





Ctte against cuts in the NHS Supported by NALGO, NUS, SMA, AUEW, Sheffield Dist.Ctte, CLPs, Manchester TC, etc

1 APRIL 1976

Last Saturday's Assembly on Unemployment ranks as one of the largest ever delegate conferences held by the labour movement in Britain. The turn out of 3,054 delegates is absolute confirmation of the mass opposition to the unemployment policies of the Labour Government.

Furthermore, the very size and representative character of the conference shows there is a real will to struggle in large sections of the working class. What it is waiting for is a fighting lead.

Such a fight, however, requires a decisive break with the policies of propping up capitalism proposed by the conference organisers. Measures like import controls, which are designed to protect an ailing British capitalism at the expense of workers in other countries, offer no solution. To call for such reactionary measures is but a short step to calling for restrictions on immigrant workers — a demand seized on by one delegate from the Seamen's Union affected with the virus of racism.

Pay controls

Nor is it possible to fight unemployment and keep quiet on the matter of pay controls. That might save the Labour MPs some embarrassing moments, but it fails to confront the means by which capitalism is attempting to make the working class pay for its crisis. The dole queue and reduced living standards go hand in hand.

However. in its guide to action the conference offered some positive proposals. It proposed to 'make the fight against unemployment the main theme of May Day'. A National Day of Action is also proposed for 26 May, with a march for supporters from London and the Home Counties to lobby MPs at the House of Commons.

This should be turned into a day of massive working class action with strikes and demonstrations in every town and city demanding an end to the Government's policies of unemployment. Dundee set an inspiring example with its local general strike on 5 March. The delegates and supporters of the Assembly must now fight to turn every city into another Dundee on 26 May The Assembly also called for the setting up of Action Committees 'to campaign against unemployment based on trades councils, trade unions, factory groups, political org-anisations...' The task is to fight to build these in every area and to make sure that every single organisation in the workers movement is affiliated to the Action Committee.



The delegates at last Saturday's Assembly-the test now is whether action will follow the many fine words they heard proposals into action. Every milbring out their members on 26

Test is action

These should be built not on the policies advanced by the conference organisers, but around demands for the rejection of all wage controls, the restoration of all cuts and the introduction of a programme of nationalisation and public works to ensure the right to work.

The test following the Assembly is what will be done to put the

tant will be tested by their determination to build for strike action on 26 May, by how they work to build broad-based Action Committees, and by their struggle to ensure that the campaign against unemployment is extended into every section of the working class.

Many Labour MPs and national trade union leaders were at Central Hall on Saturday and made their share of militant speeches. Now they have a real chance to back up their own words.

The MPs must set a lead by voting against Healey's forthcoming Budget. They can get down to the factories and sites in their constituencies and call for strike action on 26 May. Not least they can put themselves at the head of the movement to build the Action Committees.

For the trade union leaders the next step is obvious. They should return to their unions and fight to May. How serious Buckton of ASLEF, Roberts of the AUEW, and Gill of TASS were will be seen in in how they fight for these proposals in their unions.

The IMG calls on its members and supporters to work unstintingly for the success of all these actions. It is through this struggle that the fight to win the movement to a clear anti-capitalist programme including demands for a sliding scale of wages, workers control, the achieving of the demands of the Working Women's Charter and other measures necessary to meet the crisis — can be carried forward. It

It is inseparable from the struggle to build the biggest, most widely based and most democratically organised movement against the procapitalist policies of Labour's leaders. It is a key starting point of the fight to build a class struggle opposition in the labour movement.

ASSEMBLY CALL

This Assembly proposes as a minimum guide the following actions:

(a) The recall of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference in order to mobilise the movement for support for the policies outlined above.

(b) Letters, telegrams, resolutions to trade unions, the Labour Government and from labour movement organisations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before the Budget Day, 6 April.

(c) Make the fight against unemployment the main theme of May Day demonstrations throughout the country.

(d) A National Day of Action on Wednesday 26 May, to include marches, demonstrations and whatever is felt to be the most appropriate action in each area of Britain. These actions should take place during working hours. In London and the Home Counties it is proposed to organise a march and lobby of MPs at the

House of Commons.

(e) Organise delegations to lobby the TUC Special Conference of Executives.

(f) Arrange meetings with MPs in their constituencies on unemployment and the cuts and also propose that town meetings be held.

(g) To establish Action Committees to campaign against unemployment based on trades councils, trade unions, factory groups, political organisations and to support actions taken by workers in defence of their jobs.

(h) The two organisers of this Assembly, the London Co-op Political Committee and the No. 8 Confederation of Shipbuilding & Engineering Unions, will consider organising mass demonstrations at the TUC and Labour Party conferences to press for policies that will lead to full employment.

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of the delegates who attended the meeting after the Assembly

HALF A STEP FORWARD



After the Assembly on Unemployment, 150 delegates opposed to the class collaborationist policies advanced by the platform met to discuss the next steps. The meeting had been sponsored by the Socialist Charter, the International Communist League, the Workers League and the International Marxist Group. Alan Thornett also spoke from the platform representing the Workers Socialist League

The organisations sponsoring the meeting had already reached agreement on a fight for a democratically run assembly. Several hundred delegates had signed a joint petition making such demands on the organisers. It was on the basis of the refusal of the organisers to accept the resolution that such a large number of delegates had been attracted to the meeting.

Unfortunately it must be said that the meeting did not realise the potential that was possible. What is really needed at present is agreement to fight for key demands necessary to meet the crisis, and practical agreements on how to push these forward within the campaign projected by the Communist Party. What is needed is concentrated attention, and practical agreements, on how to get across the key demands which the soc social democrats and Stalinists will not take up. This can get wide support for such policies.

What has to be discussed for example is a united fight to commit as many unemployment action committees as possible to our fighting policies. Then how we could begin to coordinate this fight nationally through the promotion of a bulletin and fight for a national conference of such advanced action committees Part of this would be a campaign for all the forces that supported our alternative fighting policies to mobilise in unity behind a joint contingent on the demonstration called for 26 May.

This type of united activity is possible. The political organisations represented together have small but sufficient weight in the movement to make these proposals a reality



The new Black Circular of the TUC

We've heard the NOW LET ACT

Proposals for 26 May to be a national day of action against unemployment, coupled with a fight for the recall of the TUC and a lobby of the forthcoming special congress of union executives, came out of the 3,000 strong National Assembly on Unemployment on Saturday.

As such these proposals, broadly supported by delegates, mark a definite step forward in the fight to defeat the anti-working class policies of the Labour Government. The size of the Assembly - with representation from trade union branches, district committees and even executives, along with Constituency Labour Parties - was impressive. It indicates the developing groundswell of opposition to the Government's policies.

Left face

It is fear of this movement which explains the left face put on by the likes of Ray Buckton and Ken Gill, the star turns on the platform. Delegates were treated to the spectacle of Buckton simultaneously arguing for selective import controls as the cure-all for unemployment and for an 'integrated transport system' to counter the anarchy of capitalism. Given Buckton's record of opposition to the rail strikes that, as Alan Thornett from Cowley pointed out at a post-Assembly meeting, could mean one bus, one train and one lorry

Left MPs Dennis Skinner and Neil Kinnock, fresh from their vote of confidence in the Government's economic policies, raised the roof with their flights of rhetoric, urging that workers should get into the streets to defeat the Government's policies. But Ken Gill, General Secretary of the AUEW-TASS, must take the biscuit.

'The recall TUC will want to know how little we will settle for', said Gill, 'The least we want is an

end to all cuts, an end to wage controls and unemployment, and an end to trade union support for reactionary policies.' Fortunately for him, no-one was allowed to mention that it was Gill's withdrawal of the AUEW-TASS resolution at the 1974 TUC Congress that got the social contract accepted by the workers movement in the first place.

Despite this leftist demagogy, however, it is clear where the conference organisers and their Communist Party backers see the future of the movement. Ken Gill spelt it out: 'Only an alliance with the official leadership of the movement can create the unity that will end the present policies of this Government." In other words, militants should put all their eggs in the basket of those left leaders who have lately done nothing but fall over each other in their retreat from the Government's offensive.

Pattern

As a result, the Assembly could not be an open forum to plan a strategy against the Government's policies. Quite clearly the CP could not afford an open debate which would have challenged the hypocrisy and demagogy of the invited speakers. Consequently the speakers from the floor followed a predictable pattern. Consisting mainly of Communist Party members and their supporters in the unions, not one challenged the policies or record of the platform speakers.

It is for this reason that many delegates present at the Assembly had mixed feelings about the out-

But none of this has deterred the CP from its campaign to win. support for Rule 14 in Camden Trades Council. Following the February decision, the CP secretary of the Trades Council wrote to the TUC informing them of Camden's decision. An evasive reply came back suggesting that the trades council might not be re-registered if it failed to toe the line.

Phy

Defend the 44!

Barnet Trades Council in North London has taken an important step in building the defence of the 44 Right to Work marchers arrested in West Hendon, London, on 19 March. They are organising a trade union enquiry into the police assault on the march and have invited Yorkshire miners' leader Arthur Scargill and AUEW assistant general secretary Ernie Roberts to take part in it.

A workers' enquiry is the most effective way to explain both the issues involved in the Right to Work March and the meaning of the police assault to the whole labour movement. It should be one way of ensuring that the International Socialists, whose sectarian politics were prominent throughout the march, do not simply turn the defence campaign into a recruiting stunt to build their trade union front organisation, the Rank and File Organising Committee.

The danger of this was underlined at the National Assembly on Unemploy ment, when instead of seeking to develop a campaign to build the 26 May day of action against the cuts and unemployment, the IS delegates disrupted the conference to demand that the date be changed to 21 May to coincide with the court appearance of the 44. Such antics only play into the hands of the Communist Party and Labour lefts, letting them off the hook about taking up the active defence of those arrested.

As we argued throughout the march, politics must come first, not organisational stunts. The trade union enquiry can be turned into a real parliament of the working people to show what really happened at Staples Corner. That is the best way to defend the arrested marchers at the present time. Donations to the defence fund should meanwhile be sent to: Right to Work Campaign Defence Fund Treasurer, 46 Prince George Road, London N.16.



outlawing trades councils which refuse to kow-tow meekly to the policies of the General Council is gaining support in strange quarters. In Camden Trades Council, the Communist Party - the victim of earlier proscriptions - and its supporters have taken it upon themselves to act as the TUC's cops in enforcing the ruling.

In February the Annual General Meeting of the Trades Council, the only body constitutionally permitted to change the rules, voted 38-35 against accepting the new Rule 14. Acceptance of the rule would basically prevent trades councils from involving themselves in the mushrooming campaigns against the cuts or taking the lead in local united action against unemployment - after all, the TUC supports the Labour Government's policies in these fields. Presumably trades councils would also have to disaffiliate from the Working Women's Charter Campaign, as this failed to win a majority at the last TUC conference.

This was enough for the usually constitutional sticklers of the Communist Party. At the March meeting a motion from Charing Cross ASTMS branch formulating proposals for developing a campaign against Rule 14 was ruled out of order by the chairman, who refused to give any reasons for his decision. At the same time an emergency motion - which broke with procedure in that normally only resolutions from branches are accepted. and only AGMs can change the rules - accepting Rule 14 was put to the vote and passed 36-30.

CATCH 22

Despite the fact that a two-thirds majority is needed to change the rules, the CP now had the bit between its teeth. Off his own bat the CP secretary has now informed the TUC that the Trades Council has been suspended for April and will reconvene in May with delegates only from branches that ac-

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III JOGUS The unacceptable Foot of capitalism

In the first round of the Labour leadership elections, Red Weekly took the position that it was correct to support a vote for Benn — just! We warned that Benn was a bureaucrat looking for a future alliance with the trade union leadership to catapult him to the leadership of the Labour Party. But at the moment the forces that stand behind Benn, particularly in the Constituency Parties, are opposed to the policies of the Government; and as such, a vote for Benn would have been a vote against the policies of the Government.

On this basis Red Weekly supported a vote for Benn although his programme refused to criticise the major planks of Government policy and refused to argue that the Labour Party as a whole and not a parliamentary clique should elect its leader. It is for the same reason that Red Weekly is for abstaining in a run-off fight between Callaghan and Foot, even though the overwhelming majority of the parliamentary 'left' and the left inside the Constituency Parties will support him against the arch right-winger Callaghan.

Foot is the chief link in the rotten alliance between the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour Cabinet. Whereas Benn, in typically bureaucratic fashion, attempts to avoid a clash with the Government's policies while letting it be known with a nod and a wink that he doesn't exactly agree with them, Foot has been the central figure in forging these policies with the trade union bureaucrats. He was the hammer put up to smash the left at the Labour Party Conference. Even in the middle of the leadership election campaign, he issued a renewed call for 18 months wage restraint; and last weekend he refused to meet a delegation from the Assembly on Unemployment.

Behind Foot stand the majority of those so-called 'lefts' who refused to vote against the £6 limit or even join their fellow Tribunites in abstaining on the social expenditure cuts. A vote for Foot would be a vote for the present policies of the Government and of those trade union bureaucrats like Jones, Scanlon and Basnett who are the central defenders of the Government's line. They are today the chief policemen of the labour movement. The only way forward for the working class is in direct struggle against them and their co-thinker Foot. Foot is not in any way opposed to the Government's policies. Foot is the Government's policies.

Revolt grows in Scottish Labour

The mounting opposition to Labour's Tory policies was reflected at the Scottish Conference of the Labour Party over the weekend. Delegates voted overwhelmingly in favour of a Tribunite resolution denouncing the Government's disastrous policies despite the opposition of the Scottish Executive. But on the vital question facing delegates – how to stop the steady electoral and organisational erosion of the Labour Party in Scotland and its threatened annihilation at the next election by the Nationalists – no progress was made.

Difference

Condemning Government policies is one thing. Fighting for alternative policies around which to unite the working class in action is another. The debates on both devolution and an alternative Yet that is the only meaningful way to guarantee the right to self-determination.

The star turn at Troon was Michael Foot, who was also strangely preoccupied with an election - to the leadership of the Labour Party. As a result he admitted growing 'sensitivity' to unemployment but outlined no measures to combat it. He preferred to reassure Scottish MPs that if they voted for him he would honour the Government's 'pledges'(!) on devolution.

The economic policies of the Government were roundly condemned by delegate after delegate. Indeed, many fine words were spoken about the need to replace these Tory policies with 'socialist' ones. The alternative which was passed however was – import controls! But the only policies which can build a fight back are those which solve the problems of unemployment, inflation and crumbling social services at the expense of the capitalists – not in collaboration with these same bosses at the expense of workers overseas.

come. No hint of the agenda or any resolutions to be voted on was received prior to the Assembly day itself. The platform then announced that because of the sheer size of the conference it would be impossible to take discussion on amendments to the resolution they had prepared!

words.....

S SEE

Support

Even so, the support for the conference organisers' proposals should not be seen as a blanket endorsement of the class collaborationist line of the CP. This support was given because the

cept Rule 14. Any branch that still disagrees will be disaffiliated. Catch 22.

There is nothing new in the Communist Party's complete contempt for democracy in the workers movement. After all, what can you expect of an organisation that prefers backroom manoeuvrings with the left bureaucrats to organising an open fight against Labour's Tory militants at the Assembly thought that the CP was proposing a real fight.

The refusal to put out a clear call for a one-day national strike on 26 May shows that the CP will do all that it can in the coming months to avoid any head-on clash with the Government's policies which might jeopardise their relations with the trade union and Labour 'lefts'. The building of broadbased Action Committees, through

report back conferences to the areas, on the basis of clear class struggle policies is the way to prevent this happening. ALL OUT 26 MAY!

sive against the left.

Following the discovery of an MM circular 'to all fraction members' at the March delegate meeting, the right called a special meeting in April. The card vote was introduced, giving greater power to the big unions like the General & Municipal and the Transport & General, whose delegates were elected at district level. In May the CommunPASSING THE BUCK– TAKE TWO

How touching to hear locomen's leader Ray Buckton warning the Assembly of the 'dangerous drifting away' between leadership and rank-and-file in the unions. We fully agree.

Perhaps Ray will now cut out all this 'ultraleft nonsense' about overthrowing capitalism which he saved for the Assembly and give us an answer to the question we asked last week: will you or will you not support and extend to other regions the strike that many Southern Region drivers intend to start on 20 April in opposition to the latest round of rail cuts.

As we wrote then: 'No amount of evasion and rhetoric about"fighting for socialism" by Buckton must be allowed to obscure this issue.'

The Communist Party must be, asked — is this the role to which you wish to see trades councils reduced today? Your support for Rule 14, whether motivated by conviction or rotten opportunism, can only bring about one and the same result. Mick Gosling

CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

OKUN

policies? 'Left' policies can be saved for speechifying at the National Assembly on Unemployment.

DANGER

A single example from the history of London Trades Council, in which the Communist Party itself was the victim, shows the danger to the whole working class movement when reactionary bans and proscriptions are not resisted. Between 1924 and 1926 London Trades Council was dominated by the left, led by the Communist Party and the Minority Movement. For a time in 1925 it was actually affiliated to the Minority Movement.

But the tide turned in autumn 1926 following the defeat of the General Strike, when Wal Hannington was narrowly defeated in the elections for full-time Secretary. The right wing proceeded to exploit the spring 1927 TUC circular proscribing trades councils which associated with the Naitonal Minority Movement to open an offenists, a majority of the Council's executive, were excluded from office. Communists were also banned from standing in the ensuing elections.

The effect on policies was immediate and disastrous. In November 1927 the London Trades Council withdrew from the reception committee for the South Wales Hunger Marchers. In February 1928 it rejected a motion against class-collaborationist 'industrial peace'. It disaffiliated from the National Unemployed Workers Committee Movement and withdrew from the First of May Committee.

Already in March 1927 the Communist Party described the London Trades Council in Preliminary Notes on the Need for a London Industrial Council as 'an appendage of the TUC General Council.....worse than useless to the London workers since behind the screen of a Workers' Council its activities are beneficial only to the employing class'.

BRISTOL FIGHT

The convening in Bristol of a regional delegate conference to fight the cuts and organise a demonstration in May was the result of a day long meeting on 'Defend Your Public Services' in Bristol last Saturday.

Called by the South West Region of the TUC, the 150-strong meeting heard Doug Cook, a local NALGO official and SWTUC executive member, Bernard Dix from the NUPE Executive, and leading Tribunite MP Ron Thomas all call for an alternative plan to the Government's overall strategy – without any practical proposals for workers enquiries, opening the books and local action committees which could actually draw up such a plan. Not did any of them stress the national demo against the health cuts on 25 April.

Nevertheless, militants will be able to use the potentially useful proposals for a regional conference and local demo to build a united campaign against the cuts in the area. The importance of this is underlined in a new Bristol IMG pamphlet, A Strategy To Fight the Cuts available for 20p (inc. p&p) from 119A City Road, Bristol. economic policy reflected this difference.

The devolution debate saw left and right uniting to find the lowest common political denominator which could defeat the Nationalists and relieve the pressure from the newly formed Scottish Labour Party. A souped up version of the Government's White Paper was advanced, calling for a proposed Scottish Assembly to have control over the Scottish Development Authority and for the abolition of the veto power of the Scottish Secretary of State. No proposals were advanced as to how the Scottish working class could use such an Assembly to fight both the attacks of the British Government and those of the oil giants, financiers and multinationals that are seizing Scotland through the Nationalists.

Who decides?

In spite of a resolution from Central Ayrshire which described the White Paper as an insult to the political consciousness of the Scottish people, the logical step of arguing that only the Scottish people should decide the powers of such an Assembly at the same time as they elect parties to it was not taken.

Alternative

In fact, *Red Weekly* bulletins distributed daily at the Conference advocated measures of nationalisation, workers control and a crash programme of public works as the only way to solve these problems in the interests of the working class. In particular a call for the nationalisation of the banks and oil companies which dominate Scotland's economy was advanced.

The Scottish Conference of the Labour Party reflected the Scottish labour movement's growing refusal to stomach the attacks of the Labour Government. The task facing all socialists inside and outside the Labour Party now is to harness that anger into alternative policies and action which can overturn the antiworking class policies of the Labour Government and the vicious right-wing leadership which is prosecuting them.

STEFAN PIEKARCZYK Kelvingrove CLP

Smash Private Practice inside and outside the NHS privately. A DHSS letter to area administrators in England put the matter this way: 'The criteria for use in consultations and in determining the industrial action.

Pay beds have always been a major point of conflict between consultants and the labour movement. The abolition of private practice is one of the demands of the 25 April demonstration called by the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS. RICH PALSER explains what is at issue.

The first objection is that paybeds allow those with money to jump the waiting list for treatment in hospital, which since the 1960s has never fallen below an average 13.4 weeks for NHS patients. The examples of waiting lists in the accompanying box are taken from the Government's own Expenditure Committee on Private Patients Facilities.

An East Midlands study came to the conclusion that 64 per cent of fee paying patients go private to avoid delay - rather than to gain 'privacy because they are shy', as some would have us believe.

Secondly, to allow such a rapid availability of beds, pay-beds are kept vacant for when a private patient is ready to come in. This is why the occupancy rates for pay-beds are lower (60 per cent on average) than for NHS beds (84 per cent on average). Pay-beds stand unused at times when many who cannot afford to pay are kept waiting.

SUBSIDISING

Thirdly, pay-beds have always resulted in the subsidising of those wanting to jump the queues by paying. Not only do consultants use NHS diagnostic facilities, consulting space and NHS trained staff and nurses, but the fees paid by private patients for their stay in the hosptal are well below the actual cost. The staff union NALGO has calculated, for instance, that patients in pay-beds at Charing Cross, who pay £10.50 notional capital cost, are actually subsidised to the tune of £50.

It is for these reasons that the

labour movement has consistently fought the existence of pay-beds in the NHS; and recently blacking of pay-beds by hospital workers at various hospitals in London (Charing Cross, Hammersmith, and Westminster), Manchester and Portsmouth has forced Barbara Castle to take

content of the schedule (for phasing out beds) should be the extent to which pay beds are being used and the reasonable availability of alternative beds and facilities for the private practice of medicine' (our emphasis).

Far from having stood up to the consultants, Castle has accepted the 'principle' which they were fighting for - that of private practice. Both the consultants and Castle have made a compromise, but Castle has made by far the biggest.

Nor are the consultants sitting back and doing nothing. They voted

Condition	Length of waiting as private patient	Length of waiting under NHS
Hysterectomy	2 weeks	4 months
Vasectomy	2 weeks	2 years
Gynaecological operations	1 week	12 months
Cataract operations	2 weeks	Over 1 month
Tonsillectomy	2 weeks	18 months

some action.

But if we look more closely at the running dispute between the consultants, Barbara Castle, and the labour movement, we can see that pay-beds are just the tip of the iceberg. Behind the pay-beds dispute lies the growing threat of a private health service outside the NHS the threat of a two-tier health service.

Barbara Castle's latest proposals aim to phase out 1,000 pay-beds initially, but only in areas where there are alternative private health care facilities outside the NHS.

As the Guardian put it: 'The Government is likely to be fairly gentle with the doctors. The Bill will stipulate that the Secretary of State, after the removal of 1,000 beds, will hand her discretionary power over them to an independent body, which will decide how to phase out the rest, taking account of the need to build up local private clinics and hospitals, to allow consultants to continue to practise

not to resign from the NHS on the understanding that these proposals would be legislated through Parliament (i.e. so that Castle could not later change her mind under the pressure of the labour movement), and they also voted to continue their campaign through other means than resigning. Along with the private hospitals and private health insurance schemes, they have launched the 'Campaign for Independence in Medicine' - the organisation responsible for the recent spate of newspaper adverts for private health care

Times have never been better for the private health schemes. With the NHS suffering massive cuts, the demand for private practice to beat the waiting lists is growing larger and larger. The direct result of Labour's cuts has been the strengthening of the private health sector. Big money is behind the 'Cam-

paign for Independence in Medicine', which was set up by the BMA, the Hospital Consultants and Specialists Association, the British Dental

Association, and the Independent Hospital Group (which includes private hospitals and health scheme organisations). The Campaign aims to replace the 2,000 or so pay-beds taken out of the NHS in a manner which will avoid too much competition inside the private sector. It is also preparing to oppose any action by hospital workers and the rest of the labour movement in trying to speed up Castle's schedule through

INSURANCE

The British Medical Association has collected £50,000 in its 'fund for freedom'; while BUPA, which has 80 per cent of all health insurance on its books and an income of £36 million, is sponsoring the Nuffield Nursing Homes Trust, which runs 21 private homes with a total of 675 beds. With the average cost of a bed in a private hospital - before any medical treatment - standing at an average £25 a day (and at the Wellington Hospital as much as £60 a day), these companies stand to gain a great deal out of the extra 2,500 beds they aim to create in private hospitals over the next few years.

NALGO estimates, in fact, that it will cost something like £80 million to replace the current number of NHS pay-beds in the private sector.

At the moment there are already 25,000 beds in the private sector according to DHSS figures for last year, and 2.5 million paying for private health insurance. The use



of private insurance by companies is on the increase as a fringe benefit not only for executives but also for highly skilled workers - and in the



future as part of a pay increase for better paid workers.

COMMERCIAL

Up too are the number of applications for planning permission to build private hospitals. Applications a have been made in Manchester, Sutton Coldfield, Leeds, Cheltenham, Stratford on Avon, and notably in London to a total tune of 581 beds. It is firms like 'Harley St Clinic Ltd' and the American 'Allied Medical International' which are behind these projects. Dr David Owen, Minister of State for Health, said in Parliament recently that requests from commercial developers were piling up in his department

The labour movement cannot afford in the slightest to sit back and congratulate Castle on her phasing out of pay-beds. At the same time she is allowing the growth of private practice outside the NHS which threatens to expand into a blossoming private health sector. It is for these reasons that the labour movement should be demanding an end to the cuts and the abolition of all private practice. We are not simply fighting the deterioration of the NHS, but also the threat of a twotier health service.

The Law Commission report on conspiracy and criminal law reform, published last week, heralds the start of a crack-down on the squatting movement. Occupations, including those of workers and students, would become criminal offences on 'evidence of violence' provided by one person.

At the same time, however, the Commission has been forced to retreat on earlier proposals for mass arrests of occupiers in industrial situations on the boss's say so. The movement for the release of the Shrewsbury pickets has compelled them to recommend that in future prison sentences for conspiracy should not exceed the maximum for the offences allegedly plotted,

The Law Commission start off by saying that the offence of conspiracy should be limited to conspiracy to commit a criminal offence (which would rule out conspiracy to trespass, since the latter is a civil offence). But

all their other proposals are devoted to filling the gaps in law which this concession would make.

New sanctions are proposed on forcible entry which would have wide implications for the whole working class. At a press conference called by organisations opposed to the new proposals, representatives of the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law (CACTL) and the National Council of Civil Liberties among others explained that the new forcible entry offence would render trade union and student occupations open to immediate police intervention and arrest for forcible entry if violence could be 'proved' to have occurred. The word of a security guard or caretaker to this effect would be sufficient to justify arrests.

It was also pointed out that squatting has been presented as almost the sole justification for bringing in new legislation, despite the fact that the proposals also threaten occupations by workers, students and tenants. But there can be no doubt that those fighting homelessness will be in the front line.

The proposed powers against squatters are formidable. The 'problem' of squatters taking over property in which people are actually living is made central. But as the sponsors of the press conference pointed out, this is not a feature of the squatting movement. The proposals use the few well publicised examples of such action to confer on bailiffs and the like the right of 'occupiers' to evict squatters.

This, claimed the press conference, opens up scope for serious and violent abuse by gangs of heavies acting for landlords who by no stretch of the imagination are 'displaced residential occupiers'. Landlords and property companies can place a few sticks of furniture in properties in which they have no intention of living as the justification for 'Securicor' type evictions.

After the press conference, Red Weekly spoke to two of the leading activists in CACTL, Mike Reid and Zander Fraser. Mike Reid told us: 'It's clear that these proposals are designed to deal with the widespread opposition that is beginning to develop in response to the cuts and the Tory recession policies of the Labour Government. The report particularly aims itself against direct action.

'The TUC gave evidence to the Law Commission but failed to take account of the threat that is posed to occupations in industry by the vagueness of the new forcible entry proposals. Any management stooge could claim violence had been threatened to bring the police into an occupation. A further fault of the TUC evidence is that they only address themselves to the work situation, and do not defend the position of those who take action against homelessness."

Zander Fraser agreed, adding: 'Although CACTL has correctly addressed its campaign against these changes in legislation, my personal view is that essentially the question boils down to

one of strength. It's obvious that they can't use these proposals against the miners or dockers and the best organised unions. They will be used against the weaker sections, just as the laws which they replace were used against the building workers who were weakly organised.

'The lesson for squatters is that they have to fight in cooperation with tenants and local trade unionists. To get that support squatters will have to put forward a political stand on the housing question. It's only in this way that they can defend themselves.'

CACTL will be considering proposals for taking the campaign forward in the near future. Meanwhile every militant must be capable of explaining what these new laws mean for the fight against the anti-working class policies of the Labour Government, defending the position of squatters and showing that if the need arose these proposals could be used against direct action on the campuses and in industry.

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Students 5_

LEADERSII'S CRISISHITS NUS

Hundreds of delegates from all over Britain will be gathering this week at the National Union of Students Conference in Llandudno. They will have to elect their leadership for the next year and decide what attitude NUS will take to the attacks of the Labour Government on students. In particular, delegates will be discussing the White Paper on Public Expenditure, which has already provoked mass protest strikes by workers in Dundee and Glasgow.

The NUS Conference is the first in the round of the summer union conferences and despite the weakness of students in launching a fight against the policies of the Government, it will be of significance to both students and trade unionists.

There was a time when the NUS Conference played the role of a reassuring week of self-congratulation for the Broad Left leadership.

All good things come to an end, however, and not even NUS can be spared the blows of the capitalist crisis. Colleges up and down the country face closure: the value of the grant has reached an all-time low; long-term unemployment faces increasing numbers of school and college leavers; the Government has launched a racist attack on overseas students through its extortionate increase in fees; already inadequate creche facilities are being closed down — in fact, the list is endless.

Downturn

The seeming inability of the NUS leadership to react to these attacks in anything but a token fashion has let to demoralisation and a downturn in student activism. This has been demonstrated graphically by the spate of disaffiliations from NUS, including former Broad Left strongholds such as Strathclyde University.

The most disturbing feature of these developments is the growing success of the right wing in exploiting this demoralisation by posing as a credible leadership based on 'realistic' policies – policies of supporting the Government's attempts to solve the crisis at the expense of the working class whilst making a special case for protecting the 'best' part of the education system, the universities.

It would be a great mistake for socialists to underestimate the attraction of the right for many students, particularly as the issue on which they launched their offensive - democracy in NUS - is one on which the Broad Left is particularly vulnerable. Because the right want to use the postal ballot and referenda to atomise students in order to prevent any possibility of building a student/worker alliance to defeat the attacks of the Government. the Broad Left's answer of maintaining the status quo is worse than useless. Only a fight to extend the principle of mass meetings as the bastion of decision making in the student unions will expose the right wing campaign for democracy as a recipe for passivity.

The main debate at the conference will be on the cuts in education and grants. But Government economic policy, which came high on the list of priority motions for the conference has not been put on the order paper. IMG delegates will be arguing that this question is indivisible from the attacks on education, and that they should be debated together.

Restoration

At the centre of IMG's policies for the NUS will be the fight for students to win support from the working class in defending themselves from the cuts in education. Student unions taking this as a starting point will be arguing for the restoration of all cuts in the social services, and the protection of spending from inflation; a crash programme of socially useful public works; a sliding scale of wages and benefits; a guaranteed job for all; a sliding scale of grants.

Their amendment also poses the need for the opening of the college and local authority books to committees of workers and students in order to develop a plan to defend education. It further argues that an important step in overcoming the isolation of students from the workers movement would be the affiliation of NUS as a mass organisation to the Labour Party. The strikes in Dundee and Glasgow and the huge attendence at the National Assembly against Unemployment point to the growth of a fighting movement against the policies of the Labour Government to which students must link their struggles.

Overseas

The other main debate will be on the attacks launched by this Government on overseas students. The proposal to implement huge increases in overseas students' fees is not only an attempt to divide students along racist lines, preventing the unity essential at this time – it is also a method of introducing further education cuts by the back door. The reduction of the numbers of overseas students will lead to the closing of many courses and the sacking of staff.

The NUS must mount a campaign of direct action to block the implementation of this policy at a college level. Such a campaign must also be extended outside the campuses to Labour Party and trade union branches. The NUS Executive must also be forced to take up the call by Iranian students to drive the SAVAK secret police off the campuses.

The conference must also be aw aware of the dangers of fascist groups using the issue to gain a base amongst students, and must resolve

Minority slams cover-up

'This conference must reject a practice that leads to NUS apologising for the very existence of its international work, and stop our delegates creeping out the back door of Endsleigh Street every time they want to attend an international conference that is being held in one of the countries of the Soviet bloc.'

This is the conclusion of a minority report on international work that will be presented to the NUS Conference.

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The report takes up in detail the practice of the majority of the Executive in relation to international work. In some cases its campaigns have been inadequate, as on southern Africa and Chile. In some cases no work at all has been done, as over Indian political prisoners.



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ission proposals would lead to big increase in squatter evictions

to deny them a platform by any means necessary.

But even the correct policies are not enough. The fight for a leadership that will go out to the membership to campaign for the implementation of these policies is posed more sharply than ever before. This is why the IMG is standing a full slate of candidates in these elections, combining a record in struggle with the policies that can take students forward. While the biggest group to the left of the Broad Left, NOISS, has made correct criticisms of the Broad Left, it can really only offer more militant versions of the Broad Left recipe.

The growing dissatisfaction among many students with their Broad Left leadership will be expressed but not resolved at this conference. If the far left do not wish to remain a permanent opposition tendency inside the NUS Conference, then they must now begin to act together on a principled basis to challenge the Broad Left. The report also sharply questions the conduct of Executive members at international conferences, while recognising that press reports of NUS delegates' behaviour at the 13th European Seminar held in Bucharest last year were untrue. It points to the difficulties of scrutinising the behaviour of NUS delegations –

'it is often what our delegates do not say rather than what they do say that has been the cause of discontent with their behaviour.'

For instance, the communique from the 13th Seminar stated that 'not only have the socialist countries secured equal rights for women, but they have made it possible for women to enjoy these rights in practice'. NUS Deputy President, Alistair Stewart, spoke at the Seminar denouncing the capitalist countries for their exploitation and oppression of women, but made no criticism at all of the 'socialist countries' (although as the minority report points out the average wage of women in Russia is still only 75 per cent that of men).

The minority report advocates the rejection of the communique and the cen-

VAL COULTAS-IMG member of NUS Executive and one of authors of report

suring of the NUS representatives who attended the Seminar, because the 'overall drift of the official communique is one of justifying the policies of "detente and peaceful coexistence" and uncritical applause of the role of the Soviet Union in foreign policy and, in relation to women, in domestic policies'.

The distinguishing feature of the report compared to past debates in the NUS on international work is its clear rejection of any idea that this work should be 'played down'. The minority report throws down the gauntlet to any groupings in the NUS who take this view.

At the last NUS Conference, Sue Slipman, Communist Party member and National Secretary of the NUS, had responsibility for international work removed from her. The press reported this as a victory for the 'moderates'. Acceptance of the minority report, however, can only be seen as a step forward for all students towards genuine internationalism.

Red Weekly

6 Abortion

One year of NAC

One year has passed since the National Abortion Campaign was founded on 3 March 1975 to co-ordinate opposition to James White's Abortion (Amendment) Bill and any other restrictive legislation. The basis of the campaign was that it should be a woman's right to choose whether to terminate or continue her pregnancy. During these twelve months the

National Abortion Campaign has gained tremendous support. NAC groups have been set up all around the country and support has been received from numerous trade unions and trades councils.

One month after the founding meeting in March, an extremely successful meeting was held at the House of Commons to explain the campaign. Over 800 people attended. This was the big-gest public meeting in the House of Commons for over 10 years.

The numbers soon swelled to 25,000 when a national demonstration in protest against the Abortion (Amendment) Bill was held on 21 June. Support from all over Britain and also included persons from France, Holland, Switzerland and Portugal. A petition with 150,000 signatures was presented to Parliament - the culmination of a great deal of activity by the local groups. This showing of forces on 21 June had a great impact around the country.

During the summer months local groups picketed and demonstrated outside Department of Health and Social Security offices against the restrictive recommendations in the third special report of the Select Committee, which was presented to the press on 5 August. In September came one of the campaign's biggest successes to date, when

the TUC and Labour Party conferences both passed motions in support of 'abortion on request'.

Then on 18-19 October, 1,000 people came together at Imperial College in London to discuss collectively the best way to carry the campaign forward. It was agreed to call a week of action against the reconstitution of the Select Committee and to prepare for a mass mobilisation in the new year to combat the threat of restrictive legislation.

With the end of the parliamentary session in October, the Abortion (Amendment) Bill automatically fell. But in February, 1976, a motion was put to Parliament to reconvene the Select Committee to consider further the Abortion (Amendment) Bill and further protests were organised around the country.

had been reconvened, six of the 14 MPs serving on it resigned leaving only antiabortionists on the committee. With the support of several other pro-abortion organisations, NAC decided not to submit any evidence to this rump Select Committee, but instead to present their evidence to the public at a later date.

past twelve months in making people aware of the attacks on abortion rights and in organising to defend these rights. But the situation today is more restrictive than it was a year ago; and if the reconvened Select Committee has its way, two-thirds of those women facing unwanted pregnancies will be unable to get safe, legal abortions and will be forced into the hands of the backstreet butchers.

FAYE THOMPSON (NAC Steering





ABORTIO the evidence

The resignation of the six MPs from the Select Committee has made it clear that this body will do nothing but further restrict women's right to abortion.

We should ask ourselves - 'why should any parliamentary body have the right to control women's fertility? This control should be in the hand of women themselves. It's women who must bear the consequences of unwanted pregnancies which tie them closer to the family and make it impossible for them to have even the limited amount of independence this society offers women.

TRIBUNAL

We should organise for an 'alternative' Tribunal to the Select Committee. The Select Committee are a rump of staunch anti-abortionists sitting in smoke-filled rooms in the House of Commons with the fate of hundreds of thousands of women in their hands.

The Tribunal will be very different. It will be an opportunity to hear evidence collected over the next six months and to map out plans for taking the campaign forward on the basis of the experience in collecting it. We should try to make sure that building actions for it involves people way beyond just those in the local NAC groups. But clearly NAC groups will have to take the lead in building it.

In other words, the Tribunal will not be just for the 'committed', but will try to reach thousands of people who are concerned about the increasing restrictions on women's abortion DODIE WEPPLER, an IMG n tee, writes on the next steps a



A band of more than a thousand anti-abo noisy reception at Newcastle Civic Centre ing the fore-court by a 150-strong picket ed by Tyneside Abortion Campaign (TAC organisations and other militants.

The Lord Mayor (a Labour councillor ceive a petition from the anti-abortionist ing mother, every child a wanted child', a not the state'

Later the silent anti-abortionists were who gave out leaflets along the demo rou case for 'Free abortion on demand - a w

rights.

The NAC Steering Committee has already discussed setting up a national organising committee for the Tribunal. It should get representatives from as many individuals and organisations as possible. Such bodies could also be set up in the areas to co-ordinate local actions to build for the Tribunal.

Groups should join in organising the Tribunal on the basis of the pol-



Last year more than 50,000 British women were forced to pay out £50 or more to get abortions - an abortion to which they were legally entitled under the 1967 Act, but which was refused by the National Health Service. In fact, the number of women applying for but unable to get an abortion on the NHS rose from under half in 1974 to 52 per cent in 1975. If this is taken with the other much-quoted statistic that the total number of abortions fell in 1975, some idea can be gained of the effect that the cuts in NHS spending are having on the availability of abortion facilities.

After refusing to restore the 1973 cuts of £111 million in the health budget, the Labour Government has extended the Tories' cuts - planning to lop off another £152 million from health spending in 1978/79. Services for women, which have always been a low priority, are being badly hit. Family planning clinics now report waiting

be a mere £1.7 million a year. Yet Barbara Castle is currently paying out £1.8 million a year to doctors as a bribe to give advice on contraception when they should be giving it in any case!

So it's not the cost of abortions that is behind the cutbacks. Rather more important is the impact that the lack of abortion facilities will have on the ability of women to break out of the oppressive confines of their traditional role as wives and mothers putting family and children first.

RESPONSIBILITIES

In this respect cuts in abortion facilities fit in exactly with other social service cuts, the brunt of which are being borne directly by women: reduction in nursery provisions; refusal of schools to accept rising fives; loss of jobs at twice the rate of men; and a host of other problems all resulting in women having to shoulder family responsibilities 24 hours a day, isolated in the home, with even less relief than before from the welfare state. Cuts in facilities in the NHS are just one half of the story of Labour's attacks on abortion. The other is the continuing saga of the Select Committee. It is completely in line with the reactionary policies being pursued in general by the present Labour leaders that women should be denied that very basic and necessary right - control over their own fertility - without which they cannot begin to take control of the other aspects of their lives. Labour's answer to the bosses' crisis is to make the workers pay - and women are paying very dearly. Restrictions on abortion and cuts in social services will reinforce the oppression of women within the family and weaken the ability of the working class to organise a united fight back. The fight for abortion rights is part of the wider opposition to building up to the anti-working class policies of the Labour Government. A good opportunity to show this in practice will be for supporters of a women's right to choose to march on the 25 April demonstration against the cuts and private practice in the NHS behind the banner of 'Free Abortion on Demand on the NHS'. Many local NAC groups are already discussing how to mobilise for this. Now is the time to march against the cuts and for abortion rights! Berry Beaumont



times of up to three months. Some areas like Buckinghamshire have completely stopped sterilisation and vasectomy operations except for severe medical reasons.

Provision and extension of abortion facilities has also come under Healey's axe. Oxford Area Health Authority is considering a reduction in abortions as a money saver; the proposed plans for new out-patient clinics at Charing Cross and Sheffield are being reviewed'; and the new regulations from the Parliamentary Select Committee requiring hospitals which carry out late abortions to have resuscitation equipment means that hospitals without it are proscribed by the cost of such equipment from carrying out these abortions.

CONTRACEPTION

The current climate of cuts has also provided a convenient smokescreen for reactionary doctors to hide behind: those who place their own 'moral' judgement above that of a women who decides she needs an abortion, and those eager to exploit the inadequacies of the NHS to line their own pockets with a few private abortions.

But the decline in abortion facilities cannot simply be explained as an economy measure. It is cheaper to give women abortions than to provide the necessary NHS services for childbirth and after-care. The total cost of a national network of day care clinics which could provide early safe abortions for every woman wanting one would More than a hundred women and men marched through Hackney on Saturday to demand more day care nurseries for under-fives in the area. The march was called by Hackney Nursery Campaign, which is also fighting for parity of pay, conditions and training opportunities for all those who work with under-fives.

The campaign was born out of the joint efforts of the Hackney Under-Fives Committee and the Women's Sub-Committee of Hackney Trades Council, which works around the Working Women's Charter. The demand for more nurseries is seen as particularly important since it raises the question not only of the mother's role in the home, but also of a mother's right to work. There are 13,500 under-fives in Hackney and a mere 359 council day

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extend pu the Trade North Lat Party. Mo campaigns Wandswoi statement committe throughou

April 1976

I RIGHTSthat matters

ber of the NAC Steering Committhe 3 April demonstration.



ists marching in silent prayer met with a Saturday. They were blocked from enteranding a woman's right to choose, organissupported by women's groups, political

forced to walk through the picket to re-IFE, amid chants of 'Every mother a will-Yomen must decide their fate, not the church,

ved through Newcastle by TAC supporters, utting forward in a very positive way the c 's right to choose'.

icies they have adopted. So for example, in the Labour Party and in the trade unions, we would hope that people prepared to fight for the implementation of last year's conference decisions for 'free abortion on request on the NHS' would begin to organise within their branches and constituences on this basis. Calls for workers' enquiries will be particularly important amongst



ers who often know best how women's rights to abortion are being restricted.

This isn't just a question of facilities - it's also a question of an ideological fight we have to wage against the reactionary gynaecologists. On the basis of this material which clearly involves demanding that the books be opened – a plan which will serve women's interests will have to be drawn up, and actions organised to fight for this plan. Of course this shouldn't be just limited to hospital workers - it is a question which affects the entire working class.

It is clear that most trade unions won't spontaneously see the need to call for special enquiries into women's right to abortion. At a time when drastic cuts are being made in the NHS, the first response could be that abortion facilities are a 'luxury' which can go. So even to get the demand for a workers' enquiry taken up will entail the independent organisation of women within the trade unions.

ENQUIRIES

It will be women who will have to fight to get their fellow workers to take this attack seriously and begin to organise against it. We have to be clear that workers' enquiries are not enquiries which male workers will carry out and then they will

decide for women. Workers' enquiries will have to be democratically organised, and particularly in this case, women will have to play a leading role.

We also have to find a way of getting evidence from women who have themselves been victims of the sabotage of the 1967 Act and of the current further restrictions. This could be started by calling on unions heavily dominated by women to collect such evidence from their members.

Teachers' unions could also build for the Tribunal by launching campaigns based on evidence collected on the availability of abortion information for students, how SPUC uses the schools to imbue students with reactionary ideas, and so on.

To be successful, this Tribunal will also have to reach women in the home or in non-unionised jobs. This means organising meetings in housing estates, leafleting markets and doctors' surgeries - anywhere we can reach these women - to ensure that their experiences are taken into account in any plan to carry on the fight for women's right to choose and for free abortion on demand on the NUS

Nor should the Labour MPs who resigned from the Select Committee be let off the hook. We should demand that they are in the forefront of the campaign for the Tribunal.

How we organised in Leicester

ANNE CESEK, a militant in the Leicester National Abortion Campaign, describes how they have been building for the demonstration and what they plan to do after 3 April.

Local NAC groups will be able to use the setting up of a national Tribunal by NAC in opposition to the Select Committee as a focus for building local activities as part of a co-ordinated national campaign.

Locally we have already produced a pamphlet, Abortion in Leicester Now, which outlines the appalling abortion facilities for women in Leicester. Many of the gynaecologists are anti-abortion; as a result, over 60 per cent of women who wanted abortions in 1973 had to have them performed privately outside Leicestershire. We have shown that in reality the 1967 Abortion Act is not being implemented and this, of course, is not peculiar to

and a number of them together with Leicester Trades Council are supporting the demonstration. Last week a local branch of TASS, the white collar section of the engineering union, affiliated to the campaign and it will be urging its District Committee to support the demo.

Most importantly, it has asked us to draft a resolution which it will send to TASS-sponsored MPs calling on them to support NAC in its boycott of the Select Committee and urging them not to replace those who have resigned from the Select Committee. TASS nationally has already written to its sponsored MPs asking them to vote against the reconvening of the

Abortion/Charter 7

e new women's iestionnaire ne to fill in. We ny they didn't; at problems they ned the questionnaire mple. Their replies



you are not getting what the law says you should women and work: OUR NATIONAL SURVEY RESULTS

recommic future of the country recipient in the needs of three-Women with children need more help

One third of mothers at home wants to go back to work but can't find child-care

into action to give child-minders proper support and training. Why don't more follow their lead? There's no reason for "child-minder" to be the rather grubby word it has become. A good child-minder can provide excellent care, and it is far better for a child to have a caring substitute mother for a few hours and a relaxed and loving mum the rest of the time, chan its own mother all the time feeling imprisoned and harassed.

they appreciate getting back to work. Among working women a preater percentage of mothern than non-mothers say they enjoy their work, and the younger their chil-dren the more likely they are to find pleasure in work outside the home. More than a third of mothers of pleasure in work outside the home. More than a third of mothers of under-fives go out to work because they get bored at home. Many women clearly are pris-ther only reason they haven't got a job is that they can't find any reliable care for their children. The poorer the family, the more likely this is to be the reason for a work the support. forced to take likely this is to be the reason for mother staying at home. All these findings emphasis that the country as a whole (which needs these children to support i in the future) cannot continue to leave mothers unsupported. Having children makes leave mothers unsupported. Some mothers need a playgroup just to give them a breather and a chance to enjoy adult company un-

woman three times as likely to be stuck in a badly paid job need full-time child ca yone knows there is a

We found that two-thirds of ou working mothers had part-tim jobs. But two-thirds of these par timers would work full-time if were not for the children. One problem is that employee tend to take advantage of mother peeds for particular hours or for

Mothers

poor jobs

their toddlers with friend thives every day than in vate and local authors reseries put together. The Government says t 't the money for fully equip

tage of nursery places in this try. More of our working ers with children under five

Womans Sup

'Equal Pay Act useless to most working women'; 'Jobless married women are ignored'. These are just two of the headlines in a recent article from a women's magazine - not one of the growing number of radical journals springing up from the women's liberation movement, but that 'mothers friend' Woman's Own.

This magazine, taking the royals as its starting point, usually provides the pap to consolidate the myth of the happy family. So why the about face? After conducting a survey of 5,000 of its readership, they found the results were an 'eye-opener in this "age of equality"

Only 43 per cent of the women surveyed were covered by the Equal Pay Act, and only 10 per cent of these were not receiving equal pay. But the remaining 57 per cent of women workers were out in the cold. Their take-home pay was as low as £23.

Of course, for many working women - the unemployed - the Equal Pay Act is irrelevant anyway. *Woman's Own* conclud-ed that the official figure of 317,095 wosure your views are represented nationally?" Two out of three said that they could not think of anyone.

This is certainly a slap in the face for the Labour Government quacks who offer women the Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts as a sugar coating for cuts in social spending, low pay and unemployment. And little wonder that these women see no alternative from the workers movement, when the likes of Jack Jones call for fake unity with the Government around these policies.

SUFFOCATING

The resentment of women against this leadership can only find expression through demands which link the oppression of women at home and at work. The demands of the Working Women's Charter expose the suffocating web revealed by the Woman's Own survey.

The Working Women's Charter is holding its first national conference on 10-11 April in Coventry as a part of the fight for women's rights. Proposals will be put to the conference for activities to unite the campaign with those sections of the workers movement which have already adopted the Charter (which received nearly three million votes at last year's TUC Congress). Such action will have to address itself to the inadequacies of the present legislation through workers' enquiries to monitor its weakness in actual practice, to resist the cuts, to fight for the right of women to choose whether to have babies or not, and the right of women to work. As well as getting the maximum number of labour movement delegates to the conference, every effort must be made to ensure that the 'left' leaders take up the needs of women and campaign for recall TUC and Labour Party conferences to prepare such a fight. Only such policies can ensure that the millions of women whose oppression is voiced by the five thousand readers of Women's Own don't remain isolated or worse - take the path of reaction in the absence of any leadership in the workers movement. Only such policies can ensure that the ability of the whole work ing class to resist the latest attacks unleashed by the Labour Government on its living standards will not be split and divided.



n is being taken up as part of the general fight to ervices in the area, and already has the support of ncil, local NALGO and NUT branches, Hackney arty, and Hackney South & Shoreditch Labour e also being made to link up with other nursery h have been launched in Lambeth, Norwood, ower Hamlets, Brent, Enfield, etc. A joint policy ist of demands is to be drawn up by a steering h can pave the way for a co-ordinated campaign don.

Leicester.

We have been using this pamphlet to build for the demonstration as well as leafleting and organising motorcades through the centre of town. However, because of the very favourable response to our pamphlet, we are planning to use it as part of a campaign for the provision of out-patient abortion facilities in Leicester.

The organisation of a national Tribunal will undoubtedly help us to develop our campaign. Firstly, it gives us a very good opportunity to initiate a workers' enquiry through the National Health Service unions into abortion facilities in Leicester. Secondly, it will involve forces outside NAC in the collection and preparation of evidence.

In this situation it will be vital for us to link our campaign for out-patient abortion facilities with the local campaign being waged against the cuts by the public sector committee which has recently been formed by Leicester Trades Council. We have also decided to support the 25 April national demonstration against NHS cuts and private practice. Actions like these are essential if we are to realise our main demand - free abortion and contraception on demand, freely available on the NHS.

In the run up to 3 April we have been speaking at a lot of trade union branches, Select Committee.

Hopefully we will be able to get the same sort of response from other unions in our area - several AUEW branches are already affiliated to the campaign.

This kind of activity can help to build the widest possible support for our campaign in the labour movement on both a local and national level. After all, free abortion and contraception on demand is a fight for the *whole* labour movement.

ABORTION IN LEICESTER NOW

Abortion in Leicester Now (10p plus 8%p postage) is available from Leicester NAC, 37 Cecil Road, Highfield, Leicester. Bulk orders are welcome.

IOD

men registered unemployed should be topped up to one million, because their survey showed that 70 per cent of women do not bother to register. Despite the cosmetic job done by Michael Foot, this means that the real figure of jobless is now at least two million!

PRISONERS

The survey also looked at women in the home. Woman's Own found that: 'Many women are prisoners in the home. One third of mothers at home say the only reason they haven't got a job is that they can't find reliable care for their children.

Those women who do manage to loosen the chains of housework are relegated to the worst paid, unskilled jobs, or find themselves subject to the lousy conditions which prevail in the twilight zone of the part-employed (two-thirds of those surveyed stated that they would find full-time jobs if it were not for the responsibilities of child care).

The Woman's Own readership were then asked - 'Who do you think makes

Red neekly I April 1970

MOZAMBIQUE DEBATE

Not so long ago *Red Weekly* was a supporter of FRELIMO. However, now that movement has actually won its war and is installed in government in Mozambique, *Red Weekly* has decided to turn on it with some venom, judging by Julius Karanja's article 'Samora's sabre-rattling' (*Red Weekly*, 11 March).

Karanja makes a series of assertions without producing a single shred of evidence to support them. For example, the FRELIMO Government is carelessly described as a 'bureaucratic regime'.

What about the struggle against bureaucratic methods of work waged by the FRELIMO leadership (including President Samora Machel) during the war against Portuguese colonialism? What about the work of mass mobilisation that was necessary for that war? What about the tireless political work done among the masses in southern Mozumbique (who were not directly touched by the armed struggle) in the period leading up to full independence in June 1975? What about the setting up of grupos domemications (literally 'dynamising groups') all down the country as essential elements of political education and agitation?

Exhortations

None of this fits easily into any normal definition of the word 'bureaucratic'. Are we to suppose that all of this has disappeared overnight, comrade Karanja? If you think that FRELIMO has degenerated into some sort of bureaucratic clique, then you owe us a detailed explanation of this phenommon.

Again, why does Karanja scoff at Samora Machel's exhortations to build air-raid shelters? Perhaps he thinks that the Rhodesian and South African air forces, faced with the prospect of intensifying guerrilla struggle, would have some scruples about raiding across the border and attacking Mozambican villages. Fortunately, the Mozambican Government is under no such illusion.

Karanja refers to the December army mutiny, and claims that those purged were 'militants' and were protesting against 'appalling work conditions in the armed forces'. In fact the mutiny was sparked off by an army seminar which discussed problems in the relationship between the armed forces and the people. There had been a number of abuses and it was decided to tighten up discipline, e.g. soldiers were not allowed to drink alcohol while in uniform, and they were not allowed to take their weapons outside their barracks unless on duty. Infiltration into the army was also feared: given Mozambique's proximity to South Africa this is hardly surprising.

FRELIMO leadership: REVOLUTIONARY OF NEO-COLOMIALIST A letter and a reply

South Africa). It is a little uifficult to see how this 'serves the interests of imperialism'. Perhaps comrade Karanja would care to enlighten us.

As for the earlier implementation of sanctions, Karanja conveniently 'forgets' that Mozambique has been independent for the grand total of eight months, and that as a legacy of colonialism Mozambique inherited an economy that was not only on the verge of bankruptcy, but had been integrated by successive Portuguese administrations into the economies of South Africa and Rhodesia. There was never any doubt that the FRELIMO Government wished to implement sanctions. However, what is desirable is not always what is possible.

Are we really to condemn the Mozambican Government because it gave itself a few months breathing space before embarking on a full-scale confrontation with the Rhodesian regime? Those months were not wasted — they were a time of continued political mobilisation, and of attempts to impart some sort of independence and stability to the economy. Even so, the implementaiton of sanctions will undoubtedly hurt Mozambique with, for example, a direct loss of over £20 million a year on rail and port revenue.

Headaches

If Karanja believes FRELIMO to be insincere in its desire to aid the Zimbabwe liberation struggle, why does it allow several thousand Zimbabwe guerrillas to operate from training camps in Western Mozambique? This must have caused severe political headaches for FRELIMO leaders over the past few months, given the acute divisions in the leadership of the Zimbabwe liberation movement.

Finally, where is comrade Karanja getting his information – such as it is – from? Certainly he has not bothered to contact the Mozambique and Guinea Information Centre, which is well able to provide him with material direct from Mozambique. We will be only too happy to let comrade Karanja use our library, and read the Mozambican magazines which arrive regularly in the office. If he were to use such facilities, perhaps he would be able to write articles which bear some relation to the realities of southern Africa. – PAUL FAUVET and JILL SHEPPARD.

JULIUS KARANJA replies:

First I must clarify a fundamental confusion that runs through the letter from comrades Fauvet and Sheppard: my criticisms in the article were aimed specifically at the Machel leadership and *not* at FRELIMO as a whole.

All the examples quoted by the comrades as evidence of a struggle against bureaucratic methods of work, with the exception of the *grupos dinamizadores*, date back to the time of the struggles *before* taking power. This is not insignificant: the policies of the Machel leadership were not (and are not) based upon any coherent revolutionary strategy but essentially upon an empirical approach empiricism to win the sympathy of the villages, empiricism to resolve conflicts between ethnic groups to win a base, empiricism in their break with negotiations with the Portuguese, empiricism to structure the guerrilla organisations, etc. Essentially, therefore, its break with reformist nationalism was on an empirical basis. This em-

pirical approach today guides the policies of Machel. But that a bureaucratic method exists, in spite

of empirical breaks made from it on certain occasions, cannot be doubted. There is a one party state. No other political party is permitted. There is a fusion of the party and the state: 'The People's Republic of Mozambique will be guided by the political line defined by FRELIMO, which is the leader of the state and society' (Article 3, FRELIMO Constitution); 'The People's Assembly is the supreme organ of the state' (Article 37) – this body is not an elected one!

Guidelines

Again: 'Anyone who deforms our line can expect no tolerance from us If the Government is to be really capable of making the interests of the The Machel regime was quick to disarm the masses following independence, and consolidated state power by the formation of the 'National Service of People's Security' (SNASP), whose task was to 'detect. neutralise and combat all forms of subversion ... etc' – this body is responsible directly to the president, and there is no form of appeal against its decisions. If it was against this form of bourgeois discipline that the militants (some 400 of them) in the armed forced mutinied, then I solidarise with them.

That the Machel regime has been interested in detente and diplomacy in Zimbabwe is clear. Only since September 1975 has Machel come out in favour of the armed struggle, and this only in the sense that it provides sufficient pressure at the base to make changes at the top. Has it escaped the comrades' notice, for instance, that while Machel was involved in the detente exercises, Robert Mugabe (secretary general of ZANU) was placed under house arrest between April and September 1975? Would the comrades care to explain how

such a move aids the Zimbabwe liberation struggle? Let us examine how the sanctions will 'hurt' Mozambique. Most of the goods that pass through Mozambique to or from Rhodesia pass through Beira. Beira handles about 12 per cent of the goods handled at Maputo (calculated from UN Statistical Yearbook 1974, pp 456-457), and provides a yearly income of about £20 million. As far back as last May, however, Machel was assured by the Labour Government that he would receive aid sufficient to compensate for any losses incurred on imposing sanctions. This aid has been forthcoming. Its size – £20 million!

Sanctions

Since Maputo handles mostly South African goods, the closure of these ports to Rhodesian goods will not exactly destroy the economy. Mozambique will also lose revenue from traffic with Zaire, Botswana, Malawi and South Africa (some of which passes through Rhodesia). However, last year's Commonwealth summit pledged to compensate for these losses – Britain and Canada paying the largest proportion. Moreover, the UN Security Council has unanimously voted to extend economic aid to Mozambique. Tharefore why have sanctions not been applied before?

The question of timing, it would appear, was crucial: that every means possible should be used to bring about a peaceful transition to a neocolonial solution, and to use sufficient pressure to force Smith to capitulate or be isolated. It is true that until recently Rhodesia used Beira for about 85 per cent of its trade; but with the completion of the railroad (Beit Bridge) to the South, Rhodesia is now able to reduce its dependence on Mozambique by re-routing this traffic. With the impact of the victory of the Angolan masses, it has become ever more urgent for imperialism to bring about a rapid solution which can ward off the threatening conflagration; thus the pressure points are being applied, above all by British imperialism through the Wilson Government. Since the latter heads the advocates of a neocolonial solution for Rhodesia, is it surprising to find this same Government applauding Machel's moves? Or do comrades Fauvet and Sheppard characterise this as a leftist binge on the part of Wilson and Callachan? The fact that the Zimbabwe guerillas have bases in Mozambique does not mean that Machel is not in favour of a neo-colonial solution in Zimbabwe; these links were formed long ago during the time FRELIMO was engaged in guerilla warfare. They continue in spite of the wishes of the Machel leadership. Finally, I am grateful to the comrades' offer to use the MGIC library. However, they should note that this is not the only source of information available on Mozambique. Further, they should examine the facts that they receive from Mozambique, and not get lost in the euphoria of the successful struggle that was led by FRELIMO.

It was against these discipline and security measures that Karanja's supposed 'militants' mutinied. Is Julius Karanja really in favour of trigger-happy drunken soldiers strolling round the streets of Maputo? Or of a relaxation in security that would allow South African agents to penetrate the army with greater ease?

Remarkable

But the most remarkable piece in Karanja's article is his claim that the Mozambican closure of the border with Rhodesia is a fraud designed to put pressure on Vorster to, in turn, put pressure on Ian Smith to do a deal with 'moderate' black leaders and thus stifle the Zimbabwe liberation struggle – thus the politics of southern Africa dissolves into one huge conspiracy. At the same time Karanja criticises Samora Machel for not having implemented full sanctions much earlier.

Karanja even says that Machel's policy 'serves the interests of imperialism'. According to *The Observer* of 14 March, the immediate effect of Machel's policy has been the confiscation of 20 per cent of Rhodesia's rolling stock (worth some £23 million) and the loss of routes for 60 per cent of her foreign trade (which because of congestion, freight costs, etc. cannot simply be rerouted via



Strange bedfellows: Machel (right) with Kaunda (centre) and Nyerere last week

be really capable of making the interests of the working masses its own and never deviating from serving the People, it is essential that it remains constantly under FRELIMO's leadership' (message from the President of FRELIMO on the Investiture of the Transitional Government in Mozambique). Do comrades Fauvet and Sheppard consider these as guidelines against 'bureaucratic methods of work? '

Again, the comrades produce not a 'shred of evidence' to show that the *grupos dinamizadores* do not act along similar political projections: that of implementing the 'watchwords of FRELIMO'. The leaders of these *grupos* are in fact appointed from above, and would it not be fair to say that Machel's line against those 'who deform our line' will be implemented even in these bodies?

Thus it is not our contention to say that the FRELIMO leadership has degenerated 'overnight' into bureaucratic methods. Rather, that it has never completely broken with this method.

I am not in favour of 'trigger-happy drunken soldiers strolling around the streets of Maputo' – if indeed there are any; however, I am totally against the state having a monopoly over the means of violence and totally in favour of arming the workers and peasants of Mozambique in militias to defend their interests themselves, rather than having them 'defended' by the state that claims to represent their interests. WEEK OF ANTI-MILITARIST ACTION IN PORTUGAL that allowed soldiers to meet together



A soldier of the Revolutionary **Soldiers and Sailors Front** (FSMR) in Oporto talks to Red Weekly in a special interview.

Q. In the pre-election period, what are the main problems facing the rank-and-file soldiers?

A. First of all, I will try to explain the significance of the anti-militarist campaign, which is aimed at unmasking the current offensive of the bourgeoisie. We are trying to explain the importance of the rank-and-file soldiers' vote, in opposition to that of the military leadership.

Elections

One of the difficulties that faces us is that the military leadership has ordered special mobilisations during the preelection period in order to keep the soldiers very busy and prevent the opportunity for mass meetings. An example of this is that the soldiers are being sent on 'special' training, or being mobilised to 'keep order'.

In this way the military leadership is aiming to prevent the soldiers from voting in the elections, by making sure that they are sent away on these 'special' mobilisations, far from the areas where they are registered voters, to 'protect' the polling stations in other districts.

However, in order to combat these manoeuvres, we are planning a week of anti-militarist action, organised on a national basis, with the production of a paper if possible. In this way we hope to launch a campaign of civil anti-milit-

LETTE

arism, going far beyond the soldiers themselves.

Q. How will you take up, within this campaign, the organisation of opposition to the project of the Portuguese ruling class for the 'professionalisation' of the army? A. Well, this project of 'professionalisation' is already underway. The Military Police and the Commandos have already been professionalised. In addition military service has been reduced from 18 to 15 months so that new recruits have less time to become active. And discipline and repression against the new recruits is much stronger now.

The revolutionary and anti-militarist soldiers understand very clearly that the success of the campaign will depend very much on winning the new recruits to the side of anti-militarism as quickly as possible.

Recruits

I must also explain that there is a big contradiction in this ruling class project, which we must use in our favour. To impose a strict military discipline means preventing all freedom of expression within the army. But most of the soldiers were radicalised during the prerevolutionary situation when the right to speak freely was generalised throughout the army.

Also, as far as the new recruits are concerned, they too have won certain democratic rights as workers within the factories, which the military leadership

attitude to the Campaign; had it played a more active role in building the conference its candidate would obviously have got more votes. Moreover, if the CP affiliates to the Campaign - as it clearly should - this would give it an automatic delegate to the NC.

Nevertheless, this is no justification for refusing to allow it to be represented on the leadership of the Campaign. All significant organisations which state their willingness to support the Campaign's activities should be represented as the most effective way of putting this stated support to the test.

This also accords with our conception of workers democracy, and with the need to build the broadest and most effective campaign in solidarity with the Portuguese working class. It is to be hoped that a way will be found to correct this error in the future. - PAT JORDAN

is now trying to deny them within the army. This is why it is so important to build support for the anti-militarist campaign among the workers commissions, the neighbourhood commissions and in the trade unions, in order to prepare young workers for the struggle within the army and most importantly to educate the working class as a whole on the anti-militarist campaign.

Uniform

The rank-and-file soldiers see themselves as workers in uniform and have refused to attack workers' demonstrations and actual struggles. In fact, in the past they have joined these struggles. The ordinary soldiers know very well that this is not the case for the professionals.

And of course, the extra privileges that the professionals receive, like free medicine and other social benefits, is another readily understood difference.

But as long as the professional contracts remain unsigned, the generals cannot count on the army.



Q. How strong are the links between the soldiers and the trade unions?

A. Well, we demand that all the soldiers have the right to remain in their own trade unions - the ones they belonged to before joining the army. In this way we can have very close links with the workers movement, for example raising support for the soldiers who are still in prison, and forcing the reformists to support the soldiers movement. However, the links with the working class are less strong after 25 November. Within the army, every structure

has been banned - even ones like the ADUs (Assemblies of Unit Delegates), which included officers and were only consultative. In addition, the most radicalised soldiers were expelled from the army. So the soldiers movement as a whole was forced into a retreat. All the highest forms of organisation, like the co-ordination of soldiers committees in Lisbon, have disappeared.

The soldiers movement is now faced with a new situation in which it must fight for economic and democratic demands. The perspectives now are to build the anti-militarist campaign.

SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

Delegates to the first meeting of the national committee of the Portuguese Solidarity Campaign last Sunday recognised that the campaign has in front of it a hard political task,

Particularly important was considered the development of links between Portuguese and British women in many areas of struggle both as workers and as women for liberation; of work in the Labour Party to highlight the role of the Labour Government, particularly in its allowing the training in Britain of the experts for a new security force in Portugal and its equipment of this force with all kinds of gadgets recently tried and tested in Northern Ireland; and the development of the work within areas of the trade union move ment.

A meeting will be held in London around the elections; a culturalpolitical event around the theme of Portugal and Chile is being planned; and the Campaign is to assist in every way possible the Merseyside International Car Workers Committee Conference on 16 May on the role of the multinationals.

There are many projects to work on and all offers of help will be gratefully received - contact the Portuguese Solidarity Campaign, 12 Little Newport Street, London, WC2.



The centre-spread on unemployment (Red Weekly, 18 March) was really excellent, but there was one serious omission.' You correctly included the right to work of women workers, but made no mention of the importance of the demand for the right to work of black workers, who are equally hard hit by

18 months from November 1973 to May 1975.]

The defence of black workers' right to work means a vigorous rejection of all the racist 'solutions' to unemployment of the National Front - solutions that also find expression within the unions themselves. It means demanding

Communist Party recommends Rule 14

conference demanding in the fight for I was glad to see the Red Weekly article on the now notorious Rule 14 of the TUC's workers democracy that General Coun-

new model rules for trades councils. As was correctly stated, this has important repercussions on the question of workers democracy in the labour movement.

From now on the bureaucrats of the TUC General Council will attempt to repress those elements in the movement attempting to fight the anti-working class policies of the TUC. If this rule passes without being challenged, the grounds for a witch-hunt against left militants will have been laid.

The role of the Communist Party has to be specially hoted. In many trades councils, including mine, they are recommending acceptance of this rule because it deletes the specific reference to the CP in the old rule; and because, more ominously, they argue that it is necessary to 'protect the movement from "wreckers" '. Who these 'wreck ers' are is beyond me, unless it is a reference to the present right-wing leadership of the trade union movement!

I would endorse the demands put forward in Red Weekly and urge all trades council members to fight for them. We should also put forward resolutions to every annual trade union

cil members from that particular union vote to drop this rule.

This issue is an important one and shows how vital it is to take up the question of democracy in the workers movement at'all levels. - STEVE VOK-ES (EC member, Cardiff Trades Council).

PORTUGUESE

SOLIDARITY

CONFERENCE

Ric Sissons' report of the Portuguese solidarity conference in last week's Red Weekly contained one minor inaccuracy: the impression that all left groups at the conference were represented on the elected National Committee.

In fact, a member of the Communist Party stood for one of the 15 places on the NC but was not elected. The IMG delegates at the conference considered that the failure to elect him was a mistake representing, in the case of some delegates, a politically sectarian error.

Of course, one can criticise the CP's

Gay picket

The reformist gay rights organisation, the Campaign for Homosexual Equality (CHE), have decided that they will import to their conference in Southampton in May an ex-US Army sergeant with a 'distinguished record' of service in Vietnam, to speak on gay rights. This man, Sergeant Matlovich, has recently come out as homosexual and fought his superiors over the rights of gays in the US Armed Forces.

As a homosexual, a member of CHE, and a pacifist, I strongly object to this condoning of an organisation, the US Army, whose militaristic ideology is part of the same system which is responsible for the repression of gay people. I do not see much difference between napalming Vietnamese and gassing homosexuals (as the Nazis did).

A number of us are considering holding a peaceful picket of this conference on 31 May when Matlovich is due to speak. I would be grateful if anyone interested in supporting this picket would contact me at the University of London Union, Malet Street, London WC1. - MARCUS CARLTON

discrimination in employment.

Unemployment among male black workers is rising more than twice as fast as among white workers. And for black women workers the situation is even worse. The increase among black women workers has been nearly three times as large as among the total of unemployed women workers. [Figures from Department of Employment Report, Unemployment Among Workers From Racial Minority Groups, covering the the repeal of the 1971 Immigration Act and all racist legislation.

For thousands of black and other immigrant workers, trapped in shit jobs or no jobs at all by poor English, it means the right to free English tuition in work-time. And for all those black workers, especially women, in non-union sweatshops (one in Walsall was paying 25p an hour for a 55-hour week) it means the basic right of trade union organisation and a minimum wage. -**RICHARD HATCHER**

LAW CENTRE BLOCKED

Just in case the judges and coppers have left anybody with illusions in British justice, the Law Society seem to be doing their best to dispel them. They are currently blocking the operations of a community law centre which gives free legal advice to the local working class.

The centre, which is in Hayes, Middlesex, has been operating on a restricted basis for some months, waiting for the Law Society to grant the required waiver of solicitor's practice rules which forbid advertising. The refusal of this waiver could put the future of the national neighbourhood law system at stake.

As living standards fall and 'crime' rates soar, it seems that solicitors are determined to restrict knowledge of the law to the rich. Not only do the ruling class make the rules, they don't even want to tell us what they are. -OLIVER NEW.

10 Spain

Red Weekly 1 April 1976

The heroic workers' struggle in the Basque city of Vitoria has profoundly affected the whole political situation in Spain today, and its effects are still being felt in every corner of the Spanish state.

Within the ranks of the dictatorship it has opened up the divisions between the far right, who are determined to return to the most brutal repression before the breach opened at Vitoria grows wider, and the 'reformers', who argue the urgent need to make concessions to the working class in order to defuse the struggle before its power grows unmanageable.

Among the middle class and reformist opposition circles, it has created an awareness that unless they can rapidly produce some tangible results they are in danger of losing their leadership over the mass movement. This has driven the two class-collaborationist 'fronts' of the Communist and Socialist Parties (the Democratic Council and Democratic Platform) to unite into a common organisation, and to modify their 'softly, softly' policy designed to conciliate the 'liberal' elements of the dictatorship by calling mass demonstrations in Madrid and Barcelona for 4 April on the issue of amnesty.

The struggle in Vitoria - despite the repression with which it met -has inspired the working class to even more determined struggle. As one militant told a general assembly of Barcelona engineering workers: 'We know that the same thing that happened to the comrades in Vitoria can happen to us. But we have to continue the struggle anyway.' Now the Barcelona engineering workers are planning a general strike for 31 March in connection with their wage claims, to be prepared for by mass factory meetings and a city-wide assembly.

In the following excerpt from the current issue of Inprecor, a Spanish revolutionary militant outlines the new situation after Vitoria.

A violent revolutionary wind has penetrated the country, pushing its way through the fissures of the miserable political 'concessions' the Francoist reform has been compelled to 'tolerate' on its road toward 'democracy'. This wind will not die down so long as a shadow or threat of exploitation and oppression remains.

Since the first silent peaceful demonstrations for amnesty, a new and striking phenomenon has taken shape. The masses are entering into political action, making their presence felt in the streets. People who have never - 'never' meaning during forty years of dictatorship - 'acted politically' have taken to the streets and met thousands of others like themselves, people struggling for the same objectives, confident of winning them by themselves, through their own actions.

Coming to fore

These workers, students, professionals, women from all over the country are learning to make their presence felt, to assert themselves in the factories and in the neighbourhoods. All the latent demands economic, political, and social are coming to the fore, generating an enormous consciousness of solidarity, an immediate politicisation of all struggles, a profound need for self-organisation for the struggle.

All the bodies the mass movement considers useful for united activity have been utilised, regardless of the function these bodies are assigned by Francoist legality (neighbourhood associations, trade unions, professional associations, housewives' associations). Concurrently, new bodies are being created and

Soldiers patrol the streets of the Argentinian capital Buenos Aires last week after the armed forces had given a final shove

are replacing or combining with these older bodies in the course of action, always seeking the road capable of providing the greatest degree of representativity, the greatest coordination, the greatest extension of action



bly of delegates took the lead in the mobilisations.

The slogans orienting the struggles are broadening, becoming unified, and radicalising. Amnesty has broadened its content to the social terrain. It now also means the rehiring of all those fired or laid off for political reasons since 1939. At the Babcock-Wilcox factory in Vizcaya this dem-

class trade union is felt by millions of workers; it is being discussed in detail in the assemblies of many factories.

In Spain today, nobody dares assert that it is possible to 'reform' or 'take over' the CNS, the hated fascist vertical trade union. There is unanimous agreement on the necessity of destroying it. When

'The "reform" projects of the Spanish Government are stillborn; they belong to prehistory at a time when the masses are already writing history."

And always, in the very centre, is the sovereign factory or branch assembly, the delegates, the commissions and committees elected in these assemblies, and, more recently, the massive pickets to extend the struggles, the self-defence pickets, which already represent a genuine acquisition of the movement, in spite of the hysterical press campaign that has been waged against them.

Thus in January and February, during the struggles of the teachers in Madrid, the general assemblies sent delegations to factories in struggle - Chrysler, Pegaso - asking for and obtaining solidarity, in turn, the teachers' assemblies welcomed delegations from these workers assemblies, from neighbourhood coordinating bodies, and from tenants associations, and together they discussed the demands and leadership of the struggle. And in February, when the construction workers went on strike in Barcelona, all the work sites elected delegates and the assem-

and has already been won.

In a few cases during the first demonstrations in January, the police were applauded because they refused to charge against the demonstrators. But the inexperienced hands that were then applauding the police are now building barricades. The slogan of the dissolution of the repressive bodies is already part of the atmosphere being breathed in Spain today (and in spite of this, or rather because of it, during the united action meeting that called the general strike in the Basque country in solidarity with Vitoria. the PCE [Spanish Communist Party] was maintained - and this the day after the murders in Vitoria!).

Down with CNS!

The cry of 'Down with the CNS' (the state 'trade union' federation) is now part of all the platforms of demands. The need for a united

addressing more than 30,000 workers in Pamplona, even the president of the Provincial Council of Workers, the highest provincial body of the vertical trade union. cried 'Down with the CNS!' - a cry that was taken up by thousands.

The 'reform' projects of the Government are stillborn; they belong to prehistory at a time when the masses are already writing history. The Government proposes that sixteen conditions be met before a demonstration is organised; but

every day there are dozens of demonstrations in the immense majority of the cities of the country, called for thousands of reasons by every imaginable body.

Likewise, in order to organise a meeting 'legally', it is necessary to go through god knows how many channels; but assemblies of thousands of workers, students, people of every profession are occurring factory by factory and city by city, while in Sabadel, Pamplona, and Vigo assemblies have to meet in football stadiums in order to accommodate all the people who turn out!

In Spain today, liberty is struggling to be born. To insist on how much we need the solidarity of the workers of all the world is to repeat the obvious. The blood of the workers must never again flow in Spain! Down with the murderous dictatorship!



Mass demonstration for police murder victims in Vitoria



by General Videla is anything but a change for the better.

part in stepping up the repression over the past two years-including the activities of the notorious AAA death squads.

The armed forces have played a full

Murder attempt



full-scale war against the ERH guerrillas in Tucuman province. They have replaced Isabelita for one reason only: she failed to defeat the working class. Her fate was sealed, in fact, when she had to retreat last July in the face of a general strike against wage controls.

Already five leftist parties-including the Socialist Workers Party (PST), Argentinian supporters of the Fourth International- have been banned. More than 4,000 people have been arrested, and the death sentence has been imposed for a wide variety of offences. Those like the Communist Party who try to create illusions in the new junta's 'democratic' promises, saying that it 'refuses to solve problems in Pinochet's way', should note Videla's statement to a meeting of Latin American generals last October: 'As many people will die in Argentina as is necessary to restore order."

Only one thing can stop him. The Argentinian working class has a proud history of struggle, and the development of a rank-and-file leadership which has drawn the political lessons of the last two vears can vet stop Videla in his tracks But they will need every last ounce of international solidarity to do it.

on US trotskyist

An attempt has been made to kill Catarino Garza - a candidate of the US Socialist Workers Party for Congress in the Lower East Side of New York. Gar za's campaign had been attracting increasing support in this Puerto Rican and black area of the city.

The assassination attempt came on 16 March when a sniper fired a rifle through the window of Garza's apartment - missing a campaign supporter, who had evidently been mistaken for the candidate, by only a foot. As usual the defenders of 'law and order', the police, were totally uninterested in this attempt to assassinate someone who has campaigned against the social service cuts in New York and for the independence of Puerto Rico.

Despite this de facto collusion of police and probable right-wing fanatics, the SWP's campaign - which has been tied to the opening of a bookstore and the establishment of a new branch in



CATARINO GARZA

the area - is having a real impact. This new revelation of the character of American 'democracy' will not stop that campaign.

Red Weekly 1 April 1976

BOMBNGS who's to blame?

The bombing of the Ideal Home exhibition at Olympia, in which 84 civilians were hurt, has once again thrown the Irish question to the fore of British politics.

Whether or not the Provisional IRA or a splinter Republican group were responsible for the bomb is unclear. But socialists should be clear about where any responsibility for these bombs lies.

STARVATION

It wasn't the Irish who invaded Britain seven hundred years ago and kept their people in subjection and poverty, if not actual starvation. It wasn't Republicans who erected the Six County statelet in the North of Ireland which guaranthe Catholic population under the heel of a built-in Protestant majority backed by the most extreme sections of the British Tory Party.

TORTURE

And it hasn't been the British who have suffered an occupation army in the last seven years charging through their streets and homes, shooting up demonstrators, arresting husbands, sons, wives and daughters, and subjecting them to interrogation, imprisonment and torture.

But all that has happened to the Catholics of Northern Ireland.

What's more, it has all happened without the majority of the so-called socialist left in Britain - let alone the working class as a whole raising a finger in opposition.





bombings from the largest far left group in Britain, the International Socialists, supposedly argues for troops out but fails to mention the right of the Irish to self-determination once; while in one short side the bombings are condemned five times

No wonder that a people fighting the combined might of the British Army, the RUC and the Loyalist paramilitaries, and faced with the apathy and often open hostility of British workers to their cause, turn to more desperate means to get the troops out. For that is the aim of the bombing campaign.

MISTAKES

Despairing of British workers ever supporting troops out for the right reasons - support of the Irish people's right to decide their own future - the Provos mistakenly reckon that a bombing campaign, civilian casualties and all, will finally alienate the British public from Ireland so much that the troops will have to be withdrawn due to a massive groundswell of reactionary pressure.

But bombs cannot compensate for the bankrupt politics of the Provisional leadership. At the very moment when the Loyalists have refused in principle to share power

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PRE-PUBLICATION OFFER: £5 for both, post free (cash with order only) from: Pluto Press Ltd., Unit 10 Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW18LH. This offer is open until Easter only.

Since internment ended last December there have been constant fears that it would be maintained under another guise. These have been underlined by two events this week in the Six Counties.

Solicitor Jonathon Taylor protested at Belfast magistrates court on 22 March that the authorities were 'attempting to dupe a credulous public into believing that the security forces were solving more murders than in fact they are'. Taylor, who was defending two men on a murder charge, revealed that the police had no evidence to connect the men with the charge. He predicted that at a later stage the Royal Ulster Constabulary would either withdraw the charge altogether or replace it with a minor offence.



with the Catholic minority; when Paisley and Baird are threatening a bloody civil war; when the Loyalist paramilitaries in the UVF and UDA are daily shooting and bombing the Catholics of the North with impunity - at this very moment the Provo leadership tacitly give the nod for a bombing campaign in Britain.

At a time when it is possible to begin to explain to bigger numbers of British workers the need to overthrow the reactionary, privileged caste rule of the Loyalists backed up by British imperialism's army, the Provos decide to bomb them. Such politically useless antics will only serve to reinforce the anti-Irish chauvinism of most British workers. All the signs are that this will lead not to a mood for withdrawal but to an increased willingness to give the British Army a free hand to do what it likes to the Catholic ghettoes in the North.

What is more, these ghettoes will be increasingly isolated as the failure of the Provos to develop an all-Ireland strategy for struggle (as oppos-

ed to the blueprints for alternative structures contained in Eira Nua) reaps its dividend with the complicity of the Southern Government in the harassment and repression of Republicans.

MOVEMENT

The only movement in Britain which can help the Irish people's freedom fight against British imperialism is one which fights for troops out on the basis of the Irish people's right to self-determination one which can explain to British workers that the repressive techniques developed by the army and the British state to keep down the nationalist population of the North are for use against their own struggles tomorrow.

Possibly we may fail in the fight to build such a movement. We may fail to cut through the thick skin of chauvinism. But there is no short cut in a stick of gelignite.



This was no more than could have been expected from a judiciary that continues to be appointed for services rendered to the Orange

and it is unlikely that there will be any storm in the palaces of justice. In any case, new legislation introduced this week provides

WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER Campaign national conference, 10/11 April in Coventry. Open to all bod-ies supporting the campaign. Discussion of perspectives, amendments to Charter, structures, Credentials from: c/o Helen Gurdon, Flat 4, 39 Newbold Terrace East, nington Spa, Warwicks.

REVOLUTIONARY Communist Group-new pam-phet 'Ireland: British Labour and British Imperialism' Public meeting to launch and discuss it, Tues 6 April, 7.30pm, Conwey Hall.

7.30pm, Conwey Hall. GREATER MANCHESTER Troops Out Movement GREATER MANCHESTER Troops Out Movement

GINEALER MANCHESTER Troops Out Movement forum: 'The background to the present situation—Brit-ish imperialism and Ireland'. Tues 13 April, 7.30pm, the Black Lion, Chapel St, Manchester 3. GENERAL STRIKE-50th anniversary delegate confer-ence, 23-25 April at Sussex University. Details/dele-gate credentials (£3) from: Pete Cressvell, Trade Union Group, Sussex University Linkon Echam Brithman oup, Sussex University Union, Falmer, Brighton NEW PAMPHLET produced by Birmingham IMG-The IMG: What We Stand For'. Proceeds to Red Weekly Fighting Fund. 1-5 copies, 10p each + 10p postage; 5-10 copies, 10p each + 15p postage; over 10 copies, post free. Write to: Martin Tolman, Aston Union, Gosta Green, Birmingham B4 7ES.

JOINT Red Weekly-Chartist-Workers Action public meeting- What policies to beat unemployment and the cuts'. Tue 13 April, Star & Garter pub, Fairfield St (nr Piccadilly station), 7.30pm.

'THE CRISIS-and the Socialist Solution': North Lon don IMG public meeting, Weds 14 April, 8pm in John Barnes Library, Camden Road (next to Holloway pris-on). Speaker: Bob Pennington (IMG Nat. Organiser). COME TO THE BEST social ever: Sat 3 April, 8pm till late, at City Polytechnic, Whiteshapel Road, E1 (Ald-gate East tube). Cheap food and drink plus Irish sing-ers and fiddlers, the Stepney Sist§ and disco. Adm. 60p (unemployed 30p). Organised by E. London TOM.

TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT: Support the Labour Movement Delegation to Irelandl Public meeting with film, speakers and discussion. Fri 2 April, 7.30pm, Hammersmith Town Hall

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HULL TRADES COUNCIL Working Women's Charter group one-day conference-Sun 4 April, 11am-5.30pm Bevin House. Speakers: Marie Patterson (TGWU Nation-al Organiser), Tess Gill (NCCL). Creche available. BIRMINGH Hans dm (NCC). Crece available. BIRMINGH AM Working Women's Charter Campaign public meeting on the Sex Discrimination Act. Tues 6 April, 7.30pm, Digbeth Civic Hall. Speakers from NCCL and national WWCC.

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Abuse

The solicitor went on to describe this practice as an 'increasing evil' which was nothing less than the abuse of the courts for a political purpose. He also pointed out that it was not just the RUC and the British Army who were involved, declaring 'the complicity of the Director of Public Prosecutions in this fraud is unreservedly deplorable'.

The response of the magistrate to Taylor's protest, which has since been supported by other Belfast lawyers including Social Democratic & Labour Party Convention member Paddy Duffy, was to tell him to take his complaints elsewhere.

ascendancy.

The important aspect of these allegations is not simply that they reveal the political role of the courts in defending the capitalist state - in this respect the North of Ireland is no different from Britain or the 26 Counties. Rather they substantiate the view that internment was only brought to a formal end last December.

Charging people with murder ensures that they will not be released on bail, as does charging them with bombings or possession of firearms, especially if they are Catholics. In the Six Counties, where periods on remand last from nine to fifteen months before the trial, such a ploy can be an effective substitute for internment.

The British administration has little cause to be concerned about Taylor's accusations. Northern Ireland legal circles have not been noted for their 'professional integrity' over the last seven years.

another solution for the British Government.

New crime

A new crime has been created in the Six Counties. From now on anyone in the North can be charged with 'withholding information which might prevent an act of terrorism'. As a leading barrister has already pointed out, this makes it possible for the RUC and the British Army to arrest and interrogate 'anyone about anything'. Another lawyer stressed that it will no longer be necessary for the authorities to 'entice informers with bribes or threats, as they have simply made it an offence not to be an informer'.

These new legal provisions arrive at the same time as the British Army and the RUC have launched a new series of raids and searches on Republican districts resulting in many arrests. Undoubtedly many of those lifted will be used as guinea pigs for the new legislation.



Rhodesian troops-sitting on a short fuse

ZIMBABWE: The powder keg of Africa

A desperate scramble is on to prevent the anti-colonial struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) from escaping out of the control of the traditional leaderships, in the face of Smith's refusal to budge an inch on demands for majority rule. At stake is the whole 'detente' policy cooked up by Vorster of South Africa and Kaunda of Zambia, which has already taken a terrible battering from the victory of the MPLA in Angola. That is why Kaunda made such an impassioned plea on Monday for an immediate intervention by British troops, as a last gamble to preserve neo-colonial stability from the threat of an independent liberation struggle.

For western imperialism the existing integration of southern Africa in the world capitalist system - largely through South Africa - is crucial. Huge US and British investment in South Africa, the access to raw materials and cheap labour, and for South Africa itself, its dominant role in a southern African 'common market' are what lie behind the present manoeuvres

The British Government has been leading the attempts to force Smith to make sufficient concessions to provide the basis for a negotiated settlement. It has been backed up in this by a US State Department statement (20 February): 'We are calling on Mr Smith and the white regime to negotiate realistically and seize what may well be their last opportunity for a negotiated settle-

Kissinger has urged Smith to 'show

flexibility' and warned that 'the time for settlement is now running out." Vorster is reliably reported to have warned Smith that under no circumstances would South Africa commit its armed forces in the Rhodesian struggle, though it may reasonably be expected that arms and 'volunteers' will be forthcoming.

Kaunda, Machel (Mozambique), Nyerere (Tanzania), and Sir Seretse Khama (Botswana) have lent their weight to this drive towards a peaceful settlement by brandishing the possible alternative of a 'people's war' to liberate the Rhodesian masses. Their major effort in this direction has been to promote the conciliationist Nkomo faction of the African National Council in the settlement negotiations.

Since the beginning of Vorster's 'detente' initiative, Kaunda has con-

sistently hampered, and in some cases positively crippled, the waging of armed struggle from bases inside Zambia. Taken together with his reactionary stance during the Angola struggle, this clearly indicates his bankruptcy in dealing with the diseases endemic to a neo-colonial status: impotence in the face of capitalist manipulations of the international copper market, paralysis before the reverberations in Zambia of the international crisis of capitalism, and surrender to pro-Western elements in his government and party.

THREAT

The Zambian ruling class know only too well that an escalation of armed struggle in Zimbabwe could transform the waves of internal industrial unrest into a much more radical upsurge threatening their whole position.

As for Nkomo, he has been quoted as saying that he would welcome British intervention since it had always been his view that 'only Britain could give independence to this country' (New York Times, 24 February).

But there are powerful forces working in the opposite direction. The confidence of the guerilla militants of Zimbabwe, the weakening of Smith's position and the decline of white Rhodesian morale, coupled with the successes in Mozambique and Angola and the rebuff suffered by the armed forces of South Africa in the latter, have had an inevitable impact on the morale and militancy of the black working class in South Africa. A clear sign of this is the wave of militant strike action throughout the country over the past year. The struggle in Zimbabwe can spell the beginning of the end for the whole imperialist, racist set-up in southern Africa - and a giant step forward for the oppressed peoples of the whole world



EBANON

When General Aziz El Ahdab appeared on television in Lebanon early last month to announce his coup d'etat against President Franjieh, the population of the West region of Beirut (a Moslem region) expressed its spontaneous and initially positive reaction towards it by shooting in the air.

This reaction to a coup made by a well known servant of the bourgeoisie in part reflected the desire of the population for an end to the cruel and interminable fighting. Essentially, however, the masses were reacting to the Bonapartist aspect given by Ahdab (himself a Sunni Moslem) to his movement.

This general, a long-time servant of the Maronite Christian leadership of the Lebanese army, introduced in his declaration phrases like 'the Arab Lebanese population' which were intended to play on the strong Arab nationalist feelings existing amongst the Moslems in Lebanon and on their hopes of getting rid of Franjieh - a President whom they saw as an imperialist butcher, a puppet and a gangster.

Their spontaneous reaction did not last long, in spite of the strong support given by the Moslem bourgeoisie to Ahdab's movement. Very quickly it became clear that Ahdab was too weak to install 'peace and order'. In fact Ahdab's coup was based on an army whi which had almost completely disintegrated.

'Peaceful'

This explains why Ahdab tried to present his coup as a peaceful call for unity of the army and society as a whole, knowing full well that he was unable to smash down or even repress any strong opposition of any sort in a country where every 'party' or movement is an army unto itself.

Syria would have preferred a solution like Ahdab's. It had been preparing for it secretly, but recognised the weakness of this coup and thus took out of Lebanon its foreign minister Khaddan (who had become much more a permanent resident than a visitor in Lebanon) two hours before the coup happened. The purpose of Syria's disceet silence following the coup was to allow it to intervene with another solution in case Ahdab's failed. But Franjieh was not prepared to accept a bourgeois solution in which he was not a leading participant. He therefore began immediately to prepare a military offensive based on his own armed militia, with the intention of provoking a new explosion of the civil war in which he would try to redress the situation to his advantage.

The civil war broke out once more. The Phalangists (the principal Christian rightist armed force) had not expressed either support or opposition to Ahdab during the first two days of the coup. But when it came to the crunch they

fighting forces would lead to a real disaster for their plans.

What determined their position was that a new element had entered into the scene - the rapid growth of the rebel Army of Arab Lebanon' led by Ahmad El Khatib. This army was winning over most of the regular regiments and was recruiting most of the Moslem soldiers (who made up a majority of the rank-and file of the regular army, in contrast to its Maronite leadership). The 'Army of Arab Lebanon' was strongly supported by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (and explicitly by Fatah), and acted independently of the Syrian regime.

This was particularly important because the Syrian regime was advancing towards an accord with the Americans which was to the disadvantage of the leadership of the Palestinian resistance. Thus the Syrians chose to support Franjieh (who was obstinately holding onto his presidential position) in order to weaken the Lebanese left and Fatah. This weakening would have facilitated the Syrians' own negotiation with the



Leftist celebrates capture of Holiday Inn Americans and jut an end to the strengthening of Khatib's army.

Khatib's army in fact constituted a real obstacle to the reconstruction of a centralised repressive army in a Lebanon deprived now of any real state apparatus. Hence the left and the Palestinian resistance (in all its formations), greatly helped by the 'Army of Arab Lebanon', were able to develop a strong military offensive against the right-wing Christian fighting forces.

The battles are at their highest point. Each contending force is trying to turn the military situation to its own advantage, hoping thereby to impose its conditions in any new solution that results from this important war - a war that condenses within itself all the problems of the Middle East and all the contradictions which the Lebanese bourgeois regime has accumulated

vatch this

A magnificant response followed our appeal last week for an extra boost to the Fighting Fund. Apart from anything else, we needed the money to meet the cost of the 2,000 4-page special pull-outs we distributed at the Assembly last Saturday. Our thanks to: Brighton IMG, £40; Anon, £23; L. Ross, £2.50; Anon, Sheffield, £60; Anon, £6; Edinburgh IMG £1; Oxford IMG, £40; R. Davies, £5; Edinburgh University Red Weekly supporters, £1; Newcastle IMG, £5; Glasgow IMG, £2. But what appened to the money we were promised from Nottingham?

With a few days to go, that gives us a total of £351.52 for March. Your contribution can boost us up to that £500 target. And next week we'll be announcing new plans to make sure that the Fighting Fund becomes a major weapon in the fight for a 16-page Red Weekly. Watch this space!

Don't forget, meanwhile, to post off your donation now to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

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MATHIAS MURUNGU

The struggle for socialism in Lebanon

Come and hear an eye-witness report by a militant of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Group (Lebanese supporters of the Fourth International)

Tuesday 6 April, 7.30 pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. (Holborn tube).

came down for Franjieh against Ahdab. knowing that a division in the Christian

Majida Salman

onty' for Leyla

'Hari-Kiri - the lesson that British Leyland workers have learned off the Japanese.' That was just one of the taunts in the press aimed at striking tool room workers in the Midlands this week.

First in the line of fire are 30 strikers at SU Carburettors. Their strike is over a pay parity guarantee made last April. Now Michael Foot has personally intervened to back up the Department of Employment, which has ruled that the agreement goes against the £6 limit.

The SU Carburettors strike has got to be seen as one of the few points of resistance against the present phase of incomes policy – and by implication against any further restrictions on pay. Tory MP John Stokes has taken the

opportunity to threaten that ' the Commons will not vote any more money for the company'. In other words - take it lying down or lose your jobs. He finished his tirade with a call for a 'Monty' to be put in charge to get morale right.

Despite the Morning Star's characterisation of this late blimp as the 'people's general', no solution to the crisis of the British car industry will be found under a Field Marshal or the present part-time, £22,500-a-year incumbent Sir Richard Dobson. Only nationalisation of all the 'Big Four' car firms on the basis of a workers plan for production implemented under their control can start to bring 'rationality' into the management of the British car industry.

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