

Red Weekly

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CYPRUS PLOT TOPPLES GREEK JUNTA

The Greek junta has fallen. Having failed to solve the grave economic and political problems which face the Greek capitalist class, the hard-line regime which replaced Papadopoulos after the Athens riots last November has finally been toppled by the fiasco of its adventure in Cyprus.

It is reported that the junta have called on Constantine Karamanlis, the prime minister from 1955-63, to return to Greece to form a new government.

Karamanlis is certainly no friend to the working class—he remained in office for eight years only by rigging the elections, and was finally overthrown and forced to flee to Paris by a

massive working class upsurge. But any return to civilian government will take the lid off Greek political life and—like the Spinoza coup in Portugal—open up tremendous new possibilities for the workers' movement.

It also threatens to rip a huge hole in NATO's southern flank, already in a sorry state after the Cyprus clashes. US imperialism's hold in the area has increasingly depended on a stable right-wing regime in Athens. Now that prospect is threatened.

Yet another country of capitalist Europe is now in deep political crisis. We must redouble our efforts to ensure that the outcome is favourable to the socialist revolution.

A N UNEASY PEACE REIGNS IN CYPRUS.

The capitalist war machine, having taken its toll of Cypriot workers—both Greek and Turkish—is for the moment only ticking over. Diplomacy has temporarily taken over from sheer brute force. But the fundamental issue of independence for Cyprus still remains at stake.

The events of the last week have shown just how hollow was the 'independence' granted to Cyprus in 1960. The deal cooked up then by Britain and its NATO allies in Greece and Turkey allowed for continued military intervention by all three. The tragic consequences for the Cypriot workers and peasants are now plain for all to see.

Imperialism aimed simply to keep the pot boiling by stirring up differences between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Indeed, the clashes in late 1963 even allowed a further check on Cypriot independence to be introduced with the despatch of a United Nations force to the island.

But the Sampson coup ten days ago showed just how unstable some of the elements in this situation had become. In particular, the Greek military junta was running into desperate economic and political problems at home. A foreign adventure, the generals hoped, would distract public attention elsewhere. The Turkish invasion of Cyprus, however, showed that they had badly miscalculated.

In this situation the responsibilities of the British labour movement are particularly heavy, and the need to be absolutely clear on the issues involved is particularly important.

*** WITHDRAW ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM CYPRUS.** The British bases at Episkopi, Akrotiri and Dhekelia are there as part of the NATO alliance to protect imperialist interests in the area. The Greek and Turkish troops are also part of the same reactionary alliance. All these forces must be withdrawn.

*** NO UNITED NATIONS INTERVENTION—WITHDRAW THE FORCES ALREADY THERE.** The role of the United Nations is to block any mass struggle, freezing the situation

while imperialism regroups its forces. Its presence in Cyprus since 1964 has simply served to emphasise the Greek-Turkish communal divisions and blur the class ones. The real nature of the interests it represents is underlined by the fact that the main contingent (despite Cypriot protests) has always been British.

***NO PARTITION.** The 'solution' now being widely canvassed is the partition of the island between Greece and Turkey. This carve-up would set a seal on the communal differences and strengthen NATO's hold over the whole island.

***DOWN WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH REGIMES.** The clashes in Cyprus have further underlined the reactionary nature of these regimes, both of which have seized on the issue

as a means of diverting attention away from their problems at home.

***FOR A UNITED STRUGGLE.** Revolutionary marxists will wage a joint struggle with other forces—such as the supporters of Archbishop Makarios—for the independence of Cyprus. But they will not yield an inch on the political objectives of the struggle.

***FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CYPRUS.** The last ten days have shown that bourgeois democracy is no foundation for an independent Cyprus. Only an appeal based on clear class lines can overcome the communal differences and draw the Greek and Turkish Cypriot workers and peasants into a united struggle. Only a full mobilisation of the working people of the island can defend the independence of Cyprus against imperialist intrigues.



Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

Ten thousand people marched on last Sunday's demo on Cyprus

Miners Strike For Nurses

TWO WELSH PITS took strike action on Tuesday in solidarity with the nurses' pay claim.

Miners at Morlais and Graig Merthyr, after hearing representatives from the nurses' action committee and NUPE, voted for a one-day strike.

At Brynliw colliery workers on the morning and afternoon shift voted to strike on Wednesday. Amendments that the resolution should be sent to the Welsh Area Committee of the NUM before any strike action took place were heavily defeated.

Representatives from NUPE are due to address a meeting in Swansea of the West Wales miners to discuss what action can be taken to support the nurses' claim.

Following the ballot in favour of solidarity strike action by the Yorkshire miners, this gives a real boost to the struggle for the nurses' claim and drives another nail into the coffin of the 'social contract.'

The Swansea nurses' action committee, along with the local NUPE had leafleted the miners and organised a campaign for support for their struggle.

Action committees in other areas should take a leaf out of the Swansea nurses' book and campaign amongst local trade unionists for similar actions.

Doctors to Act on Chile

A GROUP OF DOCTORS in London have started a campaign against the persecution and murder of doctors and health workers by the Chilean junta. There is to be a national general meeting in London later on in the summer which will vote on proposals for further activities and elect a national committee to centralise the campaign.

In preparation they are collecting signatures for a petition condemning the junta, to be sent to authorities both in Britain and Chile.

Hopefully, one of the projects to come out of the national meeting will be a campaign for support amongst health workers for the half-hour stoppages being proposed by the Chile Solidarity Campaign for 11 September, the anniversary of the coup in Chile.

Before the coup in Chile, the Allende government began to develop a health service with the emphasis on community health centres, preventative and educational medicine, all freely available at the time of need. This developing health service was actively opposed by the reactionary leaders of the Chilean Medical Association, who called a national doctors' strike against the government.

For further information about the campaign contact: Dr. David Kessel, c/o Hackney Hospital, London, E.9. (donations payable to the Chile Relief Fund).

DEMO IN PORTSMOUTH

A demonstration against the Chilean warship now in Portsmouth dockyard is being organised by the Portsmouth Chile Solidarity Committee, and is supported by the Portsmouth Trades Council, Havant Trades Council, local branches of the AUEW, SOGAT and NUPE. The demonstration will take place on Saturday, 27 July, 2.30 at St. Mary's Church, Fratton Road. For transport from London contact Liberation at 01-607 0465.

IN FOCUS

HEALEY BUDGET MURRAY'S KAMIKAZE POLICY

The 'mini-budget' unveiled on Monday by Chancellor Denis Healey isn't going to affect anything important at all.

His cuts in VAT are chicken feed compared to the 25% a year rate at which prices have been rising from January to June. Healey's doubling of the regional employment premium will not affect the dramatic rise in unemployment which is going to take place in the autumn, nor give any help to the 100,000 building workers who are going to be made redundant by the autumn or the tens of thousands of car workers in British Leyland and elsewhere who are facing the sack. Neither will it do much to stop the dreadful unemployment building up in central Scotland and other areas.

The reason Healey isn't able to alter anything important is not simply because he is a dyed-in-the-wool right-winger in a Government led by the scab of 1964-70, Wilson. It is mainly because *nobody* operating within capitalism can do anything significant about the present economic situation.

British capitalism is mortally sick. The rate of profit, the only regulator the anarchy of capitalism possesses, has halved since the 1950s. At one time capitalism could hope to increase both profits and wages through increasing productivity of labour. But that requires investment. With the present rate of profit such investment simply won't take place under capitalism. The only real way in which profit can be increased at present is by vicious attacks against the living standard and conditions of work of the working class.

But even worse than the immediate attacks on the working class is the fact that the capitalist monster is now out of control. Faced with the absolute stagnation of the capitalist economy everything has to be thrown to the winds to get the rotting mechanism moving at all. As the *Sunday Times Business News* so frankly put it 'The Treasury let everything go - the exchange rate, inflation, a credit explosion - to get the economy moving in the first place... Privately officials admit that they do not know how the monetary structure they unleashed now works.'

In the coming months inflation and unemployment are both going to soar. All anyone working within capitalism - including the Labour Government - can do is simply alter by a tiny bit the proportion in which the two increase.

By cutting taxes Healey is trying to achieve 25% inflation and 800,000 unemployed instead of 20% inflation and 1 million unemployed. At best he is trying to decide whether to attack the working class by throwing a large part of it into the absolute poverty of unemployment, or all of it into the relative poverty caused by soaring inflation. But in fact he can't even make that choice - it is quite likely we are going to end up with 25% inflation and 1 million unemployed.

The struggle against this grinding capitalist crisis is obviously going to be an uphill one. Great militancy is being shown by nurses, teachers, local government workers and many others in the wages fight. Fisher-Bendix, in their second occupation in two years, show the militancy needed in the fight against unemployment.

But in the trade union leadership there are fundamentally wrong policies on how to deal with the growing general economic crisis. The TUC is proposing plans to try to make capitalism 'work'. These would speed up inflation still further to try and stop even a fraction of the coming rise in unemployment. This is at a time when a world economic slump will create 15 million unemployed in the advanced capitalist countries in the coming year and when even ruling class journals such as *The Economist* write: 'A year from now Britain is likely to be suffering either 1½ million unemployed or 20% inflation or persistent industrial breakdown or even all three together.'

The TUC, on the basis of their absurd economic policies, declare that a 'social contract' has been achieved and the workers must give up the struggle for their just demands.

Instead of participating in this debate about whether to cut the throat of the working class by applying more of the saw of inflation or more of the razor of unemployment the unions should be uniting the working class to struggle for crucial demands - for example, for the defending and extending of thresholds when they run out in November - and deciding how to take the economy out of the hands of capitalism before the convulsions of that system succeed in wrecking everything.

This means fighting for:

- * A general strike to secure basic working class demands against inflation and unemployment
- * A trade union plan for the nationalisation of the economy under workers control

But the present position of the trade unions is a disaster. As the crazy vehicle of capitalism, propelled by the system of production for profit, heads towards the cliff's edge the position of the TUC is that all will be well provided the helpless driver is painted Labour pink and not Tory blue. That is a recipe for suicide, not for the defence of workers' interests.

FUND DRIVE

WE'RE BEGINNING to feel just a little bit shaky now.

With three-quarters of the month gone we're still a long way off even our subsistence target of £300 a month, let alone the £400 which we really need to plan the expansion of our paper to 12 pages.

Are you sure you can't manage just a little bit extra this month to see us through this lean summer period? It's now that a political response to the coming autumn crisis must be forged - and now that we

need the money to do it with.

Last week's post brought us £59.02 - rather disappointing at this stage of the month. However, thanks to all those who did send money in, including: Greenwich IMG - £14.40; Tottenham IMG - £13.50; Preston IMG - £10; and Reading IVC - £5.

That brings the grand total for July to

£180.42

DON'T FORGET - rush all monies now to: Red Weekly Fund Drive, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Phone - in Support for Working Women's Charter

Equal Pay - 'It's the oldest pay claim in the world' said Sheffield trades council vice-president, Annie Britton.

She was speaking after a meeting of Sheffield trades council which had discussed the Working Women's Charter.

Kathy Cirket, an AUEW shop steward and member of the IMG moved the adoption of the Charter at the meeting. She explained: 'This charter is a means of uniting the trade union movement with women's groups and women's liberation.'



Sue Kenyon spoke on Charter phone-in

IMPORTANT

'The problems for working women do not just stop at the factory gates - the problems are also at home and nursery facilities are just as important as equal pay.'

Philip Moscrop, a local labour councillor and member of the TGWU committee seconded the resolution. He said: 'We know that there will not be equal when the Equal Pay Act is implemented.'

'It's about time we took off women's aprons and gave them full equality.'

A member of the NUT, Sue Kenyon stressed the need of the trade union movement to take up the whole question of women's oppression. 'Not to do so leaves a wide flank exposed - half the labour movement and working force.'

Pat Baron, a member of the TGWU and a part-time barmaid said she was not getting equal pay.

'This charter is a step forward.'

'There should be free contraception. Doctors are charging and this is bad.'

MEETING

The meeting decided that the executive of the trades council should contact all its affiliated organisations and arrange a meeting to discuss the Charter.

A campaign on the Charter is particularly important in a city like Sheffield. There are approximately 102,100 women workers compared to 170,819 men. Sheffield has 10 per cent more working women than any other area in Britain.

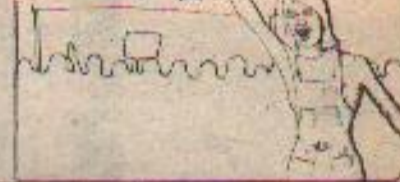
Following the trades council meeting and a report in the local press, Kathy Cirket and Sue Ken-

yon were on a phone-in programme run by Radio Sheffield. They report that they received lots of calls from trade unionists and housewives supporting the campaign.

It is important that the meeting called by the trades council is made the start of a wide-based campaign for all the demands of the Charter.

WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER

EQUAL PAY NOW



Resolution carried by trades council.

'Support for the aims of the Working Women's Charter devised by the London trades council, and calls upon the trades council to organise a Charter Sub-Committee with delegates from branches, shop stewards' committees, tenants and community associations, to form a Sheffield district conference to launch a campaign on the demands of the Charter.'

Threshold Conference - TASS organiser pledges support

RED WEEKLY talks to George Hope, Divisional Organiser, AUEW (TASS) about the conference to be held in Coventry on 'Thresholds and the Cost of Living'.

Have any of your members in Coventry been involved in threshold struggles?

One of the disappointing things has actually been the lack of settlements. For example, in British Leyland the management are steadfastly refusing to concede anything on threshold. Also in GEC, where we have a lot of members throughout the combine, a number of sanctions have been applied to get some improvement on the company's £1.60 offer. At Wickman's we didn't have any members actually in dispute but our members didn't cross the picket lines - that was physically impossible in any case! The trouble with the existing thresholds is that even if you get the full settlement, it leaves you substantially behind the increase in the cost of living.

What do you think of a struggle for real cost of living increases, a proper sliding scale of wages?

Well, I would certainly encourage my members to take action in support of threshold-type settlements on top of general substantial increases. In British Leyland we've been settling for amounts in excess of Government norms, but it's still leaving our members falling behind the cost of living. If you get a 10% rise in wages after a 10% rise in the cost of living you're worse off because of tax etc.

How is support being organised for the conference?

What I've done is circulated our major office committees, and our District Committee on Saturday agreed to send representatives to the conference. I think it is essential for all groups of workers, politically

committed or otherwise, to get together to look at the situation of wages and the cost of living. I'm not a member of the IMG, for example, but it's necessary to work together on building this conference.

What about the end of October when the threshold clauses run out?

We've got to look seriously at the situation we're going to face then. I think that we've got to ensure that any threshold payments are incorporated in the rates in the normal way. Obviously we must aim for a substantial increase, and hopefully an extension of the threshold agreement.

I think that this first conference we're holding should be the beginning of a proper campaign. I think that the labour movement, in this town in particular, should be looking at the problems with a view to having a common policy for dealing with those problems. We should be aiming for a united fight in the autumn when the thresholds run out.

APPRENTICES STRIKE FOR FULL THRESHOLD

APPRENTICES at the Barr and Stroud engineering factory in Glasgow are on strike against management's attempts to impose reduced threshold payments for apprentices.

They have the support of the rest of the workforce who have agreed to a £1 a week levy per man for the strikers and to black any work normally done by apprentices.

The dispute, however, is still unofficial, as the local officials of the AUEW are all on holiday. But an ominous sign is that the local wing of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU) is in favour of graded thresholds for apprentices and junior workers! The success of this strike depends on how much local trade union support can be won to put pressure on the local bureaucracy to make the strike official.

The apprentices and young workers have a good record behind them. They

have a Young Workers' Committee which is run along the same lines as the joint shop stewards' committee with representatives from the five unions on the shop-floor. It was the young workers, too, who took up the initiative on the blacking of work that Barr and Stroud were doing for the Chilean submarines.

On starting the strike over thresholds the Committee called a mass meeting and elected a strike committee one of whose tasks was to set up a picketing rota.

As Stewart Ferguson, chairman of the Young Workers' Committee, told *Red Weekly*: 'Picketing will be very important in the next two weeks. The management are bringing in 27 new machines. If we can stop their delivery, it will be a big victory for us.' Graham Galbraith, also on the Committee, added: 'None of the workers, including apprentices, should be made to bear the brunt of increasing prices.'

NICK ADAMS

TRADE UNION SPONSORED CONFERENCE

THRESHOLD

COST OF LIVING INCREASES

2 pm - Saturday 10th August

TGWU HALL, RINGWAY ST JOHNS, COVENTRY.

SPONSORED BY:

George Hope, Divisional Organiser, AUEW (TASS).
L. Smith, TGWU Shop Steward, GEC Stoke Works.
John Fisher, ASTMS Divisional Officer.
R. Burdett, AUEW Convenor, Wickham Machine Tools.

TGWU officials call racist strike

Four hundred white workers, led by factory convenor Reg Weaver, and his side-kick TGWU district secretary Reg Bromley, are planning a campaign against Asian militants at Imperial Typewriters.

On Monday at a meeting in Spinney Hill Park, Weaver and the other stewards gave the 'white-backlash' campaign a boost when they called for a one-day strike.

Weaver admitted, when interviewed over Radio Leicester, that he 'was opposed to any of the strike leaders being taken back.' A transcript of his interview has been sent to TGWU regional officer Brian Mather.

On Tuesday, Weaver accompanied by Bromley attended a meeting at the Leicester Trades Club. A decision was taken there to return to work the next day but to refuse to cooperate with the 25 members of the Asian workers' strike committee.

ENDED

After thirteen weeks the strike at Imperial has ended. This followed the visit of Mather, TGWU regional secretary. But Mather's visit was a formality to put the official seal on the agreements already reached between the TGWU national leaders and the bosses. Reg Harris, the Nottingham TGWU district secretary, then

put the final touches to the negotiations. Bromley had been put into cold storage.

The agreement called for a phased return to work, a guarantee of no victimisations, continuity of service and no deterioration in wages or gradings.

The National Front then crawled out from under the stones. They gave out a leaflet which said: 'Asian Victory - White sell-out'. The management admitted the leaflet included information known only to top management and the unions. The NF hope to reap where others have sown. Despite their boasts they did not initiate the white racist strike.

It was Weaver and the stewards who peddled a petition against the re-employment of the strike committee. Last week Bromley was threatening a walk out by 800 workers when the Asian strikers went back.

A number of white workers have been saying that any walk-out would be organised by Bromley and Weaver, not the NF. When 80 workers in Model 80 Department stopped work for an hour in protest against the 'sell out' BBC Midland News sensationalised this event and talked about a strike of 250 workers.

Nobody knows who gave them this false information although it

has been noted that Bromley always got easy access to BBC when he was denouncing the Asian strikers.

The actions of both Bromley and Weaver are dictated by the desperate attempt to maintain their positions inside the union. Weaver has been convenor at Imperial for 22 years. He has been a member of the TGWU national committee for 14 years; for seven of those he has also been a member of the union's powerful finance sub-committee.

DITCH THEM

The militancy and determination of the Asian workers has focussed attention on the role of these two worthies and caused particular embarrassment to the national leadership of the TGWU. It is clear that the national bureaucracy would now like to ditch them.

As H Khetani says: 'We have won a clear victory. We have turned upside down one of the most right-wing districts in the TGWU.'

'The real struggle begins when we get back in the factory. We will have to heal splits in the workforce. That means carrying on a fight for better conditions and wages for all workers.'

The strikers expect the results of the TGWU Inquiry, due to be published in a fortnight, to call for

changes in the wages' system; the election of more shop stewards; and a more democratic regime in TGWU 5/221 branch. They expect it to evade the question of racism, by saying none exists at Imperial.

The strike committee have drawn a clear lesson from their struggle. In a press statement they say: '... black and Asian workers must never for a moment entertain the formation of separate black unions... Where the unions fail in their duties to black workers they must be challenged to stand up for their rights. The union is an organisation of workers, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex.'

UNITED ACTION

The strike has also shown that black workers do not have to wait until white workers join them before they can fight for better conditions.

Of course such struggles can provoke a backlash. The employers and sections of the union bureaucracy will attempt to play that card. But what, happened at Mansfield Hosiery has some instructive lessons concerning this.

In that strike the hostility between white and black workers was even more bitter than at Imperial. The acrimony and in-fighting continued for some months after the Asians won

their strike.

But the organised militancy of the Asian workers improved conditions in the factory. Recently, black and white workers came out on strike together and won higher wages at Mansfield Hosiery Mills. That unity would not have been possible without the first independent struggles of the black workers.

A similar basis for building a strong united union exists at Imperial. The black workers are going back determined to fight for improvements for all workers. They also go back as an organised force. They are now the militant spearhead against management.

Members of the TGWU must insist that the union puts a stop to the racist manoeuvres of the white workers who are demanding the sacking of the black militants. Resolutions should be put down in TGWU branches calling for:

- The expulsion of Weaver and Bromley from the union.
- New elections of shop stewards at Imperial.
- Those stewards who have joined in the racist strike be barred from holding office for at least one year.
- The election of the convenor by a mass meeting of all the workers.

BOB PENNINGTON

'At the mass meeting it was decided there and then that the mandate would be 1,200 jobs or nothing'

FISHER-BENDIX RE-OCCUPIED

'Industrial Freedom vs State Interference - the Choice is Yours - Vote Conservative' proclaims a massive hoarding on the road running out from Kirkby to Liverpool. A sick joke perhaps, but not so funny if you're one of the 1200 workers at International Property Developers (Industrial), formerly Fisher-Bendix, on Kirkby's Industrial Estate.

There, for the second time in just over two years, the workers have been forced to occupy their factory against closure and mass redundancies.

Unemployment was running at a record level of 23% in this small, 'new' town when the workers at Fisher-Bendix occupied in 1972. Archie Breden, the electricians' steward at what is now IPD, told *Red Weekly*. Looking back we believed that with our fight being successful we reversed the trend in Kirkby towards closures and mass redundancies. We feel that this time, if this place is allowed to close, there will be more closures and redundancies. Already many of the factories on the estate are empty and more are threatening to close down.

SPECULATION

International Property Developers (IPD), which took over Fisher-Bendix, has assets of £20 million tied up mainly in overseas property, building and speculation. It has no other industrial concerns in this country. Its most recent speculation spree has been to use the Kirkby factory for

hoarding steel to take advantage of soaring steel prices.

IPD are blaming the closure of the factory on the failure of the Labour Government to fork out a loan (a similar request was rejected by the previous Tory administration).

Convenor Jack Spriggs told Liverpool Trades Council delegates at a meeting on 18 July what happened: 'Suddenly, we started getting into liquidity problems: bills weren't being paid; money that was coming in was disappearing into a bank account that we didn't know of; and Barclay's Bank, who had given overdraft facilities of £1.2 million were getting a little concerned about their investment... We now know that there was something crooked about the deal right from the start.'

On Wednesday, 10 July, the receiver was brought in at IPD after lay-offs and threats of redundancies. On Friday morning he made his proposals - 750 sacked now, the remaining 400 to be phased out. Archie Breden explains the workers' reaction: 'At the mass meeting it was decided there and then that the mandate would be 1200 jobs or nothing. The decision was taken to throw the receiver off site.'

The gates were welded up to prevent any of the £2.5 million worth of plant being shifted out and 'feelers' were put out to workers at Heathrow airport, dockers and transport workers.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT

However, the stewards are hoping for a quicker solution this time through the intervention of the



Labour Government. Both Industry Minister Tony Benn and his assistant Eric Heffer have promised that the jobs will be maintained. But so far all they have turned up with is a 'feasibility study'. The results of this are expected as *Red Weekly* goes to press.

IPD could well become a test case for both the fight against unemployment and the Labour Government's attitude to nationalisation.

IPC AIMS TO PULP 3,000 PRINT JOBS

THE INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING CORPORATION (IPC) who produce the *Daily Mirror*, *Sunday Mirror*, and a host of weekly rags like *Woman's Realm*, are quietly attempting to kick nearly 3,000 workers onto the dole.

They are using a so-called 'demarcation dispute' at their Odhams plant in Watford as an excuse to try and transfer the printing of several of their best selling magazines to plants in other countries. 250 workers, members of the National Graphical Association, have already been dismissed and notices are due to go out to another 2,800 workers in a few days' time.

IPC have made a 'peace offer' to save the plant to the NGA which, in effect, means the complete surrender of the union's position at that plant and which they know the union will turn down. IPC are trying to kill two

Last month's unemployment figure rose to 610,000 at a time of the year when it usually falls. With a predicted wave of mass redundancies likely to take this number to the million mark by Christmas, a spate of factory occupations (the only effective way to resist closures), can be expected.

'We expect the support of the Labour Party,' said Archie Breden, 'because there is a lot of people in

here, especially during elections, who've done a lot of work for the Labour Party.'

The best way the Labour Government can aid the fight against unemployment is to nationalise firms such as IPD who create redundancies and place them under workers' control - that way the workers at IPD won't need another factory occupation in two years time!

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LIVERPOOL IMG

INTERNATIONAL ARENA

The official union leadership is making a move on the international arena in response. John Bonfield, general secretary of the NGA, has alerted printers in Germany and Italy not to accept work transferred from Britain, through the International Graphical Federation of which he is president. The NGA executive is also to consider whether to call upon its members in other IPC plants in Britain to take action in support of the Watford workers.

Against such an international giant as IPC militant action on both a national and international scale will be necessary. But there will be problems. The whole

of the printing industry is running into big financial problems, witness the recent moves by the Beaverbrook empire to squeeze another £10 million out of its shareholders and the selling up of the *Scottish Daily Express*. There is no doubt that IPC, which employs about 40,000 people in Britain alone, is embarking upon a series of 'rationalisations' to rescue its profitability.

Any action taken by the workers should be linked to the demand for the nationalisation of the whole IPC empire. The state should be compelled to take over all IPC operations - not just the unprofitable ones - and guarantee the jobs of every IPC worker.

When approached by three local MPs about the situation at Odhams, Michael Foot claimed to be aware of the 'seriousness of the situation'. Clearly only massive trade union action will force the Labour Government to take over IPC - this is what workers throughout the IPC combine should be campaigning for.

NICK ADAMS

A SUITABLE CASE FOR

N.H.S. - patching people up



Beveridge—architect of NHS.

By 1939, the British health system was falling apart. Its limitations and utter inadequacy forced the ruling class to consider making changes.

The voluntary hospitals — started by monastic orders and mainly supported by charities — dealt with about 35 per cent of the sick. Medical advances and the increases in the diagnostic services were forcing them into bankruptcy.

The municipal hospitals, which had originated in the workhouses, set up under the Poor Laws, were considered to be inferior to the voluntary hospitals. They took over

the very sick and the dying, or the patients who were going to spend long spells in hospital.

The war and conscription showed the appalling state of working class health.

The ruling class understood that the old system of voluntary and municipal hospitals, and its inefficient distribution of personnel and resources, was a useless structure through which to channel a much needed investment in labour power.

'BACKLOG'

Capitalism wanted a health service which would maintain a healthy labour force, in the most efficient manner, at the least cost.

The new health service would have two functions. Firstly, to clear up the 'backlog' — the 1942 *Beveridge Report* forecast the cost of the new health service would fall as general standards of health improved. Secondly, to concentrate its main attentions on preventative and curative medicine to provide it with a healthy, more productive labour force.

The working class, recovering from the defeats of the inter-war years, were determined not to return to the degrading conditions imposed by the pre-war health system. There was therefore a big pressure for a new health service by the labour movement.

There appeared to be a convergence of interest between capital and labour. Labour politicians boasted of 'a socialist health service' when Bevan introduced the NHS in 1947.

Although the NHS represented a step forward, it has always been subordinated to the needs of capitalism.

COST

In 1971 the total cost of the NHS and the personal health services run by local authorities totalled £2,300 million. Three quarters of this came from general taxation, — mainly from workers' wage packets.

A further 12 per cent was raised from the rates, nine per cent from NHS contributions and five per cent from charges to patients.

Under threats from the consul-

tants that they would withdraw their services, Bevan accepted their right to continue with private patients. The medical profession, particularly the well-paid and very conservative doctors, have essentially determined the structure and organisation of the NHS.

Since the introduction of the NHS there have been considerable

BOB PENNINGTON

improvements in health. The infantile mortality rate has been cut by 50 per cent. The death rate has been continually falling. In the period 1961 to 1971 it dropped by eight per cent for men, and twelve per cent for women. In whole areas of health — surgery, spectacles, etc — big strides forward have been made.

All this has been achieved at a very low cost. The NHS budget absorbs less than five per cent of the economy. The figures for the USA are seven per cent and West Germany also spends a bigger part of its Gross National Product on health than Britain.

BENEFITS

British capitalism thus enjoys the benefits of having a working class health service paid for at less cost than its main competitors.

Finance for the NHS is determined not by the needs of the health service but the priorities allocated to national spending by the capitalist state.

The labour intensive character of the NHS, the longer expectation of life, and the demands of the working class itself for better standards are inbuilt factors towards escalating costs.

The state has, however, to try and restrain expenditure. Other sectors of state expenditure are also expanding, particularly education, social security and grants to industry at a time when capitalism's economic difficulties are growing. The NHS therefore, according to the government, has to take its turn in the queue.

The crisis of social expenditure and fast-growing inflation means health expenditure actually fell as a share of the economy during the sixties. As more capital expenditure is now required to build new hospitals, hardly any new buildings were erected in the sixties, and current national spending will continue to fall in relation to the size of the economy.

The improvements in working

as not to contravene the patent. On occasions companies reject new discoveries if they cannot be patented.

The pharmaceutical firms are now waging a campaign to lengthen the term on patents — now standing at 16 years — to 20 years. The patent laws ensure that research is done secretly and that rivals do not get hold of information. This means that different research teams are often working on almost identical projects at the same time. Instead of information being pooled for medical use, it becomes protected for the exclusive use of one company.

In 1966 the pharmaceutical industry spent £15.4 million on sales promotion, which is about 14 per cent of its total UK sales that year. In 1971 it spent 14.6 per cent of its sales.

A favourite trick of the drug companies when advertising their products is to quote favourable references from various scientific journals.



Hospital technicians, nurses and ancillary staff.

WE DE

— An immediate trade union inquiry into the NHS. The inquiry to be headed by workers from the health service unions. The inquiry to determine what money is needed each year to expand the NHS into a full and comprehensive health service.

— An immediate cash payment of £1,000 million to be made to the NHS, plus monthly payments to fully cover all increases in costs affecting NHS expenditure.

— The election of joint health workers' committees in all hospitals. These committees to have the right of veto over all decisions affecting their working conditions.

— Abolition of the Whitley Councils, to be replaced by direct negotiations between the unions

class health are not just attributable to the NHS. The struggles of the working class to improve their wages and conditions have played an enormous role in improving health standards. This has got a better diet, improved housing and meant higher standards of hygiene.

NEW DISEASES

But the improvement in *real* standards has led to new illnesses and diseases. There are now more traffic accidents, more lung cancer, more pollution as well as more dental ailments.

They neglect to inform people that the work comes from their own laboratories or from research sponsored by the company in a university department. As the writer is invariably boosting his or her own work, the quotes will always be favourable, even if not scientifically objective.

WORKERS' CONTROL

Massive profits, wasteful and costly duplication of research — often concentrating on the least important areas — price rigging and the diversion of millions of pounds in unnecessary and often fraudulent advertising make the struggle to take the drugs industry out of private hands and into workers control an urgent necessity. The demands of Open the Books, Workers Control of the Drugs Companies, Nationalisation of the Drugs Industry are urgent ones for the working class and the defence of the Health Service.

Jeff King

All this for 15p an hour!

M — was a student nurse at Leeds General Infirmary until the early part of this year. She explained what conditions were like in the hospital.

'I worked a 40-hour week. Until recently we got three days off a fortnight. This often meant 11 days at a stretch without a break, a total working time of 88 hours.

'Obviously this makes you buggered. You are tired and the patient is the one who suffers.

'The shift started at 7.30. I had to get there 20 minutes before so that I could get changed into my uniform. When we finished work we again had to go and change. The Leeds GI had this stupid regulation that we must not wear our uniforms outside the hospital.

'We had a ten minute break in the morning for coffee — this was often interrupted because we had to take a patient to the theatre. We were rationed to one cup of coffee and two biscuits — the cost was deducted from our wages. Some of the sisters were so bloody mean they would take out two biscuits a nurse and lock the rest away.

'At dinner we got a half hour break.

You hardly had time to go to the dining room, queue up, eat and get back to work. You felt so tired some days that you just could not be bothered getting in that damn queue so you went to the nurses' home, found a chair, flopped down and smoked a fag.

'The evening shift ran from 1.0 pm until 10.00 pm. If you dashed like hell you could just get your uniform changed and grab a drink in the pub before they closed at 10.30 pm.

'Nights were really grim. We started at 9.45 and finished at 8.00 am. We did seven ten-hour nights, which meant a working week of seventy hours. Two student nurses had to look after a ward of thirty beds. This entailed a great deal of responsibility. In our second year we did not have the experience to deal properly with the three or four serious cases that we often had under our charge.

'Besides working a forty-hour week you have to study for your state finals. After getting home absolutely 'whacked-out', you then had to start studying. A mate of mine worked until ten one night, got up the next day to do her finals — an eight-hour exam — and reported back for work the next day.

Wages May 1973 — £46-87 net for month

Drugs - a pep-pill for capitalism



DRUGS ARE BIG BUSINESS and highly profitable. The big four of the British drug industry — Beechams, Wellcome, Glaxo and Imperial Chemicals — had a return on capital in 1971 of 55 per cent, 18.1 per cent, 24 per cent and 55 per cent respectively.

Fisons pay £2,300 a ton for the raw material needed to make their anti-asthma drug Intal. They then market this at a cost to the NHS and the public of £2.8 million a ton.

Their spokesman, when challenged about this, remarked he did not know how the figures had been obtained, as 'this type of information is confidential.'

SPECIAL CASE

The drug industry has always pleaded that it is a special case, claiming that high profits are needed to finance its research activities. Research in the pharmaceuticals and toiletries industry accounts for a

modest 6.4 per cent of net output. The 'special case' argument looks even weaker as drug research only comes fifth in the table of the top ten industries investing in research.

Lumped into the research and development budget of the pharmaceutical companies is their research into toiletries. A large portion of the 6.4 per cent probably goes into developing new shades for nail varnish or new odours for perfumes.

The research into new drugs has hardly been devastating. *The Times Supplement on Pharmaceuticals*, 22 September 1972, reports thirteen 'new discoveries' in 1971 — none of which constituted a major advance. Drug discoveries in the USA have considerably slumped from their peak year of 1955 — in 1967 new discoveries were only one quarter of the 1955 total.

Most new drugs are concerned with symptom relief — insomnia, painkillers, etc. Little new has been discovered in the fields of prevention and cure.

The motivation behind research is profit, which leads to costly duplication and a concentration on treating, though not curing, the 'easier' and more 'common' disease. The National Economic Development Office, in a report published in 1972, said that areas like muscular dystrophy were being neglected and suggested Government financing of research into these fields.

COMPETITION

The Government and the charitable foundations already finance most of the research in cancer. The pretentious claims made by the drugs industry spokesmen about their concern for public welfare begin to look sick when you see where and how research is directed.

An enormous amount of the companies' research programmes is diverted into what is blandly called 'substitute competition'. This means scientists spending valuable time and money making small changes in their competitors' products so

SOCIALIST TREATMENT



... unite on the picket of St. Bart's Hospital.

MAND:

and the NHS.

- A complete ban on all private practice.
- Free creche facilities at all hospitals for both patients and health workers.
- A 35-hour week, with no hospital worker receiving less than £1 an hour.
- An immediate £15 a week increase for all health workers.
- A nil-norm threshold with an automatic 60p rise each month for every single point rise in the cost of living index.
- A freeze of all canteen and accommodation prices at 1 April levels.
- The abolition of all bonus schemes with no loss of pay.

The domination of the health service by capitalism rules out dealing with these problems in a satisfactory way. In the hospitals the emphasis is on treating a specific disease. The patients - their environment, work situation, and family - are ignored.

Medical diagnosis concentrates on the illness that the patient shows. It is geared to patching people up and to making disease and sickness endurable, not to really improving health - and in particular not to prevention of illness.

A socialist service would have

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ROCHE

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... What's the betting the
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... was financed by Roche
...!

£ Pounds, privilege & private medicine +

The British United Provident Association is the largest of the three major provident societies, insuring one and a half of the two million people in private patient schemes.

Thirty seven per cent of its members are from managerial and professional groups, representing three per cent of the population. Only two per cent of the members are manual workers.

In 1969 the private health schemes spent £15.1 million on benefits. The real beneficiaries were the 7,000 surgeons and physicians, who grabbed £7.7 million of this.

LOOT

The consultants got their loot and the payers jumped the queue as these examples of waiting times show:

Condition	Private Patient	NHS patients
hysterectomy	2 weeks	4 months
gynaecological	1 week	12 months
cataract operation	2 weeks	over a month
vasectomy	2 weeks	2 years
tonsillectomy	2 weeks	18 months

In evidence given to the House of Commons Sub-Committee on Expenditure, published by HMSO March 1972, the General Manager of Western Provident Association says: 'A sick person, whether rich or poor, has the right to the best available treatment - is the source of payment so very important?'

A number of people in the medical profession gave evidence to the Sub-Committee which answered the General Manager's question. They confirm that although the source of the money may not be too important, the amount of it is

to deal with all the questions that affect the lives of the working class. This does not simply mean giving financial resources to meet the needs of the NHS but dealing with issues such as working environment, the motor car, diet, housing and changing personal behaviour.

SHARP FOCUS

The fight of the health service workers for better pay and improved conditions is more than just a struggle over wages. It brings into sharp focus what kind of health service is needed.

The ban on private patients defends the NHS against the distorting effects of a pay system which exploits the resources of the health service, and leads to the neglect of working class patients. Furthermore, actions such as the ones at Charing Cross, where NUPE members threatened to withdraw all services from private patients shows how to carry out measures of workers' control.

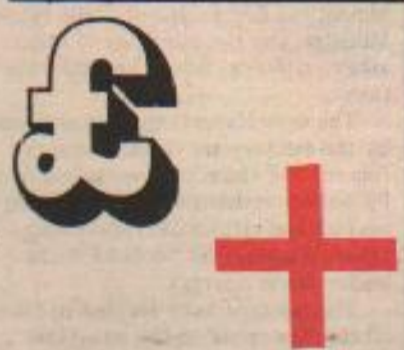
RESPONSIBILITY

The trade union movement has a responsibility to give its full and unstinting support to the health workers' struggles. By solidarity strikes such as those being planned by the Yorkshire miners it can unite workers around the defence and improvement of the living standards and health of the entire working class.

The health workers by taking up the struggle for a full and comprehensive health service can show in a practical way why socialist policies are needed to provide a genuine health service.

A memorandum from the Junior Hospital Doctors Section of MPU - the medics section of ASTMS - cites the 'failure of certain consultants to do their ward rounds, and out-patients clinics'. Even operating sessions are neglected and 'left to junior medical staff'. Although these consultants are paid by the NHS to do this work they are too busy earning their share of that £7.7 million bonanza to worry about NHS patients.

A former medical secretary said to the Sub-Committee, that at her



hospital some patients had 'been waiting three or four years for admission.' Her statistics told her 'there was no reason why any patient should have to wait longer than six months.' She asked the reason. The dedicated medics replied: 'If we keep them waiting long enough they get fed up ... and agree to become private patients.'

X-RAY FIDDLE

Another report, this time by an assistant physician, tells how local GP's ... referred patients privately for chest X-ray films with the explanation that the chest clinic had a long waiting list. In fact no waiting list existed in 'X' during the six months I worked there.'

Dr Jeremy Holmes told the committee how GPs get in on the act. He said: 'Since I have been doing locum work in General Practice another abuse has come to light. Here GPs will arrange for free NHS blood tests and X-rays for their private patients, giving where needed a fictitious NHS number for their patients.'

Dr A. Lawrence, a consultant haematologist, gave an example of how consultants thieve from the NHS. 'Many patients undergoing operations in private nursing homes have blood for transfusion prepared and tested for them in the NHS laboratories.' The fees, explains Dr Lawrence, are paid to part-time specialists. This despite the fact 'that most, if not all of the testing is done by people employed by the health service.'

The provident schemes and the consultants do not just black mail desperate patients, fiddle NHS cards and neglect their non-paying patients; they run their private hospitals by parasiting off the NHS.

MODEST

The Nuffield Nursing Homes Trust was set up in 1961 by BUPA. It has 18 homes, nearly 600 beds and deals with 21,000 patients each year.

Despite the boasts about the superiority of private medicine, it is surprisingly modest about its medical abilities. It says that it 'takes run of the mill cases' and leaves the NHS 'to concentrate on highly specialised treatment'.

Their consultants prefer a straight-

forward tonsillectomy to a complicated abdominal perineal - two teams of doctors are needed for this operation which can be done to remove cancer of the rectum. A minimum of equipment, and a minimum of work, for private medicine, with the maximum of loot. The NHS must carry the burden of the dangerous and costly operations.

Nuffield Homes is registered as a charity - this means it does not have to pay tax. Charity clearly begins at home, as the consultants' high salaries show.

BUPA also runs another nice little profitable sideline called Nursing Services Ltd. This outfit supplies nurses to private hospitals and patients at home. It also supplies nurses to the NHS charging its own fees to the NHS for supplying this 'service'.

Private Patients Plan is another organisation dealing in the 'health market'. One of its directors is Lord Brentford, a one-time director of International Investment Group. IIG wound up in 1972 owing £3.5 million. Derek Stevenson, secretary of



Bevan - gave in to Consultants.

the BMA, and outspoken defender of private health schemes, is also, coincidentally, a director of Private Patients Plan.

Private Patients is a very considerable organisation. In a special scheme, open to BMA members only, it provides 'generous additional amounts which can be utilised to purchase a gift, or a gift cheque, in recognition of a colleague's services when accounts are not rendered'. Well, it could be one way of paying less tax.

Despite all the glib chatter about ethics and people's right to choose, what characterises private medicine is its seaminess and utter disregard and lack of interest in anything that does not make a profit.

IMG PAMPHLET:

'THE N.H.S. - A SUITABLE CASE FOR SOCIALIST TREATMENT'

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one day conference

CRISIS IN THE HEALTH SERVICE

Saturday - 27 July - 11 am

University of London Students' Union, Malet St., WC1.

For details ring 01-278 9529

The 24-hour-a-day career

Last year D - was a housewoman in a London hospital. She tells here what a typical few day's work was like.

'Every day I had to see all the patients on the ward. Again, every day I had to take blood samples and write out the patients' forms.'

'Monday - start at 9.0 am, examine and admit four patients for next day's operating list. Then write out lists for theatre, contact anaesthetist and arrange pre-medication drugs. Take blood samples.'

'One hour for lunch, taken up with discussion of medical journals.'

'At 2.0 pm outpatients for three hours - no tea break. From 5 until 7.0 pm finish examining ward patients.'

'On call until 9 o'clock the next morning. Made six visits to ward needed to see patients. At 2.0 am put up an intravenous infusion.'

'Tuesday at 8.30 am go round all patients in wards. From 9 until 1 o'clock in operating theatre.'

'Afternoon from 2 until 4.0 pm examining new admissions for next operating session. Then until 6.0 pm doing ward rounds. Finished then until next morning.'

'Wednesday start with two hours of ward rounds with consultant. Then three routine cases to examine.'

'Phone call from consultant's private rooms - arrange admission that day for operation next day, find empty NHS bed. Arrange blood to be available at short notice.'

'On call again all day until 9.0 am the next morning. Had eight patients to examine in casualty, three of them needed emergency operations. Spent six hours in operating theatre, three of them between 1 until 4 o'clock in the morning.'

'Thursday. All-day operating session, managed to scrape in a half-hour sandwich lunch. From 6 until 7 o'clock, visit patients and prepare operating list for the next day.'

'Friday from arrival at 9.0 am check patients and give injections for X-ray. After ward rounds got a three-quarter hour lunch.'

'From half past two until 5.0 pm was in operating theatre. Consultant - busy chap, left at 4.0 pm. Small operations left to me.'

'Again on call through the night. Had three calls, one involving a patient needing transfer to intensive care unit. Had a 'cushy' night. Got to bed at 1.0 am. No more calls that night.'

'Not only do you have to work these ridiculously long hours but you have other frustrating things like at the end of one hard day I had to do the admittance of two private patients.'

'Both came in at the last minute for the next day's operating session - one arrived at six o'clock and none were emergency cases. That meant I did not get off duty until after 8 o'clock.'

'That was not considered a very busy job. In other hospitals you can be on call for emergency admissions every other night and every weekend.'

Wages May 1973 - £96-92p net for month

Institute of Workers Control misses the boat

AN IMPRESSIVE LIST of speakers addressed the Institute of Workers' Control (IWC) conference on industrial democracy last weekend. MPs Audrey Wise, Michael Meacher and Neil Kinnock were present, accompanied by Ken Coates of the IWC and Ernie Roberts, Assistant General Secretary of the AUEW.

The IWC is not a political party, or an organisation aspiring to become a party. Rather it sees itself as a 'service' organisation for the general labour movement, organising a series of open forums and running a publishing house which produces pamphlets mainly written by leading trade union bureaucrats and 'left' MPs.

The Institute also sees itself as something of a 'marriage-broker' between the left-wing of the Labour Party and the left trade union bureaucracy. Their forums are places where the leading lights of the two can get together to work out ways in which the weight of the trade unions can be used to put pressure on the Labour Party leaders and push forward on 'progressive' policies, mainly on the vaguely defined subjects of 'workers' control', and 'industrial democracy'. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most prominent figure of the IWC is the present bogeyman of the ruling class, Tony Benn.

BUREAUCRATS

The IWC has not grown in recent years and its meetings and conferences have been attended by a selection of lower-echelon trade union bureaucrats and members of political organisations. But if ever there was a time when the IWC had an opportunity to reach a wider layer in the labour movement it is now.

The slightly more 'left wing' noises being made by the Labour leaders, and the activities of Tony Benn in publishing his 'plan' for nationalisation of certain key industries have undoubtedly had an impact amongst trade union militants. Albeit in vague and confused ways, the questions of nationalisation and workers' control are being discussed by wider and wider sections of the labour movement.

So why were there so few trade union militants at last weekend's con-

ference? The answer must lie in the fact that trade union militants are not especially interested in abstract debates, and the IWC makes no effort to organise struggles on the key issues of the day — for example the crisis in the health service, the Concorde fiasco, the situation in the mines, or at British Leyland.

'PRESSURE'

The abstract approach of the IWC is not just an oversight. It is a direct result of their overall political ideas. The individuals that are involved around the forums and conferences are not concerned with how actual struggles of the working class can be transformed through demands for nationalisations and workers' control into struggles for permanent solutions to the crisis of the capitalist system. Insofar as the IWC concerns itself with existing struggles at all it is only to put 'pressure' on Labour. As Neil Kinnock told the conference, the right to 'open the books' can only be effective once it has been legalised!

That explains why the audience at last weekend's conference had to suffer Michael Meacher extolling the virtues of the National Enterprise Board which, so we were informed, was going to 'compel' national and multi-national companies to discuss with the Government their plans for investment, turnover and profit rates etc. What we were not told was what the Government will do when the benevolent employers refuse, when they boycott Government machinery (like they have done in the past over the nationalisation of steel and sugar), or even sabotage the economy.

Even worse was Ernie Roberts' complete confusion in attempting to confuse workers' control with simple 'veto' powers over safety conditions, speed of line, etc. He even went so far as to describe Barbara Castle's recent statement that convenors should have the permanent use of a typewriter and telephone as 'workers' control'.

A real debate on the struggle for workers' control must be linked to the existing struggles of the working class. Of course, demands for the TUC and the Labour Government to adopt a programme for workers' control and nationalisation are correct, but they will only be of real value insofar as the mass struggle itself can be transformed into a struggle to put these demands into practice.

As long as the IWC relegates the mass struggle to 'pressure' politics and fails to provide a vehicle by which the struggle can be extended and transformed, it will remain what it is now — a talking shop.

NICK ADAMS

'If at first you don't succeed, try, try again' seems to be the motto of the Portuguese Communist Party.

Their first attempt to smooth the path for the introduction of bourgeois democracy in Portugal through a coalition with the 1-2 monopolies and the military crumbled into dust earlier this month.

That Government fell because of a manoeuvre by its most right-wing members aimed at strengthening the position of the President and the Prime Minister and moving back the date for democratic elections. Its sole 'achievements' were the breaking of the postal workers strike by the threatened use of troops and the re-introduction of strict control over the press — hardly big gains for 'democracy'!

ONCE AGAIN

Now the Communist Party has once again entered a coalition Government. But its prospects are no better.

Two of the five ministers who were involved in the right-wing manoeuvre in the old Government are back again. But the main thing about the new Government is that it is dominated by the military. While military men hold only seven posts out of the 17 in the Government, they include almost the key positions — the Prime Minister, and the ministers of home affairs, defence, labour and information.

The only important posts not held by the military are the ministries of finance and the economy (taken over by bourgeois economic 'experts' with no political affiliations) and foreign affairs (retained by Socialist Party leader Mario Soares).

The military have decided to take all the 'hot spots' in the new Government directly into their own hands — (including even labour,

PORTUGAL: MILITARY TIGHTENS ITS GRIP

... The Portuguese Communist Party is prepared to continue to participate in a coalition Government as long as it firmly applies the programme of the Armed Forces Movement ... [Avante! — paper of the Portuguese CP — 12 July]

'It is obvious that there is nothing radical in the programme of the Armed Forces Movement ... one cannot even find a specific attack on the class division of Portuguese society, or on the traditional existence of a ruling class, or even on the composition of the bloc in power ...'

'The fact that the military has been able to play a decisive role in the destruction of the political regime is a new guarantee for the maintenance of the interests of the holders of economic power. The authority that is always associated with a military government will be very useful in stabilising a social and political situation that inevitably will be turbulent after the military coup.' [Tempo Economico — Portuguese employers' magazine — 25 May]

where the Communist Party's strike-breaking has served the Portuguese capitalists so well. The non-military members of the Government are there for a specific purpose.

The three socialist ministers are to give the Government the 'left wing' image which the military still want to preserve (the continuation of Soares as Foreign Minister is proof

of the power of the African liberation movements, who would be disturbed by any switch).

The right-wing Popular Democratic Party (the only bourgeois party to have really got off the ground so far) has been given one member in the Government in order to boost its efforts to build an effective capitalist party before the elections take

CYPRUS: Bitter

It is just 96 years since Cyprus first tasted the fruits of British imperialist rule. Yet their bitter taste still lingers on despite the granting of 'independence' in 1960.

Until 1878, Cyprus was part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. But Britain had become increasingly interested in the island as its own empire expanded in the mid-19th century. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 (and its purchase by Britain in 1875), Cyprus became of key strategic importance in defending the sea-route to India.

'ACT OF DUPLICITY'

An opportunity to acquire the island soon presented itself. In a secret deal in April 1878 the British Prime Minister, Disraeli, promised to prop up the collapsing Turkish Empire in return for British 'occupation and administration' of Cyprus. The deal was sufficiently underhand to be described by Liberal leader Gladstone as 'an act of duplicity not surpassed, and rarely equalled, in the history of nations' — though he, needless to say, did nothing to alter the situation when he assumed office.

Certainly 'duplicity' was a fair description as far as the Cypriots were concerned. Turkey had earlier defaulted on a British loan; so it was agreed that Britain should nominally pay Turkey a yearly 'tribute' of £92,800 for the island, which would in fact go straight into the British Exchequer as repayment of the loan. This money was to be raised by taxing a third party — the small and poverty-stricken population of Cyprus.

To sugar the pill, a Legislative Council consisting of 12 elected members (nine Greek Cypriots and three Turkish Cypriots) and six Brit-

ish officials was set up in 1882. But since the Turkish Cypriots were persuaded to identify their interests as a minority with those of their British 'protectors', and the British High Commissioner had a casting vote, Greek Cypriot proposals were invariably defeated. Nothing could have been better calculated to worsen relations between the two communities. The 'divide and rule' tactic was already at work.

LABOUR PARTY

Faced with their complete impotence in the Legislative Council, however, the Greek Cypriots began to organise direct appeals to the British Government in Whitehall. They were much encouraged by the Labour Party's decision in 1919 to raise the demand of self-determination for Cyprus, and great things were expected from the first Labour Government in 1924. But Labour in office was just as subservient to imperialism fifty years ago as it is today. Ramsey MacDonald solemnly announced: 'His Majesty's Government are not contemplating any change in the political status of Cyprus.'

Still, in 1924 Ramsey MacDonald headed a minority Government. Perhaps, thought the Cypriots, things would be different once Labour had gained an overall majority. But they were in for a rude shock. A special delegation to London in 1929 was told by the new Colonial Secretary that the question was 'definitely closed', and that 'there is much to be said for the view that what Cyprus needs at present are fewer occasions for political discussion and more occasions for constructive work.' That Colonial Secretary was the well-known Fabian, Sidney Webb.

Webb's words were certainly prophetic. Occasions for political



1950s EOKA leader Grivas—his brand of right-wing nationalism allowed imperialism to plan for the future

discussion had already been reduced by the Seditious Publications Law of 1921 — five publications were banned in 1928 alone — but much worse was still to come.

By 1931, British imperialist rule

WHAT'S ON

BENGALI FRIENDS in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and *Lalal* (Fourth International paper), contact: Bengali, Mithveden, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.

LIVERPOOL RED BOOKS: Revolutionary literature — Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Eastern Europe, Third World, Ireland, Women's Liberation, 81a Renshaw St, Liverpool, Tues-Fri: 12.30 — 3. Sat: 11 — 3.

NOTTINGHAM RED CIRCLES: Wide-ranging series of discussions based on the politics of the Fourth International. Every 2nd and 4th Tuesday in the month at 8 pm in the Lion Hotel, Clumber Street.

IMG GAY GROUP: Contact J. Mills, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, for further information.

LONDON RED FORUMS: A comprehensive political education series, every Tuesday at 8 pm in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road, N1. 30 July: 'Chile/Portugal — Workers' Power or Reformist Road?'; 6 August: 'The Crisis of British Imperialism in Ireland'.

SOUTHALL RED FORUMS: Every Friday evening at 8 pm in the 'Featherstone Arms', Featherstone Road, Southall (near Dominion Cinema).

URGENT: Dave Newton please contact Mike 278 9526, re Red Lion Square.

'NATIONAL FRONT — Fascist Front?' Manchester Anti-Fascist Committee public meeting, with speakers J. Broome, M. Ludmer (INCTUAR), Imperial Typewriters representative. Thursday 1 August at 7.30 pm in Town Hall Extension Basement Theatre, Manchester.

'IMPERIAL TYPEWRITERS and the fight against racism' — Newport public meeting, Tuesday 30 July at 7.30 pm in 'The Talisman Pub', Commercial Street, Newport. Chairman: Cllr Bob Wellington (LP); speakers: Julian Atkinson, R. Ahsan (sec. T&G 4/33 branch), and CP representative.

CARDIFF IMG public meeting: 'The struggle against racism at Imperial Typewriters'. Monday 29 July at 8.00 pm in the Bosun pub, Bute Town. Speakers: Julian Atkinson; R. Ahsan (secretary T&G 4/33 branch).

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND! — Self-determination for the Irish people! Leaflet and picket Colchester Tattoo, 3 August. Meet 1 pm at Liberal Club, St Isaac's Walk, Colchester.

NEW ISSUE of the Plough (paper of RMG, Irish section of the Fourth International) now out. Send 5p for each copy plus 6p postage to RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. Orders of more than 10 post free.

JID-O-JEHAD: Urdu revolutionary periodical available from RED BOOKS and from 107 Nelson Road, London SW19, price 5p.

JUST OUT: 'The Road to Revolution in Britain', a pamphlet analysing the present crisis, the response of various workers' groups, and the revolutionary alternative. The pamphlet consists of articles reprinted from THE TORCH newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League — USA, recently split from International Socialists — US. Introduction by Sy Landy. 15p, British or International cheques. Send to: RSL 13755 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Mich. 48203, USA.

place (if they take place).

FIGUREHEAD

The Communists have one representative — the party's general secretary Alvaro Cunhal. He is a straight-forward figurehead without any specific governmental responsibilities, included in order to tie the CP to the regime and ensure that they cannot do anything to encourage mass opposition to the military's plans.

The CP, of course, has its own programme for the situation in Portugal. On the eve of the formation of the new Government they issued a statement calling for an 'emergency policy', to include 'institutionalisation of the broad liberties and rights of citizens', 'an end to the colonial war and real respect for the right of the people to independence', and 'urgent measures to deal with the threat of a serious economic crisis'.

When the details of these proposals are spelt out they amount to nothing more than a reformist rag-bag. But the CP has put itself in a position where it cannot even put up a fight for pathetic reforms.

It did not try to make acceptance of its proposals a condition for taking part in the Government and there is little chance that the military will voluntarily take them up. At the same time, its presence in the Government makes it impossible for the CP to mount mass actions to support its own programme.

'UNITY'

As a result the big CP rallies that have been taking place across the country in recent weeks have been based on the vague themes of 'unity'. It will not be very long before the best militants in the CP — faced with the mounting crisis of Portuguese capitalism and the rightward drift of the new Government — will

begin to realise that *unity* cannot be separated from *struggle* — the struggle for measures which advance the interests of the working class and undermine the class rule of the capitalists.

In this situation it is only the revolutionary left — in particular the International Communist League (LCI), Portuguese sympathising section of the Fourth International — which will be able to point the way forward. It is now a race against time to forge a revolutionary leadership for the mass movement. Only this can block what is almost certain to be the next move by the Portuguese capitalists — a total military takeover of Government authority (a step which the CP has given signs of being prepared to accept, provided that the military regime had a sufficiently 'left' face).

The revolutionary left in this country must be prepared to give every assistance possible to our Portuguese comrades in the coming months, for decisive struggles lie ahead.

CHRIS BALFOUR

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NEW STEPS FORWARD IN SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

At its National Planning Workshop, which met in London last weekend, the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau (CFMAG) took a number of important steps to develop the campaign in solidarity with the liberation fighters in Portugal's African colonies.

The workshop agreed to draw up a statement for circulation within the British workers' movement calling for an end to the Portuguese military presence in Africa, immediate independence for the colonies, no British aid for Portuguese colonialism, calling on Labour to provide material aid to the liberation movements, and expressing full solidarity with those in Portugal fighting for independence for the colonies. Trade union and Labour Party bodies at all levels, along with prominent figures in the labour movement, are being asked to endorse the statement.

On the basis of the support organised around this statement it is hoped to build a broad solidarity conference sometime later this year, aimed mainly at the labour movement. Such a conference would be a major opportunity to launch a concerted campaign of political and military assistance to the liberation movements.

The current military situation in the African colonies, and the political situation in Portugal itself, are very favourable for the freedom fighters. The development of international, mass solidarity could be just the extra boost they need to carry them to victory and to strike a powerful blow against imperialism and white racism on the African continent.

For further details about this campaign or the liberation movements contact: CFMAG, Top Floor, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2H 7JJ.



Members of the Indian Workers Association picketed the Indian High Commission on Monday in protest at the treatment of the thousands of political prisoners in India's jails. At the same time, about 80 Indian academics from all over the world issued an open letter calling on their Government to review its policy on political prisoners.

fruits of imperialist rule.....

in Cyprus had reached crisis point. The effects of the world-wide economic crisis combined with mass frustration at the British Government's attitude on independence. The depth of this crisis became clear when for the first time ever a Turkish Cypriot member of the Legislative Council combined with the Greek Cypriot members to defeat British taxation proposals. When the Governor simply reintroduced the measure as an Order-in-Council, spontaneous rioting broke out across the island.

WAVE OF REPRESSION

These riots were largely uncoordinated and ineffective, and they achieved little apart from the burning down of the wooden Government House. Nevertheless, they provided the pretext for an unprecedented wave of repression, which began with the deportation of all the major Greek Cypriot leaders.

The next step was to suspend the constitution, and with it the Legislative Council. From 1931 the Governor held absolute sway, and he used his powers to the full. All political parties and trade unions were banned; municipal elections were abolished; every single article that appeared in the press had first to be approved by the censor; meetings of more than five people could only be held with police authority; possession of socialist literature was made a punishable offence; the teaching of Greek and Turkish history in the schools was forbidden; the police were given the right to enter any house or stop any person in the street and carry out a thorough search.

As a result of these and many more similar measures, hundreds of Cypriots were flung into jail or fined

heavy sums. Yet despite this repression, trade union and political organisations soon began to function illegally. By the time the Second World War broke out they commanded mass support, and the Governor was forced to relax the regulations as the only way of ensuring a full Cypriot contribution to the imperialist war effort.

In 1941 the Communist dominated AKEL (Progressive Party of Working People) was set up, and in 1943 the party won control of the towns of Limassol and Famagusta in the first municipal elections to be held for 12 years. In September 1944 the Pancyprrian Trade Union Committee (PSE) was set up at a congress of 435 delegates in Limassol.

'CONSPIRACY' TRIAL

AKEL and the PSE tended to place their hopes for the future in the diplomatic manoeuvres of the Soviet Union with the US and Britain. But the British had other ideas. No sooner was the war over than the new Labour Government came down like a ton of bricks, and no less than eighteen PSE leaders were arrested for 'conspiracy'.

The case was conducted with the usual imperialist cant and hypocrisy, notwithstanding the Labour administration. Yes, it was true that the British had on several occasions had dealings with the PSE, and had even welcomed its general secretary as a Cypriot delegate to the World Trades Union Congress in London at the height of the 'conspiracy', in January 1945. But all this was explained away as simply 'recognising the existence of the PSE... not its legality'.

It soon became clear, as in most conspiracy trials, that the accused were being charged for their beliefs

rather than their actions — witness the following exchange:

Solicitor-General: Marxism is illegal because it advocates the violent overthrow of the regime.

President of Court: Is Marxist theory a crime?

Solicitor-General: According to the Cyprus law, yes.

President of Court: Is the possession of Marxist books a crime?

Solicitor-General: Yes.

Needless to say, all 18 were found guilty without any trouble. Twelve were sentenced to 18 months in prison, and the other six got a year. The PSE was declared an unlawful association.

Instead the colonial administration attempted to foster 'responsible' trade unionism with the help of the British TUC. And although it was eventually forced by the scale of international protest to back down and release the PSE leaders after only 11 months, the repression continued in other ways. In 1949, for instance, the elected Mayor and Council of Limassol were jailed for changing the name of a street from 'Palmer Street' (after the repressive Governor of the 1930s) to '28 October Street' (after a Greek stand against Mussolini in 1940).

END OF EMPIRE

But the British Empire was clearly beginning to break up, and the Cypriots took full advantage of this to press their own claims to independence and *enosis* (union) with Greece. When Britain refused to organise a plebiscite on the future of the island, the Greek Orthodox bishops held their own in 1950. The results showed 96% of Greek Cypriots, as well as a small number of Turkish Cypriots, in favour of *enosis*.

Matters then came rapidly to a

head. The British Government was determined that there would be no change in the island's status because of the 'unstable political situation in the Eastern Mediterranean'. What this meant was that British imperialism was being forced out of Egypt, with the result that Cyprus now became even more important as the headquarters of RAF Middle Eastern Command were transferred to the 'unsinkable aircraft-carrier'.

In 1954 the implications of this were spelt out more clearly than ever before by the Tory Minister of State for the Colonies: 'There are certain territories in the Commonwealth which, owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent.' At the same time swingeing new penalties of up to five years in jail were announced for advocacy of *enosis*. On 1 April 1955, therefore, EOKA began its campaign of armed struggle against British imperialism with a series of bomb-attacks throughout the island.

USUAL RUTHLESSNESS

For the next four years British imperialism fought with its usual ruthlessness to crush the liberation struggle led by EOKA. Interrogation centres were opened at Lefka, Ktima, Platres, Ayios Memnon and Nicosia, and hundreds of Greek Cypriots were taken there on suspicion and tortured during the course of the war. No more than six people died under interrogation, according to one observer. Many others were held in detention centres scattered about the island.

Perhaps the most notorious incident took place on 3 October 1958, after a Mrs Cutcliffe, the wife of a British sergeant, had been shot in Famagusta. British soldiers from the Royal Artillery and

the Royal Ulster Rifles went on the rampage, seizing and beating up hundreds of Greek Cypriots. Three died as a result that night, including a 13-year-old girl.

'DIVIDE AND RULE'

But the most important aspect of British policy during the liberation struggle was its use of the Turkish Cypriot community. Under the guise of 'protecting' the minority — and taking advantage of the fact that neither AKEL nor any other organisation had a programme which could unite the Greek and Turkish Cypriot masses along class lines — British imperialism recruited them in droves into the police, so that many of them became direct agents of British imperialism.

The British administration also encouraged the emergence during this period of separate Turkish Cypriot municipalities, and turned a blind eye to the activities of a Turkish Cypriot underground organisation modelled on EOKA. When Turkish extremists let off a bomb outside their own information office in Nicosia in June 1958, leading to violent clashes between the two communities, the response of the Governor, Sir Hugh Foot (now Lord Caradon) was to jail 2,000 Greek and only 60 Turkish Cypriots.

The result of these manoeuvres was that Britain was finally able to impose an 'independence' settlement which on the one hand satisfied British military interests (with the allocation of 99 square miles as Sovereign Base Areas), and on the other hand established a constitution guaranteed to foment further communal strife.

Tory aims of ensuring that Cyprus could not be 'fully independent' had thus been fulfilled. Fourteen years later the harvest of that settlement is now being reaped.

MARTIN METEYARD

STOP NATIONAL FRONT DEMOS!

THE NATIONAL FRONT have finally announced the dates of their next demonstrations. On 24 August they intend to march through the streets of Manchester in defence of 'freedom of speech' and 'law and order' (sic).

This is a run-up to a major national demonstration in London on 7 September to which loyalist forces have been 'invited.'

Inevitably, a great hue and cry will be raised about a repeat of the violence of Red Lion Square. There is a simple answer to this. The Labour

Government should immediately ban both these provocative demonstrations.

But we cannot place our hopes in that. Even were a ban to be applied, it still needs to be enforced. The police defended the NF in Red Lion Square, with fatal results. We cannot depend on them to sweep the fascist menace from the streets. A massive mobilisation must be started without delay.

The NF have chosen to make their stand when a large bulk of the anti-fascist forces cannot be easily mobilised owing to the summer

recess at the colleges. This makes it all the more urgent that all organisations of the labour movement, including the Irish republican organisations, swing into action straight away to mobilise the maximum forces to oppose these fascist marches.

Local ad-hoc mobilising committees should be created in all areas of the country to begin the counter-mobilisations. The IMG will be calling for the creation of a broad national united front body to organise the demonstrations in London on 7 September and assist the Manchester Anti-Fascist Committee to mobilise for 24 August.

Red Lion Square: police case backed up by 'Liberation'

THE COMMUNIST PARTY and Liberation (who organised the 15 June counter-demonstration) have always laid great stress on the need for the unity of the anti-fascist movement. But unity against whom?

That movement has been attacked by an alliance of forces ranging from Roy Jenkins, the police and the National Front. Charges against organisations may result.

Yet, despite this, Liberation are making public allegations that a 'charge on the police cordon' was made by a 'tiny section of the marchers.' (Liberation Newsletter, June '74). At a London meeting of Liberation last Thursday the Chairman, who announced that

Liberation would be submitting material to the Scarman tribunal, went so far as to suggest that the police knew 'in advance' of 'plans' having been made by 'some organisations.' On Tuesday the *Morning Star* reprinted the NF attack on the IMG without any comment.

Do Liberation think the Scarman Tribunal will be 'neutral' and 'independent'? Are they unaware that this is just another instrument of the state for launching a repressive attack—not just on this or that organisation, but on the whole anti-fascist and workers' movement? If unity is necessary, then unity against every repressive institution of the capitalist state is essential.

Liberation's statements and the *Morning Star's* omissions can only assist the forces of reaction in whitewashing the police and trying to lay the responsibility for Kevin Gately's death on the demonstrators. All those active in the anti-fascist movement should remind Liberation of this single fact in the strongest terms possible.

Gately death : fascists blame IMG

SINCE THE BATTLE OF RED LION SQUARE, a chorus of voices has been trying to shift the blame for Kevin Gately's death away from the police and onto the revolutionary left. The National Front are now trying to lead this choir, as they made clear at a press conference in London on Monday.

The Front will tell the Scarman Tribunal that the 'moral and probably legal responsibility' lies with the 'leadership of the IMG.' They will recommend that we are imprisoned for inciting violence against them and that in future the leaderships of left wing groups be held criminally liable for all illegal acts alleged against demonstrators.

According to the NF the left went to Red Lion Square with one purpose in mind—to deliberately create violence. Any target would do. Our aim was to smear the NF as a violent organisation. For a peace-loving group like the NF, a smear like that would compromise it with the electorate.

So Kevin Gately was only an innocent dupe, a sacrificial lamb in a devilish conspiracy by the left.

Now, let's get a few things straight.

The responsibility for Kevin's death lies firmly with the police. They provocatively changed the agreed route of the anti-fascist demonstration in Red Lion Square without any warning and then used an unprecedented level of violence against the demonstrators.

As for the fascists, we do not need smears. It is these 'respectable men and women' of the Front who were associated with attacks on picket

lines at Imperial Typewriters in Leicester, a Maoist bookshop in Brighton (whose staff were badly beaten up), a black student in Nottingham who was nearly blinded, and who assaulted demonstrators on the Irish Martyrs March in Manchester.

The Front's friends in Europe, the bombers of Ordre Nouveau in France and MSI in Italy, also claim to be 'non-violent.'

The Fascists are compelled to hide all this under the carpet. Like the MSI, the Front know that if they admitted to their violence the police and the judiciary may do little, but hundreds of thousands of workers, remembering the evils of fascism, would actively oppose them. The police might allow the National Front to march through London armed with apiked flagpoles as on 15 June, but the trade union movement would sweep them from the streets.

That's why it's necessary for the fascists to blame the violence on the left. That's why the Front will scurry along to Justice Scarman—in the hope that the state can be pushed into doing to the labour movement what the fascists are not yet strong enough to do.

Naturally, playing hide and seek isn't easy. We have eyes and ears. Within the Front there are those who condemn the leadership as 'soft'; others have split off from the Front to form breakaway groups like the NDFM with an open militarist orientation. But the fig leaf is too small. We will continue to expose the Front for what it is—an organisation which seeks to destroy the workers movement.

As for the Scarman Tribunal itself, its job will be to get the police



Kevin Gately is dragged away during the demo — responsibility for his death lies firmly with the police

off the hook. Scarman, Widgery and Justice Mais of Shrewsbury are part of the same state apparatus which killed Gately. And if they can get away with it, they will use his death as a pretext for a further strengthening of the police and the courts against the working class.

The IMG will not be intimidated either by the fascists, the police, or Scarman—from continuing to organise opposition to the fascists on the streets. Along with others, we will organise against the Front in Manchester and London in August and September. And we know that all those opposed to racism and fascism will demonstrate there in action where they think the responsibility for Kevin's death really lies.

Fight to extend Nalگو strike action

STRIKE ACTION over NALGO's London Weighting claim has now been going on for 4 months and involves 1800 electricity and local government workers all over London.

However the isolation of the campaign in a number of branches where small sections are out on strike has meant that the action has suffered from a lack of decisive leadership and centralisation.

The only forces capable of giving the decisive lead to the campaign, the strikers themselves, have been excluded by the bureaucracy from determining the way the struggle should go forward.

The need to link up activity all over London was shown in reports given to a meeting of striking branches organised by Havering NALGO last Monday. It was clear from the reports given from Havering, Newham, Kensington and other areas that the often extremely militant actions taking place at local level were extremely fragmented.

There is an urgent need to build widespread action rapidly to guard against any sell out by the 'leadership', since negotiations are taking place next Friday, 26 July at the National Joint Council.

Only the widest possible unofficial strike action by NALGO members on the Friday as a prelude to building both ongoing all-London strike action for the full claim with no Inner/Outer London representative of the strikers, will stop the union bureaucrats from selling out in the very near future.

The rank and file should demand that any offer should be taken back to the members in the branches for discussion and decision.

Picket NJC at Belgrave Square 11.30 am Friday 26 July.

Picket NEC in Harewood Row NW1 1.30 pm.

ALAN BENNETT

STOP PRESS:

Over 4,000 workers from City Hall held a demonstration to coincide with the last meeting of the GLC to protest against the London Weighting offer. The demonstration, organised by the 1970 Group of the GLC Staff Association and the NALGO Action Group and supported by the officials from both unions, were demanding £500 across the board.

'Troops Out' demo in October

THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT is to sponsor an October demonstration, demanding the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and self-determination for the Irish people. Representatives of TOM and the British Peace Council have agreed to call jointly for the setting up of an ad-hoc committee to organise the demonstration.

This news was reported to a meeting in North London last Tuesday, called to set up an Edmonton and Enfield TOM. The meeting was a big success with over fifty people attending.

Alastair Renwick, an ex-soldier and member of the IMG, spoke about the switch in the role of the Army in the mid-sixties, from counter-insurgency to internal security. He described the way in which techniques of provocation,

assassination and black propaganda now being used in Ireland had been developed in Kenya, Cyprus, Aden and other 'little wars. Alan Watts, a local AUEW shop steward and IS member, spoke about the importance of taking TOM's campaign into the local trade union movement. Another IS member Lorze Townsend was in the chair.

One TOM member reported that 90% of the workers in his bus depot had signed the TOM petition, and another spoke about the impression made by the report back of a Trades Council delegation to the North of Ireland.

Copies of the TOM's model resolution for union branches and trades councils and the petition and details about the October demo and local TOM branches can be obtained from: TOM, 28 Lattinas Park Gardens, London W5.

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