'reforming' orientation of manoeuvres and pressure even from inside the regime, the right has now moved to a policy of open counter-attack.

The situation in Portugal is thus at a turning point: The economic reckoning, which the experts discuss in terms of three to six months time, is at the centre of all political calculations. The workers themselves feel its effects all the time. In spite of a decree fixing the minimum monthly wage at 4,000 escudos (about £75) from 1 June, wage demands have continued to escalate because so many workers are still on low wages, while any increase they do win is quickly swallowed up by price rises.

Besides this, the movement of occupations and workers' control still continues. In the countryside the second largest estate in Portugal, owned by the Church, has just been occupied and turned into a co-operative. On 14 June a full meeting of the CUF workers demanded the complete nationalisation of this trust and

The column in *A Capital* started a few weeks ago under the heading 'Workers in struggle for control of production' has never been short of material. On the single day of 12 June, for instance, three factories employing more than a thousand people each came under workers control: the Cambournac dye-works (1,200 workers), the Covina glass factory (1,200 workers), and the Messa typewriter factory (1,800 workers).

### SLACKENED

However, the rhythm of struggles has slackened somewhat compared with the previous months. The workers are coming to see more and more clearly that the occupation of their factory, the imposition of workers control, and even nationalisation will not solve the general problem of the crisis of the Portuguese economy as a whole. The working class is thus marking time before moving on to a higher phase of struggle.

'He who doesn't go forward goes back.' The workers demand to go

to do it.

The extended meeting of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Armed Forces Movement last month took a clear position against the development of mass representative bodies outside its own control. It emphasised instead the 'need to reinforce and strengthen the revolutionary authority of the Armed Forces Movement'.

The AFM's 'plan of action' also rules out in advance soldiers' committees in the barracks and the possible establishment of militias in the factories, neighbourhoods and localities. The Supreme Revolutionary Council reminds those who might have forgotten that arms are the business of the army — or rather, of the military hierarchy.

But the growing wish of Portuguese workers to arm themselves will not be easily thwarted by such declarations. The workers are responding to the present turn of events by organising more and more solidly in their workplaces (through workers' commissions) and in the neighbourhoods (through tenants' commissions) simply in order to defend their in-

gles. They feel a real need to protect their gains, not against the military hierarchy — in whom they still have many illusions — but against the right wing, which is redoubling its attempts at sabotage.

The glass workers of Marinha Grande, for instance, declare that 'the workers who have had military training, which they can put to use in the event of armed attack by the forces of reaction, have a much more important role to play, not only by putting it into practice, directly if necessary, but also by passing on their knowledge and experience to other comrades.' Self-defence is not only a popular idea — which the CP's anti-fascist propaganda has helped to spread — but it has become the practical concern of large sections of the Portuguese working class

### DIFFICULTY

The AFM will have great difficulty in slowing down, let alone stopping, this process — not least because the military themselves have been caught up in it to a limited but still very significant extent. On Sunday 22 June a popular assembly in the Olivais-Encarnacao district of Lisbon was held. The barracks of RALIS (the Light Artillery Regiment of Lisbon, formerly known as RAL-1) isn't far away. So a military delegation of officers and soldiers went to the meeting, which also brought together delegates from the local workers' and tenants' commissions — all in the name of the 'People-AFM' alliance, because that's how they understand it.

And on the agenda of this meeting were the following five points: (1) cultural and sporting activities; (2) neighbourhood problems (housing transport); (3) health and welfare; (4) factories; (5) organisation of anti-fascist and popular vigilance.

### COMMISSIONS

Today there are 38 such committees in Lisbon, and 36 in Porto. Those in Porto have just denounced the holding of a national congress of local municipalities (non-elected and nearly all controlled by the CP or MDP). Instead, says their communique, 'it is urgent to hold a national meeting representing all the commissions at the base, so that we can collectively establish how to set about creating an effective popular power, which is absolutely necessary to achieve socialism'.

But as the crisis unfolds, no independent lead comes from the major workers' organisations. Both the CP and the SP declared themselves satisfied with the communique issued from the meeting of the Supreme Revolutionary Council; both remain essentially tied to the projects of the AFM while manoeuvring against each other within that context.

### CAMPAIGN

Our comrades of the International Communist League (LCI), however, together with the Left Socialist Movement (MES) have just launched a big united campaign for the self-organisation of the working class. This will be carried out through joint work in the trade unions, in the workers' and tenants' commissions, and through the holding of joint meetings. Their aim is to help transform the aspirations already expressed by the workers into a conscious, organised and independent current of the working class in Portugal.

When a new crisis of power arises, the AFM — with the CP by its side and the SP in tow — can only hope that it will hurriedly be able to cement over its differences. But this time we can hope that the working class will also be a candidate to take over the reins.

Charles



# SMASH HEALEY'S MEASURES

## UNITE AGAINST WILSON'S CAPITALIST POLICIES!

In the coming weeks there is no doubt that the most central task facing the working class and socialist movement is to defeat the Healey measures. Wilson is leading the working class to the greatest cuts in its living standards for forty years. He is taking Labour to its greatest electoral defeat since 1931. It is on the outcome of this struggle to defeat incomes policy that the ability of the working class to advance will depend.

Behind the incomes policy lies a capitalist crisis and a Labour betrayal which goes far beyond even questions of wage control. The Wilson Government is creating the conditions for mass unemployment. It has cut hundreds of millions from spending on education, housing and health while pouring out thousands of millions on nuclear weapons, foreign military bases, and all the trappings of capitalist military 'defence' policy. The Labour Government refuses to oppose threats to throw tens of thousands of women back into the age of back street abortion. The torturing, murdering role of British troops in the North of Ireland continues. Wilson creates conditions in which the cancer of racism can flourish and the vile vermin of fascism dare to raise their heads.

### PRIVATE PROPERTY

This Government sacrifices the entire economic, political, cultural and moral life of the working class to the defence of the system of production for profit and capitalist private property. It is this *total* nature of the capitalist crisis which dictates that in the coming weeks and months the socialist movement must give a response at every level and on every issue to the attacks of Wilson.

The IMG believes that any policy for the fight back must include

- \* Opposition to any form of incomes policy, statutory or voluntary, within capitalism. Solidarity with all workers opposing the norms. End the TUC-CBI-Government talks on incomes policy.
- \* Automatic increases in public expenditure to compensate for inflation and protect the value of the 'social wage'.
- \* Opening of the capitalist books and imposition of workers' control of industry to enforce work-sharing with no loss of pay instead of redundancy.
- \* Nationalisation of the banks and finance system to create conditions for control over industry and destroy the currency speculation. Abolition of capitalist defence expenditure and confiscation of all incomes over £10,000 a year to release resources for investment.
- \* A massive programme of public works to soak up inflation, nationalisation without compensation of all firms creating redundancy, and development of an economic plan to expand production based on the takeover of the leading industrial and financial firms.
- \* Free abortion and contraception on demand, equal pay for women, free 24-hour community controlled state nurseries.
- \* Opposition to all forms of racism
- \* Immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland
- \* Solidarity with the Portuguese revolution and with the workers' struggle in Spain.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

The IMG will fight for united action within the working class and socialist movement on all or any of these points. It will support every move, even when united action does not exist, which takes forward any of these policies. In particular it demands the recall of the TUC and Labour Party conferences; demands that Benn and Foot resign from the Government and organise mass action against Wilson, or be clearly revealed as 'fake lefts'; calls for every union-sponsored MP to be instructed to vote against the proposals; believes every Labour MP who votes for the proposals must be replaced, calls for every Labour council to defy the pay norms in wage rises for its workers, and demands that the Wilson leadership be openly challenged for removal by forces opposed to the Healey measures.

### SOCIALIST ANSWERS

The possibility of united action around socialist answers has already been shown in recent months around organisations such as the National Abortion Campaign, the Troops Out Movement, the Medical Committee Against Private Practice, and the Chile Solidarity Campaign. All these campaigns and their actions must be strengthened in the coming months. But above all united action must be created in the trade unions against the Healey proposals.

Various national organisations — the LCDTU, the IWC, the Rank and File Movement — already exist in the trade unions. Local conferences and action committees of the type which fought *In Place of Strife* and the Industrial Relations Act can be built. All these organisations must co-ordinate their work into a real mass action united front

against the Healey measures and in solidarity with all workers fighting them.

The question must inevitably be posed as to whether there is not a danger that total opposition to its main policies may bring the Labour Government down. The answer is undoubtedly yes, that such a possibility exists — although it is one created by Wilson's moves and not by the left. But even the fall of the Labour Government as a by-product of such action is better than a capitulation which throws millions into poverty and demoralises the working class.

What is more, there is no way in which a Labour Government can be saved by the capitulation of the left. If the Labour Government continues on its present course it is doomed to collapse, and the Labour Party at the next election will suffer a catastrophic defeat. Worse still, if there is no open opposition from the left, this Government will demoralise the fighting ability of the working class outside Parliament and make infinitely harder the type of resistance to the next Tory Government that was put up against Heath.

### CAPITULATION

There is no way to save this Government by capitulation, but only the certainty that a fight back by the left can prevent the demoralisation of the working class, prevent catastrophic defeat at the next election, and perhaps even force the withdrawal of some of Wilson's attacks. Any failure to fight cannot save the Labour Government, but it can defeat the working class. The watchword of the hour must be: **THE LEFT MUST UNITE FOR MASS ACTION AGAINST WILSON'S TORY POLICIES!**

## EVEN WORSE THAN LAST TIME!

RADICAL PROMISES of social and economic reform, sometimes delivered with a dash of socialist rhetoric, are generally a feature of Labour's campaigning — when out of office. But as soon as a Labour administration takes the helm the 'socialist' facade collapses and the Labour leaders become the devout defenders of capitalism. The Healey proposals to cut living standards and the growing jobless — a deliberate product of Labour's policies — are thus not some deviation from Labour's norm. Such anti-working class and pro-capitalist policies have been a regular feature of all previous Labour Governments.

The Labour Governments of 1964-70 were characterised not by their socialist policies — or even by their progressive reforms — but by a complete failure to advance the cause of the working class against the interests of capitalism.

### Housing

In 1964 Labour made much of its radical housing policies. By 1969 the housing situation in Britain was steadily worsening. In the public sector 15,000 houses had been lopped off the council house building scheme. The following table shows the decline in areas which were Labour strongholds — heavily pop-

	No. of houses built in:	
	1968	1969
Tower Hamlets	952	669
Barking	720	641
Newham	1393	496
Southwark	3345	430
Gateshead	1317	688
Wallsend	298	18
Jarrow	406	87
Worksop	181	6

The money lenders were not doing too badly. In 1969-70 the Greater London Council estimated that 91p of every 100p collected in rents went in interest



the proportion of interest rose overall from 79 per cent of all income from rents to 89 per cent.

In the first five years of Labour's period of office the number of unemployed climbed from 340,000 to 551,000. At the same time Harold Wilson was exhorting workers to raise production and to work more efficiently. He neglected to explain that the increase of nearly 200,000 in the unemployment figures represented a loss of 45 million working days a year.

### Poverty line

By 1971 the Child Poverty Action Group recorded the progress made in abolishing poverty. It calculated that one in six children in Britain lived below the poverty line.

From 1966 to 1970 the number of people living at or below the Supplementary Benefit level doubled. But at the other end of the scale all remained well

owned 89 per cent of Britain's industrial share.

The Government's Prices and Incomes Policy was sold to people on the basis that it was aimed to help the worst off. However, when challenged on this Harold Walker, then Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Department of Employment and Productivity, calmly admitted: 'It is not a primary function of the Government's Prices and Incomes Policy to redistribute wealth.' He might have added — except to give more to the rich and the privileged!

In 1970, Labour's last year of office, 80 per cent of women manual workers were still earning less than 40p an hour. The Trades Union Congress had declared that the minimum wage should be set at the pathetically low sum of £16.50 a week. By December 1970 the Department of Employment reported that there were still over 75 categories of occupation where at least 25 per cent of the workforce earned less than 40p an hour, which put them well below the TUC £16.50 a

Wilson had claimed that Labour was eliminating poverty and the inequalities of wealth by its taxation policies. But from 1964 to 1970 taxation rose fastest for the worst off. For those on a wage of £16 a week the proportion of total income paid in all forms of taxation went up by over 15 per cent. For incomes of over £60 a week it only rose by three per cent.

### Medicine

Nor did the National Health Service flourish under Labour. In 1969 the number of people receiving surgical and medical treatment went up by 79,000. That year the number of beds available decreased by 3,700.

Since 1962 — including two years of Tory Government — 12,000 beds had been taken out of the NHS. The waiting lists for hospitals then rose to 530,000. In 1970 Labour cut from £121 million to £101 million the money allocated to starting new hospitals.

### Re-distribution

However Labour did try to compensate for its lack of radical proposals in housing, social services, wages, unemployment and the re-distribution of wealth. It attempted to introduce a very radical piece of legislation known as *In Place of Strife*. This nasty bit of work was intended to curb the power of the unions and infringe on the rights of workers to take strike action.

Only a revolt by the trade unions stopped Labour from putting this on the statute book. But those two Labour Governments of 1964-70 will be better remembered for this piece of anti-working class legislation than for any socialist or pro-working class measures that it



# JACK JONES — RULING CLASS MAN OF THE MOMENT

The *Financial Times* is very grudging about bestowing accolades on trade union lefts. But on Saturday 5 July it gushed forth its praise of T&GWU boss, Jack Jones.

As the *Financial Times* heartily welcomed Jones into the fold of capitalist responsibility it recorded with a hearty sigh of relief 'the end of his "twinship" with Scanlon' — not to mention the dreaded Scargill.

The ruling class know that Jones can do a job for them that no one else in the labour movement is capable of at present. He delivered the heads of the T&GWU — Britain's biggest union, involving almost two million members — on a platter to the Government. He is the linchpin of the whole TUC policy of accepting massive wage cuts.

The ruling class are clear that their plans for wage cuts, reductions in public expenditure, and growing unemployment can only be obtained through the Labour Government. What is more they know that the deep dissatisfaction and growing disenchantment of the trade union rank and file would burst the flood dykes of the bureaucracy if any of the real and influential figures inside the labour movement challenged the Wilson leadership.

## PLEAS FOR UNITY

Jones's pleas for unity echo the aims of the thinking sections of the capitalist class. As the *Economist* thundered: 'Still there is doubt whether Mr Wilson has the resolution or the character to marshal public opinion, not in order to split his party — God forbid, for that would let in the unready Tories — but to lead it into rational [they mean capitalist] action'.

This was a real cry from the heart by the spokespersons of the ruling class. They know that only a Labour Government has the chance of selling a statutory incomes policy. The shadow of the miners' strikes of 1972 and 1974 lies like a dark menace across their plans. Nor have they any confidence that a successful coalition can be established right now. They know that amongst Labour Party members there is deep unremitting hostility to such an idea.

## PAY LAWS

Pay laws put forward by either a Tory or coalition Government would crumble into the dust of an offensive from the working class. The hope of the ruling class is that Labour can prepare the ground. Hence their fear of resignations from the Government. As the *Times* said on 4 July: 'Even if there was just one or two resignations from the Cabinet it would send a shudder through a party where there is already much disquiet.....unease is not confined to the far left. A number of trade union members of the centre for example are saying they will not vote for a statutory policy. A good many people in the Parliamentary Labour Party are peering anxiously over their shoulder at the reactions outside Westminster.'

Jones by his role has performed a valuable service for the ruling class. He has helped to avoid any split from Government policy. This has made sure that Benn and Foot have remained the 'happy' prisoners of the Cabinet. He has got Britain's biggest union on record to accept cuts in living standards. This also helped to legitimise these anti-working class proposals in the rest of the labour movement. Furthermore it has made it harder for the powerful sections of the T&GWU to fight Healey's cuts and even more right-wing trade union lead-

ers to dampen down the struggles of their own members. trade union leaders to dampen down the struggles of their own members.

Yesterday's hero of the parliamentary lefts and darling of the *Morning Star* has rendered his services to the ruling class. But his behaviour should come as no surprise. He did not make some sudden deviation from an hitherto unblemished path but he simply made further strides along the path he has always walked.

When the ruling class and its Labour Party allies looked around for the man to tie the unions to the chariot of the ruling class Jones was easy bait.

Benefit of any solutions other than Parliament he naturally advocates a Social Contract. His beliefs are bedded in the theory that only by pulling together — workers and bosses — can 'Britain' be saved.

## LEGISLATION

He can only see socialism coming as a result of 'better' legislation. To him the trade unions are there to persuade the legislators or at the most exert pressure on them. Shaped by the T&GWU bureaucracy — his own job is one for life — surrounded by non-elected officials who are dependent on his bureaucratic machine for survival, he is at best paternalistic, at worst authoritarian and anti-democratic.

Having no confidence in the working class to challenge capitalism he has no replies or alternatives to offer to the ravaging crisis of capitalism. His are the politics of manipulation — which is why he keeps his cloth cap in the pocket of his blue-serge suit to

### MAN OF THE WEEK



## He has grown in stature

BY JOHN ELLIOTT

FOUR YEARS ago a serious and soberly suited middle-aged man

bolster his proletarian image. He leaves his own white Rover car behind and drives a union Ford delivery van when he thinks the members need a flash of working class demagoguery.

Jones is a typical product of pre-war working class defeats and post-war class collaboration. He has done his job for the ruling class. That is why the *Financial Times* could bestow its Man of the Week award on him. They will never give the title to people like the Shrewsbury 2 or the Pentonville 5.

Bob Pennington



As *Red Weekly* goes to press the vote has not been taken on the vital miners' pay claim. Particularly if the Yorkshire resolution is passed an absolutely central task of the workers' movement will be to develop maximum solidarity with the miners' struggle. *Red Weekly* in its next issue will carry a full report on the NUM conference.



# How Wilson plans to smash the Labour 'lefts'

The main purpose of Wilson's present policies is to drive down the living standards of the working class — what he calls 'everyone making sacrifices'. Wilson has few fears that the trade union or Labour bureaucracy can stop him from doing this — only the mass action of the working class can achieve that. But Wilson will eventually have to face opposition within the bureaucracy from those appalled by the size of the electoral disaster which he is creating for the Labour Party. Part of Wilson's ploy is therefore to use the present crisis as a way of destroying the credibility of the Labour left.

It is at this point that Benn comes in. Benn's whole strategy for becoming leader of the Labour Party depends on the support of the union bureaucrats. He will do exactly what they tell him. While Wilson isn't the slightest worried by Benn as an individual, he is worried that a different reformist combination of Benn and the trade union bureaucracy could replace him. In order to prevent this line up, Wilson has to find a way of smashing Benn and the trade union bureaucrats separately.

## Magic key

The magic key to Wilson's problems is the Social Contract/voluntary incomes policy. When Wilson shifted Benn after the referendum, he knew that if the union bureaucrats told Benn to resign then the Minister of Industry would do so. But Wilson calculated he could neutralise the bureaucrats by negotiating with them on Social Contract Mark II. Then the union leaders would tell Benn to stay in the Government — which they did. Benn's meek move to the Ministry of Energy would thus discredit him and weaken one of Wilson's potential bureaucratic rivals — which it did.

## Figurehead

Once the figurehead of the opposition within the Labour bureaucracy had been cut down to size, Wilson could move to the next task — discrediting the union bureaucracy. Hence the 'voluntary' incomes policy. The idea is that as the huge cuts in working class living standards seep

through, the trade union bureaucrats will become more and more discredited — and while a few Tribunites vote against, Benn will be part of the Government imposing them.

## Demoralised

Finally, when Wilson calculates that the trade union leadership have sufficiently demoralised the working class, full statutory wage controls and savage spending cuts will be slapped on. The union bureaucrats will protest, and Benn may even be given the go-ahead to resign from the Government, but by then both the Benn wing of the Labour bureaucracy and the trade union leadership will be discredited. The two will then get together, but as a combination both of whose parts have been savagely defeated.

## Refusal to fight

This is the reality of the Labour left. By its refusal to fight, the Labour left not only stabs the labour movement in the back and creates massive defeats for the working class, but it can't even defend itself.

In the coming period when the 'voluntary' policy fails and the statutory controls and the cuts go on, the Labour left will ask for support in their 'fight' against the policies of Wilson. The working class movement must make united action with anyone who opposes his capitalist policies. But the labour movement should also remember the role played by the Labour left in creating the conditions for the present attacks.

BRITISH NATIONALIST COALITION  
HUGH MACPHERSON  
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LABOUR'S INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

# Tribune

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## THE CRISIS

—and the only way in which the Labour Government can solve it



# THE 'JONES PLAN' - WHAT TGWU MILITANTS THINK

We print below interviews with 3 TGWU members attending last week's union conference (All interviews were given in a personal capacity)

Tony Homer is a car worker at British Leyland Oxford. He is also secretary of the Oxford District of the Confederation of the Ship Building and Engineering Unions - CSEU. An elected observer from 5/293 branch at the T&GWU Conference.

## ● What do you think of the Healey measures?

The Healey package is the most pernicious set of anti-working class measures ever put together by a Labour Government. The Government seems determined to stick the capitalist crisis onto the backs of the working class. No wonder the City and the industrial employers are laughing with glee.

## ● Do you think that there will be opposition to these measures? What about the position of Foot and Benn?

At the parliamentary level the opposition will be almost nil. The Tribunites will scream blue murder, but they won't do anything about it. Wilson knows that he can use Tory votes to get his policies carried. He is confident that his left wing are over a barrel.

The parliamentary left cannot see beyond their parliamentary noses; or they would organise in the one area - the mass class struggle - where Wilson can be defeated. This would lead to entirely new developments. But they have no intention of doing this.

As for Benn, apart from wanting to make capitalism 'more efficient', he appears to be nothing more than a careerist. Until he shows otherwise I would not trust him an inch. If he wants to aid the working class he should resign and organise mass resistance - but he won't.

## ● What do you think of the T&G Conference, and how do you see Jack Jones's role?

Jones is Wilson's twin in the union bureaucracy. I suspect he knew more or less what was coming. Otherwise why did Healey wait until after Jones had sold his revamped Social Contract to the members?

Jones would do virtually anything to keep Wilson in office. I think he sees things in the traditional capitalist way - that there is a trade-off between unemployment and inflation. The only alternative to this is anti-capitalist struggle. Of course Jones shuns such a struggle like the plague because it would rock both his and Wilson's boat.

Jones's problems with his members will grow when there is a statutory incomes policy. But the left should not underestimate his strength.

## ● What do you think will happen now?

It will be an uneven situation. There will be violent upheavals in the class struggle and also periods of stalemate. The miners and the engineers are of key importance.

Wilson must know that he is running a big risk of a confrontation with the miners. He is bound to have a special committee which will be planning to break strikes. We in turn must ensure that the miners



do not become politically isolated. Socialists must start to plan how to build support to give help to any strike that is carrying the struggle forward.

Nor must we limit ourselves simply to trade union struggles. We must defend all the gains made by the working class and take the offensive in winning new gains. That is why the abortion demonstration was so important, and why the Conference called by MCAPP in defence of the health service must be supported. All the cuts of the Labour Government must be opposed.

We will have to steel ourselves for a hard struggle. There are no short cuts. We are in for a period of hard slog - and one which will really sort out the wheat from the chaff.

**Pat Evans is a member of the T&GWU 5/55 branch Oxford. He was a delegate to the Conference. Pat is also the convenor at the British Leyland Spare Parts Plant at Cowley.**

## After seeing Jack Jones and his role at the Conference, what do you think?

The point has come home to me very clear that neither Jack Jones nor the large majority of the national executive will do anything at all that might rock the boat of the Labour Government. If we have to accept cuts in wages they will recommend that and fight for those cuts to take place. In their estimation the alternative is bringing down the Labour Government and returning the Tories.

My answer is that if a Labour Government is going to get defeated it is better to get defeated on socialist

up capitalism.

## Healey's policies show that they are trying to prop up capitalism. Given that and the lack of leadership in the unions, what should militants and revolutionaries do?

I am of the opinion that militants and the political groups should join the Labour Party. Maybe if we worked in the Labour Party the situation that is developing in Prentice's constituency could develop in other areas and we could shift out other right-wing MPs.

But even when we have shifted the right-wing MPs we still have a fantastic problem. We could shift 10 or 15 MPs and replace them with the left but the battle is not over then.

As long as we are going to try and solve the problems that we have got in the realms of social democracy and the use of Parliament I do not see how the working class can advance itself at all in these conditions. They must have further ways and means.

## Do you think the Tribunites will wage any sort of fight against Wilson and Healey?

I think in the local Labour Party wards it is going to cause a fantastic battle. There must be many trade unionists in the wards who know that a £6 ceiling will mean a big cut in living standards.

I have no doubt that will lead to a large upheaval in the constituencies. Whether this will lead to the growth of a left-wing organisation working within the Labour Party, or whether it will lead to disillusionment - with Labour Party members leaving - remains to be seen. I think at the top the leaders will just sail along without too much of a change.

## What demands should we fight for now? Do you

try is facing substantial redundancies. How can we fight such a threat?

The Leyland combine has got problems at every level. The Ryder Report does not go anywhere near answering any of these problems. I believe that the only way to get the co-operation of the workforce is by the complete nationalisation of Leyland. I do not believe that Leyland can survive as it is at present. I am not sure that it will see the end of the year out.

If we start looking at nationalisation and lowering the retirement age then we can start dealing with unemployment. That of course is all part and parcel of a social programme. Only when we start approaching problems in the light of socialist solutions can we hope to solve the problems of British Leyland or the factory down the road.

**Billy Gullon, was an observer at the Conference. He is branch secretary of the 8/223 branch in Newcastle which covers the transport section in the breweries.**

## ● What do you think of Healey's 10 per cent package deal?

These policies are aimed at restricting wages. For brewery workers this would represent more than a nine per cent cut.

I am not saying that Jack Jones knew the extent of the Healey proposals before he made his speech. But the delegates were very upset after that vote when they learned about Healey's proposals.

This year - probably at the end of the year and the beginning of next year when the wage run starts - I think you are going to find more strikes, whether they be official or unofficial.

I do not think the miners will accept it. Arthur Scargill told MPs on television: 'You cut £2,000 million off armaments.' He has a good argument. I think the miners will fight this one. Prices are going sky-high. People will have to fight to the bitter end so that their families do not starve.

## WHAT'S ON

**IMPERIALIST TROOPS** out of Cyprus! Demo and picket of US Embassy, Tues 15 July, assemble Hyde Park 5.30pm. Co-ordinating Committee of Cyproits in Britain. Supported by IMG.

**FUND-RAISING PARTY** for IMG East Mediterranean Commission. Greek food, music, disco. Sat 12 July at the Bank, Tolmers Square, NW1, starts 8pm.

**NEWHAM IMG** public meeting: 'No to coalition policies, clear out Labour's coalitionists!' Thurs 17 July, 7.30pm at the Boleyn Tavern, 1 Barking Rd, E.6. Nearest tube: Upton Park.

**NORTH LONDON TOM** public meeting: 'Why the troops should be withdrawn from Northern Ireland' Thurs 17 July, 8pm, in Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Rd. Chair: Coun. Val Veness. Speakers include Mike Knowles (Sec. Hackney Trades Council).

**MERAG WORKSHOP** on 'Zionism—the failure of Jewish nationalism', at 83a Haverstock Hill, NW3. Sat 12 July starting 3pm. For further details phone MERAG, 278 9308.

**ROOM 25** in peaceful community, North London, for man or woman. School-age child possible. Phone 883 5927.

**REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUP:** Cardiff Dayschool, Sun 13 July, 'Britain and the Irish Revolution'. Chapter, Market Rd, Canton, Cardiff. 10am-4pm. All welcome.

**THE FORGOTTEN LITERATURE** of Bolshevism: I would be pleased to meet anyone interested in regularly collaborating on research, editorial or translation work in this field. A knowledge of Russian (or German) would be a help. R. Chappell, 6

Spenser Rd, SE24 (01-261 4409 before 4pm). **FOR CHEAP** reliable IBM typesetting with fast turn-around phone Carl or Martin on 01-837 9987.

**BENGALI FRIENDS** in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and 'Srani-Dal-Biplab' (Fourth International paper) contact: Bengali, c/o International-en, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.

**FREE DESMOND TROTTER** Campaign: Picket every Friday, 4.30-6pm outside E. Caribbean High Commission, Haymarket, SW1.

**MCAPP PUBLIC MEETING:** First in a series under the title of 'Socialist Health Service—pie-in-the-sky or the only solution?' Speakers on the Soviet and Chinese health services. Thurs 10 July, 7.30pm in the Duke of York pub, York Way, London N.1.

**'CYPRUS—ONE YEAR AFTER':** London Socialist Forum, Tues 15 July, 7.30pm, Metropolitan Tavern, 95 Farringdon Road. Speakers: Anna Poulos (IMG) and Turkish member of AUEW.

**BIRMINGHAM Troops Out** Movement public meeting, Sunday 20 July, 7.30pm in Digbeth Civic Hall. Speakers include Jeff Rooker MP and national TOM speakers.

**PICKET 'MOTHER' MAGAZINE** over reactionary anti-abortion article—demand the right of reply! Friday 11 July, 12 noon, at 'Mother' offices, 189 High Holborn, London WC2. Organised by NAC.

**'WHAT IS INDIRA GANDHI UP TO?':** Public meeting Friday 11 July, 7pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq (Holborn tube). Speakers: Tariq Ali (Pakistan), G. Zaman (Bangladesh), A. Lanarole (Sri Lanka), G. Kumar (India).





RAMSAY MacDONALD

# Tell me the o

A few hours after the announcement of the Healey measures, Tony Benn hinted to an audience of trade union-sponsored MPs that he might stay in the Government because 'we are not facing a 1966 or 1972 situation. This is 1931 all over again. It really is a grave international situation.'

Curiously enough, almost exactly the same parallel had been drawn earlier that day by Jack Jones at the Transport & General Workers Union conference. Keeping from his members his knowledge of the imminent Healey proposals, Jones successfully argued for support for a revamped Social Contract as the only alternative to coalition. He spoke bitterly about those 'in high places' willing 'to stick a dagger in the heart of the Labour Government' and repeat the 'betrayal of 1931'.

But both the words and actions of Benn and Jones show that they have *not* learnt the lessons of 1931, when Ramsay MacDonald and a handful of other Labour leaders split to join the Tories and Liberals in forming a National Government. On the contrary, they are already far down the road travelled by their 'left' predecessors, whose actions and policies paved the way for the 'great betrayal'.

## RESTORE CAPITALISM

The problem for Labour when it took office in 1929 was that socialism — its declared objective — was seen as something which would be gradually legislated through the redistribution of the fruits of a prosperous capitalism. Unfortunately the state of capitalism in 1929 and the succeeding years was anything but prosperous.

To restore the fortunes of capitalism was thus seen as the Labour Government's first priority. Its policy was aptly expressed by Herbert Morrison, Minister for Transport, after less than a month in office: 'I want every business man and every business manager to realise that the Labour Government is not their enemy, but that every Minister in this Government wants to take him by the hand, treat him as a man and brother, and help to make his commercial or industrial enterprise more successful than it has been in the past.'

Measures of capitalist rationalisation rather than socialist nationalisation thus became the keynote of Government policy. Ramsay MacDonald, elected on a promise to cure unemployment, told that well-known working class body the Oxford Union Society: 'I have deliberately, and will continue deliberately, to proceed on the basis of a process of rationalisation in industry, which must for weeks increase unemployment figures. I have got to do this in the interests of the country.'

## DAY DREAMS

When the pinprick of the Government failed to have any noticeable effect in curbing the ravages of the rogue elephant of international capitalism, the conclusion Labour drew was not to launch a campaign of measures to replace that bankrupt system with a socialist planned economy, but to rely on the hope of better things to come. In July 1930 the Chancellor, Philip Snowden, predicted economic recovery by the end of the year. Even as late as April 1931 the *Daily Herald* was optimistically announcing that 'a real revival of trade is in sight. . . there are definite signs of recovery'.

While awaiting this happy day the Government and its supporters saw no alternative but to keep capitalism going whatever the 'sacrifices' needed. The consequences of this policy for the working class were rapidly to become apparent. Unemployment shot up by leaps and bounds, so that by 1931 it had reached the staggering total of 2,707,000. Yet the Unemployment Insurance Bill introduced in late 1929 by the Minister for Labour, Margaret Bondfield, failed to provide for the promised increase in benefits except in some marginal

ed discussion of the non-contributory principle which was supposedly Labour policy, emphasising instead the need to make the scheme 'solvent and self-supporting'. Not surprisingly it recommended cuts in benefits, limitations on the period during which they would be paid, and increases in workers' contributions. The Government's response was to introduce an Anomalies Bill which accepted the principle of these attacks but simply limited them to certain specified groups of workers.

There was a similar story over the miners' working day, increased to eight hours by the previous Tory Government. Instead of fulfilling its promise to restore this to seven hours, Labour only reluctantly agreed under mass pressure to reduce it from eight to seven and a half hours. In return for this a whole series of concessions were made to the owners, most notably the withdrawal of any proposals for nationalisation.

## WAGE CUTS

At the same time the Government was giving its approval to the employers' attempts to impose wage cuts in a number of industries. Among those who saw their wages reduced were the cotton operatives (down by 7½ per cent), the jute workers (down by 4 per cent), and the woollen workers (down by 9 per cent). This last cut was only forced through after a nine-weeks' strike by the woollen workers, scabbed on by the trade union leaders and smashed

Healey's 10 per cent wages ceiling and Jack Jones's flat-rate £6 increase will mean one and the same thing — cuts all round in workers' wages. At present a low paid worker on £30 a week takes home £27.16. Just to keep pace with an annual rate of inflation of 25 per cent would require an increase in take home pay to £33.95. A 10 per cent rise would give a take home pay of £28.94 — a 15 per cent wage cut; while a £6 flat rate would give £30.73 — a 9½ per cent wage cut.

The Child Poverty Action Group has already exposed the plight of Britain's poor. Seven hundred thousand parents go to bed hungry once a fortnight so that their children can be fed. Britain's 5 million poor are already existing on a sub-standard diet, spending only half the inadequate £3.48 per head each week that British families on average spend on food. And to

Tied to Parliament and the preservation of capitalism in one form or another, they were thus helpless when the economic crisis really began to hit home. In the summer of 1931 a series of European banks collapsed, and the resulting panic led to a run on sterling. At the same time the May Committee established by the Government in February of that year to consider possible economies reported back: it demanded cuts of £97 million, mostly off

# THE LEFT AND 1931

by police intervention, as a result of which seven pickets were sent to jail.

Opposition to all these anti-working class policies was muted in the extreme inside the Parliamentary Labour Party. After all, they accepted the basic premise behind them — that it was necessary to revive capitalism as a prelude to any serious reforms — even while they might sometimes jib at the consequences. As a result, they reacted for the most part 'like a load of damp cement', as Jennie Lee of the ILP was to put it.

Of course occasional pockets of hot air would form every once in a while, to explode with a loud pop but little discernible effect. When the Unemployment Insurance Bill was published in late 1929, the left vowed to fight it 'tooth and nail' — but only 13 of them actually voted against it on the second reading, even though it then still contained a clause to put the onus on the claimant that he was 'genuinely seeking work' (later withdrawn under pressure from the TUC).

In the autumn of 1930 a left-wing amendment to the King's Speech criticising the Government for its failure to implement 'socialist reorganisation' of industry mustered just 13 votes, although the hard-line members of the Independent Labour Party and other 'lefts' supposedly accounted for more than 40 Labour MPs. Even on the second reading of the Anomalies Bill, on 15 July 1931, only 19 Labour MPs could be found to vote against the Government's attacks on the unemployed.

## GESTURE

Even those who voted against the Government did so more as a gesture than anything else. The ILP, for all its talk about massive taxation and widespread nationalisation, proposed no concrete measures to mobilise the working class outside Parliament to carry through such a programme against capitalist resistance and sabotage. As J.T. Murphy commented in *Preparing for Power*: 'The talk of higher wages and the dreams of higher social forms of organisation were not advanced to en-

unemployment benefits and education. For three weeks a furious debate raged inside the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy — not for and against the cuts, but simply over how to impose them! Never has the bankruptcy of the Labour Party — lefts and all — been more clearly revealed. Trapped within the logic of capitalism, all they could discuss was how to limit its worst effects.

## MEANS TEST

Thus the entire Labour Cabinet agreed to savings of £56 million — which included the introduction of a means test for the transitional benefit paid before unemployment benefit proper was paid, the raising of insurance contributions to make the employed workers pay to support the unemployed ones, and cuts in health and education. It was only when MacDonald and his supporters demanded cuts in unemployment benefit on top of all this that a section of the Cabinet refused to agree.

Less realistic than MacDonald, they failed to understand that a policy of supporting capitalism means accepting the necessary consequences. When MacDonald marched into the National Government he was merely being consistent. As he said at the time: 'There is no change of policy. . . only bowing to necessities.'

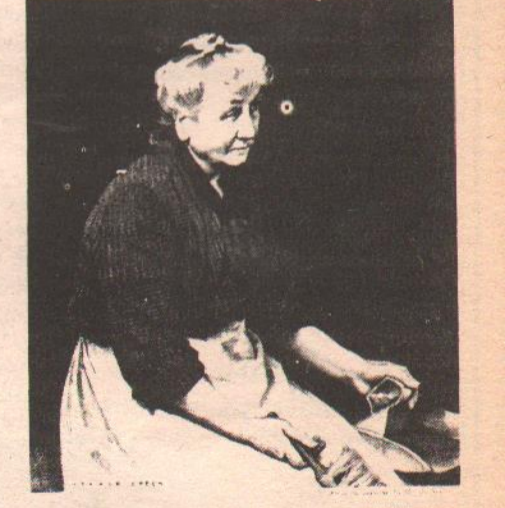
The 'great betrayal' thus flowed from the Labour Party's historic role as the last line of defence for capitalism. Today the same process is well under way. Not a single Labour MP voted against Healey's Budget proposals in April which paved the way for increasing unemployment, slashing public expenditure cuts, and now incomes policy. The TUC has meanwhile been occupied in trying to beat the Chancellor to the draw with its own wage-cut plans.

The Labour Government is headed down the same disastrous road as in 1929-31, and once again the 'left' seem destined merely for the role of mourners at the funeral.

## Martin Meteyard



Bevin, Attlee and Morrison—three of the main



**WE MUST THINK OF OUR SAVINGS AND OUR HOME. THAT'S WHY I'M VOTING FOR THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

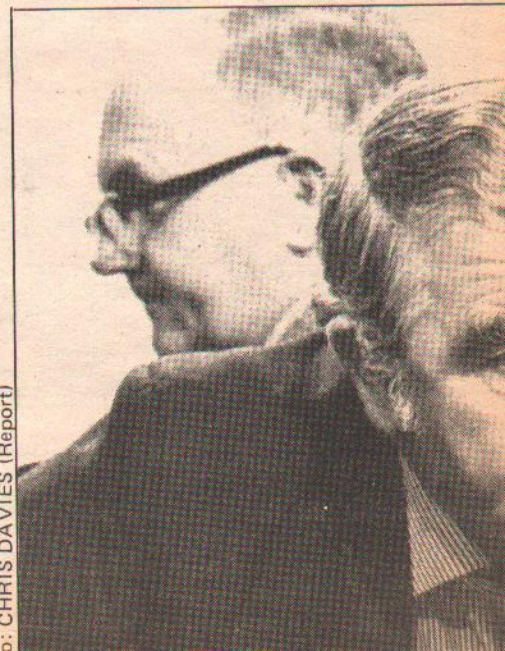


Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)



# Old, old story...



## LABOUR AND INCOMES POLICY

Harold Wilson has made a great deal of the Labour leadership's opposition to wage restraint. In fact the whole record of successive Labour Governments since the war shows their total commitment to incomes policy.

### 1945-51

- May 1945 Labour Party Conference endorses *Let Us Face the Future* as its election manifesto. It pledges: 'Labour will not tolerate freedom to exploit others, to pay poor wages, or to push up prices for private profit.'
- 15 July 1947 Sterling made freely convertible into other currencies under pressure from the United States. Run on pound follows. Convertibility suspended in late August.
- 12 September 1947 Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, announces capital expenditure cuts. Housing programme cut back by 100,000 houses a year to 300,000, of which 60,000 are to be temporary. 'We cannot look to higher standards (of living) through ever-rising spirals of prices and wages'.
- 12 November 1947 Chancellor Dalton introduces a Supplementary Autumn Budget for the second time in three years. Increases in indirect taxes, which hit the working class harder, are three times the size of increases in direct taxation.
- December 1947 The TUC General Council circulates an Interim Report calling on union executives to exercise 'even more restraint' in wage claims. The Government announces further cuts in investment in nationalised industries and public spending.
- 10 February 1948 White Paper on *Personal Incomes, Costs and Prices* published. It starts with the classic formula for introducing a wage freeze: 'There should be no further increase in the level of personal incomes without at least a corresponding increase in the level of production'.
- 24 March 1948 Special Conference of the Executives of Trade Unions votes 5,421,000 to 2,032,000 to accept the wage freeze policy. Strikes are already controlled by war-time Order 1305.
- 9 April 1948 Chancellor Stafford 'austerity' Cripps introduces his budget. Income tax is reduced and indirect taxes increased to 'encourage production'. A number of unions, including the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, proceed with wage claims.
- December 1948 *Four Year Plan* published as White Paper. Investment to be maintained at the rate of 20 per cent (!) of national income. House building cut to 200,000 a year compared with an average of 358,611 a year in 1935-9. Wage increases are to depend on increased production.
- September 1949 Prices had continued to rise and exports had become more difficult to sell. The pound is devalued. General Council of TUC responds by dropping all conditions earlier attached to wage restraint, which most unions had been able to use as loopholes.
- January 1950 TUC policy revised still further with no conditions at all relating to prices and profits in return for wage restraint. A substantial minority opposes this, and later in the year soaring prices force the TUC to reject any policy of restraint.
- February 1950 General Election. Labour's manifesto, *Let Us Win Through Together*, is silent on wages policy. Labour wins by a tiny majority, staggers on for another 18 months, and is defeated in the October 1951 election — the victim of its own policies.

### 1964-70

- 15 October 1964 Labour Government elected. Run on pound.
- 26 October 1964 Measures to curb balance of payments deficit, estimated at £800 million for 1964. Same old credit restrictions applied. Public spending under review and wage restraint called for.
- 16 December 1964 Incomes Policy launched with *Statement of Intent* by employers, trade unions and the Government.
- February 1965 White Paper on *Prices and Incomes* states: 'The Government intends to give the voluntary method every chance of proving it can be made to work.... The Government would resort to other methods only if they were convinced that the voluntary method had failed'.
- 17 March 1965 Aubrey Jones, former Tory MP and director of Courtaulds and the steel giant Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds, appointed Chairman of the Prices and Incomes Board. TUC agrees to 3-3½ per cent 'norm' for wage increases.
- September 1965 Wilson attacks unofficial strikers as 'wreckers' who should be outlawed. TUC sets up 'early warning system' for wage claims. Labour Party Conference endorses the Five Year *National Plan* in which legislative powers are only envisaged for prices and incomes. Aubrey Jones denies rumours that the PIB would develop statutory powers.
- 24 February 1966 Prices and Incomes Bill published providing for compulsory early warnings. Penal provisions allow for individual workers to be fined as much as trade union or company for trying to make an employer implement a wage settlement in the four month standstill period. The possibility of trade unionists being jailed for non-payment of fines arises.
- 10 March 1966 In run up to General Election Wilson states that there could never be any question of prescribing wages by law. It would be 'repugnant to all parties in this country'. Nor would the Government outlaw unofficial strikes because: 'This is human relations. You're dealing with human beings. You can't do it by legislation. (*Guardian*, 11/3/66).
- 16 May 1966 Seamen's strike begins. Seen as test-case for continuance of voluntary incomes policy. Wilson starts witch-hunt. He accuses 'tightly knit group of politically motivated men' of being behind the strike.
- 20 July 1966 Seamen's strike ends. Crisis measures announced to avoid devaluation: Government spending cut, HP controls tightened, prices and wages freeze for six months, followed by a period of severe restraint — a 'nil-norm' from January to the end of June 1967.
- 30 June 1967 Period of severe restraint ends. From July 1967 to March 1968, the nil-norm is replaced by a 3-3½ per cent 'norm' with the TUC attempting to vet claims to achieve this. The Government takes the power to delay a proposed pay increase by up to six months.
- 18 November 1967 Pound devalued.
- 16 January 1968 Public expenditure cuts announced. NHS charges reintroduced.
- April 1968 Fourth stage of Labour's incomes policy begins. A ceiling of 3½ per cent is imposed on all wage rises, except where a productivity increase can be proved. According to the Prices and Incomes Act this stage continues to the end of 1969 during which time the Government can delay settlements of over 3½ per cent for up to 11 months. Productivity bargaining spreads like wildfire. By 1969 six million workers are covered by some sort of 'prod deal'.
- January 1969 *In Place of Strife* published.
- 18 June 1970 Labour loses the General Election.

### 1974-?

- February 1974 Miners smash Tory pay laws and Labour wins election on position of total opposition to statutory incomes policy.
- 1 October 1974 Wilson states: 'We believe any statutory interference with this matter (of incomes policy) would be bound to fail. . . and we shall not do it.'
- 12 June 1975 Wilson declares: 'I made clear only the other day in Glasgow that the Government oppose legislative interference in the bargaining process.'
- 30 June 1975 Wilson says: 'We reject panic solutions.'
- 1 July 1975 The Social Contract has failed to stop many workers from winning wage increases of around 30 per cent

should be added the massive cutbacks in housing and the social services which is what has happened under Social Contract. Mark 1. If Healey's proposals or Jack Jones's proposals are accepted, it will be a return to the 1930s with vengeance. Not only that — it will lead the working class to disaster.

In the right we chart the road to electoral defeat of the 1945-51 and 1964-70 Labour Governments as a result of their attempts to implement incomes policies and other anti-working class measures. Below we look at the disaster of 1931, when the fact that the whole Labour Party was trapped in a policy of class collaborationism allowed its leaders to draw the Labour movement at the hands of capital for the next decade.



Architects of wage restraint between 1945 and 1951





# WORKERS CONTROL WHICH WAY FORWARD

Steve Bodington writes for IWC

What is the political 'go' of the workers control movement in general and what, in particular, is the potential significance of the Institute for Workers' Control Conference to be held in Sheffield on 19/20 July?

First, a word or two about what workers' control is and is not. It is commonly interpreted in a somewhat bookish way as a more democratic organisation of factory production in which the workers have a greater say in management or themselves provide the management. The argument then proceeds to discuss whether 'real workers' control' is possible within capitalism or only 'after we have socialism'. Those who criticise the campaign for workers' control 'within capitalism' argue that it ends up only in snares and delusions, participation with capitalists, helping them 'to run capitalism'. This, the argument continues, hinders the struggle of workers against capitalism and generates confusion and delusion within the working class consciousness.

## STARTING POINT

What is wrong, in my view, with these arguments is the starting point. Workers' control is not a 'known quantity', is not a well-defined form of socio-economic organisation. It is in fact no more than the simple meaning of the words, viz. the exercise of some degree of social, political and economic control by workers. The movement for workers' control is the conscious attempt to help, organisationally and by exchange of ideas and experience, the activity of workers asserting — in whatever form and to whatever extent — control over the conditions of their lives 'at work' and 'in the community'.

To support this movement is to believe in the desirability and feasibility of democracy in its literal Greek sense — people-power (*demos-kratos*). How this power, this control is to be exercised has still to be discovered out of struggle, experience and thought. What ends this power is to serve, what refashioning of conditions of life in production, in consumption, in community activity is to be brought about, working people will themselves determine as and when they develop their power to change things. Workers' control is a direction of march; in my view, the only possible direction of march out of the present socio-economic crisis towards socialism.

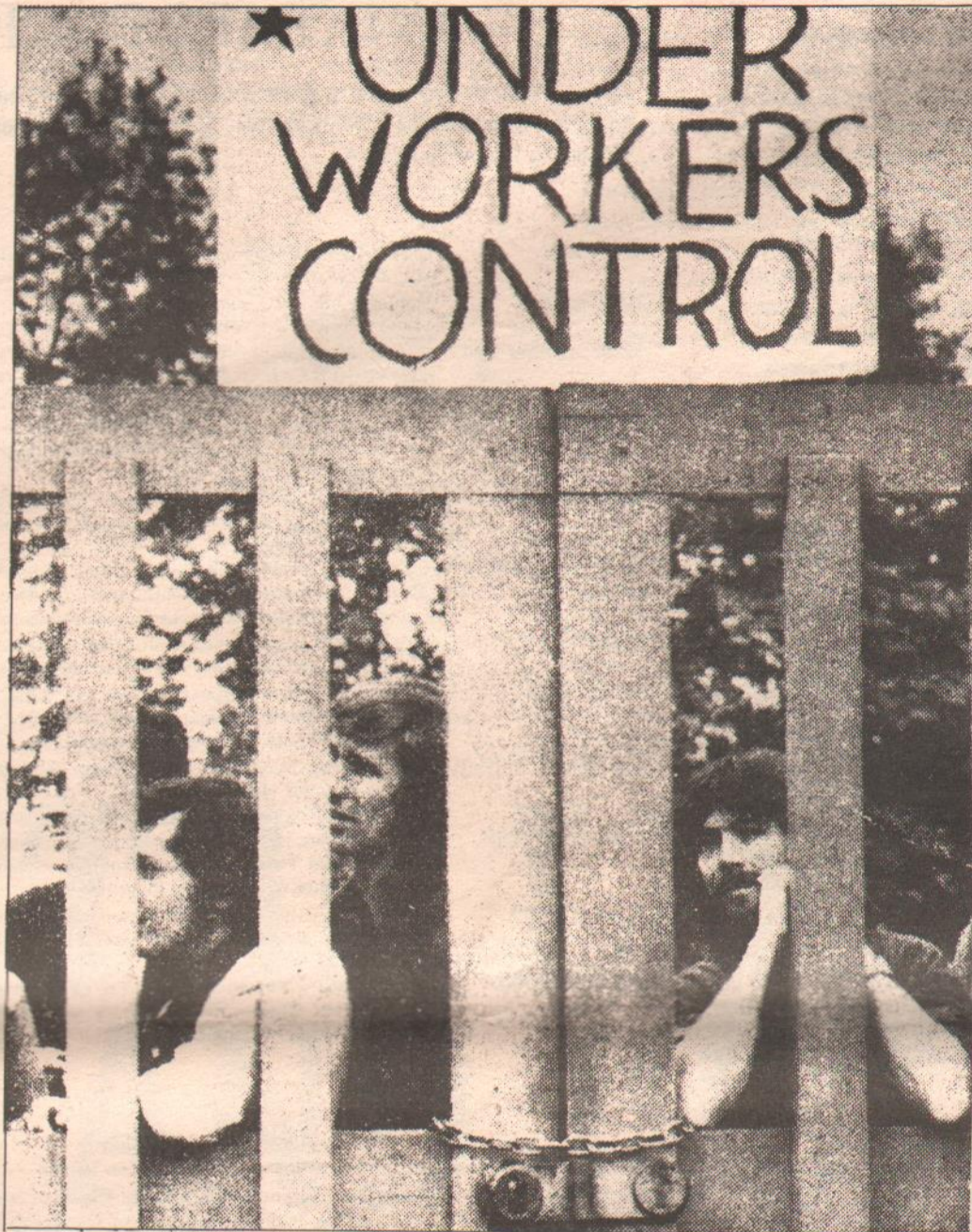
To speak then of 'workers' control when we have socialism' seems to me to say nothing. Socialism itself is the outcome of the struggle for workers' control. The economics of socialism revolve around the task of changing relations between people in production and distribution so as to make feasible in a practical sense the ideal of a classless society; a society, that is, in which the apparatus of production and distribution is not controlled by a minority as a means of exploiting — dominating materially and ideologically — the majority.

## POLITICAL POWER

Clearly political power in the hands of those who believe in the classless society is an important stage leading towards social change. But political power in the socialist sense does not mean socialist leaders pulling the levers that control a capitalist socio-economic structure; it means changing the socio-economic structure so that a new form of power diffused throughout the working people becomes socially, politically and economically effective.

There are, of course, many forms of consultation, 'participation' and workers' representation within unchanged capitalist structures that amount to no more than pretences of 'workers' control' and delude aspirations for real control over conditions of work. But even from such negative experience workers have learnt something.

Some say 'smash capitalism'. But unfortunately the metaphor is not apt. Capitalism is not a structure of wood or steel; it is a structure of socio-economic relations that has to be replaced by a new socialist, workers' control structure of relations. And consciousness of these new relations in the workers who will make them historically actual can only develop out of practice, inter-acting experience,



and thought by workers themselves. 'The new' will come out of the struggle against 'the old'; and this struggle must begin 'within the old'. From the standpoint of Marxist theory this simple fact provides the foundation on which the workers' control movement rests.

Of course, in practical experiences and in the development of socialist theory there will be many differences. But must there be as many 'movements' as there are 'differences'? In fact this tends to happen, thereby weakening the common cause of the potentially wide movement of genuine fighters for a classless people-power society. At the Sheffield Conference it is to be hoped that a wide range of different political experiences and different political positions will be represented, but it is hardly to be hoped that it will go more than a fractional part of the way towards the 'unity of differences' that, in my view, the working class movement needs to discover and make actual in practice.

## KEY TO UNITY

The key to such unity is recognition of the necessity for sharp differences; indeed the recognition that the strength of a people-power movement comes from a wealth of understanding and experience that finds reflection in differences, thereby increasing the awareness of the movement and the 'social imagination' with which it selects possible courses of action. But the necessary condition for gaining strength from firmly fought-for differences is clear recognition by all that to fight for a principle is not the same as to fight for an organisation. If argument, theory, discussion, information etc. purporting to clarify *socialist principle* is proscribed to gain *organisational* advantage, 'the people perish'.

A key objective of the Sheffield Conference will be to try to establish practical linkages between activists at the point of production and in the community, so as to enable workers themselves to discover courses of action by

which, in some measure, to control the mounting crisis which blazons out the social and political bankruptcy of capitalist society.

## IDEAS

The shop stewards from the factories and protagonists of the labour movement in the communities will be looking for ideas and understanding of how to act and organise against the institutional power and the economic philosophies of capitalism which at present predominate. There will be seminars discussing all the main sectors of industry, there will be first-hand news from the newly formed productive co-operatives; there will be debate about national economic policies — in particular how to use the NEB and Planning Agree-

ments in the struggle to direct resources to social priorities.

There will also be seminars on what one might call 'peoples' control' in the community, on education, tenants' control, health services and the socio-economics of women's liberation. Before all else there will be communication between people involved in struggle for socialist, people-power aims, differing widely in ideas and experiences, but united by a common desire for a classless society.

Practical steps need to be taken to strengthen the social forces at the base, to encourage their initiatives, to distribute the kind of literature that they need and to do all these things on a continuing basis. At the same time their struggles can only develop within a framework of national policies. In my view there are three main objectives against which interacting grass-roots and national onslaughts need to be concentrated:

1. Unemployment — by means of social programmes to use idle labour and capacity (such 'socialisation of markets' can be underpinned by Government guarantees and purchases.)

2. Cuts in finance for social and industrial investment and the 15% interest rate (to be countered by social control over banking, finance, foreign exchange, import controls etc. with workers' and peoples' control to check that social needs in fact are given priority.)

3. The bureaucratic crisis (over-centralisation is the practical fruit of reactionary social philosophies and money-based criteria of efficiency against which some effective struggles are needed — and are beginning — at grass roots level in the nationalised industries, social services, health, education, housing and local as well as national administration).

## POSTSCRIPT

Healey's announcement in the House of Commons transforms the tempo and highlights the urgency for action. It announces the Cabinet's utter enslavement to the money/power of international capitalism. It demonstrates also that workers must necessarily hammer out for themselves *their alternative* for using resources to supply *their* social priorities. They themselves too must campaign and win public support for the alternative.

But the essential basis for a new direction of economic policy is social control of the financial system (bank policies and interest rates, exchange and import controls). This alone would make possible social control over resources of labour and means of production and insulate such control from the inflationary crisis into which monetary trends and power relations in international capitalism are driving our economy.

## WHAT WE THINK

Comrade Bodington's remarks are of considerable interest, and his view of workers' control is undoubtedly one which has a great deal of influence in certain quarters of the workers' movement. We will be taking up our own conception of workers' control and its relevance to the problems facing the labour movement in the next issue of *Red Weekly*.

However we cannot help but remark that the ideas put forward by comrade Bodington, even though most of his article was written before the Healey measures, appear divorced from the realities of the present situation — one in which a Labour Government has been preparing a ruthless attack on the rights and living standards of the working class. Is the IWC Conference going to discuss these burning issues? If so, how do the organisers propose to try and deal with these problems?

The closing remarks to the conference are to be delivered by former Industry Minister Benn. Benn is at present a member of a Government forcing through some of the most anti-working class economic measures. He has not resigned from this Government, and has organised no fight against its proposals. Under these circumstances, and unless he resigns, are the IWC really going to allow a member of such a Government to give the concluding remarks to their conference? If they do, it will be a clear indication that they are allowing talk on general questions of workers control to obscure the need to take a clear position on the central questions of the day.

Much of what comrade Bodington says about unity is sound — but it must be unity around clear and specific aims that take up the main problems facing the working class. Otherwise 'unity' just becomes an excuse for shying away from the real fight.

We believe that in the midst of the present crisis no section of the left in the labour movement can afford to adopt such a course. The IMG will therefore be arguing at the IWC Conference for a discussion of the present crisis and the way in which the left can best begin to organise the fight back.



# CHILE:

# THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE BOURGEOIS OPPOSITION

## Part 2 of Jean-Pierre Beauvais' eye witness account

Political recomposition, regroupment . . . such possibilities could appear rather exaggerated face-to-face with the realities of daily life in Santiago (see last week's article).

In fact, these two apparently contradictory aspects of the situation in Chile are closely connected. By continuing with repression on a massive scale the junta is pursuing a double objective.

- on the one hand, to prevent a recomposition of the workers' movement, either on the trade union or political level;
- on the other hand, to demonstrate to the bourgeoisie as well as the imperialists that for as long as such a policy is needed there is no serious bourgeois alternative to the military regime and its leadership, the junta. In this way they are trying to strip the bourgeois opposition sectors — and their politico-economic policies — of all credibility.

This is for Pinochet a crucial problem. The wholehearted backing of a bourgeoisie recognising the junta's role in eliminating the revolutionary peril, and the enthusiastic support of a reactionary petty bourgeoisie relieved of their fears, have given way to divisions, to disaffection, and even in some cases to outright opposition.

## • ECONOMIC CRISIS •

The political isolation of the regime is above all the product of its economic policies. In the framework of Chile's economic structure and in the international economic context, these policies have led to an unprecedented economic crisis. Only the big capitalists most closely connected to traditional export activities and to international capital have drawn any profit from this. Hence it is necessary to look at the evolution of the Christian Democrats as a whole, and not just of this or that sector as was the case a few months ago.

Apart from the formal references the Christian Democrats make to the need for 'democracy', their major criticisms of the junta centre on its economic policy. For them the reduction of demand on the internal market — which they estimate at about 40 per cent — constitutes the real balance-sheet of the regime. And one can see why.

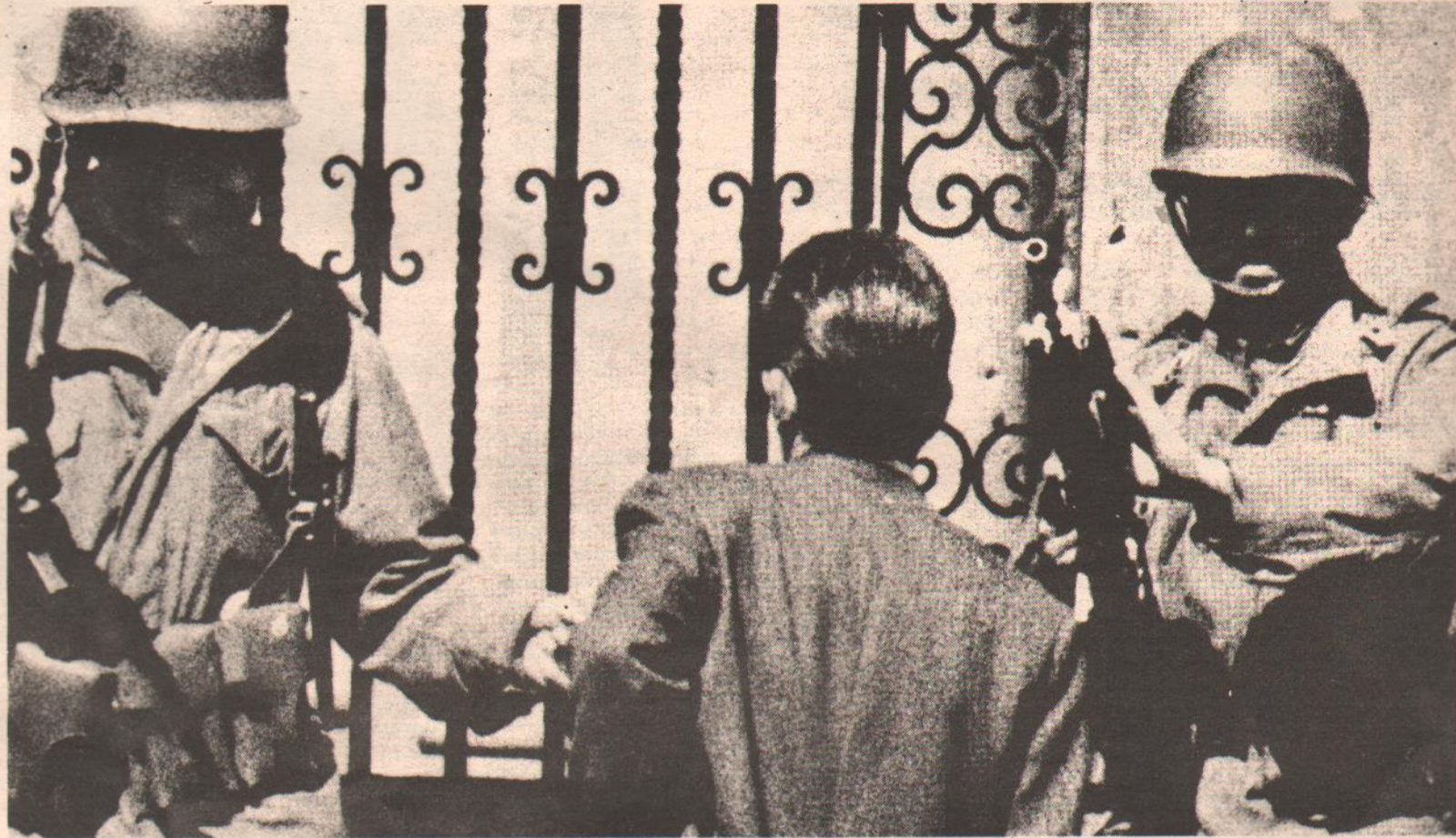
The traditional expression of the small and medium industrial capitalists among others — notably those engaged in the production of consumer durables — the Christian Democrats represent the capitalist sectors most directly affected by the crisis of the internal market. During the first year of the military regime, they accepted with a good grace the consequences of the junta's economic choices. It was, after all, not too high a price to pay for the removal of the spectre of revolution.

## • NEED CHANGE •

But the hopes and calculations written into the junta's economic projects, and largely shared at the beginning by the capitalist sectors who did not stand to gain directly from this economic policy, have proved to be vain. In this situation the only perspective for the Christian Democrats and those whose interests they express is for a radical change in the regime's economic policy and projects. 'The internal market must once again be the motor of economic activity. It must be re-stimulated and even expanded', explain the Christian Democrat economists.

But in a country like Chile in 1975, such an economic choice has considerable political implication. It would go against the immediate interests of the big capitalists on which the military regime is based and whose profits it defends. It would imply a different distribution of Government aid and subsidies, a wages policy more 'flexible' with regard to the workers, and less emphasis on competitiveness and profitability for the export market. Above all it would imply a total revision of the junta's agrarian policy, which amounts to the *de facto* restoration of the big private estates.

Finding themselves clearly in the opposition



camp, their activity limited by censorship and repression, the Christian Democrats now understand that to constitute a credible alternative to the junta, it is not enough to be the representatives or the expression of an important capitalist sector.

Their former big influence in the military apparatus is today much reduced: the repression, as far as one can tell, is considerable even here, and the officers too closely connected with the Christian Democrats have been systematically purged. The Christian Democrats can thus hardly hope to gain a real influence here, at least in the short term.

## • WORKERS' SUPPORT •

Its credibility as a bourgeois opposition lies . . . among the workers. This is a clever tactic, and it would not do to under-estimate either its chances of success (given the present state of the workers' movement) or its political consequences. In spite of all the difficulties which the junta is creating for it, the Christian Democrats don't lack trump cards.

The first and most powerful of these is the Catholic hierarchy. This for the most part — despite its traditional tactical subtleties, and only after much beating about the bush — has now come out in opposition to the dictatorship. Its role and weight have grown to the point where its leader, Cardinal Henriquez, has become without doubt the main political figure of the country after Pinochet.

But the Catholic hierarchy is also made up of a multitude of priests who in the countryside and working class areas have seen their influence and prestige grow as a result of their social and humanitarian role: soup-kitchens, mutual aid committees for the unemployed, creches, welfare centres, and clubs for the young and old have all basically been organised on their initiative. True to their populist tradition, the militants and supporters of the Christian Democrats have been prominent in these activities, winning prestige and influence for their party.

## • TRADE UNIONS •

The Christian Democrats were also a force at the trade union level before the coup. In the CUT (Chilean TUC) elections they won about 30 per cent of the votes — about the same as the Communist Party or the Socialist Party. By comparison with the Communists and Socialists very few of its leaders or militants have been repressed. Some play a part in the structures established by the dictatorship, but they are a minority. The others, working in difficult conditions but using to advantage the vacuum left by the repression against the militants of the left, are working to rebuild an opposition trade union movement.

Turning the ambiguity of their situation to account, and mixing in populist demagoguery with the demands of the bourgeois sectors they represent, the Christian Democrats — whose role was decisive in preparing and ensuring the success of the coup — thus find themselves in this initial stage a decisive pole in the reorganisation of the trade union movement and in the political restructuring of the working class and popular sectors.

This is not one of the least paradoxes of the Chilean situation in April 1975 — that the working class of the communal defence-squads, who

so recently were mobilised for the socialist revolution, are beginning to reorganise in large part under the bourgeois leadership of the Christian Democrats. That too is the consequence of the defeat, and the result of a certain political strategy.

Who can deny this, when one of the most important trump cards possessed by this bourgeois leadership is the Communist Party itself, whose general perspectives and concrete work support and openly favour this recomposition of the Christian Democrats?

Next week: The Parties of Popular Unity.

# LABOUR AT THE CROSSROADS

The Labour Government stands at the crossroads in its relations with Chile's military junta.

The Chilean regime is now defaulting on the repayment of its debts to Britain. This follows on from the refusal of Britain to re-negotiate this debt with the junta at the Club of Paris. The junta hoped to arrange for the £14 million which it owes to Britain for 1975 to be repaid in instalments over a number of years. Because the debt was not re-negotiated by Britain the full £14 million now falls due this year.

The junta therefore faces a serious economic problem. Because of the severity of its economic crisis it simply cannot afford to pay all its debts at the present time. Consequently it has to make political decisions as to the most useful places with which to maintain good credit.

Naturally the military prefer first and foremost to keep favour with the multi-national corporations of American imperialism, and so they have made big compensation payments to the nationalised American copper-mining corporations. They have also found some money to pay back a little to the European capitalist countries such as West Germany which did agree to re-negotiation of the debt.

Britain, however, comes well down the generals' list of priorities — indeed, they even feel confident enough to issue threats. The Chilean Foreign Minister has said: 'The debt is practically re-negotiated with the principal creditor countries, and those countries which did not attend this meeting have only two alternatives: either they accept the terms of the re-negotiation which were agreed at the creditors meeting, or they simply won't receive payments at all.'

The Labour Government thus has a clear choice: to kowtow to this threat and simply accept what the junta will give it, or to go on the offensive against the junta.

In the past the Government has argued that Britain had to continue to supply arms and to trade with the Chilean regime in order to 'honour agreements' and 'maintain our integrity as a trading nation'. But even this servile argument, which puts capitalist trading relations above international working class solidarity, now collapses since the generals have shown that they have complete contempt for any such formal agreements.

The Labour Government must therefore at once make clear where it stands. It should break all trade and diplomatic

links with the military regime. It should refuse to send to the junta the two submarines now at Greenock, which are due to be delivered in August. It should refuse to return the destroyer being refitted for the Chilean navy at Swan Hunter. Most importantly, it should at once stop the importation of Chilean copper. The Chilean Ambassador and his gang of secret police should be slung out, and the Embassy turned over to the exiled Chileans as a centre for co-ordinating the resistance.

Such measures would show that the Government is really on the side of the Chilean working class. Of course they should have been taken immediately the Labour Government came to office — but even at this stage, they would be a tremendous gain for the downtrodden workers and peasants of Chile.

However, the labour movement cannot stand idly by as the Government ponders this problem. Bitter experience has shown what will be the result. A campaign should be taken up at once to demand that the Labour Government breaks all links with the junta, and to ensure as a first priority that the submarines at Greenock are not sent to the regime this August.

Gerry Hedley



# ABORTION RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK

## 1. Canada - demand Morgentaler's release!

The recent disclosures of the mistreatment of Dr. Morgentaler, the Canadian surgeon who since March this year has been serving an eighteen month sentence for performing abortions has roused international concern. At the 21 June Demonstration in London 25,000 marchers on the National Abortion Campaign demonstration sent a message of solidarity to the imprisoned doctor.

Peter Ward reported in the *Sunday Times* on 22 June that Henry Morgentaler is said by his wife to have suffered a heart attack after the rough treatment he received from the guards at Waterloo prison, near Montreal. She said he had been denied the medicine he needs for his heart condition. The *Toronto Star* on 8 June noted that Morgentaler was taken to hospital three hours after being placed in an isolation cell. Joe Morris (president of the Canadian Labour Congress) said that Morgentaler is being humiliated and mistreated by his jail guards to the extent where his life may now be in danger.

### ACQUITTED

Morgentaler has twice been acquitted of abortion charges by juries. The first time, in 1973, the Quebec Ministry of Justice appealed to a higher court, which reversed the decision, sentencing him to eighteen months imprisonment. This decision was later upheld by the Canadian Supreme Court. He was again acquitted on 9 June for having performed an illegal abortion. This second charge is now being appealed by the Quebec Dept. of Justice. Morgentaler also faces an additional 11 charges of performing illegal abortions.

At present, a Canadian woman can obtain an abortion only in a licensed hospital and only after a special committee of doctors has agreed that 'the continuation of the pregnancy would be likely to endanger' the woman's

'life or health'. Canadian Health Minister Marc Lalonde is reported to have admitted, last March, that fewer than one-third of Canadian hospitals had abortion committees, while in Quebec only 27 of the province's 281 hospitals had them. As a result, many doctors, including Morgentaler, have performed abortions outside the jurisdiction of the 'law', without approval from an abortion committee.

Because of the restrictive abortion laws, many women are forced to go to back-street abortionists and many women leave the country to have their abortions rather than risk the danger of being 'too late' by the time their case goes for approval to an abortion committee in Canada. The only other alternatives - for the majority of Canadian women seeking abortions - are to give birth to an unwanted child or to run the risk of being butchered by back-street abortionists.

### INVOLVEMENT

Recently, 116 French-speaking Quebec doctors signed a statement admitting involvement in obtaining or performing abortions. Morgentaler's case has been a battle between abortion rights on the one hand and the reactionary 'right-to-life' movement and the Canadian Government on the other. The anti-abortionists have mounted a massive campaign throughout Canada. They plan to present a petition with one million signatures favouring restrictions on abortion.



The Canadian Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws organised a march in Ottawa, on 24 May to protest the imprisonment of Dr. Morgentaler and is at present staging a vigil in Toronto until his release. In March two days after it was announced that the Cabinet had no intention of reviewing Morgentaler's conviction, the Committee for Amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler was formed.

Support has come from the Canadian Labour Congress, the Ontario Lawyers Association and the Canadian Council of Social Development. Even former Conservative Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker, called the proceedings against Morgentaler an orgy of persecution.



On Tuesday 1 July one-parent families took to the streets for the first time. Nearly three thousand women with a sprinkling of men and many children showed that even the most oppressed and socially immobilised group is driven to organise.

The largest one-parent family organisation is 'Gingerbread', with hundreds of local branches some of which have been active in the abortion campaign.

A weakness of the demonstration, however, was the lack of labour movement support. Socialists should argue for the labour movement to take up this question - so relevant to the broader issues of women's oppression - in the same way as a woman's right to choose.

## Building Iranian 21 defence

On 25 April, twenty-one members of the Confederation of Iranian Students protesting against the killing of nine political prisoners by the Shah's regime were arrested by a squad of armed British police after staging a brief and peaceful sit-in at the Iranian Embassy in London. The 21 were charged with 'conspiracy to trespass', and their committal proceedings will begin next Wednesday at Bow Street Magistrates Court.

Soon after their arrest, at the initiative of Iranian students, 'The Committee for the Defence of the Iranian 21' was set up. The Committee received the support of a large number of organisations including the National Council for Civil Liberties, the National Union of Students, Liberation and the International Branch of the Transport & General Workers Union. Eight Labour MPs, four of whom are on the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, have also in a letter declared their support for the 21 and demanded that the Home Secretary remove the conspiracy charges and the danger of deportation with which the 21 are faced.

Primarily, the aim of the Committee was actively to involve as many labour and student organisations as possible. This to a great extent has been achieved, with a few exceptions (Workers Revolutionary Party - as if by chance!). 'Defend Iranian Political Prisoners', 'End British Labour Government Collaboration with the Shah's Regime', 'End SAVAK (Iranian secret police) activities in Britain', 'Abolish the Conspiracy Laws', 'Drop all charges against the Iranian 21' and 'Remove all Restrictions on the Political Activities of Foreign Nationals in Britain' have been the central slogans of the campaign.

After only a few days a successful picket of 120 people was organised, in front of Bow Street Court, at the first court hear-

ing. This was followed by a public meeting, a 600-strong demonstration, and finally another picket on 29 May at the second hearing. On this day most of the imposed restrictions (ie. travel restrictions, daily reporting to a police station, etc) were lifted - in complete contrast to the Magistrate's decision at the preliminary hearing not even to allow bail, which meant that the defendants were consigned to Brixton Prison for a week.

During the last three months the effects of the defence committee's activities at the national level have been considerable. Many local defence committees have been set up in universities and colleges at the initiative of students including the LSE, the Architectural Association, Sussex, Swansea, Kent, Bradford and many others. A large number of trades councils, trade union branches, and student unions have passed motions of support and raised funds for the campaign.

On 16 July the committal hearing will begin. It is unlikely that the charges will be immediately dropped. The campaign will therefore continue to organise more activities around this issue in the coming months, and in September, when the colleges re-open, the local defence committees will have to be reactivated.

### PICKET

DEFEND THE IRANIAN 21!

Picket Bow Street Magistrates Court

Wednesday 16 July - 9am to noon

## 2. USA -Edelin defence campaign spreads



Meanwhile a nationwide campaign by the right is also under way in the United States to reverse a 1973 Supreme Court decision legalising abortion. Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a black doctor from Boston, Massachusetts, convicted of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion on 15 February, is caught in the midst of an escalation of attacks by anti-abortion forces throughout the U.S.

His conviction by an all white jury was a victory for the opponents of the rights of Blacks and women.

The response among the pro-abortion forces to Edelin's conviction was rapid. At short notice, 2,000 women and men, many of them Black, dem-

On 20 March, a rally in defence of Edelin, held in Boston, received wide support from women's liberation groups and civil rights and civil liberties organisations.

In March this year 118 anti-abortion bills went before Congress. In Massachusetts alone, eight bills are under consideration by the State legislature which would change the law from allowing abortions only 'with the husband's consent' to making abortion 'first-degree murder' if performed after the foetus was 'viable'.

Women around the world are centering their efforts in the fight to win their efforts on the fight to win demonstration on 21 June in Britain against the James White Amendment Bill showed that women in this country are determined to defend and extend their rights on abortion.

The cases of Dr. Morgentaler and Dr. Edelin emphasise the international character of the offensive by the 'right-to-life' movement.

It also emphasises the need for an international response from all those who oppose the current offensive by racists and reactionaries to deny women the right to control their own bodies.

## CP BLOCKS 'TROOPS OUT' TALKS

Attempts have been made by the Communist Party to prevent a trade union delegation to Ireland from having formal discussions with groups supporting a 'Troops Out' policy.

The delegation, from the London County Association of Trades Councils, returned from Ireland last Sunday after a three-day visit to Belfast. But before it left London a special meeting attended by large numbers of Communist Party members instructed it to have talks only with certain specified groups.

These predictably include the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Confederation of Trade Unions, Belfast Trades Council, and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. But also included were the Committee of the Shankill Road Advice Centre, a solidly Loyalist area, and a mysterious body called the Federation of Community and Tenants Association in Northern Ireland.



Three hundred people marched through Kilburn last Saturday calling for the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act

time. But according to a Link Community spokesman, Sean Morris: 'The Federation referred to has not been seen or heard of for almost six years. We have information that Sammy Smyth, and another leading UDA man, are using the name of the Federation now for their own purposes.'

In other words, British trade unionists were being asked to consider the views of an organisation fronting for the Loyalist murder gangs while being forbidden to visit any community or political organis-

Sean Morris: 'It looks to us as though the London County Association of Trades Councils is being set up to receive a biased report on what is happening in Belfast and what the attitude of people here is to the presence of British troops.'

But such bureaucratic manoeuvres have a way of back-firing, highlighting the issues in dispute more clearly than would otherwise be the case. Next week we will be carrying a full report of the visit and delegates' reactions to the views they



# SOCIALIST TEACHERS DEBATE WAY FORWARD

This Saturday, 12 July, socialist teachers from all over Britain will be meeting in London. In the article below IMG teachers point out why the problems facing them are important to the whole of the working class, and can only be solved by the united action of the labour movement in defence of education spending.

Two years ago, in 1973, schools in London were short of teachers. Now local authorities are planning to cut back on staff as part of the education cuts. The prospect of teacher unemployment is becoming a real one.

## QUOTAS CUT

Local education authorities operate a quota system which is a voluntary method of rationing the supply of teachers between authorities. On the basis of quotas set by the Department of Education and Science, at least 20 per cent of local authorities expect to be below quota. In addition many authorities employ 'off quota' teachers — mostly part timers and married women doing temporary teaching jobs. About 30 per cent of all local authorities are cutting back in this area. Essex will cut back from 550 to 350, Warwickshire from 300 to 134, and so on.

These redundancies are the products of Tory and Labour cutbacks amounting to £266 million. Along with its move towards a statutory incomes policy, the Labour Government is also preparing for further cuts in educational spending of around £500 million over the next four years. These cutbacks are not always immediately visible but they are just as much a cut in the real wages of the working class as a direct cut in wages; part and parcel of Labour's so-called Social Contract.

## CLASS FIGHT

But although the working class is losing out, other people are benefiting. Up to 50 per cent of local authority spending goes to pay interest on money borrowed from banks. Educational suppliers, who often monopolise various items such as books and paper, have raised their prices by as much as 100 per cent in the last two years. It is not simply that less money will be spent on education, but also that what is spent will buy less.

These attacks on the education system, housing and health require a united response from the whole working class.

Teachers, however, suffer from professionalist ideas. The 'teacher knows best' approach has isolated them from their real allies in the working class. This attitude represents an obstacle which has to be destroyed both by teachers and by the working class if the cuts are to be effectively fought. It will not be done by the Communist Party, whose leading teacher Max Morris reinforced such attitudes by authorising the attacks on teachers in London who struck in support of the Shrewsbury building workers. Nor will it be helped by the suggestions of another CP member, Colin Yardley, President of Inner London Teachers, who has called for rate increases to offset cuts in Government spending.

## DIVISIVE

At the Easter annual conference the Labour Party right and the CP executive members opposed the Working Women's Charter as a divisive issue, fearful that Catholic members would leave the union if it supported abortion. Sam Fisher, CP member and executive mem-

Hammersmith Hospital, in West London, was picketed last week against the lack of abortion and nursery facilities. The picket, which was organised by the West London branch of the National Abortion Campaign, attracted more than 200 people with support from many London NAC groups, Hammersmith, Brent and Westminster Trades Councils, ASTMS (West London Medical) and the hospital's Joint Shop Stewards' Committee.

The difficulty of obtaining an abortion at the Hammersmith is well known, due to the reactionary consultants who decide the policy in the department of Obstetrics & Gynaecology. The Nursery & Abortion Campaign Committee in the hospital along with NAC, are demanding the immediate formation of an out-patient Abortion Clinic and the provision of nurseries for all staff, patients and visitors.

The campaign is also demanding that only staff willing to work in this clinic should be employed by the Health Authority. They are calling for the dismissal of and sanctions against consultants who refuse to co-operate with these moves.

ber, called Charter supporters 'the lunatic fringes' whilst another leading CP member has since referred to Charter supporters as 'hysterical feminists'. In a union in which two thirds of the membership are women, and women are the lowest paid (despite the myth of equal pay) and will be the first to get the push as a result of the cuts, the Communists Party's policy divides and weakens the union by failing to fight for women's rights, and splits teachers from the rest of the working class by taking a sectoral approach to fighting the education cuts.

## ACTION COMMITTEES

To create the necessary united response to the cuts, teachers should aim to establish broadly based conferences and inter-union action committees to take up the fight against redundancies as a focus for the campaign. At the same time teachers have a pay deal under arbitration. By linking up with those sections of the working class who oppose Healey's proposed 10 per cent ceiling on wages they can both defend their own living standards — against the Government and their own executive's inevitable 'reluctant' acceptance of 10 per cent — and help develop the fight against the cuts.

One of the central debates at the Socialist Teachers Conference will be around the policies which teachers and workers must fight for to protect wages and public spending

against inflation. The adoption by the conference and a fight in the NUT for all wages and expenditure to be protected against inflation by automatic increases (a sliding scale) can be a big step forward.

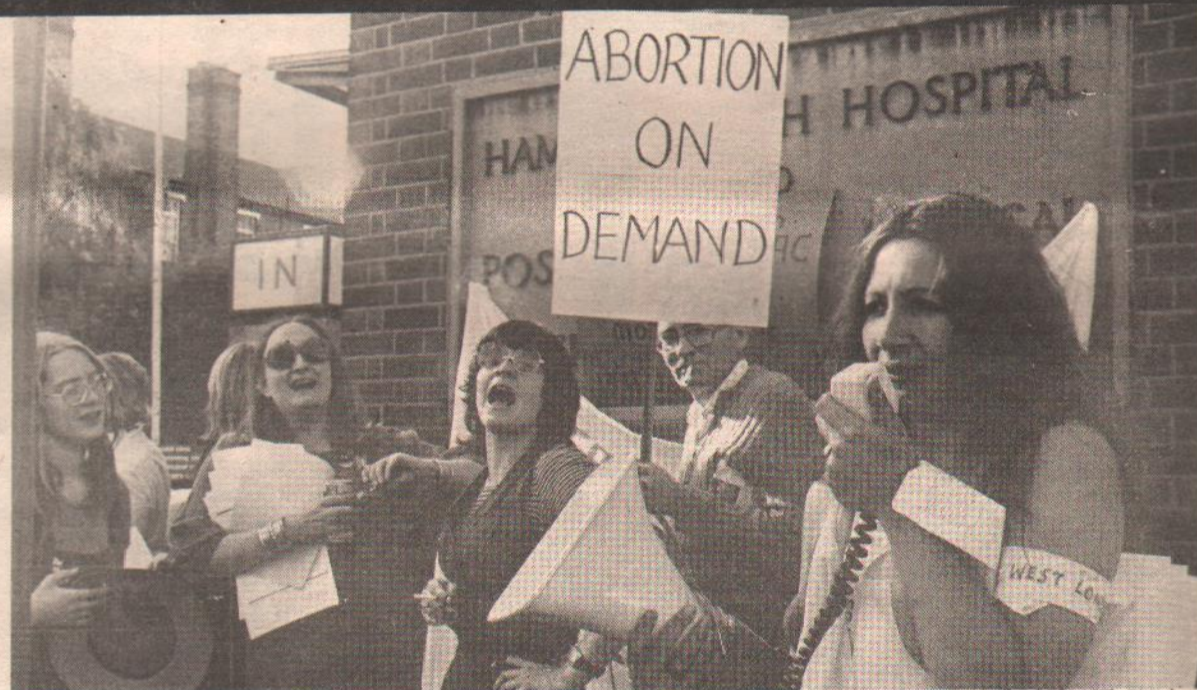
At the Conference itself, teachers from the International Marxist Group will be arguing, that the working class needs a programme of action to resolve the capitalist crisis. We believe that the conference can play a modest but important role in beginning a discussion about how socialists in education can integrate their struggle into the overall struggle of the working class and strengthen the possibilities for imposing a socialist solution.

## SOCIALIST TEACHERS CONFERENCE

Open conference of socialist teachers, 12 July, 11am-6pm at NUFTO Hall, Jockey's Fields (Holtborn tube). Creche accommodation. Tickets 50p at door. Social afterwards.

Supported by teachers in *Radical Education*; *International Marxist Group*; *Workers Fight*; *Anarchist Workers Association*; *Manchester Rank & File*.

—SOCIAL—SOCIAL—SOCIAL—SOCIAL—  
After the Conference at Euston Tavern, corner of Euston Road and Judd Street. Bar extension 7.30-12pm. Disco etc. Everyone welcome.



On Monday the *Daily Mirror* gave striking confirmation of the way in which the NHS is sliding down the drain. Its report diagnosed the health service as being 'gravely ill... and sinking fast.'

Nearly half of Britain's hospitals were built before 1891. Another quarter are more than 100 years old. This has led to situations like that at the Buckland Hospital at Dover, which has an orthopaedic department divided in two by the hospital's main corridor. Peace for the patients is disturbed by the noise and clatter of hospital daily life going backwards and forwards through the ward. Dead bodies are wheeled through on their way to the mortuary.

Of the Oldham General Hospital — a rambling building over 100 years old — NUPE official Colin Barnett says: 'The hospital is permeated with the filth of ages'. Explaining the hospital's plague of disease-carrying cockroaches he says: 'Meanwhile as long as the hospital is starved of money there will be cockroaches crawling around everywhere.'

## SHORTAGES

Staff shortages get worse by the day. One health workers' union, COHSE, estimates that there is a shortage of 70,000 nurses because they are so badly paid. Plymouth, with a population of 399,000, is 454 nurses understaffed. Any out-patient in the town can expect to wait for up to 100 weeks.

A delegate to this week's BMA Conference bitterly summed up the state of the NHS:

Like the *Financial Times*, the *Daily Mirror* is not averse to cuts. It just thinks that the 'NHS must be the very last to come under the knife'. It also quotes with approval the work of charities whose voluntary efforts pump cash into the sickening NHS to keep it tottering along.

The picture is only too clear. The NHS is being consigned to poverty. The *Financial Times's* line is to get on with butchering it now. The *Mirror* would prefer to wait a bit and only do it when necessary.

## CONFERENCE

The Conference called by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice rejects both these 'solutions'. When it brings delegates together in London on 11 October it will be trying to build united working class action — not just to defend the NHS, but to expand and extend the health service so that it can be both responsible to and serve the interests of the working class.

We understand the bitterness of that BMA doctor who complains that health workers' spirits are being destroyed. But there is a solution for him and his colleagues in the NHS. That is to work to build the MCAPP Conference — to make sure that health workers win allies in the working class movement for their fight.

That is why we again call on our readers to make sure that this Conference gets maximum support both within the NHS and from all other trade unionists. This week's sponsors of the Conference include: South London Institute of Workers Control; NUPE — North Camden district; Addlestone & District Trades

# NHS — 'ILL AND SINKING FAST'

With undisguised relish the ruling class is putting forward its plans for cuts in the public sector. The *Financial Times* in particular — adviser and voice of the ruling class — has been running a series entitled 'Public Expenditure: Can it be cut? If so, where and how?'

The article on 24 June spelt it out: 'The most important immediate need in cutting social service expenditure is a proper resistance to wage pressures'. Bemoaning what it calls 'hideously expensive' wage rounds in the National Health Service, it makes it quite clear that the solution is to depress even further the miserable real wage levels in the NHS.

have likewise remained frozen and dental charges were last put up in 1973. He even quotes some unnamed 'socialists' who see a hospital "hotel" charge — with exemptions as for prescriptions — as unobjectionable. Others — socialists? — he claims 'toy with a charge for road or industrial accidents.'

So the answers are there — keep wages down, introduce a means test, and bang up the charges as well as introducing some new ones.

Certainly Mr Rogaly can hardly complain at Harold Wilson's performance in clamping down on the NHS. In 1974 that staid and conservative body the BMA told Wilson: 'Five hundred million pounds is needed to put the



# GENERAL STRIKE SWEEPS ARGENTINA

In complete defiance of a state-of-siege order and in the face of police and army repression, millions of Argentinian workers struck last week against the attempt of the Government led by Senora Isabel Peron to limit all pay rises to 50 per cent.

The strike is all the more spectacular in that the Peronist-dominated five million strong General Confederation of Labour (CGT), previously the staunchest supporter of the Government, was forced to call a 48-hour General Strike from Sunday 6 July. This is the first time in Argentina's history that the official trade union leaders have called such action against a Peronist Government.

The crisis has caused the resignation of the entire cabinet and the evaporation of all parliamentary support for Isabel Peron — and the Peronists won 60 per cent of the vote at the last election. One old senator has even challenged Peron's private secretary and Social Welfare Secretary, Jose Lopez Rega, to a duel! Isabel Peron's last remaining supporters, the army, are moving close to the centre of the political stage.

The reasons for these dramatic events are not hard to find. Argentina is in the throes of an economic crisis which makes Britain's look positively insignificant by comparison. In mid-March inflation was running at 80 per cent, the Budget deficit stood at £2,700 millions, the foreign debt at £4,100 millions. There is not even enough cash in reserve to service the foreign debt. In-

dustrial investment was down 20 per cent in 1973 over 1972, and down another 30 per cent in 1974.

It was in this situation that Celestino Rodrigo was brought into the cabinet in early June. He immediately devalued the peso by 50 per cent and put up all retail prices — including gas, electricity, water, bus and rail fares by 80 per cent, and flour, bread and water by 40 to 100 per cent. This accelerated the annual rate of inflation to over 100 per cent, and most of the unions promptly negotiated increases of between 100 and 130 per cent of keep pace with inflation.

Then on 29 June Isabel Peron announced that all wage increases would be frozen at 50 per cent, and the previously agreed wage settlements were overturned. Public sector workers immediately went out on indefinite strike followed by metal workers. All the main provincial centres including the industrial outskirts of Buenos Aires were swept into the strike wave.

On 4 July columns of up to 5,000 striking workers gathered in the suburbs of Buenos Aires in an attempt to march into the city, only to be dispersed by police. At the same time in La Plata an hour-long armed confrontation took place with the police when they tried to disperse a 3,000-strong demonstration. The CGT was forced to call a General Strike or lose control entirely.

Since the death of Peron last July, the Argentinian regime has only been able to keep the masses in

check through repression. The number of workers killed by the state forces and the unofficial murder gangs like the AAA (Argentinian Anti-Communist Alliance) is as great as under the military dictatorship that Peron replaced. The number of political prisoners increases daily. At the same time the armed forces are engaged in a semi-civil war with the guerilla fighters of the ERP in Tucuman province.

But working class struggles still develop. For two months earlier this year the steel-making town of Villa Constitucion was the scene of a defiant struggle by metal workers against Government attempts to victimise their leaders. The militancy shown here, and the solidarity it inspired among other groups of workers, played an important part in the development of the present movement.

It was in the context of being allegedly 'soft' in the internal war and unwilling to use troops to break the Villa Constitucion strike that General Leandro Anaya was replaced by the hard-line General Alberto Laplane. The army is fast becoming the last prop of Isabel Peron's regime.

No matter how the generals eventually come into the Government and step up the repression of the masses, the workers' movement will have to be ready with the reflex response of armed self-defence shown by the demonstrating workers of La Plata. And we too must prepare to launch a campaign in solidarity with them.

## RED WEEKLY

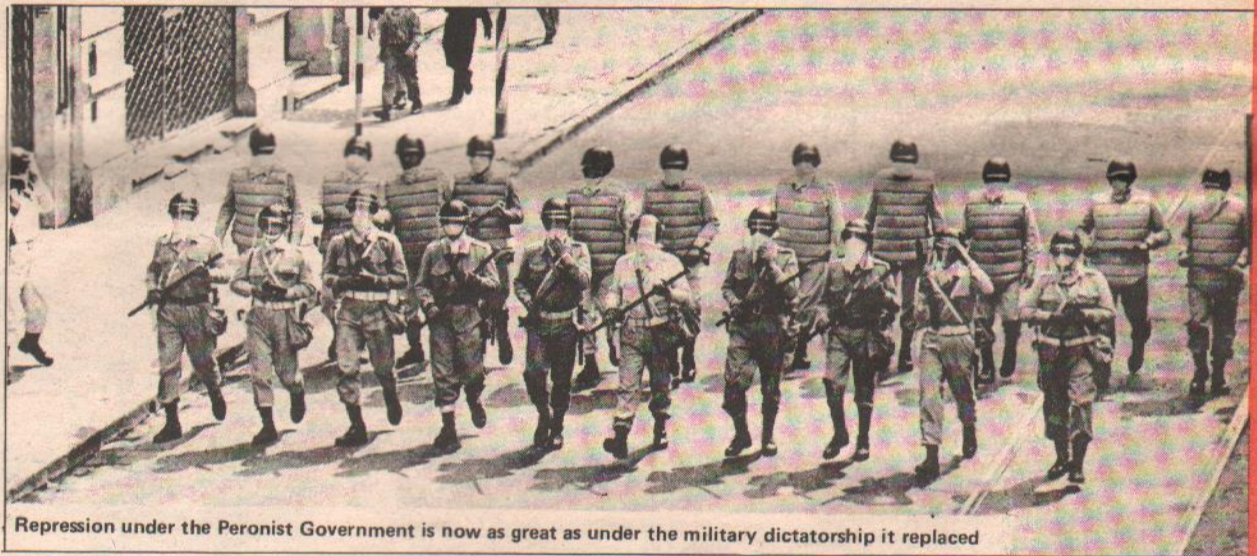
### DON'T TAKE A HOLIDAY!

Birmingham £13.85, East London £2.50, Norwich £17, F.M. Blake £1, as well as £75 from local collections for Red Weekly were amongst the donations that just scraped us home.

Now we face the long hot summer — ie. holidays, many students not on the campus to organise their regular collections, many of our regular readers away for their two or three weeks. So an even bigger effort is needed now. Those areas that have still not sent in their June pledges really must double-up for July.

The attacks of the ruling class are just beginning. The Healey cuts are only a foretaste of what is to come. The need to expand Red Weekly and build a revolutionary organisation has never been greater. That requires serious dedication and sacrifice.

We ask you to respond to the occasion. The best way to start is to send us some money for the only paper on the revolutionary left that fights for an internationalist solution. Address: 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.



Repression under the Peronist Government is now as great as under the military dictatorship it replaced

## SPANISH WORKERS FIGHT BACK AGAINST REPRESSION

The Franco dictatorship is once more trying to 'set an example' for the Spanish working class through brutal repression, this time directed against working class militants who have spent the last three-and-a-half year in prison awaiting trial.

Twenty three militants were arrested in March 1972 in the northern port of El Ferrol, after a strike of 3,000 shipyard workers over wages. The strike was brutally crushed by the Spanish police, who opened fire on a crowd of workers, killing two and wounding several more. They then proceeded to round up the 'ringleaders'.

When their trial finally opened in Madrid last week, 8,000 workers from the El Ferrol shipyards struck in sympathy. They only returned to work under threat of mass sackings, proclaiming that they would continue to demonstrate their solidarity through a 'go-slow'. So far a total of 20,000 workers in the area have taken part in solidarity

strikes.

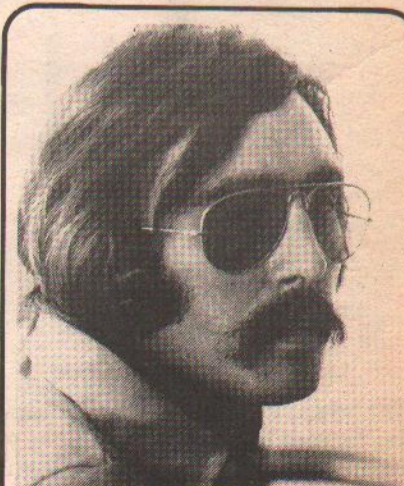
The police evidence was so flimsy that all charges were dropped against five of those originally arrested — who have therefore spent the last three years in jail for nothing! Among those remaining is Rafael Pillado, a shop steward from the shipyards, for whom the prosecution is demanding a 10 year jail sentence on charges of 'terrorism'. Pillado is reported to have told the judge: 'My only crime is to have devoted myself as a trade union official to my fellow workers. If that is terrorism, I shall be a terrorist all my life.'

Another of the defendants is a 50-year-old mother of seven. A fish vendor, she is accused of having encouraged other stall holders in the El Ferrol market to shut up shop in solidarity with the strikers.

Meanwhile the regime continues to lash out in futile attempts to preserve its brutal 'order'. In an effort to break a strike of junior doctors which has been going on in Govern-

ment-run hospitals for more than three weeks, the dictatorship has sacked 1,800 of the strikers. But so far the doctors have refused to give in.

Faced with such ruthless repression the Spanish working class is resisting heroically. It needs every ounce of solidarity it can get from the international workers movement.



Rui Dominguez works on the Portuguese newspaper *Republica*, which has recently been the focus of a major political storm. On Sunday he arrived in Britain to speak at a series of solidarity meetings. Next week's issue of *Red Weekly* will feature an interview with Dominguez on the true story of the *Republica* affair.

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

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