

# RED WEEKLY

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## WILSON:

# 'BY THE RIGHT, QUICK MARCH'

## LABOUR MOVEMENT MUST BACK 'TROOPS OUT' DEMO

The following appeal to the labour movement has been issued by four Labour MPs who are backing the 27 October 'Troops Out' demo:

'We, the undersigned, consider it essential that the Labour Movement takes up the question of the British presence in Ireland. And, in view of the fact that the British presence denies the right of the Irish people as a whole to self-determination, we support the call by the British Peace Committee and the Troops Out Movement for a demonstration calling for the 'immediate implementation of a policy of political and military withdrawal from Ireland' and having the leading slogan 'British Troops Out of Ireland'.

WILLIAM WILSON, MP, (Coventry South East); JEFF ROOKER, MP, (Birmingham Perry Barr); MAUREEN COLLINS, MP, (Northampton North); STAN THORNE, MP, (Preston South).

## Unconditional, immediate withdrawal only solution

SIX LABOUR MP's will be in the front lines of the October 27th demonstration demanding 'British Troops Out of Ireland'.

This demonstration is being called by the British Peace Committee—Troops Out Movement ad-hoc committee. Already it has gained significant support from Trades Councils, Trade Union branches, student unions and socialist organisations.

The IMG is mobilising its supporters nationally for this demo and considers it an important step towards building a mass campaign for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. In our view the urgency of this task increases daily. The election results spelt it out clearly. In the Six Counties, the United Ulster Unionists (UUU)—the right wing loyalists—have consolidated their political support. Encouraged by this electoral success they will undoubtedly intensify their campaign to have political authority in the North handed back to them.

With Powell now among their ranks they are poised to bring their reactionary politics right into the heart of the British political arena.

The Labour Government, faced with this political bandwagon, make pious promises about reintroducing the Tories' policy of 'power sharing' between the Catholic population and the Unionists. But such a scheme could not receive enough support in the North to work.

In reality, Wilson's policies give him only two choices: either to capitulate to the demands of the Unionists, or to continue the present 'direct rule' set-up by stepping up the use of British troops. Either course will build a political timebomb in the North of Ireland.

Socialists must campaign for the labour movement to act and force its leaders to abandon these reactionary policies, which are not in the interests of workers in either Britain or Ireland. UNCONDITIONAL, IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL IS THE ONLY SOLUTION.

New opportunities exist for carrying this message into the Labour movement. Successive failures by both the Labour and Tory governments to smash the IRA and make their solutions work have led to growing doubts in the working class about the 'bi-partisan' policies, supported by both parties. Many workers now question the role of British troops in Ireland.

This has already led to growing trade union and Labour Party involvement on the issue of Ireland: it must now be organised to ensure a massive labour movement turnout for the 27 October demonstration.

THE POLLS HAD BEEN CLOSED LESS THAN TWO HOURS WHEN WILSON BEGAN HIS CRAWL TO THE capitalist class. In his post-election speech he whined about the election being divisive, and only perked up at the thought that boss and worker could now unite.

In his television speech on Monday, Wilson wagged the big stick at the trade unions, warning them that breaches of the social contract would not be tolerated. Reassuring the employers, he promised that prices would be allowed to go up.

The autumn budget for the working class looks bleak. For the capitalist class Wilson hints at big tax concessions to companies. No wonder the Stock Exchange went up by 15 points as soon as he finished speaking.

### SCREWS

Between February and 10 October Wilson had to perform a precarious balancing act. With his eye on an autumn election he could not turn the screw full on the working class in the way the employers wanted. But even then his deep commitment to capitalism almost smashed Labour's election chances and resulted in a pitiful majority of three.

Now the honeymoon is over. Wilson feels less tied to Labour's electoral needs and is ready to crack down. This is exactly what the ruling class want. Wilson will defend their system, his right-wing policies will frustrate the working class and demoralise Labour's activists. This will lead to a series of by-election defeats and prepare the ground for the return to a Government of the Tories especially if the Labour Government should split over some key question, such as the Common Market.

Two choices are opening up before the working class movement. Either it can take the right-wing road to ruin and defeat, or it can begin to organise a fight back against the Labour leaders.

### INCOMES POLICY

By Spring the Labour Government will be moving towards a compulsory incomes policy. This could only be defeated by an all-out general strike. The most effective way to prepare for that is to continue the fight now against the social contract and step up the struggle for full protection of wages against inflation—a sliding scale of wages.

Wilson's solution to the crisis is to dole out millions of pounds in tax concessions, grants and allow price increases to the capitalists. The working class has to say 'not a penny to the bankrupt representatives of a bankrupt system: nationalise without any compensation, and with full guarantees of all jobs, any firms threatening redundancies.

Wilson knows that it spells disaster for the important sections of British capital-

ism to leave the Common Market. He therefore plans wheedling a few concessions from his EEC 'partners' and then getting Labour to recommend a pro-EEC vote in his phoney referendum.

An emergency Trade Union Congress and Labour Party Conference must be held before any such referendum takes place. These conferences must commit the entire working class movement to immediate withdrawal from the Common Market, which was created in the interests of the European capitalist monopolies.

In Ireland Labour also faithfully serves the aims of the ruling class. Helped by Labour's policies Enoch Powell is working to build a mass reactionary base which will be directed against both the British and Irish working class. Labour's 'bi-partisan' policy must be broken and a big movement built that can force the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

A fight on these issues can not only stop the betrayals of the Labour leaders, but can set in motion a powerful movement for socialism.



Striking women workers at the Salford Electrical Instrument (SEI) factory 'greet' scabs crossing their picket line. Struggles like their's for equal pay — represent the way forward for the working class, not Labour's 'social con-trick'. Latest news on SEI: p.12



# THE UNIONS



Working class living standards are falling for the first time since the war. They have declined by 4 per cent over the last year. Since Labour took office in February they have fallen by 2½ per cent.

These however are only average figures. For the low paid and badly organised, for pensioners, those on social security benefits, and people on fixed incomes the position is much worse.

## PRESENT RATE

The present rate of price inflation is about 18 per cent and likely to be over 25 per cent by 1975.

Even if the whole working class settled within the terms of the social contract—i.e. maintained their living standards or achieved a £30 minimum wage—the employers would not be able to carry this increased burden. For the employers, the social contract is a dead duck. In the struggles to come, they will begin to resist even the most minimal wage claims.

Instead of taking no responsibility for the capitalists' crisis and its effects on the working class, the leaders of the strongest and largest unions have already bent over backwards to implement the social contract. UCATT, for example, has postponed its claim for between 87 per cent and 107 per cent on the hourly rate until June 1975. The print unions are holding a ballot on a 6.66 per cent offer.

Claims that are in the pipeline are, by and large, from low-paid workers—i.e. ancillary workers claiming £4.92 or local authority manual workers asking for £5 a week, both within the terms of the social contract.

## OPPOSITION

Apart from the coming national claims, hundreds of local claims and strikes are already blowing to bits the figures for both the number of strikes and strike days lost. But the resistance of the employers and union leaders to big claims, coupled with the rocketing rate of price increases, means that many workers will be too weak to keep pace and the strong sections of the workers' movement will have to be constantly struggling to keep their heads above water.

The Tories' threshold agreements gave only minimal protection of incomes against inflation. They come to an end in November, only affect about half the working class, and will not be reintroduced by the new Labour Government. But the trade union

leaders have not campaigned for even the slight protection of the thresholds to be maintained after this month.

Ken Gill, general secretary of the AUEW-TASS, complains in the magazine *Manpower*: "Thresholds tend to help the lower paid but not the higher paid—amongst whom are most of our 125,000 members."

Gill—who did the famous about-face at the last TUC on the social contract—does not make any suggestion as to how to improve the threshold agreement so that it offers workers 100 per cent protection against inflation. All this policy leads to is 'put in bigger wage demands'. What is more, it offers no way forward for the lower paid workers but leaves them isolated and at the mercy of the employers and the Government.

Some groups of workers (hospitals, local authorities) do have claims which insist that thresholds be kept. But many employers are trying to force through settlements which buy off the workers with an extra percentage as long as the threshold demand is dropped. Although workers at Jentique (Ipswich) have won a threshold extension until December 1975, there are very few groups of workers who have won even this minimal concession.

## DIE

The fact that the union leaders have decided to let the thresholds die a death makes the need for a united fight against inflation more urgent than ever. Struggles for keeping the threshold, as well as for the next round of claims, could have become the jumping off point for the struggle for a sliding scale of wages.

This means that for every increase in the cost of living, the working class would get complete and guaranteed compensation in wages. To fight for such a demand means raising the matter of workers' control of the cost-of-living index as part of a planned economy.

Militants can begin this fight in struggles to retain the thresholds in November, to extend the thresholds to bigger increases more in line with the real impact of inflation, and to struggle for the index trigger to be driven down to nil per cent.

Such a policy is not an alternative to struggles for wage claims. It must be added to them.

SAM BOYD

## Strike movement spreads among Scottish teachers

**UNOFFICIAL STRIKE ACTION** by teachers is sweeping across Scottish schools. This week teachers throughout the Edinburgh area will stage a one-day stoppage, demanding a £15 pay increase.

The strike action started in Glasgow. Delegates from a number of schools in the West of Scotland met to discuss the threat by the Education Authority to withdraw 'designation allowances'—extra money given to teachers in schools with particularly poor conditions. The delegates formed a West of Scotland Action Committee, and decided to take

strike action against the proposed cuts.

In face of this militancy the Education Authority withdrew its proposals. But the Action Committee decided to go ahead anyway to back up their demand for a £15 a week rise.

Teachers have been hit particularly hard by inflation. Over the last year, their living standards have been axed by 15 per cent. In Scotland these problems are particularly serious. When the Tories chopped £180 million off education spending a proportionally much higher amount came off Scottish education. Since the Labour Government came to office in February they have done next to nothing to correct the situation—only 17 per cent of the cuts have been made up.

In the face of such appalling conditions the Education Institute of Scotland—the main teachers' union—has imposed a work-to-rule

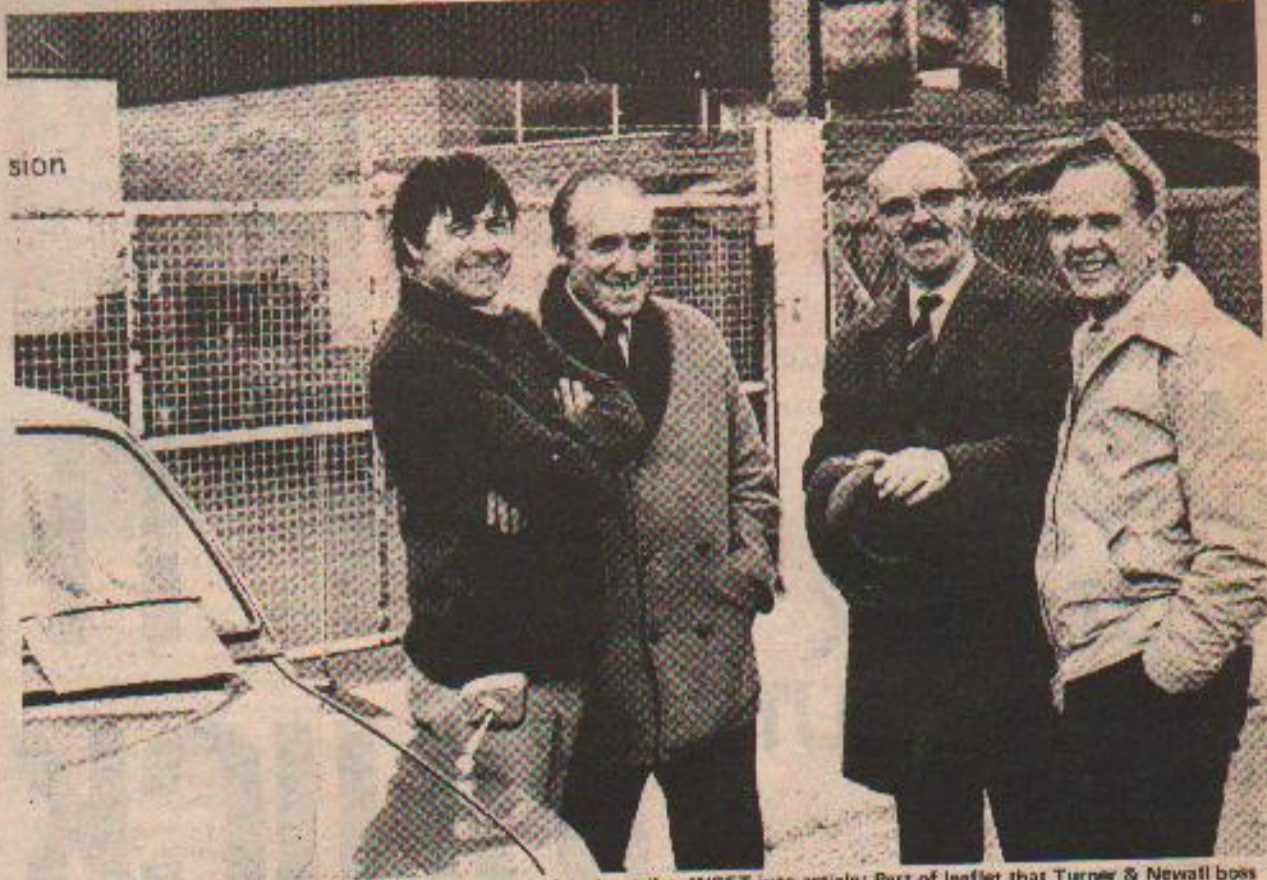
throughout the region, and made a demand for a 30 per cent wage increase.

But so far the bureaucrats have achieved nothing. So the rank and file have set up their own democratically elected committees and launched the fight.

The response has been outstanding. Two thousand teachers from 41 schools took strike action in Glasgow. And now the movement has spread to the east. In Edinburgh the first meeting of their Action Committee was attended by over 200 teachers. They too have taken up the demand for an across-the-board increase of £18, which amounts to the official demand for 80 per cent flat-rated.

All this activity has clearly upset the bureaucrats. They have suddenly launched a claim for a 10 per cent interim award, and have called a one-day official stoppage for the end of the month. But ten

# SLIDING SCALE DEMAND AT CBI CHIEF'S FACTORY



ABOVE: Picketing outside the Turner Bros factory during the strike. INSET into article: Part of leaflet that Turner & Newall boss and CBI chairman Ralph Bateman recently sent out warning employees about the dangers of nationalisation.

**GENUINE PROTECTION OF WAGES AGAINST INFLATION**—a sliding scale of wages—was among the demands put forward by striking workers in Surrey last week.

The strike, which broke out for seven days at Turner Bros. Asbestos in Camberley, could easily flare up again.

All the workers walked out when management began a campaign to disrupt trade union activity in the factory. The shop stewards had put in a claim for a £10 across the board increase, the extension of thresholds into a genuine cost of living agreement (sliding scale of wages), extra holidays, a guaranteed working week, double time for Sundays and time and half for all overtime.

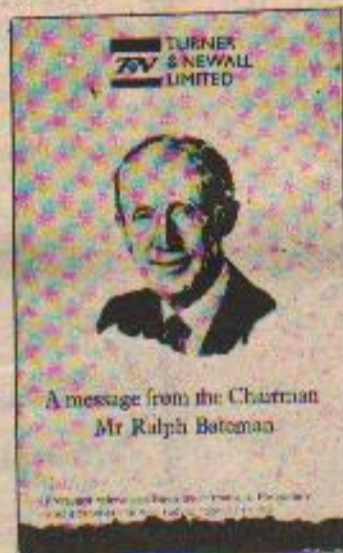
To back up their claim the workers started an overtime ban where upon the bosses retaliated by having management do workers' jobs, locking the factory gates, the canteen and the lavatories.

## DYNAMITE

The threshold claim is dynamite, as it would extend threshold payments beyond November when they are due to end. What is even more important is by calling for a sliding scale, in addition to a wage rise, the workers stick a knife right in the heart of the social contract.

This has an enormous significance at Turners, which is part of the Turner and Newall combine. Ralph Bateman, the £41,000 a year chairman of the group, is one of the leading lights in the Confederation of British Industry.

After five days of total strike action the management were be-



coming desperate for a way out.

On Thursday the management agreed to put the one and a half pence they had offered on the bonus rate on to the basic rate. They also agreed to pay the next two threshold points.

## RETURN

The stewards accepted that these concessions could provide a basis for a return to work so negotiations on the full claim could carry on. The management accepted these terms and also agreed that there would be

a full, not a phased return to work as they had originally insisted.

But Turners thought they had a trick up their sleeve. On Tuesday 15 October they stuck up a letter on the union board. The management letter claimed that the concessions constituted a settlement. This was in clear violation of the previous week's agreement.

The workforce and the stewards are incensed at this trick by the bosses, and all the indications are that unless Turners beat a quick retreat they face another all-out stoppage.

By taking up the demand for a sliding scale of wages the workers at Camberley have set a real example of how workers can fight inflation.

The Camberley workforce have also been in contact with other factories in the Turner and Newall group. By extending the struggle for their demands throughout the combine they can take an important and vital step to winning them

Jeff King

## Unions take up anti-fascist fight

The anti-fascist movement got a big boost last week. Britain's largest union, the Transport and General, has distributed ten thousand copies of a pamphlet—*Racism, Fascism and the Trade Unions*—written by Brian Nicholson of the Executive Committee, and published by the Union's docks group.

Other unions have taken up the question as well. At their last conferences, the railwaymen's union, the NUR, and Clive Jenkins's ASTMS both voted to support and promote local anti-fascist committees. And during the election the NUR's North London district council produced a leaflet for distribution throughout London's railway workshops, exposing the National Front as 'doing exactly the same thing as Mosley's British Union of Fascists did in the '30s'.

Brian Nicholson's pamphlet, with a foreword by General Secretary Jack Jones is a big step forward for this developing movement. Anti-fascist militants will find the excellent analysis and back-up material about racism and fascism and the fight against it very useful for pushing these issues into the heart of the trade union movement.

Brian Nicholson will be one of the speakers at the anti-fascist conference called by Warwick University Student Union on 3 November. Copies of his pamphlet are available from TGWU Region 1, Green Lanes, London N4.



# 'What the Army really stands for—the moneypeople'

A BRITISH ARMY DESERTER, Brian Jenkinson, who took part in the round-ups in the North of Ireland on the week that internment was introduced, has returned from Sweden to face court-martial.

His action is an attempt to expose the refusal of the British Army to allow him to buy himself out, and the brutal treatment of the Catholic population in the North by the Army.

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He claims that he was charged for refusing to hit a priest during the internment swoops.

Twenty-five-year-old gunner Brian Jenkinson of the King's Troop, Royal Horse Artillery, who comes from Ashton-in-Makerfield, near Wigan, flew into London from Stockholm after contacting the

pay subscriptions to Regimental Associations which he described as 'organisations for people who already have money.'

The amount concerned was not great, about 15p a week, but he claims that this would have bought a loaf of bread for his wife and child.

In revenge, his Commanding Officer Lt. Col. Brower, refused to give him the day off which the rest of his unit got when they received their first posting to the North.

In his smuggled statement,

was really upsetting, but if I did not obey orders, I would have been charged. We brought this fellow downstairs and told his wife that if she wanted to get in touch with him, she was to go to Armagh Jail.

'This was at about 5 o'clock in the morning, and the church bells were ringing when we were taking him to the Pig. We met a Catholic priest who was coming out of the church gate. I forget what town we were in but this Irish fellow asked the priest to help him, you know 'Please help me, Father.' The priest picked up a milk bottle and threw it at me. The bottle smashed me on the nose. I was told to hit the priest but I refused, you see I am a Catholic myself; so I was charged with disobeying a direct order from my sergeant.

'I was placed on extra duties. It was an eighteen-hour day for me plus guard duty. I was also in trouble because during riots I refused to hit people, the civilian population, women and children. I got put on extra duty for that as well, guard picket and that.

'I was in Northern Ireland for four or five short tours of duty. The last time I was in Ireland was in the summer of 1972. Then I went to Germany.

'I was given a job waiting in the officers' mess. Things were getting pretty bad, the Army brass were jumping on me so much with extra duties, and God knows what I was not getting. So I put in for a posting to England, to the King's Troop, Royal Horse Artillery. At first they refused and I threatened to buy myself out. So they gave me the posting but I had to pay my own fare back to England.

'Straight off I was on extra duties. I got into debt and my wife left me again. I decided there and then to get out. The Army had broken my marriage and it had broken me spiritually. I put in three applications but they refused. It states in military law that after three applications you are allowed to see your C.O. I then threatened my Lieutenant, Lt. Glover, that I would go to see my MP or get in touch with the National Council for Civil Liberties.



'Why should I go to Ireland and use cruelty to keep somebody in money?' — Brian Jenkinson's point is one frequently made by Troops Out activists who leaflet soldiers

SUNDAY WORLD through friends beforehand. At Heathrow Airport, armed Special Branch police refused to allow me to approach Jenkinson, while Military Police removed him to the Duke of Wellington Barracks.

Brian is being held incommunicado, and the British Ministry of Defence has refused requests of journalists to see him. But the SUNDAY WORLD has been able to establish contact with Brian, and obtain detailed statements of the reasons why he first went to Sweden, and then returned to England on 20 August last, after informing the British Embassy in Stockholm of his intentions.

Brian Joseph Jenkinson's troubles started in 1969 when he got married at twenty years of age. After some rows with his in-laws, and failure to get a job, he joined the British Army on a nine year contract, taking careful note of the clause which says that a soldier can buy himself out of the Army after three years service.

After basic training at Woolwich, he was sent on a Commando course, and was attached to the 42 Medium Regiment Royal Artillery in Devizes. He entered different army courses to earn extra money to provide for his wife and their child, who had been born since he joined the British Army, but the most he could earn after tax was £18 or £20 per week.

He first ran up against the Army establishment when he refused to

Brian tells how he was serving in Ireland on the weekend when internment was introduced, 9 August 1971.

He describes how he took part in a raid with a sergeant and full Artillery crew from the 42 Medium Regiment, R.A.

'We were told to break in the door of the home of an ordinary working class family. We went upstairs and dragged this bloke out of bed. His wife was crying and it

## If you don't at first succeed trial, trial again

Some very strange things have been heard in Wakefield Crown Court since the M62 coach bomb trial opened a fortnight ago.

According to the police, for instance, they have twice in the last two years had overwhelming evidence of the involvement of Judith Ward in bomb explosions in Britain. And on each occasion they ...let her go!

### CONFESSED

In 1972, she is said to have confessed to the Royal Ulster Constabulary that she supplied the Official IRA with a map of Aldershot that was used to plan the bombing of

the officers' mess there. Nonetheless, she was released two days later.

And last year, she apparently approached police at the scene of the Euston bomb explosion 'shouting and swearing'. She was questioned and explosives tests were made. These proved to be positive, but before this was known she ...had been released!

With this quality of prosecution evidence the police are understandably none too confident about their chances. Their case seems designed more than anything else to prove that Judith Ward is an IRA sympathiser.

## Press statement on bombings

THE FOLLOWING IS AN IMG PRESS STATEMENT ON ALLEGATIONS OF IMG RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE RECENT GUILDFORD AND LONDON BOMBINGS:

'Recent news broadcasts and press reports from various agencies, including the London Broadcasting Company (LBC) and ITN News, reported information received by telephone alleging that the IMG (in one instance in cooperation with the Provisional IRA) was responsible for the recent bomb incidents in Guildford, the Victory Ex-Service Club, the Army and Navy Club and at the Tower of London. Various newspapers repeated these reports, including the *London Evening News* on Saturday, 12 October, and the *Daily Telegraph* on Friday, 11 October. The first news broadcast was made on Thursday, 10 October and further similar reports were made over the weekend.

'The Metropolitan Police have informed the IMG that various news agencies have received no fewer than seven such phone calls (one of them from Yorkshire) since Thursday last, all making the same allegations of IMG involvement in the bombings.

'Following all the news reports which came to our attention, the IMG immediately informed each agency making the report that the IMG was in no way associated with any of these bomb incidents. Neither were any members or sympathisers of the IMG involved. We utterly repudiate any reports purporting to be from members or a 'splitter group' of the IMG claiming responsibility for these bomb incidents.

'However, none of the news agencies which published these allegations contacted the IMG to check their truth or to enquire our opinion on the telephone calls slandering the IMG. A number of news bulletins broadcast by LBC continued to report the same allegations without any mention of our denial. It was only after we had issued several denials to the news media that by the end of the weekend, reports began to carry our repudiation of any alleged involvement in bomb incidents. The IMG condemns the totally irresponsible behaviour of LBC in giving currency to this slander.

'Stan Newens, Labour MP for Harlow, Essex, has already decided to demand an explanation from ITN and LBC as to the origin of the information they so indiscriminately reported, whether they made any efforts to contact the IMG following these reports, and what steps they took to publish the IMG denial.

'Alan Sapper, General-Secretary of the Cinematographic and Television Technicians (ACTT), has said: 'These reports by the ITN and LBC are irresponsible and prejudicial expressions of unproven allegations.'

'The Magazine Branch of the NUJ (National Union of Journalists) in London, passed a resolution on Monday, 14 October demanding that the London Radio Branch of NUJ conduct an inquiry into the matter and report back to the Magazine Branch.

'The IMG is also considering taking legal advice on the matter which will shortly be placed in the hands of our solicitors.

'We have already published a political statement on the Guildford bombings in *Red Weekly* of 12 October. Briefly we can repeat that if these bombings have been carried out by the Provisional IRA, which is not at all known, that we stand unconditionally by the Irish people in their struggle against British Imperialism, whatever form that struggle might take. We defend the right of the Irish Republican Movement to carry out armed actions against British Imperialism. However, we do not think that these bombings fit into an overall strategy to mobilise mass forces against British Imperialism at the present time. We believe these bombings are a tactical mistake if the IRA is responsible, but remain totally committed to helping to build a movement in this country for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland which will both aid the Irish revolution and strike a blow against the ruling class in this country.

IMG Political Committee  
15 October 1974

'I got in touch with NCCL, I told them that I was going to Sweden. They said, "Don't go to Sweden, let us write to Whitehall and get things going that way." Well if I had done that, the Army would have jumped all over me, you know. I was told that I could get court-martialled. After this, Lt. Glover told me that I had caused so much trouble that I was going to be posted to Ireland again.

'So I (was faced) with either doing something I did not believe in or going away and getting out altogether. I went to Sweden. Why

should I go to a place (Ireland) and use cruelty to keep somebody in money? Now I am back, I'll try to show the people what the Army really stands for, which is the money people.

'I'm not all that up on political words, but these people with all the money, the blank faced moneymen, they have interests in Ireland, so they send the troops to use any means they can to put the population down. Which is just not on. All I know is what I feel, that people being suppressed is wrong.'

By GERY LAWLESS, Reprinted from the 'Sunday World'

## If you don't at first succeed trial, trial again

It's no coincidence that the assumption underlying the whole case—that support for the IRA is a criminal act in itself—comes at a time when the 'unofficial' harassment of Sinn Fein in this country is reaching a new peak.

This aspect of the activities of Special Branch activity doesn't get much publicity. But the odd hint is there. Recently a Republican was hauled into court accused of assaulting a Special Branch man who had been following him for 18 months! This is only the tip of the iceberg.

It is becoming clear that under the guise of investigating bombings, the state is trying to intimidate Republicans into silence. The dramatic evidence given at Wakefield against

Brendan Magill—former Provisional Sinn Fein national organiser in Britain—bears this out.

The police would long since have charged Magill with conspiracy if they really believed—as they claim—that he sent Judith Ward to find a good spot to plant bombs in Euston Station. They obviously know this allegation is nonsense and are giving it publicity in order to whip up anti-Irish hysteria.

This makes it all the more important that the demand for the 'Troops Out' is placed firmly within the context of self-determination for Ireland, and that the position of *solidarity with the IRA* which flows from this is clearly understood.

ABE BECKETT



# Thieu's machine needs oiling

Three weeks ago President Thieu of South Vietnam issued a severe threat to his fellow-puppet in Cambodia, Lon Nol, that unless an oil rig in the Gulf of Thailand was removed he would order it to be destroyed. He backed this up by sending a small fleet to a port just east of the rig.

Behind these sudden warlike noises against an 'ally' lies the accelerating social crisis of Thieu's regime, and the central importance of oil in his plans.

First of all, oil is essential for the South Vietnamese military (ARVN), which is heavily mechanised and greatly dependent on air support. The oil crisis is already affecting activity—only a few weeks ago bombing raids were cut by nearly one-third.

Secondly, oil is desperately needed for the production and distribution of food (as well as for the production of fertiliser, which has been projected as a major developing industry). Although there is mass starvation, the Saigon regime actually managed to produce a surplus of rice last year—thanks largely to massive mechanisation using fleets of tractors and water-pumps.

But the rice was then stock-piled, both to prevent the withdrawal of a US rice subsidy and also to protect the profits of the rich farmers and entrepreneurs who had suddenly made a pile out of the 'Green Revolution' (the interests of the peasants who had been forced off their land and impoverished to make this possible were never considered). A vast quantity of petroleum is needed to build up this stockpile—intended for export—and maintain in this way the support of the rich farmers for the regime.

## ECONOMIC CRISIS

Lastly, but probably the most important in the long-term, there is Thieu's dream that the establishment of a Vietnamese petro-chemical industry, based on the sea-oil, can ward off the blows to his 'Achilles heel', the crumbling economy of South Vietnam. Investment has been fall-



Thieu's police break up an anti-corruption rally in Saigon last week

ing sharply as it becomes clear that Thieu cannot win and so cannot safeguard capital or profits.

Thieu is desperately trying to halt this trend by hawking around the oil-rights to the Vietnamese sea-bed. So far there have been few takers (capitalists are generally more interested in guaranteeing profits than in saving Thieu for the free world), but he still pins his hopes of capital and political aid on the marketing of oil.

For these reasons Thieu is understandably very touchy whenever anyone tries to fish in his waters, because Thieu is in a very tight corner.

On the one side, his forces are being steadily hammered by the National Liberation Front. Casualties and defections have reduced the active strength of the ARVN to about 400,000 (one-third of its strength two years ago). The NLF is systematically continuing to consolidate its base areas and in the last month a large number of former ARVN towns and bases have been liberated.

Furthermore, the NLF have now begun to launch attacks around the main cities (Pleiku, Hue, Da Nang, Quang Tri), isolating them from Saigon; they have cut

the important north-south trunk road, Highway 1, and are systematically neutralising the main ARVN airfields and storage depots.

On another side, his grip in the cities is being weakened more and more each day by the mobilisations of workers, students and peasants against the war, unemployment (particularly severe in Saigon and Da Nang), and inflation.

## CORRUPTION

As if all this were not enough, massive cracks are now appearing in the US-Saigon power block. The existing contradictions between the US (which wants a popular, presentable puppet who can win) and Thieu are being greatly worsened by splits amongst the Saigon ruling elites over the best way out of the crisis.

Amongst these elites there is a rapidly growing opposition to Thieu, made up mainly of army officers and bureaucrats, which has fused with the activities of the right-wing Catholic clergy and militant Buddhists, and through them with the urban masses. This spectrum obviously contains massive contradictions, stretching as it does from the radical anti-imperial-

ist positions of the workers, through the 'neutralist' but objectively anti-imperialist positions of the intellectuals and militant Buddhists, to the outright pro-imperialist officers and Catholics. The one issue they are united on is corruption.

A recent report detailed numerous abuses, including the activities of Thieu and his family; the smuggling of heroin; protection rackets run by army units; artillery commanders charging £1 a round for covering fire; air-force officers charging up to £10 a man for evacuating wounded soldiers; infantry commanders being paid for 'ghost' battalions (i.e. units which exist only on paper); as well as the food-blackmarket and so on.

However, what is perhaps most alarming for Thieu is that this report was published in the American magazine *Time*, emphasising the fact that some parts of the US ruling class are not at all happy with Thieu. What Thieu fears is that this group in the US will join forces with the Saigon opposition to replace him with someone less unpopular and dictatorial. The aim would be to pacify the radical opposition and work out some sort of deal—if not with the NLF or North Vietnam, then at least with China.

Added weight to these suspicions has come with the recruitment of Duong Van Minh ('Big Minh', a pro-US populist who briefly replaced Diem in 1963 and who has a lot of support amongst the US ruling class) to the Catholic-Buddhist 'Forces for National Reconciliation', and the open discussions between army officers and former vice-president Ky.

## COMPROMISE

Just to make him even more suspicious, the US Congress (embarrassed by his unpopularity) have cut aid to the ARVN, while President Ford has made a number of oblique references to the acceptability of compromise in Indochina.

Which brings us back to the question of oil. Because Thieu knows that unless he can hold back the NLF and silence or buy off his opponents he won't last much

longer—and he believes that the presence of oil can help him do that. Exactly how he expects to gain the five years' breathing space before it can be drilled, though, he doesn't seem at all sure.

DAVID JOHNSON

## CHILE—focus for Ceylonese opposition

A ONE-HOUR STRIKE and demonstration in solidarity with the Chilean resistance marked the International Day of Solidarity in Sri Lanka (formerly known as Ceylon).

Organised by the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU)—a militant trade union led by the Revolutionary Marxist Party, the Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International—this action was both a major gesture of international workers' solidarity and an important political event for Sri Lanka itself.

The General Council of the CMU had voted unanimously to organise the strike and demonstration, and had launched a campaign to prepare its members for this action in the weeks preceding 11 September.

At 11 o'clock in the morning, CMU militants assembled in front of their factories and began to march. Workers' contingents—several of which were hundreds strong—marched through the workers' districts of the capital city, Colombo.

That evening a meeting was held at which Bala Tampoe, secretary general of the CMU and militant of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, drew the lessons of the Chilean tragedy for the Ceylonese working class. The following evening a second meeting was held, jointly sponsored by the CMU and two organisations that have influence among the plantation workers, members of the Tamil-speaking minority group.

The Chile solidarity movement has particular significance in Sri Lanka, because of the bloody repression launched by the so-called 'United Front' Government against rebellious youth and agricultural workers in April 1971.

Thousands of political prisoners are still rotting in jail, and the state of emergency imposed by the Government is still in existence.

This situation gives the CMU's action special importance, and makes it a double first.

It was the first strike in the history of the Ceylonese trade unions launched as part of an international solidarity movement. And the first political demonstration undertaken by the workers' movement since the Government-imposed state of emergency.

PHOTO: ANDREW WILKINSON (REPORT)

# Junta nailed for General's murder

Two hundred people gathered outside the Chilean Embassy in London last Saturday in response to a call by the International Marxist Group, IS, and Chile Lucha for a picket following the murder of Miguel Enriquez, leader of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

Other organisations supporting the picket included the South London Chile Solidarity Campaign, the RCG, the Portuguese Workers' Co-ordinating Committee, and the LSE Women's Liberation Group. A major demand was for the release of Carmen Castillo, Enriquez's companion, who is seven months pregnant and is now being interrogated in the Barros-Lucio military hospital.

The murder of Enriquez has brought a massive re-affirmation of solidarity with the MIR from around the world. In Italy, apart from massive demonstrations in Rome and Milan, there was also a 15 minute stoppage by workers at the Ansaldo Meccanico Nucleare plant in Genoa. Other notable actions included a 5,000 strong demonstration in Paris and an occupation of the Chilean Embassy in the Swiss city of Berne.



The murder of MIR leader Miguel Enriquez on 5 October was preceded by the assassination five days earlier of another prominent opponent of the Chilean junta.

The victim was General Carlos Prats, formerly Allende's army chief-of-staff, who had gone into voluntary exile in the Argentinian capital of Buenos Aires after the September 1973 military coup.

If the death of Enriquez was a serious blow to the construction of a revolutionary pole of opposition to the junta, the death of Prats removed an absolutely vital element in the plans of the reformists, led by the Communist Party of Chile, to build a 'popular front' opposition in alliance with the bourgeois Christian Democrats and the 'progressive' sectors of the army. Prats was the only available candidate with the prestige necessary to preside over

this motley crew and hold it together for even a short space of time.

## INTELLIGENCE

The junta, however, strongly denied that it had had anything to do with his assassination. Pinochet and his henchmen hoped that it would simply be attributed to the Argentinian Anti-Communist Alliance, the secret death squad which has been responsible for the murders of a number of prominent leftists in recent weeks. But they counted without the intelligence services of the resistance.

Just two days later, the full details of the junta's involvement in the operation were revealed in a special issue of the duplicated underground bulletin *Persistencia Democrática*.

According to this account, the DINA (national intelligence service) had had its eye on Prats for some time. In mid-September it sent the 'military' director of the ultra-right National Party, Juan

Luis Bulnes, to Buenos Aires to prepare the attack. (Bulnes had only recently returned to Chile from the US, whence he had fled after being sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in the murder of 'leftist' General Rene Schneider in 1970.)

In Buenos Aires, Bulnes had several meetings with Chilean civilians involved in paramilitary organisations. These civilians were then joined by members of the armed forces selected by DINA, who made their way to Argentina via the Uruguayan capital of Montevideo. A member of this unit then telephoned Prats on the evening of 24 September to give him an anonymous warning that his life was threatened.

## EMBASSY STAFF

Six days later the assassins struck. Immediately afterwards the military attache at the Chilean Embassy in Buenos Aires, Colonel Ramirez, appeared on the scene along with several members of DINA also

employed by the Embassy. They proceeded to make a thorough search of the premises, obviously with the hope of finding material which would incriminate other opponents of the junta.

These details only confirm the growing isolation of the junta. On the one hand it feels sufficiently threatened by the growth of bourgeois discontent on top of the long-standing workers' and peasants' opposition to do away with a figure who could provide a focus for this trend. But on the other hand—precisely because it feels so threatened—it is forced to deny its responsibility, denounce the action, and pay tribute to Prats' qualities.

It is this isolation of the junta which will allow the international solidarity movement to play an increasingly important role in the coming months in backing up the resistance inside Chile.

JOHN MARSTON

## CHILE LESSONS OF THE COUP WHICH WAY TO WORKERS POWER?



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# Time bomb ticks in Italy

## -WORKERS SNAP BUREAUCRATS' CHAINS

**A ONE-DAY GENERAL STRIKE** will hit Italy this Thursday.

Workers will be protesting against rampant inflation and massive unemployment as they mount solidarity with workers at Fiat, the giant car empire (see page 8).

The Fiat workers have a special position in the Italian workers' movement. They have been in the forefront of struggles since the war.

### 'HOT AUTUMN'

And five years ago, in the 'hot autumn' of 1969, they spearheaded a movement which was to embrace 15 million strikers, and many people—especially tenants—outside the organised workers' movement. More than anything else, it was the battles of 1969 which set the stage for today.

It wasn't just the scale of the events, but the way in which the struggles were conducted. Unlike the British labour movement, there is no long-standing tradition in Italy of a shop stewards' movement. But in 1969, mass meetings of strikers elected 'delegates' to strike committees, to ensure the most democratic conduct of the struggle and involve the widest number of workers.

Since 1969, these delegates have been the main organisers of struggles and will be very important in the battles to come. Last week, for instance, a conference of delegates from the Trentino region in the north put out

by Bob Murphy

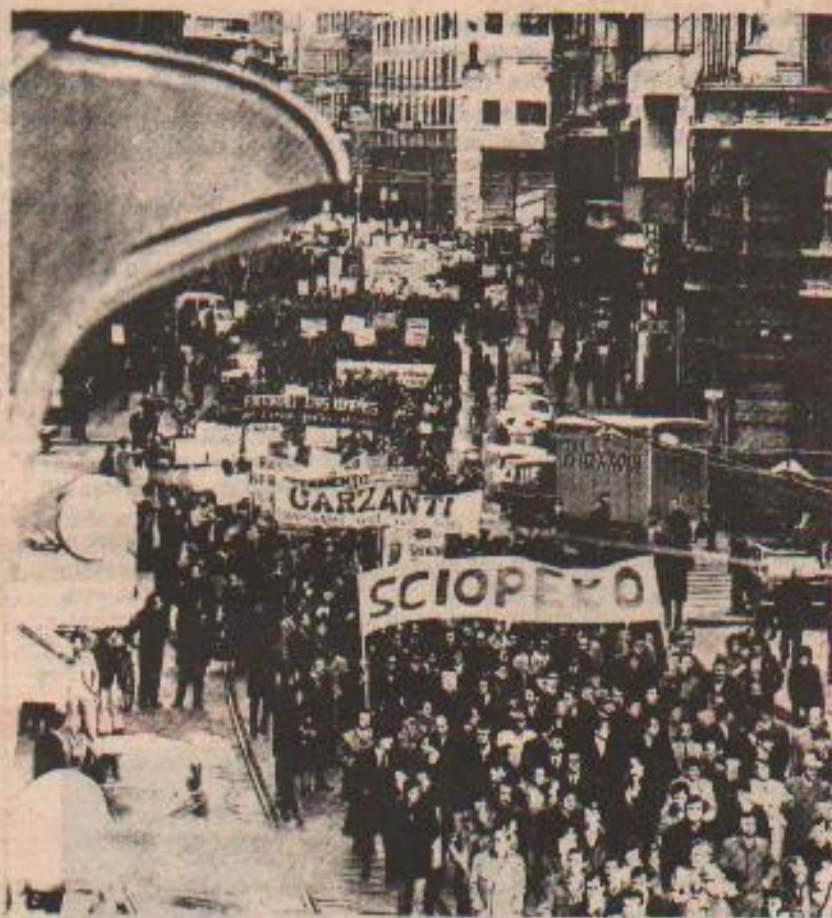
the call for a national conference of delegates to thrash out the way forward.

### TAX LAWS

In other areas, the rank and file has organised opposition to the measures taken by the Government earlier this summer. Faced with an enormous economic crisis very similar to that in Britain, the Government increased taxes and prices in the public sector in an attempt to cut down workers' spending power, and so cut down imports.

Workers should hold back, they argued, to help solve Italy's problem.

Meanwhile, the 'deflationary' effects of the tax increases would stim-



ulate a massive rise in unemployment—Fiat king Agnelli said that it would 'only' rise by half a million by the end of the year! The ruling class would then be in a position to push home their attacks.

### ONLY BEGINNING

But the attempts to solve Italy's economic crisis on the backs of the working class are meeting big resistance. The strikes around the Fiat workers are only the beginning.

Now the Fiat delegates are discussing occupying the factory. With over 100,000 Fiat workers in Turin alone, such a struggle would pull behind it, and serve as an example to, all workers facing the threat of redundancy.



Agnelli—says 'only' 1/2 million more on dole

Outside Fiat, too, things are hotting up. In several towns, workers are refusing to pay the 30 to 40 per cent rise in gas and electricity bills.

And faced with increased bus fares, workers have devised a very effective scheme. Travellers elect a 'bus delegate' who collects fares at the old rate. The accumulated money is sent weekly by postal order to the bus companies.

In some areas the bus companies retaliated by refusing to carry the 'fare-strikers'. But then nobody turned up to work and the factories were paralysed. So the factory bosses soon made sure that the fares were brought down.

In face of such increasing militancy, the ruling class has major problems. Not only is the economic situation getting worse—the Italian

stock market has fallen to an all-time low—but also the ruling class has no Government at its disposal to centralise its attacks on the workers. Recently, the thirty-sixth post-



war Government fell, and President Leone is having a tough time putting together a thirty-seventh.

Whatever formula is reached, the Government will be very weak and elections can't be far off. The whole situation provides excellent opportunities for the workers' movement to plan a workers' solution to the crisis, and one which is based on workers' action to impose it—a general strike. But the leadership of the workers' movement is playing a despicable role.

The Italian Communist Party is the largest CP in Western Europe. At elections, the CP gets in the region of six million votes, and it controls the CGIL, the largest and most important trade union federation.

But the CP has totally rejected any notion that workers can defend themselves through their own independent action. They have even rejected the idea of their British counterparts—a joint Communist Party and Socialist Party Government which would legislate socialism on behalf of the working class.

### 'HISTORIC COMPROMISE'

Instead, the CP prefer what they call the 'historic compromise'—an alliance of Communists, Socialists, and Christian Democrats with the aim of establishing an 'advanced' democracy!

And the perspective of the 'historic compromise' has led the CP to the greatest treachery.

The Government's summer laws increased the cost of living of the average Italian family by £30 a month. All the CP said was that the

conception was wrong. What was needed was a 'new model of development'—an overhaul of the agricultural industry, improved social services, Government investment in southern Italy and selected expansion of credit facilities!

This is nothing more than a new model of exploitation and class collaboration. The CP are going all out to get a coalition government with the Christian Democrats, and are trying to convince them that the CP's model is better than theirs.

But the ruling class remain unconvinced. Fiat boss and employers' representative, Agnelli, has flatly rejected the idea. Only if they could see no other way at all of cool-

ing down the class struggle would the Italian ruling class be forced to accept the CP into the Government.

### DANGEROUS DREAM

What an exposure! The CP plunges into greater and greater depths of class collaboration and their perspective is just a dream. But it is worse than a dream. It is the very real perspective of the leading party within the working class movement, and as such it is a dangerous dream.

But it is unlikely that even the CP's treachery can hold back the Italian working class. They do not intend to sit passively by in the face of the ruling class's attacks. They intend to fight...and the fight has just begun.

# FRANCO TIGHTENS THE SCREWS

On 13 September a bomb exploded in a Madrid bar. Twelve people were killed in the blast and seventy wounded.

Franco's regime has used the explosion to launch vicious repression in the Basque region of Spain, blaming the Basque liberation movement for the bomb.

At the same time the Spanish press has launched a slander campaign against the Fourth International and its supporters in Spain, depicting them as a terrorist organisation. Our Spanish comrades have issued a statement refuting these slanders.

### COVER-UP

In denouncing the Franco regime as the 'sole and real incarnation of terrorism in Spain for the past forty years', they explain that the regime is exploiting the bombing for special reasons. The regime is involved in a cover-up operation for its own increasing repression against the revolutionary left—subjected to assassinations and savage jail sentences, and a general strengthening of its repressive ma-

chinery. Permanent police occupation of working class neighbourhood, an increase in the size of the armed police units and the secret police, immunity for the police from prosecution under the law, and the encouragement of fascist bands, are among the measures that the dictatorship has taken.

The statement goes on to defend all organisations which have suffered at the hands of Franco's henchmen. Our comrades point out that our differences of opinion with these organisations in no way affects our determination to defend them 'because we think that the actions of these groups, no matter how erroneous we may believe them to be, are inspired by hatred for the exploiters and devotion to the cause of the exploited. Against bourgeois repression, every revolutionary is always in the right.'

Meanwhile the struggle of the Spanish workers mounts, and dozens of political prisoners in Spanish prisons—including militants of the LCR/ETA VI are on hunger strike.

The following are excerpts from the statement of the LCR-ETA VI Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International:

'The attack of September 13 contributed to the unfolding of the campaign and constituted an absurd resort to violence not only foreign to the struggles of the working class and people in our country but also in contradiction with them. From a revolutionary point of view, there is not the slightest justification, whether direct or indirect, for the attack at Correas street. That is why we believe that no revolutionary organisation is responsible for it.

'In the end, we consider this attack as an action contrary to the interests of the struggle against the dictatorship and capitalism. And, from the standpoint of this struggle, which is the standpoint of all who are exploited and oppressed by Francoism, we condemn it absolutely.

'On the road to their economic and political liberation the workers and people of the world have always had to and will always have to confront the barbarous resistance of their exploiters. Those who may have forgotten this obvious

lesson of history need only to look at Chile. The Fourth International is fighting so that there will be no more Chile, so that the masses will be armed with the desire to arm themselves and will thus resist and overthrow their class enemy. That is the communist conception of revolutionary violence around which the work of thousands of militants of dozens of organisations and sections of the Fourth International on all the five continents of the world is oriented.

'The Fourth International is not a terrorist organisation. It is a communist organisation in the full sense of the word, and the bourgeoisie, along with its police watchdog, the "theoreticians" of this campaign, know it very well. And it is precisely because they know this that they lie, that they try to slander us.'

(The complete statement is published in Inprecor No. 9, available from Red Books)

## What's On

**TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT:** Troops out of Northern Ireland—Brighton public meeting, Wednesday 23 October at 8pm in the Brighton Labour Club, Lewes Road. National speakers—all welcome.

**LONDON RCG:** Public meeting on 'Ireland and the tasks in Britain'. Bull & Mouth, Bloomsbury Way (Holborn tube) at 8pm, Sunday 27 October.

**SOUTH LONDON:** Chile Solidarity Campaign film 'Chile-September', Tuesday 22 October, 7pm, at Clapham Baths, 10 Manor Road (Clapham North tube). Discussion—all welcome.

**LATIN AMERICAN FRONT** presents 'Puerto Rico: Colony of the United States'—films and discussion, Tuesday 22 October, 7pm, at the Architectural Association, 34 Bedford Sq., London WC1 (top floor).

**S.E. ESSEX RED CIRCLE:** Weds 23 October at 8pm—'After the Elections, Which Way Forward?' At 39 Kennel Lane, Billesley, Essex.

**WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER:** Public meeting in NOTTINGHAM to launch the Charter Campaign, Saturday 19 Oct, 2pm at the Albert Hall Institute, Nottingham. Oche provided.



# ELECTION COME, ELECT

## Ruling class break-up, working class gears up

LAST FEBRUARY THE WORKING CLASS NOT ONLY REFUSED TO accept the burden of the economic crisis, but it had the organisational strength and power to back up that refusal.

This led both to the electoral defeat of the Tory Government and to the fragmentation of the ruling class political bloc.

As the 10 October election results show, those same tensions still operate and none of the problems for the ruling class have been solved.

The Tory Party got its lowest percentage vote this century. The Liberal vote also went down, despite running more candidates. However the increase in the Scottish Nationalist vote helped to make up for the votes lost by the other capitalist parties.

By **Alan Jones**  
**Alf Jennings**  
**Brian Grogan**  
**Bob Pennington**

This disintegration of the capitalist political bloc should have created the most favourable possible conditions for the Labour Party. Victory appeared to have been handed to them on a plate.

But if the ruling class is in crisis the Labour Party is at an impasse. Labour's crisis is so severe that it drastically affects its electoral strategy. After being put out of government in 1970 the Labour Party began a 'left turn' which although it was opportunist was designed to win it a stronger electoral base in the working class. On coming into office in February 1974, this turn was halted, even though temporarily. This has meant that Labour finds it more and more difficult to win the enthusiasm of the working class for its policies. Workers are less keen to vote for policies which offer them so little as Labour's thinly disguised wage restraint.

### UNINSPIRED

Even allowing for the fact that the electoral register is out of date, the 6 per cent downturn in people voting was concentrated most heavily in working class areas. In strong working class districts there were frequent falls of eight to nine per cent. In other areas there was an alarming drop of 12 to 15 per cent. In the peak hours for Labour's vote—between 8 o'clock and 10 o'clock in the evening—there was a massive drop in the vote.

There was no decisive victory for Labour because the working class were not inspired to go out in great numbers to vote for them. The three per cent national swing to Labour was easily kept down to one per cent in the marginal seats where the well-oiled Tory machine trundled out the middle class vote.

The close result has been produced by the disarray inside the main political party of the ruling class and the fact that Labour's 'left turn' has been blocked.

What will take place after the election will flow out of the situation which produced the election results. The ruling class grouping will be locked in internal squabbles and disputes

until it can find a new political formula which enables it to take on the working class.

The only candidate offering such a solution is Enoch Powell with his emphasis on racism and the building of a strong state. But right now Powell's policies are fraught with economic and political dangers for large sections of the ruling class. The ruling class as a whole will not turn rapidly to Powell, but there is little doubt groups of the ruling class will become more and more sympathetic to his ideas.

Until a Powellite option is adopted however—and that is still some years off—we can expect even more rapid shifts, turnovers in personnel and disputes inside the ruling class political parties than have gone on before October.

The Labour Party will not be immune from this crisis. In fact the tensions inside the Labour Party will stretch to near breaking point. The scale of the present economic crisis demands not only a fierce attack on the working class but also the direct handout of absolutely colossal subsidies to the capitalists. This Wilson government will undoubtedly be the most reactionary Labour government since that of 1929-1931.

## THE ELECTION

But the big difference to 1929 is that the working class is not merely undefeated but is increasing in militancy and is better organised than ever. There is not the slightest chance of the working class passively accepting the attacks Wilson will make.

The Labour and trade union bureaucrats are caught in a vice between the dictates of the capitalist economic crisis and the upsurge of the working class. There are a whole series of issues—for example, the EEC and the coming attempt to reintroduce incomes policy—around which this strain could prove intolerable. While considerations of self-survival will undoubtedly keep the bureaucrats huddling together for protection in the short term, even they will not be able to keep together on a long term basis as they feel either the incessant demands of the ruling class for still more right wing policies or the danger of the collapse of their electoral or trade union base.

One thing we can be absolutely sure of is that this Labour government is going to usher in a period of most tremendous crisis within the Labour Party.

Economic crisis, ruling class political decay, the emergence of ultra-rightist forces, working class upsurge and huge tensions within the Labour Party. These are going to be the main objective characteristics of the period before us.

Nothing shows more clearly than this election that the policies of the Labour Party leadership are incapable of meeting the interests of the working class. The low Labour vote—the second lowest percentage of the vote since 1935—was not due to working class defeats. On the contrary the working class struggle was on the rise leading up to and during the election campaign—as Ford's showed.

The low vote was because Wilson could not inspire the potential working class Labour vote. The even more open right wing line Wilson will embark on after the election will disillusion the working class even more and lead not only to by-election defeats for Labour, but also to workers becoming even more cynical about the Labour Party.

In this situation the responsibilities not merely of the revolutionary left, but of all those prepared to fight against the policies of Wilson, is enormous. A couple of years of open right wing Labour Government can lead to a big strengthening of the left—but it will not automatically do so. If socialists can organise a united fight against the policies of the Wilson leadership then tens of thousands of workers can be won to revolutionary politics.

However if the left cannot act in this way, if it is unable to work out the policies around which it can engage in united action or if it continues to follow a narrow sectarian course, then the disillusionment with the Labour Party can rapidly lead to an entirely different type of outcome.

Racist, nationalist and reactionary policies will have a field day. Pow-

## MARCH SEPARATELY

ell and the National Front will be a of the working class.

While we can expect resistance tions even of Labour MP's and the core of resistance will come from be the winning to revolutionary po Wilson inside and outside the Labo that will be the decisive task of the

The long term aim must be the inside the trade unions. But at the quisites for such a tendency, the c tions of the working class of certai al pre-conditions, a revolutionary c within the workers movement, exist trade union tendency must continue claim' its existence—as the IS do w and the WRP do with the ATUA— anisationally grotesquely sectarian.

But united action involving sect can be achieved on some of the nic gle. The Shrewsbury defence camp the building of a Troops Out move Charter campaign and so on show achieved.

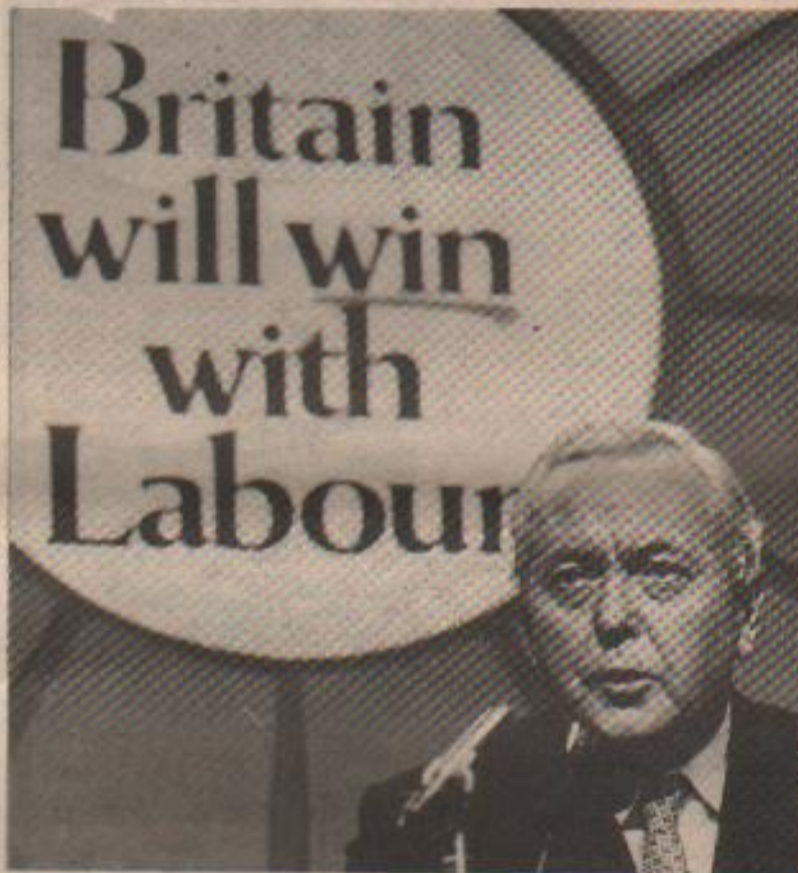


Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

# OR



Thousands of working class people still vote National Front. That is the main lesson of the Front's election campaign.

The Front increased its vote in the country as a whole to 112,000. But this is only because they stood 90 candidates this time as against 54 eight months ago. In constituencies where they stood before, there was no significant swing to the Front.

As far as the middle class voter was concerned, the Front had mixed fortunes. In Brentford they won votes from the Liberals, doubling their vote. But in South Shields, their vote fell disastrously—mainly to the Liberals. The Liberals and the National Front have a certain common appeal—traditional Tory voters disillusioned with the policies of big capital. In other areas, the Front lost heavily to the Tories. Hayes and Harlington—a traditional NF base—deserted the Front for Heath.

## Fascist fortunes mixed

But in working class constituencies, the Front did well. It held its traditional base: Rochdale, Newham South, Leyton, Wolverhampton, Leicester. But worse than this, many of those working class areas where the Front stood for the first time returned a very large vote for the fascists. In Bethnal Green and Bow, Wood Green, Hackney and Shoreditch, Walthamstow, and Newham North East, the Front averaged over 2000 votes.

This is not because the working class in these areas supports fascism. It is because sectors of the working class are dominated by racism. The fascists can win a consistently high racist vote amongst many workers, no doubt made insecure by fears of unemployment.

With hundreds of thousands thrown out of work in the coming months, the Front in these areas will be looking for any spark which could set off a major outburst of racism—and once again provide a big boost for racist demagogues to deepen the divisions in the working class.

The present anti-fascist campaign will only cut out this danger

once and for all once a movement is built to root out racial discrimination in the factories and to take actions which deal with unemployment and bad housing at the expense of the capitalists. What is needed is a movement which builds the need for a permanent struggle against racism into the consciousness of every worker.

The return of Powell to Parliament—with his emphasis on racism, his espousal of the loyalist cause, and his demagogy on the Common Market—helps to give credibility to many of the demands of the NF.

The NF will be attempting inside the trade unions to cash in on the anti-EEC feelings of many workers. The anti-EEC movement in the trade unions must have no truck with Powell and such elements, for to do so only strengthens the right.

This also makes it doubly important that the fight for the withdrawal of British Troops from Ireland is taken into the working class movement. A positive step in that direction is all-out support for the 'Troops Out' demonstration on 27 October.



# ...ION GO..... CRISIS STAYS

## ...T STRIKE TOGETHER

to make real gains in sections of Wilson's policies from section union bureaucracy, the real within the trade unions. It will of those forces struggling against party, and inside the trade unions ing period.

ing of a revolutionary tendency ent neither the political pre-re- on acceptance within broad sec- demands, nor the organisation- ation with a significant base hile the aim of a revolutionary be put forward, simply to 'pro- be 'Rank and File Movement' th politically absurd and org-

of the working class vanguard imited issues of the class strug- the united action on Chile, the Working Women's e type of action which can be

The central goals which the IMG sets itself in the coming period are therefore clear. The fight for revolutionary politics within the trade union movement is the decisive question of the day. We will put forward continually, as we have in the past period, the politics around which a revolutionary trade union tendency must be built. We will seek to organise the maximum number of working class forces around that programme. But we are not so foolish, or sectarian, as to believe that a grouping of our supporters provides the organisational basis in the coming months for the solution of the working class's problems.

While continually explaining the need for a permanent revolution- ary trade union tendency, the IMG will seek to create united action within the working class movement of all those who are prepared to struggle against even limited parts of Wilson's programme. Such united action will both help to repel the attacks of Wilson, check the penetration of the extreme right into sections of the working class, and will politically prepare the ground for the later emergence of a real revolutionary trade union tendency.

The IMG will build itself into a revolutionary organisation with real roots in the working class not by organisational sectarianism—which unfortunately is developing rapidly in the IS and already dominates the WRP—but by the correctness of its politics. For that reason, far from being afraid of united action with others, we will be the first to seek it. *March separately but strike together is the slogan of the coming period.*



## Ireland: reaction shapes up for the kill

All the parties in Britain at this election had a 'gentlemen's' agreement not to mention the crisis of British strategy in Ireland. Nonetheless votes were registered and counted. The results do give us, in a distorted way, a further view of the basic alignment of forces in Ireland.

With the 'Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention' due to assemble in the spring a very clear picture emerges.

Even a cursory glance at the election results spells out one thing loud and clear. The 'middle ground' on which some power sharing agreement could have been built out of the Constitutional Convention does not exist. The basic tendency towards armed confrontation between the two communities was confirmed. The Faulkner Unionists were completely humiliated, the Alliance Party remained absolutely marginal.

Most of the votes lost by these 'moderates' went to boost the absolute votes and overall majorities of Powell, West, Craig, and Paisley.

Not even small comfort can be drawn from the fact that Unionist leader West lost his seat. This was not the result of any swing away from West, but it was due to the fact that a united anti-Unionist candidate was put forward who toppled West from his minority position of last February.

As for Powell, he was unable to recoup all the protestant vote trad-

itionally going to Faulkner. This gave Powell the smallest majority in the history of the constituency. But given the fate of West, Powell is now almost certain to emerge as the leader of the most reactionary bloc of MP's in Parliament. He can operate on a mass base outside the Tory Party and draw on the huge funds of the Unionist Party. This spells cold comfort indeed for the British working class and anti-Unionist forces alike.

As for the 'anti-Unionists', the mealy mouthed and parliamentary cretinous Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) naturally achieved nothing of note. Mid-Ulster, a seat which Bernadette Devlin won in 1970 with over 38,000 votes, went to the Unionists, with the SDLP polling only 25,885—making the combined anti-Unionist vote short of 34,000.

The SDLP was clearly under immense pressure from its base in the anti-Unionist ghettos. Its belly-crawling attitude was this time replaced by a pathetic demand that if the inevitable happens and the Loyalists win a majority of seats to the coming Constitutional Convention on an anti-power sharing ticket, that British imperialism should at that point renounce its claims over Ireland and go for a united Ireland.

It was only on the basis of the hardening up of its attitude and in the absence of any serious alternative that it was able to keep up its votes from the anti-Unionist population.



## Communist Party plummets



The touching devotion of the Communist Party to Parliament gets little reward. With monotonous regularity their votes drop from one election to the next.

With fatalistic despair they even decided this time to run 15 less candidates than in February.

The CP election manifesto, *Challenge to Big Business—Build a New Britain*, showed the utter confusion of the party leadership and how its parliamentary road has led it to a dead end.

The manifesto was neither an action programme nor a programme for a CP government. Instead it was a series of demands—demands which it hopes will be taken up by a 'Left Labour Government'.

Most of the crucial issues were side-stepped. The social contract got one brief mention where the CP plaintive-

ly complained: 'Expanding the economy means raising real wages and pensions, not holding them down...as envisaged in the "social contract".'

This completely ignored the 'unfortunate' fact that neither the capitalist class nor the Labour leaders are seeking friendly advice on how to build some mythical prosperous Britain, but are desperately seeking a way to hold down living standards. Furthermore it did not make one single proposition on how the working class could fight the social contract.

The CP must assume therefore that a strong group of 'Left' Labour MPs supported by the odd CP member of parliament could force Wilson to change his mind about defending the interests of British capitalism.

On Ireland they call for: 'No harassment of the people by the British troops, their withdrawal to barracks...'

This statement assigns to British imperialism the role of peacemakers in Ireland. It is clearly based on the assumption that if there was a more 'progressive' government the troops would be nicer and all would eventu-

ally be well.

The reality is the reverse. The troops are preparing the conditions for civil war, not peace. But no independent campaign to force the withdrawal of the troops is put forward, to prevent this dangerous situation.

Because the CP is so committed to the parliamentary road to socialism—a road which depends on an alliance with the left Labour MPs—it is unable to present a programme for independent working class action to fight the crisis.

It therefore presents itself as a 'left variant of social democracy, but this is seen by most people as a much smaller and far weaker one. People therefore prefer to vote for a big reformist party rather than an ineffectual one.

The result in Coventry North East throws light on this. The CP candidate, John Hosey, polled 309 votes. In February he had got 838 votes.

This time the WRP stood a candidate and got 332 votes. The majority of those people looking for an alternative to reformism had clearly deserted the CP.



## Revolutionary left on a sectarian binge

WHAT MARKED the election campaign of the Workers Revolutionary Party was its sectarianism.

It viewed the election simply as a publicity campaign for the WRP, based on the idiotic idea that it can by itself appear before even the most advanced sections of the working class as a credible alternative to the Labour Party. It therefore refused any united campaign with the rest of the revolutionary left.

The fallacy of this WRP line is shown clearly in the votes their candidates received. In Newham North East Vanessa Redgrave polled 572 votes compared to 760 last time. In Pontefract and Castleford their vote slumped from 991 to 457. Last February's very good vote in Walsend of 1108 dropped to 435.

Issues like Ireland, the fight against racism and fascism and the campaign for the Working Women's Charter were either totally absent from the WRP campaign or received little more than a passing mention.

But it is on these matters that the working class is politically at its weakest. It is also on these issues that Labour opens the door for racist demagogues like Powell. By playing down or ignoring these issues, and by dismissing the independent struggles of women,

the WRP helps to perpetuate divisions within the working class. Moreover, they weaken the struggle to convince the most oppressed groups of workers that their interests lie with the socialist movement.

No revolutionary can take pleasure in the poor showing of the WRP. But that poor showing was due to the failure of the revolutionary left to win a united election campaign—a proposal put to the WRP and the International Socialists by the IMG before the election.

Instead of having joint candidates fighting on the most important issues facing the working class and offering a pole of attraction to militant workers, the WRP went off on a sectarian binge the IS simply abstained from it all.

An opportunity was lost. Once again the British revolutionary left demonstrated its sectarianism and clung to its naive belief that without united action of the revolutionary left, it can construct its own model 'revolutionary party'. Unfortunately for them neither the capitalist class nor the Labour bureaucrats intend waiting until the WRP or the IS have grown big enough so it can be a 'fair fight'. Meanwhile the WRP, no matter how many hundreds it may recruit, contributes to wasting the workers who even now can be won to revolutionary political action.



# CAR EMPIRES

## WORKERS MOVE INTO TOP GEAR

A ONE-DAY GENERAL STRIKE SHOOK THE ITALIAN CITY of Turin last week.

Workers from all industries throughout the region downed tools in opposition to the savage attacks of the management against Fiat car-workers.

The Fiat bosses have decreed that 65,000 of their employees will suffer a two-day lockout every week from now until February of next year. This attack will not only hit the Fiat workers, but will also affect the 200,000 workers employed in industries which depend on the Turin-centred Fiat empire.

### SELL-OUT

The attacks come at a time when prices are rising at 25 per cent and unemployment is expected to top the one million mark by the end of the year. But the trade union negotiators, dominated by bureaucrats from the Communist Party-led union federation CGIL, tried to sell-out the struggle before it had hardly begun. They agreed to a proposal from the Minister of Labour, Luigi Bertoldi, merely cutting down the number of days to be lost from 32 to 24. The CP bureaucrats and their followers thus weakened the position of the workers precisely when they need all the strength that they've got and more to fight the effects of the enormous economic crisis.

But, despite the bureaucrats' treachery, the temperature is steadily rising. In many parts of the country Fiat workers downed tools in solidarity with their brothers and sisters in Turin. In Turin itself, the workers mounted a massive demonstration to back up their strike. The Fiat workers' 'delegates' (the Italian equivalent to shop stewards) are now discussing the question of occupying the Fiat works.



They recognise that Fiat management are in big trouble. Last year Fiat made a loss of £42 million, and the two-day lockout has come as a result of 'overproduction' of 300,000 cars to date. This can only mean one thing: the two-day lockout is to be only a beginning.

Fiat king Agnelli has made this perfectly clear. It was he who rejected the proposals about the 24 days—he just can't afford it. And he emphasised that Fiat was the last of the big car-makers to resort to this sort of move. He was referring to the move by the American car giants, General Motors, who have put all their workers on short-time, and some on total lock-out.

The importance of the Fiat workers' struggle cannot be minimised. Today, the crisis of the car industry,

### Bob Murphy

as Ernest Mandel's article on these pages shows, is an international one. Just as the crisis is international, so must the workers' response be international. This is the case both as far as tactics go, and for international cooperation between the workers involved. This is all the more important given the international tactics



of the employers.

Many of our readers will remember the 1971 Ford strike in Britain when management tried to break the strike by threatening to move production to Germany. Similar sorts of manoeuvres are bound to be tried in the battles to come.

Already workers in the Fiat company in Spain—called Seat—are in dispute. And it's no coincidence that one of the problems they are facing is the attempt by management...to cut back production.

In Spain, of course, workers must struggle under laws which deny the right to strike and the right to free assembly. And these laws are backed up by the vicious repression of the Spanish police.

Despite all these problems the workers are fighting back, and it is workers in the car industry who are in the forefront of the struggle. Ten thousand Seat workers have taken industrial action to back up their demands for a wage increase of £27 a month and a reduction in the working week to 40 hours. But the workers are also calling for the right to strike and the right to free assembly. Now they face the same sort of attacks as those made on their fellow-workers in Italy, with management demands for short-time working.

The importance of the demand for the right to free assembly was shown when they met to discuss these latest moves. Police disrupted the meeting and arrested 45 of the workers.

### SACKED

At the Renault plant in Valladolid, management sacked 145 of the 14,000 workers on strike over work conditions. The rest of the strikers demonstrated in protest against the sackings, and the police opened fire on the demonstrators wounding eight. Now the Renault workers at the Seville plant have



struck in solidarity.

Finally, at an electrical car components factory, in Madrid, workers took lightning strike action to back up demands for £8 per week increase. When management sacked five of the 800 strikers the workers occupied the factory. The police then viciously broke up the occupation.

Clearly, international solidarity action with the Spanish workers is going to be vital, especially when the proposed one-day general strike against the dictatorship comes off.

Car workers' struggles have opened up in other countries too. In the centre of world imperialism, the United States, workers at the American Motor Corporation took strike action for parity with the bigger car firms—General Motors, Chrysler and Ford. Management agreed to their demands, but then took back with the left hand

what they gave with the right.

They are now insisting on a no strike clause and a number of other deals which would effectively take back the gains that the workers have won over the last few years.

### NATIONALISE!

In Australia, British Leyland are shutting down operations almost totally, and three thousand workers face redundancy. More workers in related firms will also be affected.

A mass meeting of all 4,000 workers employed at the Sydney plant voted unanimously to demand that Australia's Labour Government nationalise all BLMC's interests in the country. The workers are also discussing the possibility of occupying the Sydney plant.

The workers have said that they will stay at their benches 'until we are dragged away'. They are showing

in practice the way in which demands for nationalisation can really benefit the workers' movement, and not be just another way of financing the employers.

By occupying the plant, they can prevent attempts by management to sabotage nationalisation by moving machinery or withholding information.

At the same time they are putting massive pressure on the Government to shelve their disgusting scheme of trying to help out the employers by buying the site at a price of almost £15 million.

What we're seeing at the moment is only the tip of the iceberg, as far as the world crisis of the car industry goes. But this iceberg may soon start to melt in the face of massive workers' resistance, as the Australian and Italian workers are showing.

### DOWN GO THE PROFITS

Against the first quarter of 1973 the following big companies in the first quarter of 1974 showed profit decreases of:

98%	Chrysler	58%	American Motors
85%	General Motors	40%	Nissan
68%	Fords	83%	Toyota

British Leyland had a loss before taxes of £22.8 million as against a profit in the 1973 quarter of £22.8 million.

### REGISTRATION DECLINE

During the first quarter of 1974, the figures for registration of new automobiles fell by the following percentages in comparison with the first quarter of 1973:

8%	in France
18%	in Sweden
22%	in Italy
22%	in Britain (a 26% decline for the first semester)
22.9%	in Switzerland
31%	in Japan
31%	in West Germany



# CRUMBLE



THE CAR INDUSTRY ON A WORLD SCALE IS GOING THROUGH A REAL CRISIS. THIS IS NOT SOME SIMPLE RECESSION, BUT A CLASSICAL CRISIS.

During the first quarter of 1974 in the major capitalist countries there was a serious decline in the registration of new cars. This ranged from a modest 8 per cent in France to an astronomical 31 per cent in West Germany.

This led to a big fall in profits and a serious decline in production; a reduction in employment must inevitably follow.

The fall in profits has been sensational. The giant General Motors profits dipped by an alarming 85 per cent compared to the first quarter of 1973, whilst British Leyland and Citroen are both tottering on the edge of bankruptcy.

## BY ERNEST MANDEL

The level of unemployment has been seriously affected in the USA. In the first week of April this year, 79,000 of the United Automobile Workers' total membership of 728,000 had been definitively laid off. Another 72,000 were only working part time. The actual employment rate was 20 per cent of the workforce—two thirds of these were workers at General Motors.

Lay-offs in Europe have been less sweeping. But there have been several waves of partial unemployment. Early in the year the Fiat workers in Italy were on a three-day week. At the Volkswagen works in West Germany, 62,000 workers were put on part-time work during the spring. A total freeze was placed on hiring, and pressure was put on older workers to retire or quit voluntarily.

As profits fall the firms most seriously hit are preparing new attacks on staffing levels. British Leyland announced on 21 June this year an 'economising' programme that involves a massive reduction in employment, especially in the old Austin-Morris division, which specialises in the cheaper cars for mass consumption.

The car crisis is developing under the impetus of three major factors: the economic recession in most of the imperialist countries; the economic effects of the increase in the price of oil; the end of the long phase of accelerated growth in the market for automobiles in Western Europe and Japan and in several other countries. Thus, the 'oil crisis' is but one element among others that are causing the car crisis. Even if it were to be granted that the oil crisis triggered the car crisis, it is scarcely enough to relegate the other, more profound, causes to the background.

What are the real effects of the 'oil crisis' on the car crisis? The effects are exerted mainly on the costs of using a private car and on the cat-



egory of privately-owned cars.

First the oil shortage and then the considerable increase in petrol prices manifestly discouraged purchases (or use, and therefore replacement) of cars for a whole series of buyers.

The more modest groups of car users—semi-skilled workers, low-paid white collar workers, civil servants, craftsmen, small peasants, and small, non-prosperous merchants—tended to think more than they did in the past about whether they could afford to go someplace by car or whether they had to

use public transport.

For transport to and from work and for leisure trips such as weekends, parties, etc, there was a significant increase in the use of railroads, buses, subways, and other means of transit. In past decades the private car was the number one means of transit in such cases. Statistics on 1974 vacations are not yet available. It is certain however that the use of private cars has been on the decline, at least

in Western Europe and Japan.

Further, the gasoline price increases and the legal reductions in speed limits have undercut most of the attractive power of 'middle-sized' or 'big' cars as opposed to compacts and 'economy' cars, except for reasons of ostentation or desire for luxury. Consequently, with the exception of a few specialized brands, sales of middle-sized and big cars are going through a more than proportional decline, while things are going somewhat better for small cars.

On the US market, sales of small cars are declining only modestly, while those of the big gas-eaters hitherto preferred by American customers, have literally collapsed (going from 660,000 in March 1973 to 350,000 in March 1974!) Since the beginning of 1974, sales of small cars have for the first time surpassed sales of big

that will be greater than the general reduction in production, real income and employment. If the car slump in countries like the United States, Japan, West Germany, and Britain has extended beyond the 'oil crisis', it is obviously because of the effects of the recession (whether real or anticipated soon).

Countries that have not yet been hit by the recession, like Australia and Brazil, are not yet experiencing the car slump, although the 'oil crisis' affects them as much as it does any other countries.

The measures taken to restrict credit in order to 'slow down' inflation (nobody talks about 'stopping' it any more!) have contributed to reducing car sales in that these measures have made credit for consumption more expensive, or have been qualitatively reduced. The effects of these measures on the demand for cars have been especially disastrous in Britain.

The duration of the recession is obviously not predictable. It is thus difficult to formulate predictions about the possibility of a short-term change in the car market. What is certain is that the economic situation is worsening in Western Europe, especially in West Germany and France, where the recession is tending to define itself more clearly, as well as in the United States and Japan.

Few experts contest the fact that

# World crisis puts on the brakes

cars in absolute figures.

There has been a gradual reconversion of the four American car trusts toward production of small cars. American Motors, the least important of the four, had in fact carried out this reconversion even before the current crisis broke out. The three other trusts have set in motion an investment programme staggered over several years.

But, these programmes are less ambitious than had been expected. Ford reduced its outlay for this programme during the current year from 1,100 million dollars to 1,000 million dollars. Chrysler, harder hit by the profitability crisis, reduced its programme from 350 million to 265 million dollars. Only General Motors, which was the last company to enter the small-car field, will invest more in this field this year than it did last year: 1,300 million dollars as opposed to 1,200 million.

The reticence corresponds both to the fall in profits (and therefore in the companies' own resources for investment) and to the increase in the price of credit and the uncertainty weighing on the future of the automobile industry and therefore on its outlets.

Obviously, the household of a factory worker or a white-collar worker can make quicker and broader reductions in its budget under 'car' than under 'food' or 'clothing', not to mention 'rent' and related services like heat, electricity, gas, water, and so on.

It can therefore be expected that during each economic recession there will be a decline in car sales

the rapid expansion of the car industry during the 1950s and 1960s—one of the main stimulants of the accelerated growth of the economies of the imperialist countries during this period—is coming to an end.

The phenomenon of the 'saturated market', which has already made its appearance in the United States, is coming more and more to the fore in capitalist Europe and Japan. This is clearly revealed by the decline in the annual growth rates in the car sector. This is shown most vividly in the figures for the six countries that originally constituted the Common Market (West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg):

From the standpoint of outlets, the saturation of the markets is explained by the fact that given the present structure of incomes, practically all the households that want to buy a car are able to do so (either on credit or on time) without disastrously eating into the parts of their incomes set aside for articles of basic necessity already owned a car. Under such conditions, current production serves an almost exclusively replacement function. It tends less and less to increase the general sales of cars.

This situation could be turned around if there were a considerable increase in the incomes of the lowest paid layers of the laboring population or if the prices of cars were very sharply reduced. The second possibility is totally excluded in the near future.

Just the opposite, nearly all trusts have responded to the decline in sales and profits by increasing the unit sales price of their cars. Only a real technological revolution in the industry reducing the cost of production on the order of 30 or 50 per cent, could lead one or another trust to institute such a price decrease in order to radically increase its share of the market.

As for the real incomes of households, inflation and recession tend to reduce them or hold them stagnant,



not to increase them. After the economic upturn that will follow the current recession, inflation will continue to be exacerbated. The increase in the real income of workers' households will therefore be quite modest, it occurs at all, which is not certain. Under these conditions, a new rapid expansion in car sales is very improbable in capitalist Europe and Japan.

Nor is it likely to occur in the US, where in the past decade high car sales have bolstered the tendency to want to acquire a second car. It is only countries like Australia and Canada that could experience a more rapid expansion for another few years, until motorisation attains a saturation point comparable to that reached in

most of the big imperialist countries have diminished, the 'national' trusts of each of these countries have sought to increase their exports to take up the slack.

On the internal US market, imports of European and Japanese autos have declined almost in the same proportion as total sales of cars. Foreign competitors have thus not succeeded in increasing their share of the North American market, particularly because of the massive production of American small cars and the revaluation of the Deutschmark. The Ford Pinto has become a better bargain than the Volkswagen in the United States.

In a general way, the West German car industry, which is the biggest exporter in the world industry, seems to be hardest hit (especially in terms of the increases in the price of its exports).

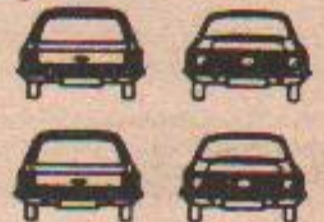
Japan is just on the heels of West Germany. In 1973 West Germany exported 2.35 million cars and trucks, as against 2.1 million for Japan, 1.6 million for France, 1.5 million for Canada, 750,000 for Britain and 705,000 for Italy. In 1974 German exports are declining, while Japanese exports rose 20% during the first quarter.

The French and Italian industry realised modest export gains at the beginning of 1974, due mainly to the effects of the devaluation of their currencies relative to those of a series of other European capitalist countries and the US dollar. But it is not certain that the French and Italian firms will be able to preserve these gains if the recession deepens in most of the countries where it has already begun.

Reduced production and profits combined with intensified competition is threatening the very existence of the least profitable firms.

Up to now, it is mainly BMW, Citroen, Chrysler (including its French subsidiary, Simca), and British Leyland that see a threatened. Chrysler, which had a close brush with bankruptcy during the previous recession in the US, is nearly running at a loss and is finding increasing difficulties in obtaining credit. Citroen was saved from disaster only through its merger with Peugeot. The fate of BMW and of Toyota, the financially weakest Japanese car trust, will most likely be decided by mergers on a national scale.

But the situation of British Leyland is the most dramatic, reflecting



in a striking manner the general decline of British imperialism in the international capitalist economy. British Leyland is itself a merger of all the British car firms that were still in business. If it has to merge to save itself now, the merger will have to be with a foreign company. In that case it would in fact be absorbed by one of its foreign competitors.

Since British imperialism cannot tolerate such a possibility, it is more likely that the state will come to the aid of British Leyland by granting it massive subsidies, by taking over a minority share of the stock, or by partially nationalising it while leaving a minority of the stock in private hands.

What is starkly confirmed in the world car crisis is the deep-going crisis of world capitalism—the car crisis is a manifestation of the death agonies of the capitalist system.





Red Weekly welcomes letters from our readers, but contributions longer than 400 words may be cut at the Editor's discretion.

## 'It's the workers and peasants who really count'

Red Weekly readers might be interested to know that last week a general meeting of Essex University Students' Union, attended by 300 students, voted to send a telegram to Intersindical (the Portuguese TUC) declaring their solidarity with 'the struggle of the revolutionary workers and peasants against fascism and for socialism'

This was adopted after the defeat of a resolution moved by the Communist Party expressing support for the Government and the Armed Forces Movement.

IMG speakers opposed the CP motion. As one put it: 'It is not the Government or the armed forces to whom we should send our support, but those who really count—the workers and the peasants'. Other students shouted: 'Remember Chile—we've heard all this before!'

The CP's resolution was heavily defeated, and the alternative resolution carried by a big majority.

The Essex students have shown that they, at least, have understood the lessons of Chile and the problems facing the workers' movement in Portugal, even if the Communist Party has not.

Bob Findlay

## £30 minimum — are we serious?

The Red Weekly is nothing if not inconsistent. Your election manifesto says there should be a minimum wage of £30 a week.

However Jeff King has the attitude of a poker player. In his article in the 12 October issue of Red Weekly, he says the demand of the hospital ancillary workers' union for a £30 minimum is 'woefully inadequate'.

Does King write this to show that the IMG is more militant than the trade union leaders? Or does King just have a bad memory and cannot remember what your paper said a few weeks ago.

Would you please tell a rather bemused reader whether you are for a £30 minimum wage, whether that wage is inadequate or not, and if it is, what minimum wage you do favour?

Finally, are you serious about all this or do you think up your demands on the spur of the moment?

John Chapple (Birmingham)

### REPLY:

The election manifesto called for a £30 minimum as the first step to a £40 minimum.

There are large numbers of workers—particularly in the service industries—who get a lot less than £30 a week. Those workers have little economic bargaining power and many of them are not organised in unions.

At present sections of the trade union bureaucracy, for example Jack Jones, are talking of a £30 minimum. Our tactic to them must not be to engage in a 'poker game', but, while pointing out £30 is inadequate, demand they take action to back up their words.

# Nothing but slanders?

In your haste to slander the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) you resort to outright falsification of its positions during the fight against the 'silent majority' demonstration of the reactionaries.

You suggest that the PCP relied entirely on applying pressure within the Government and made no attempt to mobilize the mass of Portuguese workers and democrats against the reactionaries' manoeuvres.

But if you bother to look at the 27 September issue of *Avante!* [the paper of the PCP] you would see an editorial and the entire back page (which included a statement from the Political Committee of the PCP) devoted to the need to organise against the demonstration.

The editorial made the position of the PCP quite clear: 'It is not enough to mark time. On the level of the Government, the Armed Forces, the democratic forces, the trade union organisations, the popular masses—all of those who believe in securing the road to democracy and decolonisation and blocking the return to fascist tyranny—it is vital to take practical measures to bring about the collapse of the counter-revolutionary demonstration'.

This position was spelled out further in both the editorial and the Political Committee statement, where workers were urged to refuse all cooperation which would help publicise the demonstration, or transport demonstrators to Lisbon.

As the PCP Political Committee

### REPLY:

We did not have available the issue of *Avante!* to which cde. da Sousa refers when we wrote last week's article, and had to rely on other sources.

However nothing in that issue drastically contradicts what we said. We did point out that the PCP—faced with a physical threat from the far right and the political danger of being outflanked by militant workers on its left—carried out an about-face and mobilised to stop the demonstration.

The most that the quotes offered by cde. da Sousa could prove is that they took this step a few hours earlier than we had implied.

In fact, however, the 27 September *Avante!* continues to place all its confidence in the Government and the Armed Forces. The Government and the MFA are urged to stop the demonstration, but the workers were not told to act themselves to ban the demonstration if the Government refused, or to enforce the ban if the Government did act.

*Avante!* only served up a vague call for 'vigilance' and proposals for passive

non-cooperation with the reactionaries. No proposals for the sort of positive mass action that finally smashed the reactionaries were put forward.

There is not a word of criticism in *Avante!* of General Spinoza, despite the fact that his involvement in the reactionary conspiracy was then quite clear. For the PCP was primarily concerned with its manoeuvres inside the Government, which still centred on pressuring Spinoza.

The actions of the PCP in the recent crisis were entirely within its heroic, 40-year tradition as the vanguard of the anti-fascist struggle. Your petty slanders can do nothing to alter that fact.

A. da Sousa

non-cooperation with the reactionaries. No proposals for the sort of positive mass action that finally smashed the reactionaries were put forward.

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The fact remains that in the months preceding the 27 September showdown the PCP argued that the struggle against the reactionaries was 'secondary' and actually scabbed on the struggles launched by militant workers who disagreed. The real credit for preparing the Portuguese workers' movement to fight the fascist threat lies with these militants, not the PCP.

These are not 'petty' matters. Nor are they 'slanders'. They are basic home truths. And they do not add up to an 'heroic tradition'.



Alvaro Cunhal, leader of the Portuguese Communist Party, gave a press conference in Lisbon last week, in the wake of the big victory won by the working class against the Portuguese right wingers.

He said: 'The only arms which exist in Portugal to defend democracy are in the hands of the Armed Forces Movement. These arms exist, and it is necessary that they exist.' He boasted, 'The Communist Party is disarmed. We have no arms whatsoever.'

Meanwhile, the army has announced that the firearms seized at the roadblocks set up by the workers and the military on the Lisbon outskirts are being returned to their owners!

## Rebellion in the schools

The left is slipping up badly over the rebellion of young working class pupils against the prison-house school system.

In many London comprehensives and secondary schools the rebellion is boiling over. Young workers are wising up younger and younger to the fact that the school is not for them—it is an instrument for their oppression, not a means for developing their talents.

The whole social crisis of Britain's imperialist system is reflected in the most serious schools crisis this country has ever faced. This is a tremendous political fact. As the bourgeoisie and its ideologists know only too well (far more clearly than the left), whoever captures the minds of the mass of young workers will decide the fate of capitalism in Britain.

But in this gigantic explosion which will shortly blow the roof off the schools, where is the left?

The National Union of School Students has remained little more than a middle-class coterie appealing to the school elite, with little or no connection with the proletarian rebellion that is now underway.

JEFF KING

### CONFERENCE OF RADICAL SCHOLARS OF SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

Friday 25 October—Saturday 26 October

Mechanical Engineering Building, Imperial College, Exhibition Rd, S.W.7.

Fri 25 Oct	8pm	Bob Sutcliffe on Cuba
Sat 26 Oct	10am	Michael Kidron on Inflation and Deflation
	2pm	Pierre Naville on Roots of the Sino-Soviet Conflict
	8pm	Norman Giras on Rosa Luxemburg and the Russian Revolution

CONFERENCE CHARGE: £1.75 (£1 for students)

As for teachers, even the left-wing of the NUT is too scared to openly champion the school students' rebellion. Even worse it is blind to it, and covers up its secret longing for respectability with economist resolutions about school conditions, wages, and so on, which totally avoid the crucial question of class power in the schools.

This is really serious, because if the left intends to keep its distance from the rebellion of the youth, the fascists will not. The National Front has already battered Wandsworth schools trying to turn white pupils against black, and there are National Front members as well as sympathisers in the student bodies of other schools.

They have a field day playing on the rampant racism of young English workers. Their first target is the Asian pupils, many of whom do not speak English well and who are also the least violent pupils in many schools. Swear-words like 'Paks', 'wogs', 'greasers', 'chinks', 'bubble-and-squeaks' are normal everyday language among millions of English working class youths, not to mention their violent hatred and contempt for the Irish.

What strategy should English socialists follow in these conditions?

First, they must boldly, actively, openly take the side of the rebellious young workers against the school system. Great care should be taken in building up firm friendships with the most rebellious pupils. They should be given direct practical help in getting out leaflets, banners, petitions, newspapers, etc. Without underground as well as open methods it is easy for the authorities to smash a developing movement through intimidation and their network of spies.

Also a great deal of work needs to be done to win the support of working class parents, who nearly always have a reactionary approach to school strikes. Hatred for the cynical and anti-working class nature of the schools must be re-awakened in the parents again and again.

Secondly, the fight cannot and will not be won unless English imperialism and racism are placed in the very front of the schools struggle. Black, Asian, Cypriot and Irish pupils must not only be defended, they must be encouraged to lead the struggles. Nothing will do more to get rid of racist ideas than for rebellious English pupils to see that they cannot do without the revolutionary fighting power of the young 'immigrants'.

But even so, English socialists will not be effective in these struggles unless they wake up to the fact that they cannot teach without learning. They must learn class struggle from young working class pupils, they must learn hatred of English racism from the young blacks, and they must learn the real history of English crimes against the African, Arab, Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani, Chinese and Irish peoples, to name but a few of this country's victims.

Moral appeals are no good. 'Diplomatic' references in passing are worse. Chauvinists have to be given the shock treatment. English socialists should plunge into argument on the 'hottest' questions of the day. Today that means siding openly with the IRA. Until young English rebels in the schools think of the Irish rebels as their brothers and sisters-in-arms fighting against the same enemy, their defences are weak and will sooner or later be broken.

How can young English workers fight the school authorities when they agree with them on Ireland? Haven't they a lot to learn from the rebel youth of Belfast and Derry? The battle against chauvinism is the key front in the battle for the allegiance of the English youth.

Communism or fascism—the struggles in the schools today must lead to one or the other conclusion. Which will it be? Red guards or storm-troopers?

FRED DRAFER



# NATIONAL FRONT TAKES

## UP ANTI-JEWISH BOGEY



**IN SPITE OF ITS CLAIMS** to be a 'respectable' political party, the National Front is showing more and more signs of its fascist pedigree. The bizarre and hysterical attacks in its election manifesto on the ill-effects of playing 'single-rhythms' on the BBC and the 'program' of anti-Jewish propaganda is steadily gaining ground.

Until last year the Front took great care to play down its anti-semitic propaganda. The parallels with Hitler's Nazis didn't count with their attempts to cultivate a 'respectable' image. Recently these worries seem to have gone by the board. References to Jews and Jewish beliefs appear with increasing frequency and prominence in the pages of NF publica-

An article in the May issue of *Spearhead* on Jewish religious requirements for animal slaughter carried the headline 'Alien cruelty to British animals.' NF 'red scare' articles label Bert Ramelson, Communist Party industrial organiser as 'an alien' because of his Jewish origins, while the Jewish background of 'Leon Trotsky (alias Lev Davidovitch Bronstein)', and certain other Marxist writers is given particular prominence.

### SINISTER

Far more sinister is the mass-circulation, by individuals not unconnected with the NF (see *Red Weekly*, 15 August 1974) of the pro-Nazi pamphlet 'Did 6 million really die?' which attempts to write off the Hitler regime's genocide against the European Jews as some sort of collective delusion.

More directly linked to the Front is the warning from its

chairman, John Tyndall, that the Front's repatriation policy would extend to all Jews who could not prove themselves sincere British 'patriots'.

All this seems, on the surface, odd for an organisation led by individuals who are usually eager to hide their open Nazi backgrounds. Why should it expose itself by raking up so blatantly the favourite 'bogey' of the Nazis?

The deliberate sowing of anti-Jewish propaganda by reactionaries in so many countries and over so many years is not an accident of history. The social history of the Jews from pre-capitalist society up to the present day has made them excellent scapegoats for all the ills of capitalism itself.

The early traders and merchants who were the forerunners of modern capitalism were often drawn from racial minorities—Jews in Europe, Chinese in South Asia, for

example. Various historical factors drove many Jews from Palestine to become 'primitive capitalists' in other lands. With the rise of capitalism proper, they increasingly came into competition with the developing local capitalist class. The 'greedy', 'capitalist' Jews were made the scape-goats for the evils of capitalism by their no less greedy or capitalist non-Jewish competitors.

At the same time many Jews were pushed into becoming workers for the new rising capitalism, and played a major part in the socialist organisations which developed in the struggles of the workers against the new, capitalist ruling class. Thus the Jews came to occupy two positions in the Alice-in-Wonderland world of fascist demagoguery: on the one hand 'greedy capitalists', and on the other hand 'bolshhevik subversives'.

They were the ideal scapegoat on which fascism in the 1920s and 30s could pin the blame for the

problems that hit the middle-classes as a result of the world economic crisis. Squeezed out of their comfortable niche in society by the brutal confrontation of the major classes, the idea of a devious conspiracy between Jewish 'financiers and communists' was believed, and anti-Jewish purges accepted as a cure for all the ills of society.

In the context of the acute economic crisis now unfolding, it is not surprising that the National Front should come closer every day to resurrecting the basic idea of fascist thinking. The temptation of dividing worker from worker, of erecting scapegoats across class lines, and of appealing to the confused fears of the middle classes is too great to set aside for the sake of preserving their 'respectable' image.

Tom Cameron

# Occupations accommodate

## student needs



Manchester students in residence at an empty cinema owned by the University

### EAST ANGLIA

Union general meeting has unanimously passed a motion giving support to students who have occupied a disused hotel in the area to give relief to homeless students.

The students union will support squatters with legal aid, and pledged to defend the students in the event of attempted eviction. The students realise that this is only a temporary solution. They have decided to contact the local Trades Council with a view to a joint campaign to demand that local authority provides adequate housing for all.

The students have also elected a committee of 20 to work out a strategy not simply on the housing situation but which involves opposition to price-rises and demands for higher grants.

### SWANSEA

The struggle to reinstate six victimised students continues. The students were suspended by the University authorities for a year over their participation in the boycott of second year exams.

A defence committee was formed but it received no help whatsoever from the students union executive who did not want it to take action in support of the students.

This week a union general meeting of more than five hundred students threw the executive's spineless policy in the dustbin where it belongs. They issued an ultimatum to the administration. If the students are not reinstated, another general meeting will be held to discuss occupying the University.

### PORTSMOUTH

Two thousand people in Portsmouth have signed a petition of support for the student occupation at the local Polytechnic.

They clearly recognise that Portsmouth's 4000 registered homeless face the same problems as the 200 students from the Poly who also have no accommodation.

The Portsmouth students have occupied the administration building, demanding: emergency subsidised housing; the municipalisation of empty property in the town to provide free housing for all; and the extension of the rent freeze.

The college principal and the police have tried in vain to persuade the students to end the occupation. Now a summons to appear in the Royal Court has been posted on the door.

The students realise that to win they need working class support, for the lack of housing and the end of the rent freeze hit students and workers equally hard. To this end a demonstration has been organised for Saturday against the lack of housing.

A conference is also being organised, to discuss how a joint trade union and student fight can be launched against the whole series of cuts in public spending now being put through. Support is being sought from NUPE, NALGO, ATTI, ASTMS, and any other workers who face low pay or poor conditions as a result of the lack of money being put into the public sector.

### EDINBURGH

One hundred students have occupied the Principal's residence in protest against the accommodation crisis. As the occupation began police turned up to harass the students.

Once bitten twice shy, now the students have organised mass pickets for the evening to protect the occupation against future police harassment. The students are also contacting the University workers with a view to conducting a joint campaign should the police intervene.

### BIRMINGHAM

The occupation at Birmingham Polytech is gaining increasing support. There are more students involved now than when it started.

The NUS executive has called a national demonstration on 23 October against cut-backs in higher education and in support of the struggle against cut-backs at Birmingham Polytech. The demonstration will be addressed by Pat Hickey, a member of UCATT and convenor for the Wimpey sites, John Randall, NUS president, and a Labour MP.

A General Meeting of over 500 students at Birmingham University voted to strike on 23 October in support of their colleagues in the Polytech.

On election day 700 out of 900 students at the College of Food and Domestic Science demonstrated against the decision of the Birmingham City Council to sell a plot of land adjacent to the college. The land has gone for £150,000 to a property speculator, despite the fact that the college desperately needs room for expansion.

On the same day that the NUS are organising their demonstration against cut-backs UCATT is also holding a demonstration in the city. The building workers' demonstration will be against 'lump' labour and for more state spending to avoid unemployment in the building trade. It is regrettable that the UCATT and NUS demonstrations are not being held jointly.

It is education on the cheap which has caused numerous building programmes to be scrapped and redundancy for many workers. A joint fight must be waged for more public spending and building. Nevertheless the NUS demonstration in Birmingham, leaving Gosta Green at 1.00pm, needs massive student support to show Wilson and his crew that students will not accept the cuts.

This term has also seen college ASTMS and NALGO workers considering national strike action to back their claims for higher wages.

Students can take solidarity in two ways. Firstly by giving financial aid, by giving these workers a platform, and support on the picket line. Secondly, students can put more pressure on the Labour Government by taking direct action against the cuts which force students to pay higher prices and rents or leave them homeless.

It is in the interests of both sections to fight together in opposition to cuts in public spending, irrespective of whether it's Tory or Labour in office. Such a fight has to be in alliance with those suffering from the cuts, whether they work in health, housing or education.

### MANCHESTER

Manchester, like every other city in Britain, has a housing problem. Students are not exempt from the search for a roof to put over their heads—hundreds have come to college with nowhere to live.

The students' response has been to occupy an empty cinema owned by the University. The occupation is being used to house homeless students and as a base from which to get a joint campaign with tenants and trade unionists. Students are calling on the city council to municipalise empty property to provide housing for all.

While the University owns a cinema, the Polytechnic maintains an empty hotel. Just the answer for Polytechnic students with nowhere to live, after alterations and re-furnishing.

Unfortunately the minds of the college authorities move in a mysterious way. Because it would cost £30,000 to alter the hotel, the authorities have decided to knock it down! So much for the contribution of the Manchester college administrations to solving the accommodation crisis.

*socialist revolution*

1400 # 10

**SOCIALISM and FEMINISM**

Barbara Easton, "Towards a Unified Movement"

Berkley-Dakland Women's Union  
Principles of Unity

El. Zaretsky, "Socialist Politics and the Family"

200 in this issue: Fairberg, "Socialism & Peace"  
Peters, "Socialism & Cuts"

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# RED WEEKLY

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## WILSON:

### LABOUR MOVEMENT MUST BACK 'TROOPS OUT' DEMO

The following appeal to the labour movement has been issued by four Labour MPs who are backing the 27 October 'Troops Out' demo:

We, the undersigned, consider it essential that the Labour Movement takes up the question of the British presence in Ireland. And, in view of the fact that the British presence denies the right of the Irish people as a whole to self-determination, we support the call by the British Peace Committee and the Troops Out Movement for a demonstration calling for the 'immediate implementation of a policy of political and military withdrawal from Ireland' and having the leading slogan 'British Troops Out of Ireland'.

WILLIAM WILSON, MP, (Coventry South East); JEFF ROOKER, MP, (Birmingham Perry Barr); MAUREEN COLQUHOUN, MP, (Northampton North); STAN THORNE, MP, (Preston South).

### Unconditional, immediate withdrawal only solution

SIX LABOUR MP's will be in the front lines of the October 27th demonstration demanding 'British Troops Out of Ireland'.

This demonstration is being called by the British Peace Committee—Troops Out Movement ad-hoc committee. Already it has gained significant support from Trades Councils, Trade Union branches, student unions and socialist organisations.

The IMG is mobilising its supporters nationally for this demo and considers it an important step towards building a mass campaign for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. In our view the urgency of this task increases daily. The election results spelt it out clearly. In the Six Counties, the United Ulster Unionists (UUU)—the right wing loyalists—have consolidated their political support. Encouraged by this electoral success they will undoubtedly intensify their campaign to have political authority in the North handed back to them.

With Powell now among their ranks they are poised to bring their reactionary politics right into the heart of the British political arena.

The Labour Government, faced with this political bandwagon, make pious promises about reintroducing the Tories' policy of 'power sharing' between the Catholic population and the Unionists. But such a scheme could not receive enough support in the North to work.

In reality, Wilson's policies give him only two choices: either to capitulate to the demands of the Unionists, or to continue the present 'direct rule' set-up by stepping up the use of British troops. Either course will build a political timebomb in the North of Ireland.

Socialists must campaign for the labour movement to act and force its leaders to abandon these reactionary policies, which are not in the interests of workers in either Britain or Ireland. **UNCONDITIONAL, IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL IS THE ONLY SOLUTION.**

New opportunities exist for carrying this message into the Labour movement. Successive failures by both the Labour and Tory governments to smash the IRA and make their solutions work have led to growing doubts in the working class about the 'bi-partisan' policies, supported by both parties. Many workers now question the role of British troops in Ireland.

This has already led to growing trade union and Labour Party involvement on the issue of Ireland: it must now be organised to ensure a massive labour movement turnout for the 27 October demonstration.

# 'BY THE RIGHT, QUICK MARCH'

THE POLLS HAD BEEN CLOSED LESS THAN TWO HOURS WHEN WILSON BEGAN HIS CRAWL TO THE capitalist class. In his post-election speech he whined about the election being divisive, and only perked up at the thought that boss and worker could now unite.

In his television speech on Monday, Wilson wagged the big stick at the trade unions, warning them that breaches of the social contract would not be tolerated. Reassuring the employers, he promised that prices would be allowed to go up.

The autumn budget for the working class looks bleak. For the capitalist class Wilson hints at big tax concessions to companies. No wonder the Stock Exchange went up by 15 points as soon as he finished speaking.

#### SCREWS

Between February and 10 October Wilson had to perform a precarious balancing act. With his eye on an autumn election he could not turn the screw full on the working class in the way the employers wanted. But even then his deep commitment to capitalism almost smashed Labour's election chances and resulted in a pitiful majority of three.

Now the honeymoon is over. Wilson feels less tied to Labour's electoral needs and is ready to crack down. This is exactly what the ruling class want. Wilson will defend their system, his right-wing policies will frustrate the working class and demoralise Labour's activists. This will lead to a series of by-election defeats and prepare the ground for the return to a Government of the Tories especially if the Labour Government should split over some key question, such as the Common Market.

Two choices are opening up before the working class movement. Either it can take the right-wing road to ruin and defeat, or it can begin to organise a fight back against the Labour leaders.

#### INCOMES POLICY

By Spring the Labour Government will be moving towards a compulsory incomes policy. This could only be defeated by an all-out general strike. The most effective way to prepare for that is to continue the fight now against the social contract and step up the struggle for full protection of wages against inflation—a sliding scale of wages.

Wilson's solution to the crisis is to dole out millions of pounds in tax concessions, grants and allow price increases to the capitalists. The working class has to say 'not a penny to the bankrupt representatives of a bankrupt system: nationalise without any compensation, and with full guarantees of all jobs, any firms threatening redundancies.

Wilson knows that it spells disaster for the important sections of British capital-

ism to leave the Common Market. He therefore plans wheeling a few concessions from his EEC 'partners' and then getting Labour to recommend a pro-EEC vote in his phoney referendum.

An emergency Trade Union Congress and Labour Party Conference must be held before any such referendum takes place. These conferences must commit the entire working class movement to immediate withdrawal from the Common Market, which was created in the interests of the European capitalist monopolies.

In Ireland Labour also faithfully serves the aims of the ruling class. Helped by Labour's policies Enoch Powell is working to build a mass reactionary base which will be directed against both the British and Irish working class. Labour's 'bi-partisan' policy must be broken and a big movement built that can force the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

A fight on these issues can not only stop the betrayals of the Labour leaders, but can set in motion a powerful movement for socialism.



Striking women workers at the Salford Electrical Instrument (SEI) factory 'greet' scabs crossing their picket line. Struggles like theirs for equal pay — represent the way forward for the working class, not Labour's 'social con-trick'. Latest news on SEI: p.12