

RED WEEKLY

24 FEBRUARY 1977

No. 188

PRICE 10p

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WHO ARE THE DEMOCRATS



Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

'The Labour Party has a proud record in respect of widening the rights and liberties of individuals we are entitled to ask of those who join us do you share our belief in the liberty of each individual human being, in his or her right to express his opinions and religious beliefs truly and without fear of consequences?'
Shirley Williams, January 1977.

WHAT A HYPOCRITICAL BUNCH of crypto-Tories make up this Labour Government. Shirley Williams, the 'defender of democratic rights' against Trotskyists, Michael Foot, whose theme song has been how parliament is the only defence of civil liberties, Tony Benn, long time advocate of 'open government'. They stay silent with never a protest against the deportations of Agee and Hosenball and the arrests of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell.

Just as they have nailed their sullied colours to the masts of the employers in their promotion of the social con trick, now they underline their subservience to the CIA and the Special

'In my view it would have been more in keeping with our traditions if we had allowed him [Rudi Dutschke] to stay here with his family... I believe that this debate has revealed there is a difference between the two sides of this House. One side prefers security, while the other prefers our liberal traditions.'

James Callaghan, 19 January 1971.

Branch by deporting journalists who expose these tricksters and arresting those who threaten to continue such enquiries.

These Labour leaders have not yet said if they are doing these things in the name of 'social democracy'. But they do say that their actions are in the 'national interest' — the same 'national interest' to which wages, social services and jobs have been sacrificed under their government. It is the interest of the bosses.

For the working class it should not matter in the least if Phillip Agee's 'exposure' of the CIA endangered 'national security'. Nor are workers threatened by the activities of Hosenball, Berry, Aubrey and Campbell in exposing the CIA's British counter-parts, or contravening the Official Secrets Act the Labour Party in 1974 pledged itself to scrap.

For real socialists and democrats such 'crimes' would be

NOW?

REGINA FISCHER continues her demonstration and hunger strike outside the Home Office last Monday after her arrest for alleged obstruction. Her bravery and tenacity put the 'democrats' of the Labour leadership to shame.



cause for celebration, applause and encouragement. Because socialists and democrats understand that when the security bosses talk of 'national security', they are talking about the security of the CIA to plot and kill in order to bring down radical governments; the security of British forces of repression who are today denying the rights of those such as the Irish people

'Mr Dutschke and his family are going to be harried from one country to another ... What about the individual concerned? Individuals have rights. One of the great things about the House of Commons is that we should seek to protect the individual.'

Michael Foot, 19 January 1971.

whose sole demand is that a foreign government leaves them in peace. It is the security of the ruling class.

If Agee, Hosenball, Campbell, Aubrey and Berry have threatened this type of security then they are the real democrats the real socialists salute them.

Gaze well on those you are deporting and arresting, Williams Rees, Foot, Benn, and then if you have any traces of honesty let gaze on yourselves. And talk then of how you defend civil liberties.

• National Demonstration: Stop the Deportations of Agee and Hosenball! Release Aubrey, Berry and Campbell!
Saturday 5 March. Assemble 1.00pm, Charing Cross Embankment.
Public Meeting, Monday 28 February, Conway Hall, 7.30pm.
Called by Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee and Aubrey Berry, Campbell Defence Committee.

• See p.3 for what lies behind the arrests.

THE NEWS THEY TRIED TO BAN:

The Guardian was to have originally published this material but was prevented by a 'D Notice'.

1. Approximately one half of the personnel of the Intelligence Corps (a regular British Army unit) is employed full-time on SIGINT (Signals Intelligence) duties.

2. At least 4,000 civil servants working for the Ministry of Defence are similarly engaged.

3. GCHQ (the government department responsible for overall direction of the SIGINT effort) is a member of an international clique which was set up to facilitate exchange of information and avoid duplication of effort.

4. To a large degree the American National Security Agency is responsible for overall direction of the organisation including GCHQ. This of course means that the CIA, the senior US intelligence apparatus, has considerable influence over

the activities of a British government agency.

5. That the considerable expense of maintaining the service personnel engaged on this work would not appear on GCHQ's balance sheet, falling instead into the category of ordinary military expenditure.

6. That anyone, civilian or military who has worked in this area is subjected to a series of threats backed up by the full force of the Official Secrets Act should they at any time disclose any aspect of their activities. And that such people are actively encouraged to report and inform on each other's social activities should their suspicions be aroused in any way.

7. That in addition to intercepting the communications of potentially 'hostile nations', GCHQ also monitors the radio networks of so-called 'friendly countries' and even the commercial signals of UK companies.

RALLY FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS 26th FEB

Occupation Against Redundancies

On Monday 14 February 800 textile machinery workers at the Wildt Mellor Bromley, Aylestone Road factory, Leicester seized control of their factory.

This followed the complete break-down of talks with the Bentley Engineering Group management over the proposed closure of the factory, making 390 workers redundant.

The shop stewards committee and the workers were no longer prepared to be the sacrificial lambs to 'Speed-Up' and 'Profit'. Realising that their jobs were not redundant, but being transferred to a low wage, higher profit plant at Bookham, Surrey, the shop stewards decided to occupy the factory as the only way left open to defend the jobs.

The occupation is well organised with the shop stewards having set up a series of groups to deal with welfare and finance for the workers and their families. They have sent delegates to local union branches and labour meetings to explain their case and to appeal for support.

As a result union branches throughout Leicester have pledged financial and local support, the Trades Council has given its

backing, and the management committee of Leicester South Constituency Labour Party have passed a resolution in support of the occupation. Full-time officials of the unions involved have also circulated appeals for 'financial and other support'.

The workers also have support from a most important direction — their wives have set up a support committee which actively supports the occupation by raising funds and organising public meetings and rallies.

Such exemplary action now needs to be consolidated with concrete demands which avoid any further run-down of the textile machine industry. Workers of Wildt Mellor Bromley have every right to demand full support from the labour movement for the nationalisation of the entire industry, under workers control, and without compensation to the owners.

★ A rally in support of the occupation will be held on Saturday 26 February, 2pm, Victoria Park Gate, London Road, Leicester.

★ Messages of support and donations to: WMB Occupation Committee, 2 Granby Road, Leicester.



Wildt Mellor Bromley workers discuss next stage of their fight for jobs

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

FASCISTS MUSCLE INTO STECHFORD

Although the date for the crucial Stechford, Birmingham by-election has not yet been set, four fascist candidates have already indicated that they are to stand.

The major fascist candidate is that of the National Front, who are demonstrating their 'muscle' by calling a national demonstration in the Stechford constituency this Saturday, 26 February.

As usual their aim is to intimidate the local Asian community and to fool white workers into blaming their black brothers and sisters for declining health services and education in the area, the massive unemployment that has hit the West Midlands in the last three years, and declining wages.

In the last local election in May, the National Front polled 11 per

cent in Stechford — the highest proportion of the vote in all Birmingham.

But the fascists have not had it all their own way. They have been permanently harassed from one meeting hall to the next. But now the Tory council in Birmingham have allowed them to use the Digbeth Civic Hall, a traditional meeting place for the labour movement.

Birmingham Trades Council is mandated to organise a counter-demonstration to the National Front on 26 February, but at the time of writing has produced no leaflets, posters or other materials for a march which they propose to be held in Birmingham town centre.

So far left and immigrant organisations have formed a '26 February against Racism and Fascism Committee' to build a demonstration which will lend political and material support to the immigrant community in Stechford on 26 February. The demonstration will assemble on Saturday, at 1.30pm, Adderley Park, Saltley, Birmingham.

INDEPENDENT

Another measure accepted by the committee was for an independent anti-fascist, anti-racist campaign in the Stechford by-election with an approach to the IMG, Socialist Workers Party and Labour Party candidates for allocation of electoral resources. This proposal, moved by IMG members, should hopefully receive a favourable response from the SWP candidate.

However, there has been no response from the 'moderate' Labour candidate to even the appearance of fascist candidates, let alone any indication that he will be prepared to support any action. That will fall to the black organisations and the far left.

BRIAN HERON [Prospective IMG candidate for Stechford].

• All seats in the forthcoming May council elections in Leicester will be contested by the National Front. The fascists have high expectations of pulling off the electoral victory that they narrowly missed in the last such round of elections. [They polled 43,000 votes, i.e. 18.5 per cent of the total vote.]

Part of their preparations include a new National Front HQ in Humberstone Gate, Leicester, which cost over £30,000. The building was picketed on 10 February by over 70 people drawn from the local anti-fascist and anti-racist committees, the Labour Party and women's groups.

This action is part of the build up to a campaign under the title 'Stop the Front in May'.

RAILWAYS: a programme for struggle



THERE ARE half as many rail workers now as there were in the early 1960s, and those who are left have had to take a cut in money wages under the terms of the Social Contract.

But a resolution passed by a London branch of the National Union of Railwaysmen, now going forward to the union's conference in July, provides the means to fight back against this attack on rail workers' living standards.

In place of the next phase of incomes policy, introduced by a Labour Government and policed by the leaders of the trade union movement, it advances a cost of living escalator clause which will keep real wages in line with the rate of inflation.

In place of mass unemployment, guaranteed to reach two million by the end of the year by 'Employment' Secretary Albert Booth, it argues for a 35-hour week at the full rate and for existing work to be shared out between all workers with no loss of pay. That means no redundancies and a reduction in the working week.

kinds of intellectual acrobatics were performed by the officials at Head Office who insisted that it was not really a pay cut because it was necessary for rail workers to lose 70p a week in order for them to receive the full £6 which would not go on to their basic rate.

When it is remembered that the overwhelming majority of rail workers work on their rest day and therefore depend on overtime to make up their pitifully low wages, this kind of bureaucratic reassurance becomes insulting.

Real Wages: In common with all

other workers, railway employees are expected to accept a maximum 5 per cent pay rise while inflation continues unabated at 15 per cent.

Conditions of Work: Because the Government is more concerned with repaying its debt to the moneylenders than creating jobs or improving conditions of work, those people left working in the industry are suffering from the effects of gross under-investment. Having to tolerate poor and inadequate transport is only one side of the coin.

Working conditions and there-

fore safety conditions suffer accordingly. The select few who are left working in the stations, depots, yards and sidings are expected to 'knuckle under' and 'do their best under difficult conditions'.

The London resolution shows that rail workers are serving notice that the days of servitude to the dubious capitalist notion of 'public service' are over. The main points of the resolution — the sliding scale of wages and hours — start from the needs of workers to defend their living standards, not from Government spending or the demands of

the capitalist market.

Rather than an insistence on differentials and free collective bargaining, these are the policies which can unite workers from different branches of industry and the public sector, including the most weakly organised, in a common fight against the Social Contract. Already many unions have motions for their conferences this summer calling for support for these policies.

The NUR resolution does not rule out free collective bargaining over and above automatic compensation for inflation. But it is based on the need for a flat rate increase to compensate for inflation in the past two years and index-linked wages to provide that compensation in the future.

Many working men and women trusted that the Labour Party programmes of 1973 and 1974 promised a genuine move towards socialism. The Labour Party in government has shown just how hollow those promises were. But the price for learning again the lesson that the Labour Party can never achieve socialism is a high one.

This resolution shows that while the Labour Government has reneged on its promises of socialism the workers who voted it in have not.



Among those present on the 14 February mass lobby of Parliament by telecommunications workers, protesting at threatened redundancies in their industry, were workers from the multinational ITT Creeds, Brighton, expressing their concern at an industry apparently in a state of rapid decline. Behind this decline is:

- the unpredictable pattern of supply and demand in the industry;
- the existing structure of the industry;
- the financial objectives of the Post Office — that is, their push to maximise profits regardless of the effect on jobs;
- the threat which technological change poses both to the supplying companies like ITT, and within the Post Office itself;
- the competition between the multinationals such as ITT, GEC and Plessey in their development of products.

Such problems are illustrated by recent developments at ITT Creeds. Management have started production of a new machine which requires less parts and therefore less production workers, while jobs in the assembly plant are being

the management or the unions. Employers, particularly Plessey, call for massive advertising campaigns which the salaried staff section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers have criticised as being no long term solution.

The unions on the other hand seem unwilling to mount a serious campaign in defence of jobs. Those at the Brighton factory of ITT Creeds notified their members very late in the day about the 14 February day of action, and gave very short notice of the meeting they did call to mobilise for it.

What is really needed is a solution to the problems posed, rather than half-hearted calls for days of action. Such action would involve campaigning for such things as an immediate cut in telephone installation charges, to increase demand for the products, and a concentration of the whole telecommunications industry in one publicly owned corporation.

In the meantime, workers such as those at Brighton need to continually resist the attempts of the employers to make the workers pay, via redundancies, for a crisis for which they have no responsibility.

HIT

There are four main areas where rail workers' living standards have been hit:

Jobs: Only a few weeks ago rail workers were treated to British Rail Chairman Peter Parker saying that during the next five years 40,000 will lose their jobs and those select few who are chosen to remain in what is rapidly becoming an elite job will have to work harder for the privilege. It is certain that the brunt of the job loss will not fall in the managerial grades.

The number of people employed on the railways has been cut by over half (from 400,000 to less than 200,000) since the early 1960s and the reward for making the railways more efficient during this period is 8,000 more jobs lost a year for the next five years. Some Social Contract!

Money Wages: By August 1975 rail workers were really doing something about their reputation for being badly paid. The basic

CREED Workers Resist Telecoms Cuts

LABOUR CRACKS DOWN ON JOURNALISTS

Merlyn's dirty tricks

THE ARREST last week of three supporters of the Agee-Hosenball Defence Campaign marks a new stage in the harassment of left-wing journalists.

In the confrontation between the intelligence services and those people investigating their illegal intervention in domestic politics, no holds, it seems, are barred.

Both the timing and the circumstances of the arrests suggest that an element of panic has set in along the darker corridors of Whitehall. Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell were picked up only days after Merlyn Rees was howled down in Parliament as he announced that the deportations of

Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball were to proceed. But they came before an emergency debate on the case on Tuesday which threatened to reveal new information about the reasons for the deportations.

In this situation a 'secrets' scandal would be very helpful to Merlyn Rees. Being sub judice, the circumstances of the charges could not be discussed, but the implication voiced in last week's *Sunday Express* that 'there is more to this than we are likely to know' added weight to Rees's assertion that 'I know more but can't tell you'.

The behaviour of the Special Branch in refusing access to the three men by lawyers or family for

two days, of unnamed 'police spokesmen' who hinted to journalists about 'serious offences' also served to distract attention from the facts which must now be publicised.

★ The meeting at which the three were arrested could only have been discovered by illegal surveillance, either phone-tapping or mail-interception.

★ The three have been charged under a section of the Official Secrets Act which Merlyn Rees himself promised in November would be scrapped as unworkable.

★ The Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee has suffered a series of burglaries, thefts, stolen accounts and address books which can be attributed to coincidence with difficulty.

★ Most important of all, there have recently been a number of revelations about right-wing pressure groups, 'front' publishing operations and what may be called 'technical' information gathering which have, if circumstantially,

begun to highlight the scope of intelligence operations in Britain which exceed military, economic and commercial boundaries.

The main impetus for these investigations has come from the mystery surrounding the attempt to get rid of Phil Agee, the former CIA agent. Since it is well known that he specialises in CIA activities, which he has uncovered in such countries as Jamaica recently, it has been clear to the Defence Committee and indeed to a number of MPs and trade union leaders that the CIA were behind the deportations.

The harassment, and now arrests, which have followed in the wake of the deportations makes it clear that the CIA and British Intelligence have a lot to hide which has little to do with 'national security'. So what happens now?

The defence of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell, in addition now to Agee and Hosenball now assumes great urgency. But the complicity of the Labour Government in this intimidation — its use of the Official Secrets Act, its flouting of the wishes of MPs, trade unionists and Labour Party members alike — is an obstacle which should be attacked in Constituency Labour Parties, union branches and in the activities of the Defence Committee outlined below.

In the longer term, the lessons of CIA 'attention' to unstable countries show that investigations and campaigns of this nature should not be the responsibility of individuals alone.

A labour movement inquiry into the deportations and arrests, organised by the media unions but with the backing of the TUC, would most effectively coordinate a specific defence of democratic rights against the intervention of state agencies whose interests are directly opposed to our own.

LABOUR'S HOME SECRETARIES



MORRISON

ROY JENKINS had the reputation of being the most liberal of all Labour Home Secretaries.

Jenkins went on to introduce the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which in allowing arrest and search without a warrant, the limiting of the right of habeas corpus and deportation on the Home Secretary's whim, represented one of the gravest attacks on the civil liberties of the individual since the end of the Second World War.

But the 'liberal' reputation of Jenkins persisted: 'civilised' was the most popular adjective penned by the dotting scribes of Fleet Street. Such compliments did have a ring of truth. In comparison with past Labour Home Secretaries, Roy 'PTA' Jenkins probably was the most 'liberal' of his breed; which says more about former Labour Home Secretaries than it does about Jenkins.

Merlyn Rees is following a long tradition of reaction which has permeated the Home Office when Labour has been in power.

In 1941, the Labour Home Secretary in Churchill's coalition Cabinet, Herbert Morrison, presided over the arrest and internment without trial of 4,000 'aliens', many of whom were Jewish refugees

from Hitler's Germany. He also suppressed the Communist Daily Worker and asked newagents to supply the names and addresses of those who ordered the paper, a practice which still persists today.

Chuter Ede, Home Secretary in the post-war Labour Government, presided over the British version of McCarthyism. He purged the Civil Service of anyone suspected of communist sympathies, banned a London May Day demonstration in 1949, ensured that an international Peace Conference to be held in Britain was cancelled, and for the first time introduced provisions for the withdrawal of British passports.

One of the implications of that change was a tightening of immigration controls of British passport holders from overseas, and during the 1964-70 Labour Government, the passing of racist immigration controls became one of the main preoccupations of Labour Home Secretaries. The 1965 Immigration Act limited entry to Commonwealth citizens with work vouchers, and the 1968 Act, rushed through after the first rantings from Enoch Powell, deprived British passport holders of the right to reside here unless they had a parent or grandfather born in the UK.



CLYNES

indeed throwing out or keeping out 'undesirables' has a history as long as the Labour Governments themselves. One of the earliest practitioners was Labour Home Secretary J.R. Clynes, who in 1929 denied the right of Leon Trotsky to live in Britain. Trotsky, recently denounced by Shirley Williams as 'not amusing to read', commented:

'For the Labour Government to refuse a visa to a revolutionary is really a happy opportunity to demonstrate their respectability once again. One needs no great imagination to picture Mr. Clynes's interview with his subordinates. During the interview Mr. Clynes feels as if he were undergoing an examination, and is afraid he will not seem firm enough. Thus it needs little ingenuity on the part of the police to prompt Mr. Clynes to a decision that will be greeted with full approval in the conservative papers next day.'

Substitute Rees for Clynes and CIA for the police and we have a pretty accurate description of the process which has led to the deportation orders being issued against Agee and Hosenball.

The tradition of right wing Labour Home Secretaries is no accident. Of all government departments the Home Office is the most closely associated with all the ruling class holds dear; the defence of property, the 'rule of law', the preservation of order — by which is meant their property, their law and their order. And the best way that incoming Labour Governments can show their loyalty to these institutions is to give their guardianship to someone the ruling class holds in its confidence.

Merlyn Rees is someone the ruling class can be confident will deny the rights of those whom they fear, whether it be revolutionaries like Trotsky, marching trade unionists like those in London in 1949, or those like Philip Agee who dare to

IN FOCUS



Militant and the witch-hunt

The right-wing leaders of the Labour Party continue in their witch-hunting antics. This week the Party's National Executive meets, having launched the committee of 'enquiry' into so-called 'entryism'.

Red Weekly has consistently campaigned against the witch-hunt in a principled manner. But we have also argued that the left has not adequately tackled the offensive of the right wing. Last week we looked at the response of Tribune. This week we turn our attention to Militant, the witch-hunt's target.

THREE REASONS

The attack on Militant has been launched for three main reasons. First, the right-wing Labour leaders want to use the witch-hunt as a bargaining counter in their negotiations with the foreign bankers: come to our aid, don't impose too difficult conditions on the loan, or the Trotskyists will gain, they cry.

At the same time, the right wing wants to show that, as loyal servants of international capitalism, they will 'deal with the Trots'. This was why the start of the witch-hunt coincided with the negotiations over the IMF loan.

Second, the Government wants to isolate the far left and ensure that it does not act as a focus for traditional Labour left supporters who want to fight the Government's policies and who see no fight coming from Tribune.

Third, the right wing know full well that whatever their witch-hunting rhetoric, their policies are stripping away the one great political asset of the Labour Party — its mass working class support.

The witch-hunt is above all designed to minimise the impact of Labour's forthcoming electoral defeat within the party. The right wing fear that the process of reflection and debate within the party itself after the fall of the Government could flow over into an organised opposition.

The right wing mean business. Only by mounting a political counter-offensive can the Militant effectively launch its own defence. Every retreat simply plays into the hands of the right wing. Despite this, Militant has sought to defend itself in the supposed haven of 'respectability'.

It is quite legitimate for Militant supporters to deny any knowledge of the alleged existence of the Revolutionary Socialist League. Red Weekly also knows nothing of its existence. But it is legitimate to do this only if at the same time we state that if such an organisation did exist then we would defend its right to organise in the Labour Party.

CAMPAIGN PLATFORM

Supporters of Militant have had one benefit from the witch-hunt. They have been interviewed by the press, they have been on TV. They have been given a platform from which to campaign in front of millions for the case for an end to bans and proscriptions. But they have limited themselves to appeals to end the witch-hunt.

Like Red Weekly, Militant has also been forced to answer the charge of Shirley Williams that Trotskyism holds democracy in contempt because it believes that there is no parliamentary democratic road to socialism. But unlike Red Weekly, Militant has attempted to avoid the intended isolation from the traditional left wing of the Labour Party by adopting the latter's phraseology.

Nick Bradley, supporter of and supported by Militant on Labour's NEC, wrote a letter to the Guardian. He had no hesitation in replying to Williams that in Britain the socialist transformation would come 'democratically' and 'peacefully'.

Last week's copy of the Militant backs Bradley's line to the full:

'To her demand for unequivocal answers from us on whether our socialist objectives can be achieved democratically, we reply, Yes!'

And where does Militant go to seek backing for their position — to Marx and Engels, to Lenin or Trotsky?

'But only if the Labour leaders mount a massive campaign to expose the rackets of the capitalists, to show how they are leading Britain to poverty and dictatorship, to rally the mass of the population in their support. Only if they are ready to introduce an Enabling Act (as proposed in 1937 by Clement Attlee), abolishing the House of Lords and the Monarchy and taking emergency powers to nationalise the monopolies...' [our emphasis].

Militant combines this parliamentary perspective with mobilising 'the power of 11 million trade unionists and their families'. This would ensure, we are told, that 'the handful of millionaires who run society today could never put up resistance!'

Clement Attlee would no doubt have been very proud of the comrades of the Militant editorial board. Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky would certainly not!

NOT TROTSKYIST

In their desire to be respectable Trotskyists, the Militant has ceased to be Trotskyist altogether. It has made the classic confusion between being the best fighters for democratic rights on the one hand, and believing that the struggle for socialism and for the extension of democratic rights can be waged through Parliamentary democracy on the other. And in making this political accommodation to reformism, Militant strengthens the hand of the



Where is the CP leading the LCDTU?

Wage cuts, unemployment, service cuts — this is the real meaning of the 'Social Contract' — the Labour Government's 'solution' to the crisis which is supposed to serve bosses and workers alike.

Breaking this Social Contract should be the aim for which the conference taking place this weekend, called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, must organise the rank-and-file.

The working class armies are already moving into battle. The Leyland workers have put out the call for a conference against continued incomes policy, and strike action in April.

Public sector workers will be striking against cuts on 9 March in Scotland, and on 11 May in London.

But where will the generals of the Communist Party, the main force behind the LCDTU, attempt to lead these armies? We need only to look at the CP's battle plan to find the answer.

As an alternative to wage cuts under the social contract they offer a campaign for a 'return to free collective bargaining'.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

WHAT'S ON

Deadline: 5pm, Saturday before publication. Rates: 2p per word except for general movement events.

WHICH WAY for the Working Women's Charter Campaign? The WWC will be holding their National Conference in London on 21-22 May. Venue to be announced later. All enquiries to 1a Camberwell Grove, London SE5 (01-701 4173).

ALL-LAMBETH Anti-Racist Movement Conference: Sat 12 March, Stockwell Hall, Stockwell Park Rd, Brixton SW9. Open conference with delegations. Contact: ALARM, c/o Student Union, South Bank Polytechnic, 7 Rotary St, SE1.

Tues 1 March: Austin Morgan will speak on 'The Marxism of James Connolly', 7.30pm, Room S421, St Clements Building, LSE, Houghton St, London.

World Revolution public forum: Convolutions of Chinese Capital. 2.30pm on Saturday 26 February, Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

Party and Faction, public meeting organised by Workers Power, Birmingham: speaker Dave Stocking. Tuesday 1 March, 7.30pm, Birmingham Labour Club (Conference Room), Bristol St.

South London Red Weekly Readers Group discussion on 'The Leadership Struggle in China' — its importance in world affairs, the light it throws on the nature of the Chinese CP, and the lessons on how political differences should be resolved within the workers movement. Mon. 28 Feb, 7.30pm, Lambeth Central Library (opp Town Hall). Red Weekly supporters only.

Leeds CME and CSC present a Day School on the Chilean Experience. Speakers from CP, SP, MIR, MAPU and Radical Party. Swarthmore Education Centre, Leeds, 10am-5pm, 5 March.

Bristol Socialist Challenge Forum: 'Southern Africa in Revolt — the Tasks for Socialists'. Speakers invited: Ron Press (SACTU), Pat Jordan (IMG). Tues 8 March, 7.30pm, at Baptist Mills Centre, Horley Road, St Werburghs, Bristol 2 (off Mina Road, nr M32).

Marxism and the Mass Media: series of fortnightly open forums. Sun 6 March: 'The Mass Film Industry', 7pm at the London Film-Makers Co-op, 44 Fitzroy Road, London NW1 (Chalk Farm tube/Primrose Hill BR).

March against the Criminal Trespass Bill. Sat 19 March, assemble 1.45 in Cardington St (nr Euston Sq), then march at 2.15 to Highbury Fields. Speakers include Audrey Wise MP.

Open Conference of Socialist Teachers Alliance to plan action: Sat/Sun 5/6 March. Sat: 'Against the Cuts'; Sun: 'For Trade Union Democracy', 'Against the Black Paperites'. Begins 11am sharp (registration from 10.15am), at Caxton House, St Johns Way, London N19 (Archway tube). Pooled fare, creche and accommodation. Further information: Bernard Regan, 24 St Agnes Close,

CELEBRATE International Women's Day with Cardiff Red Weekly supporters. Social, Fri 11 March, 7.30pm, Morland's Hotel, Splott.

International Forum: Colin Bundy 'South Africa: Approaches to Revolution'. Wednesday 2 March, 8pm, Council Chamber, Barnes Wallis Building, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology Students Union. Admission 20p. Organised by IMG.

'SOUTHERN AFRICA: The Struggle Continues'. Public meeting co-sponsored by Campaign Against Racism in the Media and Journalists Charter. Speakers: Eric Abraham (escaped South African journalist), Nkosazana Dlamini (SASO vice-president), Abdul S. Minty (AAM), and a member of the National Union of Journalists NEC. Thurs 3 March, 6.30pm, St Bride's, Bride Lane (off Fleet St), EC4.

'THE AUTONOMY of the Women's Movement' — pamphlet originally published by MSR in Ireland, reproduced by Cardiff IMG for IMG Fund Drive. Single copies 15p plus s.a.e. Reduced rates for branches: 5 copies 40p plus postage; 10 copies 70p plus postage; 50 copies £2.50 plus postage. Available from S. Bell, 11 Pen-y-wain Place, Roath, Cardiff.

'WHO KILLED John Short' and other poems by IMG militant Steve Bell. All profits towards IMG Fund Drive. Single copies 38p plus s.a.e. Half price for 5 or more copies. Available from S. Bell, 11 Pen-y-wain Place, Roath, Cardiff.

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

'TRADE UNION Democracy and the Social Contract' — Engineering Voice public meeting, 12 noon, Sat 26 Feb, Australian Bar, Hurst St, Birmingham. Speakers include Alan Thornett (candidate in T&G elections).

WALES Day Conference of Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law. Sat 12 March, 11am-5pm, Miners Hall, Merthyr Tydfil. For details and booking form, contact: CACTL Conference in Wales, c/o AUEW/TASS, 18 Anne's Close, Merthyr Tydfil, Mid Glamorgan.

LONDON Socialist Feminist meeting on Women's Unemployment: 13 March Caxton House, St John's Way, N19 (women only).

NAC National Conference, Sat. 19 March, South Bank Polytechnic, London.

FOUR DAYS of Marxist discussion on the Soviet Union: on the class character, Stalinism, political economy, women, state power, social structure, change. Organised by Critique. Speakers include: Hillel Ticktin, Mick Cox, David Law, Sandy Smith, Alix Holt. 4-7 April, Central London. Registration limited. Write for further details to:

As Derek Robinson, CP member and Leyland Combine Chairman put it:

'The trade unions have not yet taken any decision on the phase 3 deal. We are still in the discussion stage and we are participating in that debate. We hope to influence the trade unions and the government for a return to free collective bargaining'.

Unfortunately a pressure campaign to simply 'restore free collective bargaining in August' will neither effectively mount a fight to restore the wage cuts of phases I and II, nor is it the best way to defeat the attempts to further wage cuts.

WAIT

When Jack Jones points out that 'the social contract is more than just a wages policy', and Alan Fisher appeals for workers to 'wait and see' what is offered, they are appealing to the low paid workers with the aim of winning their support for a 'political solution' to the crisis.

A policy of 'free collective bargaining' alone does little to unite the low paid and skilled workers in a fight against their common enemy — which is not falling differentials, but the erosion of wage levels due to inflation and Labour wage restraint.

That is why the fight for auto-



DEREK ROBINSON

matic rises to compensate for inflation — a sliding scale of wages — is so important.

The Communist Party is not prepared to mount a fight — instead it prefers to march with the 'allies', the left trade union leaders who support 'flexibility' through

free collective bargaining, but who refuse to organise a fight to regain lost wages now.

The Communist Party opposed the motion to support struggles against the current phase of the social contract at the Leyland stewards meeting, and opposed submitting a claim which broke the social contract in Rovers.

REJECT

Delegates at the LCDTU must fight to reject this strategy of 'waiting for the lefts', and instead fight to turn the day of strike action for free collective bargaining, called by the Leyland stewards, into a **national strike against the social contract**, and to commit the LCDTU to supporting all struggles against the present incomes policy.

The CP would have us play the same 'waiting for lefty' game over the cuts.

Fisher and his ilk in the public sector unions have no intention of mounting an all-out fight against the cuts — they know that this will

bring them into direct confrontation with the social contract — which they support.

AVOID

Instead they avoid any national struggle, by calling for area strikes and days of action. They too try to find a 'social contract' which can aid both the workers and the bosses — which in reality means attacking the workers to boost the bosses' profits. The CP wants to march with these 'allies' and with pleadings for the 'government to change its course'. In reality this is like asking the enemy who has declared war not to battle too ferociously.

National strike action is what is required. London NUPE has called for its members to strike against the cuts on 11 May. The LCDTU should support that call and fight to build a national day of strike action throughout the public sector on that date.

It should also demand that the left talking trade unions act, by calling for a lobby of the public sector unions conference on 22 March, demanding 'Name the date for national strike action against cuts — make it 11 May.'

A Programme to fight for

The LCDTU is incapable of providing an alternative leadership against the Labour Government's attacks. It nevertheless provides a focus — along with the 22 March public sector unions conference, and the 'rank and file TUC' called by the Leyland stewards on 3 April — for those workers anxious to launch a struggle. Our aim must be to organise and coordinate the actions of these militants around a clear set of demands.

The conference on 'Wage Control and Union Democracy' called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement for 27 March provides an opportunity to begin to set about this task. The organisers see this conference as an alternative to the initiatives of the bureaucracy and their 'left' supporters — 'the only serious initiative on the wages front'. We disagree; but the substantial agreement we share on the action programme adopted by the last CDLM conference suggests that it may be possible to clarify this misconception.

Revolutionaries are in no position as yet to offer the broad workers vanguard an immediate organised alternative to the bureaucracy. Our fight must rather be concentrated within those initiatives already taking place — with the aim of building an organised opposition committed to policies of class struggle rather than class collaboration.

The CDLM conference can lay the basis for this by agreeing to campaign for its action programme in the major events of the next period — especially the forthcoming round of union conferences. But this cannot be done by issuing ultimatums. Every effort must be made to involve and collaborate with those existing minorities — such as Engineering Voice and the Socialist Teachers Alliance — which are prepared to mount a fight-back without necessarily endorsing all the CDLM's policies.

Red Weekly supporters will therefore be proposing the following plan of action to the con-

ference:

- For class struggle caucuses to be organised at the 'rank and file TUC' and public sector unions conference.

- For action around the one-day strikes called for 19 April and 11 May, and independent organisation within any demonstrations called on those days.

- For a campaign in all labour movement bodies for a sliding scale of wages, with a special attempt to commit shop stewards' committees to this demand. To be accompanied by production of a pamphlet/bulletin, 'Why a sliding scale of wages is necessary to fight inflation'.

- For production of a pamphlet/bulletin on 'Why productivity deals mean redundancies', for use in the campaigns.

- For support for the demands and initiatives of the Working Women's Charter Campaign.

ALAN RATES

Advertisement

IMG Notes

IMG School on the Family, for members and close contacts. Saturday 5 March, London. Details of venue from branch organiser. Kits for the school (which includes selections from Mitchell, Evelyn Reed and Gough, as well as the FI World Congress Document on Women's Oppression) are now available at £1. Order through branch organiser. Limited stocks only — first come, first served.

National IMG Teachers Fraction. Sunday 27 February.

'Socialist Review'. New IMG bulletin for sale to members and sympathisers, and supporters of the IMG only. Contents include National Committee document on present conjuncture and the IMG's tasks; and document on newspaper. Plus documents on elections and the Race Relations Act, relating to NC and PC debates. Price 10p. Make sure you get yours from branch organiser.

IMG Health Commission. Sunday 27 February. For venue and time phone Centre.

National Health Fraction. Sunday 20 March. For venue and time phone Centre.

'WHY ARE WOMEN OPPRESSED?' International Women's Day Symposium, Tues 8 March, 7pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, WC1.

SPEAKERS: Irene Erennan (Lecturer in Women's Studies), Evelyn Reed (American anthropologist and author), Hermione Harris (anthropologist)

UNION ELECTIONS & CLASS STRUGGLE

The current round of union elections offer both a responsibility and an opportunity to the left in the unions.

A RESPONSIBILITY to fight for policies and action which can offer a socialist alternative to the social con trick of the TUC, and the Labour Government and their supporters.

AN OPPORTUNITY to begin to organise, around those policies, a socialist opposition within the unions.

That is why Red Weekly is supporting Alan Thornett in the election for General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union. His record in fighting the class collaboration of the Jones union leadership, and his fight for socialist policies, stands in stark contrast to the silence of Kitson or the 'left talk / no action' of John Miller.

Alan Thornett's campaign can really strengthen the fight for a socialist opposition in the T&G.

For the same reasons Red Weekly will be supporting the candidature of Larry Connolly, the Broad Left candidate who is standing for the position of Birmingham East District Secretary in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. As AUEW convenor at Lucas BW3, he played a major role along with the other Lucas stewards in fighting the policies of the Labour Government, notably in building for the demonstration against the cuts on 17 November last year and by supporting the Birmingham demonstration against cuts called by NUPE.

He is now taking the fight against the Social Contract into the election campaign, and we asked him what he saw as the central issues of the election.

• Well, the most pressing issue as far as the majority of the membership in the District are concerned, is the erosion of their living standards. While the social contract has held wages down, the price of food, rents, mortgages, etc. has been allowed to rise in the interests of increasing profits.

The right wing, especially candidates like Ken Cure, my 'moderate' opponent, support these policies of the Labour Government and this must be exposed to the membership. I want to make a central question in the election opposition on my part to the social contract and the necessity of preparing and supporting struggles by workers against it.

I support the idea of a lobby of the next AUEW National Committee and also will be arguing for support from AUEW members for the British Leyland conference on incomes policy in April.

Other points I see as important are the question of jobs and the need for the union to fight for the introduction of a 35 hour week, early retirement on decent pen-

sions, etc. Then there is the question of racialism which will come up partly because of the fascist candidates standing in the Stechford by-election. This must be actively combatted.

There are also the women members in the AUEW who face special problems. Lucas BW3 Shop Stewards Committee recently sent a delegation to a local conference called by the Working Women's Charter Campaign on Women's Rights and depending on the delegates report back we will also be sending a delegation to the national rally in London. We have campaigned for support for the Trico women last year.

In support of my candidature, the Lucas BW3 Shop Stewards Committee has sent out an official letter to other shop stewards committees asking for support and invitations for me to speak. Quite a number of branches and shop stewards have indicated support but obviously this must be built on if the right wing are to be defeated.

Thornett T&G campaign builds up

THE CAMPAIGN of support for Alan Thornett in the elections for General Secretary of the TGWU is an important opportunity to begin to build an organised socialist opposition to the trade union bed-fellows of Callaghan and to their viciously anti-working class policies.

The supporters of this candidature will be armed with real policies which can take the class struggle forward. In his election address, Brother Thornett emphasises again and again the need for a democratically organised labour movement, independent from the bosses and the state. His 'commitment to the working class with no compromise' is a far cry from the Evans and Kitson manifestos which refuse to challenge the Social Contract at all. Thornett's supporters have no such equivocating policies to defend. In his election address the programme is clear:

'The direction of the TGWU must change from the class compromise epitomised by Bro. Jones' "Year of the Beaver" speech, to defence of the interests of the working class.

I therefore oppose the Social

Contract and all cuts in public spending. I call for the opening of the books of employers who declare redundancies or closure and support occupations demanding



JACK JONES

work sharing on full pay to maintain jobs. I am for the nationalisation of any employer who refuses these demands and the removal of Callaghan and Healey by left MPs who must form a government which will support these demands.

DISCRIMINATION

All racial discrimination must be actively opposed and the wages and conditions of women workers improved.

The polling in the election continues until 19 March. Red Weekly calls on supporters in the TGWU to make an all-out effort in the remaining month to win militants to the policies endorsed by Thornett. News is arriving daily

about the progress of the campaign. In Bristol the Avonmouth Docks Branch has organised a meeting on 28 February for TGWU members with Bro. Thornett speaking. Militants at Commonwealth Smelter have pledged their support for Thornett 'because of his record in supporting strike action and defending the shop stewards organisation of workers.'

POLICIES

In Leicester and Preston similar plans are underway with the help of Red Weekly supporters. TGWU members should demand that other candidates publicly present their policies. They should be forced to take positions on the central planks of the Thornett platform. In addition, mass meetings at the workplace should be convened where the policies of the contending candidates can be debated out before polling.

This is essential in light of the offensive launched by the bourgeois press to marginalise the Thornett candidature and it can cut across the isolation of workers, casting their ballot as individuals. A leaflet issued by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, which supports Thornett, is correct in its estimate of his opponents:

'No other candidate offers a programme so close to the needs of the working class today.

Moss Evans, created "favourite" by the press and television, supports the Social Contract to the hilt, refusing even to put the wage claim drawn up by Ford workers to management, accepting instead the 5%.

Alex Kitson, the so-called "left" candidate, has uttered not a word against wage controls before the



ALAN THORNETT

election campaign and John Cousins, whilst rightly saying that the TGWU is controlled by a clique, complains that the TGWU is dominating the government when in reality it is the government through Jones and the TUC which is forcing its policies down the throats of the unions.

EMPTY

TGWU members should not be influenced by empty "left" talk. Jack Jones was elected as a "left winger" only 7 years ago. He is now the architect of wage control. Even after polling closes, the fight for an organised socialist opposition can not let up. The impact of the campaign must be felt at the TGWU Conference in July and plans should now be underway to ensure this happens.

The Conference called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement on 27 March will be an opportune time for TGWU militants to plan out the next steps for continuing the fight for a socialist opposition within the labour movement.



Photo: DAVE EVANS (IFL)

SSA to fight student elections

In the campaign of direct action against the raising of the tuition fees of students by the Labour Government, 10 colleges have been occupied over the last week.

All of these colleges have seen overseas students, traditionally a weakly organised sector of the student population who face all kinds of financial restrictions and political harassment, playing a leading role in the occupations.

The lack of a nationally co-

ordinated strategy by the Broad Left leadership of the National Union of Students to support and extend the occupations, has allowed the Fleet Street press to pour forth a torrent of lies attributing the occupations to 'far left machinations'. [Financial Times, 19 February]

Most students have their fees paid directly to the college by their local education authority. The increase in fees does not hit them in the pocket.

However, it does drastically affect postgraduate and overseas students.

The Broad Left leadership therefore calls for the waiving of fee increases for self-financing students, leaving aside the general issue of the across-the-board increase in tuition fees.

This policy ignores the fact that the increase in tuition fees for all students will result in a drop in intake to colleges as well as

massively reducing the intake of overseas students. This will result in the closure of both courses and departments.

By failing to put forward the demand for the freezing of all fees as the first step towards their abolition—which could unite all students—the NUS leadership reduces the question of support for the overseas students to a purely moral one.

They effectively isolate this struggle from the general struggle against the cutbacks.

The lack of a correct political line for the struggle against tuition fees threatens to derail this movement in the same way that the massive struggle for jobs by student teachers last summer was thrown off course by the NUS leaders.

TENSIONS

Neither have the massive tensions inside the student movement resulting from the collapse of the service companies of the NUS been resolved. The Broad Left's solution has been to make compromises with the right wing in the union.

A new coalition of students, the Socialist Students Alliance, has now been formed to fight for a different sort of unity for the student movement—unity in action around such campaigns as those against tuition fees, the struggle against college closures and loss of jobs and the mounting demands for nursery facilities in the colleges.

ELECTIONS

The SSA will also be fighting for an alternative leadership for the NUS in the forthcoming elections at the next NUS Conference at Easter. Included in the SSA programme are:

- * Action with the working class against the attacks of the Labour Government in driving down living standards, services and the creation of mass unemployment.
- * Opposition to the collaboration of the trade union and Labour Party leaders with these policies.
- * A democratic student movement based on the sovereignty of general meetings and for the right of oppressed groups (blacks, women

For a unified NUS based on action in campaigns and not on a student service empire. For the full autonomy of student unions from the state.

* Opposition to all immigration laws, support for black self defence against racist attacks, and against platforms being provided for racist and fascist agitation.

* Support for all workers struggles internationally. Full solidarity with the struggle of the black masses and for an end to the Labour Government's collaboration with the Vorster regime. For the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and the right of the Irish people as a whole to determine their own future.

UNITED

The Federation of Conservative Students, the Broad Left and the National Organisation of IS Societies will all be standing full slates for the elections. However the SSA will continue to press NOISS for a united left slate.

The SSA slate consists of: (for President) Hugh Lanning, Middlesex Poly; (for Deputy President) Valerie Coultas, Sussex University; (for National Secretary) Paddy Prenderville, Middlesex Poly; (for National Treasurer) Margaret Flatman, Middlesex Poly; (for Vice President Areas) Bill Ford, Moray House; (for Vice President Services) Colin Talbot, Manchester University; (for Vice President Welfare) Pamela Holmes, Kent University; (for Vice President Education) Lewis Davies, Teesside Poly; (for Executive Officer) Colin Talbot; (for Executive Committee Member) Lewis Davies.

For speakers at hustings in colleges or for SSA speakers contact: Mick Archer, Birmingham Polytechnic.

LSE FEES STRUGGLE GOES ON

MONDAY. Students at the London School of Economics are still in occupation against proposed tuition fees increases. For the fourth time in a week the threat of an injunction was levelled last Friday.

At the same time the Academic Board proposed a 50-50 negotiating committee, which would have advisory powers, the board's own decision being final.

Clutching at this irrelevant concession, Broad Left supporters went over to the side of the Federation of Conservative Students and called for the ending of the occupation.

This move was narrowly defeated by 314-299 votes, the bulk of the overseas students voting to continue. An injunction will now be sought in the High Court on Tuesday, but the students whose morale is high, will be staying put.



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

ONE YEAR ON FROM THE SDA
WOMEN'S RIGHTS RALLY
Saturday 26 February 11am—5pm

JOINT BENEFIT OF RADICAL
ENTERTAINMENT 8pm—10.30pm

ALEXANDRA PALACE, LONDON
(NEAREST TUBE — WOOD GREEN)

FIGHTING WOMEN'S

THE RALLY on Women's Rights to be held at Alexandra Palace this weekend aims to draw together the experiences of the struggles of women since the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts became effective at the end of 1975. Speakers from Trico, Grunwick, the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson women's hospital and different campaigns within the labour and women's movements will provide the necessary background for an assessment of the real value and impact of the legislation for women's rights.

Here ANNE CESEK and CELIA PUGH, members of the International Marxist Group centrally involved in organising the Rally, outline the political issues that should be taken up there.

Why Labour has failed

THE DEMANDS of the Working Women's Charter highlight the fact that the Labour Government's attacks through cuts, unemployment and the Social Contract cut across any gains women may have made through the legislation, and set back the growing movement for women's rights.

But the struggles which women have had to face not only reveal the limitations of the legislation — they also show the way to struggle. And part of that struggle is a struggle against the Social Contract.

* The Social Contract has led to cuts in social spending — affecting nursery facilities, abortion clinics, education and so on. The state is shrugging off more and more responsibilities which have to be borne by women within the home.

* The Social Contract has led to greater unemployment, with women often the first out of the gate.

* The Social Contract has led to a drastic decline in real wages. While the Equal Pay Act has brought some exceptional increases in pay, it has been powerless to confront the general low pay situation of women workers.

The attempts to cobble together Phase 3 of the pay policy, in line with the needs of the employers, will once again mean that women's needs are sacrificed. The current call by union leaders for 'greater flexibility' — by which they mean a 'restoration of differentials'. That's the kind of 'flexibility' which will push low paid workers (the vast majority women) right to the back of the queue.

Such policies can only divide the working class. Yet unity in action is what is needed to defeat the Social Contract — a unity based on demands which can unite low paid and higher paid, women and men. Against the wage cuts imposed by the Labour and TUC leaders we therefore fight for:

- equal pay now;
- national minimum wage of £50 a week;
- full automatic compensation for every rise in the cost of living;
- across-the-board wage increases to compensate for the effects of inflation under Phases 1 and 2.

The struggles in which women have been involved over the past year show the extent to which they are prepared to take up the fight. The women at Trico and Magnavox, like the members of the Bakers' Union, recognised that they would only gain their equal pay demands by taking the struggle into their own hands and ignoring the legal diversion of the tribunals set up by the Labour Government.

The same is true of the fight against the cuts, with the occupation of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, the militant demonstrations by the Lancashire nursery campaign, and the massive mobilisation of women in the strike action against the cuts on 17 November. These actions map out the type of campaign which is needed, and underline the fact that women's needs have to be defended by the class as a whole.

But what role are the Labour and trade union leaders playing in all this? For all their left talk on women's rights, they have refused to stand up

and be counted when it comes to opposition to the Social Contract. But they won't be let off the hook so easily.

We must demand that they add their weight and support to every struggle and every action in defence of women's needs and those of the working class as a whole. Those who won't (and there will be many of them, at all levels of the movement) must be pushed aside to make way for militants who are prepared to give the fighting lead that is needed to take forward these struggles.

Central to this fight is the struggle for the demands of the Working Women's Charter — and their adoption by the TUC and the Labour NEC — as well as the development of the campaign organised around it. The Charter Campaign can take forward the fight for the necessary demands and forms of organisation which will ensure the maximum participation of women.

Without a fight against the Labour Government's attacks, the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts are not worth the paper they are written on. Equally, while scapegoats are sought amongst the weakly organised, amongst immigrants and women (whose jobs are seen as dispensable), and while women's needs are dismissed as 'luxuries', the full energies of the workers movement are diverted away from the real culprits — the capitalist class and its agents inside the Labour Government.

It is that understanding, and action from it, for which we must fight at the Rally and afterwards.



The struggle against closure at Personna's razor blade firm took place in the months before the Sex Discrimination Act came into force. Women were a significant section

of the workforce who occupied the factory in opposition to closure. The calls for nationalisation of the firm which came from the workers fell on dead ears of the Labour

Government and the 'behind-the-doors' deal worked out has resulted in continuing threats of closure.

Why the Charter?

THE THREAT by the Bakers' Union to call a national strike for equal pay from 27 February is the most dramatic evidence yet of the limits of Labour's legislation.

Like the women recently on strike at Magnavox in East London, the Bakers' Union is fighting the employers' use of grading schemes to dodge implementation of the Equal Pay Act. Although the grading of jobs, together with low pay, job evaluation schemes and training are the real barriers to equal pay for the majority of women workers, the Act has nothing at all to say about any of them.

The Sex Discrimination Act is riddled with similar loopholes. Nowhere does it take up the real material basis of women's equality — for example, child care, financial and legal independence with regard to social security and pensions, abortion and contraception rights. These omissions relegate the Act to the realm of goodwill: a token attempt to improve the position of women in society through a changing of attitudes between the sexes.

Both Acts fail, in fact, because they do not outline a

solution to women's problems which challenges their traditional place as wife and mother. Indeed, the legislation acts as a window dressing behind which basic attacks on women's rights to equality and independence are being carried out.

The Sex Discrimination Act arose out of the commitment in Labour's 1974 election manifesto to 'a charter for women'. At the same time, however, a very different Charter was being drafted by the old London Trades Council — the Working Women's Charter.

Unlike Labour's 'charter', cooked up in the isolated committee rooms of the House of Commons, the Working Women's Charter was born out of the struggles and experiences of women in the workplace, the community and the home. It drew together in its demands the decades of struggle for equal pay and for equal treatment in the areas of education, politics, social services, taxation, pensions and the law.

The unifying thread was an understanding that women cannot obtain equality and independence in the spheres of work, education, politics, social and financial life unless

they can extend and develop choices in the 'private' area of the home — in other words, unless they can win the right to decide when and whether to have children, with the subsequent availability of adequate maternity provision so that pregnancy does not act as a barrier to achievement outside the home.

These choices can only be sustained by the social provision of child care, by breaking financial dependence on the male 'breadwinner' through equality in the areas of social security and pensions, and by securing increased financial responsibility by the State for the upkeep of children.

By drawing together these threads which link women's position in the family and their oppression and exploitation in other areas of life, the Working Women's Charter lays the basis for the full and equal integration of women into society. The Charter has emerged as a banner for women's rights under which the ideas developed in the Women's Liberation Movement can be fought for within the working class as a whole.



The sharp axe of the Labour Government has been especially aimed at the meagre numbers of nursery places. The women's movement has played an important role in raising the demand for free,

24-hour nurseries under the community control.

Full provision of nurseries, which would take the sole burden for child care from the woman in the family and make it a social res-

ponsibility would be an important step in the fight for independence for women — yet this is not even mentioned in the Sex Discrimination Act, Labour's great gift to women.

...ING FOR ... RIGHTS



* Benyon is also under fire from his own constituents. A protest delegation met him last Friday, and this was followed by a march next day through Bletchley, to highlight publicly the restrictive nature of the Bill. Said one of the organisers: 'We believe that women have the right to choose in the matter of abortion. We're anxious to disprove Bill Benyon's claim that "the silent majority" wishes further to oppress women by restricting the availability of legal abortion.'



A friend of mine — who is just 18 years old — went for an interview as a laboratory technician in a medium-sized private firm. He was told that he was over-qualified because he has four 'O' levels, and anyway, the job was too boring and monotonous for him — it was only suitable for women. ERICA BARNETT (Cardiff).

'The real test'

According to the Bakers' Union — the first union ever to call a national equal pay strike — the men and women are standing firm against employers' attempts to sidestep the provisions of the Equal Pay Act.

Depending on the outcome of a National Executive Meeting, taking place as Red Weekly goes to press, the bakers could be on strike beginning Monday 27 February.

The background to the dispute dates back for a year. Bakers have been negotiating for that long to get the complex system of nine grades altered. The Union has stated that although some progress has been made, the employers have refused to halt their sabotage which leaves women working on 'morning goods' — 20 per cent of the total workforce in this area — with £5.69 less than men doing the same work.

The crunch came — and the determination of the bakers strengthened — when the employers proposed that all workers, male and female, be paid at the grade six rate. For women, currently grade nine, it would be an increase of £3.07. But for male workers, now in grade five, it would be a cut in wages by £2.69.

The real test of the bakers' leaders commitment to women's equal rights will come if the employers retreat on their plans to cut male wages and the union is called upon to stick it out until the full demands of women workers are met.

The strike, if called, will affect

34,000 members of the 56,000-strong union. It will involve workers at plants of the following firms: Rank Hovis, Spillers French, Allied and Coop bakeries. A tactic being considered by the union leadership is for a kind of 'rotating' strike — with workers from only two of the four firms taking action at the same time.

Although the union has so far refused to take the dispute to the Central Arbitration Board, this expression of determination to rely on the action of union rather than the state machinery will be severely weakened if the tactics being considered are pursued.

Experience has shown time and again that only the full, organised strength of the labour movement can lay the basis for a victorious struggle.

This means that even in factories where equal rates for the job are paid, bakers should be called on to support the strike action taken in the four firms affected. It also entails a call for full strike action by the entire membership around the demand for all of the £5.69.

This strike can emerge as a national symbol of the growing awareness of the need to defend and extend women's rights. It will also be a crucial pointer towards the way forward for the working class as a whole.

The moves by many mis-leaders of the working class towards a phase three of the social contract are based on policies to restore wage differentials at the expense of the lower paid.

Any defeat of this strike would be part of paving the way for a new social contract negotiated at the expense of such low paid workers as women. Because of this, it is essential that

support action is organised from day one of the stoppage — action based on the political understanding of the centrality of defending women's rights in the coming months.

If the 'morning goods' workers emerge victorious through full and effective support from all sections of the labour and women's movement, one more nail will be driven into the coffin of the mis-leaders' plans for the third phase of the unholy alliance between the Labour Government and the trade union bureaucracy.

DODIE WEPPLER

Organise against the Benyon Bill!

This Friday, 25 February, sees a crucial vote in the House of Commons on a new anti-abortion Bill introduced by William Benyon.

This Bill, amongst other points, seeks to reduce the legal time limit for abortion to 20 weeks in pregnancy, put the charity abortion organisations out of business, restrict the categories of doctors allowed to authorise legal abortion, and widen police powers to identify and interrogate women who have sought abortions if infringement of the law is suspected.

That such a Bill is the brainchild of a well-heeled Tory squire like Benyon should not surprise us, when we read that he is concerned about the declining population in Nordic countries and that 'abortion is partly to blame' for this. 'If a woman doesn't want child she can give it to others'.

He is a patron of the local branch of SPUC (Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child) of which his wife, the presumably willing mother of his five children, is also an active member. He has admitted that he would have liked to put in a Bill actually restricting the grounds for abortion, a view shared by his fellow SPUC members, whose latest circular to members urges them to put pressure on MPs to ensure that such an amendment is introduced into the Bill at the

Committee stage after the second reading.

If such an amendment succeeds, Benyon's Bill will reduce the number of legal abortions by about 80 per cent instead of the 50 per cent it is estimated to affect at present.

Unfortunately, the fact that this new attack on women's abortion rights is being presented by a Tory does not mean that Labour opposition is guaranteed to defeat it. Over the past two years as many as 116 Labour MPs have cast their votes in favour of restrictions on abortion, and five Labour MPs are sponsors of Benyon's Bill. And this is despite Labour conference decisions overwhelmingly in favour of free abortion on request on the NHS.

This is perfectly in line with the previous record of Labour MPs in considering that their own moral scruples outweigh the needs of the women they are supposed to represent and their allegiance to the workers movement. An attempt by Ernest Thurtle MP in 1926 to move a Bill enabling local authorities to spend money to provide birth control information to married women was thwarted by opposition from over 100 Labour members led by the Rev. James Barr. He believed that birth control on the rates was a policy of despair!

In order to fight against such

attitudes, Labour women in the 1920s began to organise within the party to get conferences to adopt policy on birth control as a political issue, and to put pressure on Labour representatives in the House to implement those policies.

A few months ago, the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign was set up for similar reasons in relation to the abortion issue. LARC clearly has much work to do even amongst its so-called allies.

The recent statement by David Ennals that he will vote against the Benyon Bill is a striking example, coming as it did at a time when he also announced the limitations on the number of abortion referral agencies legally allowed to direct women to clinics outside the NHS.

This was one of the restrictive recommendations made by the James White Bill Select Committee, which was accepted without a murmur by every Labour MP in November 1975, and which has just been implemented by the DHSS.

Furthermore, Ennals has repeated his opposition to treating abortion as a class issue, by supporting the continuance of a free vote on the question for Labour MPs. As he told a member of the LARC delegation who challenged him on this last week, 'MPs don't like being

'whipped' on Fridays. They are asked too much to vote against their consciences. I support the right of MPs to vote according to their conscience.'

LARC is only one part of a wider campaign, involving all sections of the Labour, trade union and women's movement, which must continue to be built under the umbrella of the National Abortion Campaign to fight for a woman's right to choose. In response to the new attack of the Benyon Bill, NAC has called a lobby, march and rally on 24 February, the day before the second reading of the Bill.

Should this Bill be voted through on that day, NAC has called for a massive demonstration on 14 May around the slogans 'Defeat the Benyon anti-abortion Bill — safe legal abortion — a woman's right to choose'.

All defenders of women's abortion rights should begin organising now to make that next initiative the biggest turn-out seen to date in support of abortion.

- * LOBBY 3.00-7.00pm.
 - * MARCH — Assemble Bressenden Place 6.00pm.
 - RALLY — Central Hall, 7.30pm.
- More details from NAC, 30 Camden Road, NW1 [01-485 4303].



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

The Trico dispute emerged victorious after 21 weeks. It has important lessons which will remain relevant in the coming months. Overcoming many of the deeply rooted divisions in the workers' movement, this struggle

united male and female, black and white workers and — without relying on the state machinery — pointed the way forward for the entire class: the final settlement broke through the pay limits imposed by the Social Contract.

Letters



ANOTHER GEM

In Aberdeen they are still using a book called *Great Cities of the World* published by McDougall's Education Company. One of the disadvantages of this book is that it was printed before the Russian Revolution. Talking about Petrograd, the authors judge the Russian masses very perceptively.

'The Russian moujik often appears a very rough unattractive sort of person — with his long hair and shaggy beard and none too clean clothing.' He has some virtues though; for example, 'he is very polite to his superiors' and 'never grumbles at his hard lot'.

But this doesn't apply only to peasants. The book continues: 'But the chief characteristic of practically every Russian is his intense loyalty and patriotism: he loves his country and his Emperor with a great and fervent love, which no hardships or disasters can quench and he is ever ready to give up his possessions, his home, his family, his very life if only he can serve his beloved Russia in any way.'

At least in the Aberdeen education authority the 'little father of all the Russians' lives on.
RON PRATT (Aberdeen).

TRIBUNAL LESSONS

The lessons Dodie Wepler draws from the Abortion Tribunal (Red Weekly, 10 February) begin and end with the view that mass action is needed to win a woman's right to choose. Her article predicts that the Communist Party will latch on to the Abortion Law Reform Association's 'model' Bill as the way forward for the campaign.

It is certainly correct to criticise the draft Bill for the 24-week time limit it imposes on a woman's right to choose. The question is: is the CP's predicted path entirely wrong? Some time ago, the International Marxist Group coined the slogan 'struggle decides, not the law'. Comrade Wepler's proposals appear to slot into this conception.

The IMG has been quite correct to emphasise mass action in the battle against the various anti-abortion Bills and in the campaign for free abortion on demand. But I fail to see that the latter can be achieved without a change in the law.

Some doctors already do provide what amounts to free abortion on demand. Others might be persuaded to by the strength of the campaign, pickets of their clinics, or whatever. But the large majority will not begin to fall into line without legislative provision. Obviously a change in attitudes and adequate resources are also necessary.

If it is correct for revolutionaries in the campaign to resist further restrictions in the limited 1967 Act, why should revolutionaries fail to specify what law we want? And since opposition to the White and Bennon Bills has in practice been the focus for the pro-abortion campaign, why shouldn't a real model Bill play this role?

It is one thing to demand that Labour MPs and the Government enact what is already their party's policy, and another to 'rely' on the left MPs, which the CP may well do.

SANDRA TARDOV (London)

LEAVING THE CP...

In 1975 I joined the Communist Party. The reasons for this are fairly simple and also very similar to the reasons of a great many other disillusioned young people.

I was aware of the constant betrayal by the Labour Government of the working class and was becoming increasingly demoralised by this fact. Therefore I could no longer align myself with the policies of the Labour Party and sought for an alternative.

To someone very inexperienced and unaware of the political field, the only left opposition to the Labour Party seemed to be the CP. It was therefore a natural 'progression' to join its ranks with high ideals and great optimism for the future.

I was involved in a vital area of class struggle, being employed in the NHS. As a shop steward in NUPE and a trades council delegate, there were great possibilities of making interventions had I only been given the political directive that I was searching for.

But at a time when the CP had at least six members on the trades council they were able to achieve nothing, but were content to remain in a passive and ineffectual, yet numerically strong, existence.

The organisation of the CP barely existed in the branch of which I was a member. No business meetings were held to discuss such basic requirements as comrades' sector work, political priorities and allocation of resources.

The branch seemed to function as more of a social club, debating abstract topics of little relevance to all concerned in their immediate areas. To call them debates is actually stretching the imagination, as the lack of polemical discussion was very noticeable.

The reasons for this were never really evident to me until a colleague of mine raised the question of 'violent revolution or peaceful coexistence' which was received in a most inappropriately

hostile and aggressive way. The CP were obviously not prepared to accept such dangerously searching questions among their ranks.

My final break with the CP came as the result of a proposed local council election campaign. The comrade to stand for election was pressurised by his employers and threats were made to him with regard to his future career and training.

No fight back was made against this but the party decided upon an immediate capitulation on the premise that 'a comrade with a degree was more beneficial to the party than one without'. This total lack of courage and conviction in the face of reactionary elements that are bound to be encountered if someone is serious in fighting the class struggle, seemed to underline the whole outlook of the party and its general lack of political perspectives.

I now realised that the redundant reformist policies of the CP

were completely incapable of mounting a serious campaign for the working class and of opposing the right wing effectively in Britain.

My break with the CP came at a time when I was ever increasingly aware of a colleague working with me in my trade union branch who was a member of the IMG.

I was impressed by his strong political perspective and the practical achievements this gained for him and the union. For many months he gave me the lead I required.

I was aware that the direction,

political education and backing that the IMG was able to give me was essential if I was to really intervene in the class struggle in any serious way.

It was apparent to me that the only way to seriously fight for the working class was through revolutionary politics and not through the means of the reformist policies of the CP.

The relatively few months that I have been a member of the IMG has proved me right. I have received education and been able to discuss issues of national and international importance, but the primary focus has always been on realising the most possible from every comrade through the channels that are open to him/her for political intervention.

Furtherance of the class struggle is my aim and the aim of the organisation I work within, the IMG.

PAUL JENKINS (Southampton)

For an independent Scotland



In his otherwise useful discussion of 'Socialists and the New Rise of Scottish Nationalism' [February Battle of Ideas] Neil Williamson correctly affirms the necessity to support Scotland's right to national self-determination, but does not explain how this right can actually be exercised by the Scottish people.

Far from being the implementation of self-determination, the Devolution Bill, granting Scotland an elected assembly with very limited powers, represents an attempt by the British imperialist parliament at Westminster to deflect the demand for self-determination through limited concessions.

Only a referendum, asking not only for consent to the setting up of the Assembly, but whether or not the majority of the Scottish people want separation from the UK, offers a real chance for the Scots to determine their future.

Strangely, Neil Williamson does not even mention this choice and manages to dissolve the whole problem into the foggy concept of 'an extension of bourgeois democracy': certainly the right to national self-determination is a democratic right, but that does not mean that it should be confused with the creation of another organ of bourgeois democracy, a regional assembly, as such.

If a referendum on separation was to be held, what should the attitude of socialists to independence be? Red Weekly has repeatedly come out in favour of a vote against independence. Comrade Williamson does not declare his position, but demands a 'consistent struggle within the labour movement for an Assembly which will assume the powers to implement a socialist programme.'

Now, how on earth can a Scottish 'Assembly implement a socialist programme if it does not have the powers of an independent state? And how does his demand for such a powerful assembly differ from the demand for an independent socialist Scotland? Given the present relationship of class forces, the quasi-religious worshipping of an abstract 'unity of the British

working class' [including the Six Counties?] and the exhortations to wait for a solution to Scotland's problems until the arrival of the all-British introduction of socialism, as practised by sects like the 'Militant' and the WRP, is hardly an attractive and credible perspective for Scottish workers.

Indeed, it is hard to see how the breaking up of the British imperialist state as a result of mass action and, hopefully, the creation of a separate workers' state in Scotland can do anything but strengthen the socialist cause all over what is now still the 'UK'.

This is what the bourgeois anti-devolutionists fear when they talk of 'the slippery slope to independence'. The unity of the working class is, after all, created in the struggle against a common enemy and not defined by bourgeois state frontiers.

Finally, and most importantly, the question of how best to combat the bourgeois Scottish National Party must be answered. I am amazed that comrade Williamson manages to write that 'nowhere has this demand for an elected assembly translated itself into an attack on the organised strength of the labour movement'.

What about the series of crushing defeats that the Labour Party has suffered over the past few years at the hands of Scottish nationalism and the grave danger that a continuation of these defeats may completely wipe out the labour movement as a political force in Scotland?

The only way that the labour movement can counter this threat is not by timid and confused debates over this or that concession to be made to nationalism — thus leaving the SNP the initiative — but by systematically confronting the SNP in a political offensive around the question: What sort of independent Scotland do you propose to build? and counterposing a socialist action programme for Scotland to the SNP's petty-bourgeois pies-in-the-sky, thus exposing its class nature and utilising the democratic demand for self-determination.
GÜNTER MINNERUP (Portsmouth).

The advantages of breast feeding babies are well-known. It provides the child with a resistance to common infections due to the immunising properties passed on by the mother and is also believed to give the child a greater sense of security.

It is free from germs and is far more convenient as there is no mixing and sterilizing. Financially also of course it is 100 per cent cheaper. (The state did provide free milk but since the exposure of the poor quality of dried baby milk the non-appearance of a new improved 'National Dried' has been conspicuous. A very convenient excuse to withdraw the service altogether.)

Why then do so many women bottle feed?

The reason lies within the economic system. The most straightforward being that some women due to financial reasons must go back to work. The capitalist system makes abortion impossible for some women and then doesn't even allow them to choose how to feed the child. The simple solution of providing creches at work places so that the mother can work and feed of course just isn't on as it would both increase the unemployment figures and mean a couple of lost working hours a day.

The other solution of allowing the woman to stay off work for as long as she wishes to breast feed on a full wage is just as unlikely for the simple reason that under this social system, strangely, looking after someone else's child is work but looking after your own isn't.

This is because of the attitude that a woman's place is in the kitchen and rearing children:

breast feeding has come to be seen as a symbol of female stupidity and placidity.

For all these reasons, bottle feeding in the past has been seen as a liberator of women, as it allows greater social and economic freedom. Women can go to work and feed 'respectably' in public. But why isn't it respectable to breast feed? Because many men see the woman's body merely as a sex object and therefore it is indecent.

To accept breast feeding as immodest is to accept women's oppression. The real fight must be for women to be given a real freedom to choose how they want to feed their child.

The problems encountered over breast feeding are just one of the many of child rearing under the capitalist system.

Organising against these things is very difficult; withdrawal of labour is impossible when it would only affect your own child, when there is only one person per 'workplace' and when the work is not accepted as such. The only way seems to be through trade unions, but such matters are normally seen as well out of the realms of traditional trade unionism. Coverage of such topics in the revolutionary press tends to be somewhat generalised, focussing around arguments like the relation of domestic labour to capitalist production, leaving finer points (breast feeding being an example) out on an apolitical limb.

Presumably people are theorising for themselves around their own personal experiences but unfortunately there appears to be no discussion and collation of these ideas.
JUNE WENTLAND (Manchester).

Scum, Death, Destruction and Dirty Linen

It's easy to see why even the local London press raved about this play. Its 'vitality', 'good humour' and 'fine acting'. The descriptions were quite accurate.

But to assess its importance for a Marxist understanding of art, we need to look at it in the context of the ideas of Brecht, the German Marxist playwright, which are the clearest expression of a Marxist theory of art so far.

SCUM shows how a group of women laundry workers lived through the emergence of the Paris Commune in 1871. These women are the 'scum' of the title — non-productive, unorganised female labour. The play shows the gradual development of their political consciousness through a complex interaction of events.

Commune is that it can be treated as a nice little story from the archives of the past.

Those women laundry workers really had nothing to lose but their chains — they were literally starving [it was a time when cats and dogs were on the menu at the more salubrious restaurants]. But for us the problems of consciousness are complicated by the television, the ideology of social democracy and so on.

However, Monstrous Regiment succeed in showing how similar problems existed then. They demonstrate how uneven and contradictory the consciousness of even the most aware workers can be. Two of the laundry workers illustrate this particularly well: Mole is a fierce, energetic old militant

She debunks the friend of the capitalists, Adolphe Thiers, as a 'greasy eminence', and refers with humorous contempt to the 'nice' doctors and lawyers 'who are kindly running the new Republic for us'. Yet she is inconsistent — she steals food from a fellow worker, and has a grudging fondness for her petit-bourgeois employer, Mme Masson.

From the militant to the intellectual, Lucy: the only middle class woman in the laundry. She

is a single parent, proud of her self-sufficiency. She rejects the sexist approaches of a man in the citizens' militia with the scathing comment: 'I don't need any man. But I certainly don't need a pig like you!'

Yet she falls in love with him. Lucy is also mocked by the others for reading books in the lunch-break — yet it is she who convinces them of the need to run the laundry by workers control, by explaining the theory of surplus

value as it is reflected in the laundry's accounts.

In a Brechtian play the audience is alert and thoughtful; in a bourgeois play, the audience is soothed by the dream of escaping from their own lives into a fictional one. SCUM is Brechtian in this sense: by addressing the audience directly, the actresses remind us from time to time that they are only actresses; the narrative is interrupted by songs and music, and they are consistently seen as a group of women — there are no special heroines to identify with.

The solidarity that has developed between these women through-

out the play is shown at the barricades to be a necessity. It is that solidarity which motivates them to face death, to defend the gains of the commune.

They reassure each other and inspire each other. 'This is the moment when we win or lose. Our chance to fight for what we want'. 25,000 communards died in one week.

An audience which rippled with laughter throughout the first half of the play had become absolutely silent.

SCUM is the nearest approximation to 'thinking feelings and feeling thoughtfully' I have encountered in socialist theatre. It doesn't merely illustrate theory with practice or vice versa, but fuses the two, giving due weight to the exploration of emotional life as part of a theory of socialist practice.
SUE ASPINALL

* At present Monstrous Regiment are touring with SCUM and another play. They'll be in the Stoke area from 21 February, in Essex from 28 February, in Birmingham on 10, 11 and 12 March and in the East Midlands on 14 March. From



The Road to a British Chile

Red Weekly continues its reply to the new draft of The British Road to Socialism published this month with BOB MURPHY examining its most important concept: the democratisation of the capitalist state and the transformation of Parliament.

'Towards Socialist Revolution' is the chapter of the new Draft in which the Communist Party of Great Britain outlines its attitude to Parliament.

'The working class and its allies must have the aim of winning the leadership of the nation, and thereby deciding its future destiny.'

'The broad alliance, developed and strengthened in mass struggles in the places of work and the localities, has to be reflected in Parliament, which must be the political expression of those struggles. Parliament has to be won by the people, made into the mirror of the country, with the activity of the working class parties in Parliament being intimately linked to the mass struggle outside it, each interacting on the other. In this way, the growth of the broad alliance will result in a parliamentary majority enabling the formation of Left, and eventually Socialist, governments.'

(Lines 1074-83 of the Draft.)
It goes on:
'Parliament, itself the product of past battles for democracy, can be transformed into the democratic instrument of the will of the vast majority of the people.'

(Lines 1103-5).
And in a chapter entitled 'Socialist Democracy' the Draft explains that capturing Parliament is the political goal of its strategy:

'This does not mean abolishing existing democratic institutions and organisations, but changing and improving them so that they more effectively serve the needs of society, as well as creating new organisations where necessary.'

'Parliament would be the sovereign body in the land, exercising its powers as the elected representative of the people without restrictions imposed by the Common Market or by the actions of the big monopolies and financial institutions.'

STATE

The writers claim that this position, as with the rest of the Draft, is 'firmly rooted in Marxism and Leninism'. But this strategy of the parliamentary road to socialism is in complete contradiction with that tradition.

In the Communist Manifesto, Marx, while recognising that the state was an organ of class rule, did not exclude the possibility that the working class could take political power through the extension of the parliamentary vote and the transformation of the bourgeois state into a state which would be the proletariat organised as the ruling

class.
But the experience of the revolutionary struggle in France in 1848-51 convinced him that the working class had not to perfect the state but actually to smash it, since no matter how democratic it was in form, the bourgeois state could only act as an obstacle to the seizure of power.

Actual revolutionary events again showed Marx what would replace the state. He described the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 in his book *The Civil War in*

France: 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes'.

OPPORTUNISTS

Marxists have had to consistently fight against people who try to divert the socialist transformation of society of its revolutionary character. The British Communist Party is simply the latest in a long line of opportunists and reformists.

Lenin fought a tremendous battle against the German ex-revolutionary Kautsky. In his work *The Proletarian Revolution and the*

SOVIETS

Indeed it is true that each revolution will follow its own specific path. But as Lenin said in making an assessment of some of the chief features of the Russian revolution in *Left-Wing Communism - An Infantile Disorder*:

'Experience has proved that, on certain very important questions of the proletarian revolution, all countries will inevitably have to do what Russia has done' (Lenin's emphasis).

And what was this very important question to which Lenin was referring? It was that:

'... only workers' Soviets, not parliament, can be the instrument enabling the proletariat to achieve its aims; those who have failed to understand this are, of course, out-and-out reactionaries....'

It was because this question was so 'very important' that it was written into the Programme of the Communist International:

'The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc) and the substitution in its place of new organs of proletarian power.'

At its founding conference in 1920, the CP also understood this. It affiliated to the Communist International. It repudiated 'the reformist view that a social revolution can be achieved by the ordinary methods of parliamentary democracy', and declared 'for the Soviet (or Workers' Council) system as a means whereby the working class shall achieve power'.

The British Road to Socialism Draft offers no evidence as to why such a strategy should be overturned. The writers maintain that:

'Democracy can be carried to its utmost limits, breaking all bourgeois restrictions to it, through the democratic transformation of society, including the State, in all the stages of struggle'.

(Lines 1110-2).
Nowhere does the Draft attempt to explain when Parliament and the State themselves cease to be the very 'bourgeois restrictions' to the extension of democratic rights.

Nowhere does the Draft explain how in the words of the Communist International the 'bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments etc.' no longer need to be destroyed but can be democratised to express the will of the vast majority of the people.

At what point in time did this transformation take place? When did Parliament suddenly gain such power? Unlike Marx and Lenin, the Draft draws the lessons of no actual revolutionary struggle.

The falsity of the Draft's claim that it is based on 'our actual political and social conditions' is drawn out by any examination of where this strategy has been applied to those realities.

What is the difference between the Draft's claim that the bourgeois army can be democratised and won to the side of the 'vast majority of the working people' and

Renegade Kautsky, Lenin wrote a polemic which could have been directed against today's CPGB and their desire to 'change and improve' the 'existing democratic institutions and organisations ... so that they more effectively serve the needs of society'.

'"We", the revolutionary Marxists, never made speeches to the people that the Kautskyites of all nations love to make, cringing before the bourgeoisie, adapting themselves to the bourgeois parliamentary system, keeping silent about the bourgeois character of modern democracy and demanding only its extension, only that it be carried to its logical conclusion.'

the British Road to Socialism Draft

for discussion

Communist Party Programme 30p

France: 'The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time... Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent and suppress the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for workers, foremen and accountants for his business.'

So Marx and Engels, in a Preface to the German edition of the Communist Manifesto printed in 1872, stressed again their conclusion from the last revolutionary

Allende's continual repetition of the sentiment that the army would defend democracy?

No, the Draft is not new or a specific strategy for Britain. It is a reformist strategy which corresponds to the continual rightward shift of so-called 'Euro-Communism' in the direction of social democracy.

The conclusion of a left reformist strategy is the tragedy of the Chilean coup. Reliance on parliamentary activity, on getting a left government merely supported by mass struggle, will lead to tomorrow's Chile.

The Draft says that in the event of a 'right wing coup being launched, the left government should have no hesitation in using force to defeat

it - what force? That of the supporters of the 'left government' and for the democratic process' in the armed forces, as the Draft suggests? But that is the same reply as Allende!

George Matthews, writing in the 10 February issue of the *Morning Star*, explains that it is 'the reformists who claim that the state is "neutral"', while 'the Communists call for the democratisation of the State'.

This is hairsplitting. Both the left reformists and the CPGB believe that the state can be 'neutralised' through the same strategy employed by Allende. It is a strategy denounced by Marx and Lenin. And it is a strategy which ties the Draft into the bloody debacle that was Chile.

World Outlook

★ Eastern Europe

The Czechoslovak Communist Party newspaper Rude Pravo and Prague radio have denounced the double standards of the British press in condemning the attacks on Charter 77 while remaining quiet about British torture in Ireland.

The Hungarian party paper Tarsadalmi Szemle has described 'Eurocommunism' as an invention of imperialism and a 'catchword' for bourgeois propaganda.

These observations on the double standards of the bourgeois press are timely but hypocritical coming from parties which stand in the long Stalinist tradition of the suppression of workers democracy. They might also be more impressive if the Communist Parties had a consistent record of opposition to the presence of British troops in Ireland.

★ Czechoslovakia

A document smuggled out of Czechoslovakia reveals that 230 out of the 241 signatories to the Charter 77 human rights appeal have been arrested or subjected to continual police interrogation.

One of the public representatives of the signatories, Vaclav Havel, is



VACLAV HAVEL

still under arrest. Ota Ornest, the film director, is also being held. He is diabetic and has suffered two heart attacks.

A woman who had a miscarriage was forced to return to work without a medical examination to see whether she was fit, while another woman was forcibly admitted to a hospital for venereal diseases although three medical tests showed that she was perfectly healthy.

The document says that the authorities have attempted to get the workers organisations to condemn Charter 77. This they have refused to do without seeing the full text of the manifesto. The Government, of course, is not prepared to publish the document.

★ Poland

The British Communist Party has felt obliged to criticise the Czechoslovak Government for its persecution of the Charter 77 signatories. Poland, however, is still presented as a model of socialist democracy.

Where else, says the CP, would price increases be reversed in 24 hours as a result of mass pressure? This conveniently ignores the fact that it was mass working class action which protected their living standards, not debate through official party channels.

The CP also turns a blind eye to the persecution of working class militants by the Gierek regime. The following example is typical.

Irenusz Majewski tells of how he and his brother were beaten up by police after the Ursus demonstrations last summer. His brother's jaw was broken. A few days later they were arrested.

'The police, armed with clubs, were lined up on each side of the stairs leading into the building. As I reached the third step I had already had as much as I could take and fell unconscious.

'As I lay on the floor I was kicked. Then they took my clothes and left me in just my pants and shirt. Then I

was thrown into a cell. I felt a pain in my chest and knew that another coronary was on the way. [He had already suffered two heart attacks].

'As I am putting all this down I remember that I got the same treatment from the Gestapo during the war.'

★ Rumania

Last week 'World Outlook' carried an article on the rehabilitation of Dracula by the Rumanian Communist Party. It seemed rather amusing.

The less humorous aspect was revealed last week when police arrested a number of signatories to a human rights appeal. The appeal called for the implementation of various sections of the Rumanian constitution. But then Prince Vlad Dracula never had much respect for constitutions either.

★ Netherlands

Large sectors of Dutch industry continue to be hit by wages strikes. Workers in more than 100 companies have taken action in the past fortnight to demand automatic compensation for inflation and an additional two per cent increase.

The strikes started in the docks and spread to the engineering, building and printing industries. A number of national newspapers did not appear for a few days last week. In Amsterdam the Ford factory has been closed, while in Rotterdam 25,000 demonstrated in support of the pay demands.

Already many companies have met the workers' demands in full, despite the attempts of the union leaderships, particularly the Christian CNV, to limit the scope of the strike action. The mass of workers, on the other hand, are decided that the indexation of wages is the only way in which they can protect their living standards.

★ Italy

Students have occupied Rome University demanding changes in the education laws and an end to fascist violence.

Last week the Communist Party (PCI) sent Luciano Lama, a leading member of the party and the general secretary of the CGIL union federation, to address the students. Lama



LUCIANO LAMA

spoke from the back of a lorry guarded by a band of PCI heavies. The purpose of the visit was to call the 'ultra-left' students to order, so the main theme of the speech was a denunciation of 'left-wing terrorism'.

Considering the number of people who have been killed by fascist violence in Italy, including students, the response of the Rome students is not surprising. Lama was shouted down and pelted with stones and paint. Police were called in to protect him, but he was chased off the campus.

After this incident the PCI will be pressing even more strongly for new security powers for the Government. These were originally intended to clamp down on the fascist terrorists. The PCI, however, makes little distinction between the fascists and those in the workers and student movement who wish to organise self defence against right wing attacks.



120 people heard IMG member John Ross (standing) debate Geoff Roberts of the CP (seated left) at University College, London last week.

HOW VORSTER'S POLICE DIVIDE BLACK WORKERS

WHAT WERE you doing last Boxing Day? The people of Nyanga township near Cape Town had a visit from the police. At least thirty black people died that day.

Perhaps more disgusting than the cold-blooded murder by the white police is their use of black migrant workers in acts of violence against the black population. This example, taken from a report compiled by church ministers and banned in South Africa, is typical.

'I was in my backyard when five vans with riot police came into Fifth Avenue, Nyanga. I saw a riot policeman sitting in front on the bonnet. He shot at Mr M, an elderly man who was carrying no weapon and intended no harm. I had only just spoken to him as he passed my gate.

'After the shot Mr M fell to the ground, bleeding at the stomach. I saw the riot policeman beckon with his arm and a large number of migrants came running. The riot policeman pointed to Mr M on the ground and then left as the migrants came and killed him with their weapons.

'The migrants carried sticks and axes. Some had petrol bombs and I saw them throwing them into

houses, setting them alight. The riot police never made any attempt to intervene and stop the violence. Instead they came in with guns and opened the way for the migrants.'

The Government is covering its tracks over this brutality. It is introducing retroactive legislation which will protect policemen from prosecution over the events in the black townships last summer and at Christmas. The Government is afraid that over 600 deaths since 16 June last year will be too much even for the white liberals to stomach.

The increased opposition to apartheid from Church circles is one indication that liberals may attempt some form of legal action against the police. Similar legislation to justify any police brutality has existed for eighteen months in Rhodesia. Now Vorster has come into line with his white supremacist pal to the north. Any police action carried out 'in good faith' will be legalised.



SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN NEWS

TOWARDS the end of last year, various activists in Manchester began to see the need for a broadly based solidarity campaign with the liberation struggles in southern Africa.

The confusion caused by the Geneva talks on Zimbabwe, and the increased interest in South Africa generated by the Soweto events, led a large number of organisations to take up the question of the southern African revolution.

Despite initial opposition from members of the Anti-Apartheid Movement who argued that it wasn't necessary to launch 'yet another' campaign on southern Africa, it was decided to organise the 'Manchester Campaign for the Liberation of Southern Africa'. The campaign was based largely, but not exclusively, on the AAM and various groups on the far left. The campaign got underway at a conference of about 60 people organised by the AAM and the (now disbanded) Angola Solidarity Committee, in Manchester last December.

The main activities of the Manchester campaign are as follows:

- ★ To try to get all trade union and Labour Party branches which already support the AAM to turn their passive support into active support. To get them to affiliate to the MCLSA and to send delegates to future meetings.

- ★ To try to get workers in companies which operate in South Africa to bring pressure on management to recognise the trade unions organised by black workers there.

- ★ To investigate further the role of Manchester firms in South Africa.

- ★ To mobilise for the demonstration called by the AAM for 6 March.

- ★ To raise funds for the liberation movements in cooperation with Mozambique Solidarity Action and ZIMA.

- ★ To ensure that the AAM petition on arms sales and military collaboration gets widespread support.

Our efforts to get speakers invited to local Labour Party wards and to trade union branches have already met with some success. The General and Municipal Workers Union has invited us to send a speaker every fortnight to their educational centre just outside Manchester which is attended by GMWU shop stewards from all over the country.

JOHN HAMPSON

- ★ MCLSA can be contacted c/o Grass Roots, 1 Newton St., Manchester M1 1HW. Tel: 061-236 3312.

Delegates from more than twenty colleges were assembled in less than a fortnight for a conference on southern Africa in Manchester last Saturday.

The conference discussed the situation in South Africa and Zimbabwe and the future of the solidarity campaign. In particular there was criticism of the failure of the leadership of the NUS to mount a clear campaign against the collaboration of the Labour Government with apartheid.

BLACKS THROWN OUT OF JOBS

UNEMPLOYMENT of black workers in South Africa is rising and could reach two million by the end of the year, according to a report by the South African Association of the Chambers of Commerce.

It is hardly surprising that the author of the report is now banned from South Africa.

The sharp rise in unemployment — and underemployment in rural areas — is partly the result of the economic crisis and the decline in the rate of growth of South African industry. But, according to the *Financial Times*, business is very healthy for the South African gold mines, the backbone of the economy.

The apartheid laws make a large contribution to black unemployment. For example laws designating jobs for black or white workers only lead to unfilled vacancies

while unemployment grows. The Association's report points out that 'Job reservation legislation led to the alarming situation where 40,000 unfilled vacancies in April 1976 were reserved for whites'.

The report itself offers no solutions. For example it is worried that the pass laws, which inhibit the free movement of black workers, 'give rise to frustration and deep resentment and a lack of commitment to the system (of free enterprise)'.

No doubt this is a disturbing thought for South Africa's white liberal capitalists. Increasing numbers of black workers are drawn to the conclusion that it was the free enterprise system which produced apartheid and that the apartheid laws seem to work very well for South African and international capitalism.

'SUICIDE' & TORTURE

TWO MYSTERIOUS deaths last week turn the spotlight on South African police methods.

On 15 February, according to the police statement, black student Matthews Mabilane jumped out of a tenth storey window in the John Vorster Square police headquarters in Johannesburg. The following day a white prisoner did the same thing in a Durban police station.

Of course it was the second case which got the white liberals agitated. But it is also particularly interesting because the man was not a political prisoner. Until then Minister of Police James Kruger had maintained that prisoners were being instructed to commit suicide by the Communist Party!

These deaths brought the number of 'suicides' in custody to four for 1977 and 19 since March last year. These are just some of the cases:

Joseph Mdluli — a former member of the African National Congress, died within a day of his detention last March. Four policemen were acquitted of culpable homicide.

Mapetla Mohapi — a former officer of the South African Students Organisation, allegedly hanged himself with his jeans last August.

Luke Mazwembe — allegedly hanged himself.

Jacob Mashabane — allegedly hanged himself.

Ernest Mamasila — allegedly hanged himself.

Willington Tshazibane — a De Beers worker, allegedly committed suicide last December.

George Botha — a school-teacher, allegedly jumped six floors down a stairwell last December.

All these victims were black and most of them were detained on political charges, mainly under the Terrorism Act, the apartheid state's chief legal instrument against black working class political action.

It is plain that these 19 people have been murdered. Unless, of course, you choose to believe that they were instructed to commit suicide. But let us suppose that they did all kill themselves. What would that say about the South African state?

Workers' Jubilee 1917 1977



As the new year dawned over Russia in 1917 Czar Nicholas the Second continued his autocratic rule. Within two months his reign was brought to an abrupt end in what is known as the 'February Revolution'.

Within ten months the workers, soldiers and peasants soviets, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, had seized power and thrust Russia on the socialist road. Never had such a sharp turn in history been concentrated into such a short period of time.

In January 1917 the bloody carnage of the First World War moved into its fourth year. Russia entering the war alongside its allies of the Entente, Britain and France, had suffered enormous casualties. Out of a total population of 150 million, 15 million men had been mobilised for the war front. Two million of those soldiers died. A further three million were wounded or captured.

Millions of others simply deserted the trenches and went home. Demoralisation, after the initial patriotic euphoria, swept the troops and officers. Everybody was waiting for the war to end. Needless to say the speculators and the factory owners had found war a very profitable business. For example in 1914/15 the Bushinsky textile firm in Moscow recorded net profits of 75%.

1915 stated — 'The present day demands of military technique are beyond us. At any rate we can't keep up with the Germans.'

The War Minister Polivanov, in August 1915, had nothing better to offer than:—

'I place my trust in the impenetrable spaces, impassable mud, and the mercy of Saint Nicholas Mirlikisky, Protector of Holy Russia.'

The collapse of the Russian armies in the war came as no surprise. In Russian society as a whole, that defeat was accompanied by the failure to transform the country into an industrial, bourgeois democracy. By 1914 Britain, France and Germany had all accomplished their bourgeois revolutions. Russia still lingered under Tsarism and feudalism.

Over 80% of the Russian people worked on the land. Per head national income was 8 times lower than in the United States. For every 100 square kilometres of land Russia had a mere 400 metres of railways. Germany had 11,700 metres.

During the war Russia paid a heavy price for its backwardness. Weapons and boots were in short supply. Soldiers and equipment could not be moved because of the poor transport system.

While the war dragged on and demoralisation spread, the cost of living soared in the cities and villages. According to the Moscow

herring 767%, milk 471% and eggs 443%. Prices increased by 51% more than wages. Other goods shot up even higher.

The Moscow Soviet for the same period established that cotton prices rose 1233%, soap 780%, candles 1076% and firewood 1100%. These figures were verified by the Ministry of Supplies. It came as no surprise that in the search for bread, crowds sacked bakeries.

In January and February of 1917 the storm was brewing on the horizon. Rumours spread within the ruling class of conspiracies to eliminate the pro-German Tsar; soldiers were deserting by the hundreds; strikes were growing in Petrograd and throughout Russia; prices and with them profits soared endlessly.

The scene was being set for the explosion in February.

Next Week: Five Days in February.

RIC SISSONS

MARCH 5th RALLY

Build 6 March demonstration
International Solidarity with the struggle in southern Africa.
Speakers include:
C. GABRIEL [LCR, French Section of the Fourth International]
BARNEY MOKGATLE [Soweto student]
TONY BOGUES [Jamaican Revolutionary Marxist League]
TARIQALI [IMG]

Saturday 5 March, 7.00pm.
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Nearest tube Holborn.
Organised by the IMG.

SOCIAL after the Rally —
A chance to meet and discuss with other members of the Fourth International.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS
calls on all its members to support
AAM NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION
SUNDAY 6 MARCH
Assemble SPEAKERS CORNER, 1.30pm.
UNITE IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE
PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

TERROR & The Fascist International



KIDNAP victim General Emilio Villaescusa. Notice the medal on his left pocket. It is the Iron Cross awarded to him when he served with Franco's Blue Division in the Nazi armies in the Soviet Union.

THE FASCIST International has held a number of meetings, at least one of them in Spain. A meeting in Rome last October included representatives from a number of European and Latin American countries, including Italy, Argentina and Spain. The Spanish groups represented were Lucha Espanola Antimarxista, Antiterrorismo ETA (an anti-Basque group), Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey and the Grupos de Accion Sindicalista. Perhaps the most interesting thing about the last of these organisations is its source of finance. Its main backer is Antonio Maria de Oriol — the same Oriol who was kidnapped by GRAPO. Oriol also attended a meeting of the

The second and concluding part of CHRIS O'BRIEN'S investigation into the international links of the Spanish far right.

Latin American fascist organisations. SCOE's other main brief was to establish and encourage anti-left commandos, particularly in the Basque country. At the same time an organised far right began to emerge among students. The Brigada de Investigación Social, a branch of the secret police, organised and financed Accion Universitaria Nacional and Defensa Universitaria. The Information Ministry, then run by Fraga Iri-

delle Chiaie, the Italian fascist who, as we reported last week, is the brains behind the strategy of tension. Also present were Salvatore Francia, delle Chiaie's fellow conspirator in the Brescia massacre in 1974, and Emilio 'El Chacal', a member of the Argentinian Triple A.

REFUGE

Delle Chiaie was given refuge in Spain by José Antonio Girón, a former Franco minister and leader of the 'respectable' right, at his villa at Fuengirola on the Costa del Sol. Both delle Chiaie and Francia were employed for a time in the shipping firm run by Luis Garcia Rodriguez, a notorious gun-runner and another key figure on the Spanish far right.

They were also employed by a firm which imported and exported fish. This firm just happened to be located in the same building as the newspaper of Blas Pinar's far right organisation Fuerza Nueva.

The Italian connection continues. Last week Pierluigi Concutelli was arrested in Rome for the murder of the judge Vittorio Occorsio last July. He was in Madrid at the time of the murder of the labour lawyers last month and is reckoned by the Italian judge dealing with his case to have been one of those responsible. He is also known to have participated in anti-ETA commandos in the Basque country. He is a good friend of delle Chiaie.

INTERESTING

Unfortunately we do not have a photograph of the most interesting person to turn up with the right-wing at Montejurra: Antonio Maria de Oriol. Oriol played host to Sixto de Borbón when the latter returned to Spain last year and it was he who arranged the first public appearance of Sixto at Montejurra.

It seems that the presence of these Triple A and Italian representatives at crucial moments was part of a plan to set up a Spanish Triple A and to duplicate the tactics used in those countries. The invention of GRAPO and the Triple A's claim for responsibility for the recent Madrid murders indicates that this operation has been carried out.

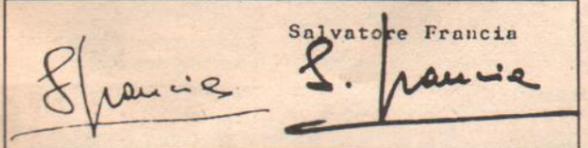
It is equally clear that these organisations have close links with the respectable fascist organisations such as Orden Nuevo and the Guardia de Franco. As we reported last week, an international terrorist centre at Iscar is run by a leader of Orden Nuevo.

CENTRES

There are similar centres at Conill de la Frontera near Cadiz, Cercedilla near Madrid, Ononiente near Alicante and Mairena de Alcor near Seville.

The last of these was exposed after the discovery of an arms cache at the Seville Olympic Shooting Club. The site is registered in the name of Garcia Verde, the uncle of the man in the raincoat at Montejurra. The actual owner is the same Garcia Llorente who built up the links with Argentinian rightists.

A large amount of the equipment of these organisations comes from the Guardia de rancio, which is estimated to have 20,000 pistols. The equipment of the fascists at Montejurra was supplied by Royuela, the provincial lieutenant general of the Guardia de Franco in Barcelona. The Guardia de



ON THE LEFT is Salvatore Francia's authenticated signature. The one on the right, the same signature, was at the bottom of an appeal to Juan Carlos to release foreign fascist political prisoners. This is positive proof that Francia is in Spain.

Anticommunist International Alliance in Barcelona on 30-31 October last year.

According to the Italian magazine Panorama the AIA is the same organisation as the Fascist International. Oriol was elected to the executive body of the AIA, in the company of Belgian Nazi collaborator Leon Dégrelle, who has been resident in Spain since 1945. Was Oriol kidnapped by members of his own organisation?

Also at the Barcelona meeting were British representatives David Stirling, Walter Walker, Colin Jordan and Robert Butler. Stirling founded the British Army's SAS and his own private army two years ago.

Walker, a former general, is another private army commander. Both are considered representatives of the 'respectable' right in Britain. Colin Jordan is the longtime leader of British fascism.

The main topic of discussion at the Rome meeting was a plan of action for the anniversary of Franco's death. It is quite possible that the murders of recent weeks and the GRAPO kidnapping were planned at that meeting.

TRIPLE A

Last summer Triple A leaders visited Madrid. Among them was Juan Ramón Morales, known to have been involved in the murder of Argentinian Deputy Ortega Pena. A month later there was a series of bombings throughout Spain. This was the first action attributed to GRAPO.

Spain has long been a haven for exiled fascists. As we reported last week a number of Italians have been given refuge there. It would seem that, with the successful conclusion of the strategy of tension in Argentina, the Triple A leaders are coming to Spain to give the benefit of their experience.

The Government has encouraged stories of foreign participation in recent killings to conceal the role of Spanish fascists. The truth of the Fascist International is that the Spanish Government was centrally involved in setting it up.

In 1963 Franco set up the Servicio de Coordinación y Enlace (SCOE) under the direction of the future Prime Minister Carrero Blanco. At one time its headquarters was in a building in the Calle de Rey Francisco in Madrid. The office was also the home of the CIA.

CO-ORDINATOR

SCOE acted as a coordinator of a number of far right and secret police organisations. Among them were the French OAS, the Portuguese PIDE, the Cypriot EOKA, the

barne, now an arch 'liberal', also financed these organisations.

A central role was played by secret police chief Colonel Quintero, recently returned from training in anti-subversive techniques in Virginia, USA.

The AUN ran courses in weapon training and techniques of agitation and propaganda. It saw its role as stimulating a May 1968 in reverse. Its main training manual was Mein Kampf.

When the AUN dissolved, its members joined a number of policemen in forming the Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey. The leaders of the Guerrilleros is Sánchez-Covisa, recently released from prison by the Suarez Government.

Various far right organisations have carried out terror actions over the past four years. Hardly any of them have been arrested.

It was after the assassination of Carrero Blanco that there were first reports of coordinated international action in Spain. This was said to involve the Italian Ordine Nuovo, the French Force Nouvelle and the CIA. Apart from its role in SCOE, CIA involvement has never



COLIN JORDAN [centre] pictured in 1962 with John Tyndall [left], now leader of the National Front.

been established. But the involvement of other fascist groups has become brutally obvious in recent months.

The best documented instance was the Montejurra killing exposed by the French Trotskyist daily Rouge. The Carlist Party, once a bastion of the right wing but now a left-wing opposition party, held its annual festival on the mountain of Montejurra last summer. It was attacked by right-wing Carlist followers of Sixto de Borbón who shot and killed two people. The Civil Guard stood by and did nothing.

Rouge revealed that the man in the raincoat on the right of the accompanying photograph was the killer. He is José Luis Garcia Verde. His brother is Hermenegildo Garcia Llorente, who, as we reported last week, was the main link between the Spanish and Argentinian fascists.

Even more interesting is the ringed figure with a moustache

A similar escalation of the activities of the far right has taken place in Portugal. In particular leaflets have been distributed by youths in brown shirts with swastika armbands announcing a rally sponsored by the Italian organisation Ordine Nuovo.

The 'strategy of tension' is a departure from the traditional methods of fascism. It does not require a politicised mass movement but only a handful of hired gunmen and some contacts in the secret police. These are easy to find.

But at the same time it has none of the advantages for the ruling class of traditional fascism. Without a mass movement it is completely incapable of smashing the organisations of the working class.

Even in Argentina, where the strategy has succeeded, a massive campaign of strikes and sabotage

still makes the position of the dictatorship precarious.

In Italy the Brescia massacre was answered by numerous strikes and the isolation of the fascists, contributing to their sharp electoral decline.

This report has shown the existence of an international far right terrorist network. But the main conclusion should not be a conspiracy theory of recent events in Spain. Both the Government and the reformist parties of the working class would prefer to pin responsibility on the international fascists rather than deal with the fascists in Spain itself. Indeed, as we have shown, the Spanish Government and security forces have been major contributors to this Fascist International.

The Argentinian reformists attempted to institutionalise conflict in an agreement with Peron. Instead, many of the rank and file

leaders of the working class have been wiped out. The Portuguese reformists failed to bring the fascists to popular justice. Now they are active again.

The Italian Communist Party newspaper l'Unita answers the fascists with condemnations of left-wing 'terrorism'. The Spanish Communist Party puts full confidence in the Government of the dictatorship to deal with the fascists. The Government's answer has been to arrest 1,200 members of far left organisations and a handful of foreign fascists.

The self defence of the Spanish working class is beginning. In the Basque country pickets have successfully resisted attacks on working class neighbourhoods, while the Roca strikers have defended their factory and the houses of their rank and file leaders. Only that sort of action can stop the fascist terror.



MONTEJURRA, May 1976. The ringed figure is Stefano delle Chiaie. The man in the raincoat on the right is José Luis Garcia Verde. Other foreign fascists are the Italian Augusto Cauchi [centre with dark glasses] and the Triple A member known as 'El chacal', the Jackal [half hidden behind Cauchi and the person next to him].

KURDS: 20 months of repression

IT WAS APRIL 1975 when the Iraqi-Iranian accords were signed, ending the Shatt Al-Arab dispute and condemning the Kurdish national struggle in Iraq.

Since that time the Ba'athist regime in Baghdad have tried to ensure that the Kurds never again threaten the control of the government over the Iraqi state. Central to this strategy is the inhuman policy of 'Arabisation' of the Kurdish region. This has meant:

- * Half-a-million Kurds deported, with a further half-million expected to meet the same fate. The Barzani, Zeabarian and Merga'sori tribes are being deported from the Kurdish lands between Shirwan and Gali Ali to the desert areas of Ramadi and Rottba in Southern Iraq.
- * The villages of Sinjar and Sherkan, near the Syrian border, have been razed by bulldozers and replaced by modern, Arab villages.
- * Many Iraqi Arabs have refused to move to the Kurdish areas. In their place 50,000 Egyptian poor peasants have been tempted there by the fertile land and government money.
- * Any Arab who marries a Kurdish woman is paid 500 Iraqi dinar (about £1,000).
- * Kurdish graduates can only get jobs after they agree to join the Ba'ath party.
- * Unemployed deportees receive 25p a day for food and clothes.

regions of Kirkuk and Ayn-Zaia for the government.

Hopes that this would end all struggle by the Kurds have proved unfounded. Leaflets were distributed in Dohuk, Zako and Aamadya and a May Day demonstration organised in Sulaimaniyah on the theme of the continuity of the revolution. On the military front during May and June, 10 to 20 Iraqi soldiers were killed every day



GENERAL BARZANI

in the Mosul area, forcing the government to slow down the deportations. As usual, this resistance was met with severe repression by the Iraqi Ba'ath.

Their latest atrocity was the attempted murder of Dr. Cheriff Vanly, representative of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP — the leading nationalist party during the revolution) in Switzerland and

tional Federation of Human Rights, who utilised his position to speak out against the policy of Arabisation.

However, the most important long term developments are the political effects of the defeat of the revolution on the Kurdish and Arab militants. The politics of the Barzani leadership of the KDP had a very clear basis; the unevenness of economic and political development of the various states (Iraq, Iran and Turkey) and the antagonisms between them allowed Barzani to pursue a strategy in which armed struggle was used as a tactic to gain reforms for the Kurds in Iraq. This conflicted with the national aspirations of the Kurds.

IRAN

For example, whilst fighting continued in Iraq the leadership ensured that this did not flow over into Iran, lest they lose the Shah's favour. Now that this strategy has borne its bitter fruits a process of politicisation has begun among many Kurds, particularly the educated youth who fought in the Pesh Merga (the Kurdish partisan army).

Many of these Kurds are being forced to leave Kurdistan for Europe and North America. This means that the solidarity of revolutionaries in these countries with the Kurdish struggle becomes doubly important. It is only through such action that Kurdish militants will be won to a revolutionary political programme which can present a way forward after the recent defeats.

A WAGES POLICY TO FIGHT FOR

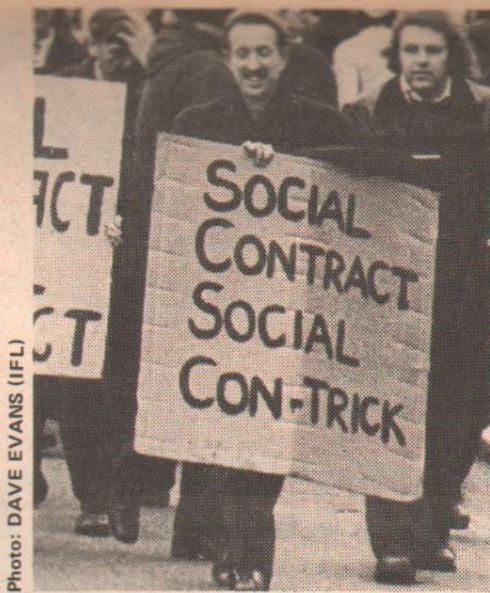


Photo: DAVE EVANS (IFL)

RED WEEKLY

LABOUR RIGHT-WING PREPARE FOR BATTLE

ONCE UPON A TIME Jack Jones and Denis Healey got together to explain how wage rises were bad because they caused inflation. Hold back wages, they said, and we'll have inflation down to single figures in no time. That was 18 months ago.

Wages have been held back mercilessly since then. A survey published last week by Reward Regional Surveys Ltd showed that the average household is now £10 a week poorer than in July 1975.

Prices, on the other hand, have defied Healey's law by continuing to rocket upwards. They rose in January by 2.6 per cent — the biggest monthly increase for almost two years — to reach an annual rate of 16.6 per cent. Food prices have risen by 23.5 per cent

over the last year.

THE BIG LIE is falling apart, for all 'Beaver' Jones's efforts to dam up our wages in a third round of pay policy. Last week British Leyland shop stewards — many of them Jones's own members — took the unprecedented step of summoning a 'rank-and-file TUC' in Birmingham on 3 April to debate a return to free collective bargaining. This will be followed by a 'day of action' and mass lobby when Parliament re-assembles after Easter — probably on 19 April.

These proposals — and the support they have already won — show the scale of the opposition which is building up to the Social Contract. But there are a couple of lessons which have to be drawn

from those '18 wasted months'.

* It's no good waiting for action from the trade union leaders. The 'rank-and-file TUC' should set itself the task of organising independent action, as the Liaison Committee in Defence of the Trade Unions did against the Industrial Relations Bill.

It seems clear, however, that the Leyland stewards' intention is merely to pressurise the bureaucrats into opposing further wage restraint. This is borne out by the same stewards' refusal to back action against Phase 2 inside Leyland. We say: support, extend, coordinate all struggles against the Social Contract now!

* This fight needs policies. None — not even the CBI — is against a return to free collective bargaining. The question is how,

when, and for what purpose.

The talk now is all of 'more flexibility', a 'restoration of differentials', and so on. That does nothing to unite the working class. It says merely that there can be more for those with the muscle, while the low paid and badly organised — including most women workers, for a start — can go to the wall.

We say: across-the-board wage increases to make up for the fall in real wages since July 1975; full automatic compensation for every rise in the cost of living, based on an index compiled by the trade unions; national minimum wage of £50 a week; equal pay now.

If you stand for an end to the Social Contract, start organising around these policies now.

Labour's right wing have set up a new body. The 'Campaign for Labour Victory' was established at a hundred-strong national meeting last Saturday.

Transport Secretary William Rodgers chaired the meeting. Rodgers earned his spurs as one of the Gaitskellite right-wing witch-hunters of the early sixties.

His theme at the meeting was for 'unity' behind the Government. 'Many people have the impression', he said, 'that the main opposition to the Government comes not from the Tories but from the Labour Party's National Executive Committee.'

He called for a joint campaign with Tribune which he described as the legitimate 'inside left' against the 'outside left', provocatively warning Tribune not to allow itself to become a 'trojan horse' for so-called infiltration by the extreme left.

The 'unity' theme was quickly

picked up by the Party's general secretary, Ron Hayward. He said — also on Saturday — that the Party was being infiltrated by 'a new mood of intolerance'.

He predicted that the Labour Government would fall unless the alleged split in the Party was healed. He called for an end to 'nitpicking', urging 'let us get on with the real job of supporting our government.'

But it was left to the Prime Minister to spell out what this renewed desire for 'unity' was all about. At a joint meeting of the cabinet and the NEC, specially convened last Wednesday to seek a reconciliation between the two bodies, Sunny Jim said that in the interests of unity he was prepared to be convinced and change his mind on any subject as long as it did not interfere with the Labour Government's central anti-working class economic strategy!



3,500 confront education cuts

As the Hereford and Worcester County Council met last Thursday to ratify a new round of education cuts, they were besieged by a picket of 3,500 demonstrators.

The picket followed a day of strike action by 2,000 teachers which sent 41,000 pupils home.

The case for the strike and picket was overwhelming. Even the report of the Council working party admitted that the local service was already 'at a below minimum standard from an educational point of view'.

Yet this did not dissuade the Education Committee, chaired by Labour Councillor Philip Hart,

from cutting a further £2½ million. The Tory controlled Council, not to be outdone, upped the figure to £6 million.

If such massive cuts are implemented, then the jobs of 650 teachers, 25 per cent of all ancillary workers and 50 per cent of all catering staff will be at stake.

Under the guise of 'having no troops' the unions' local leaderships have already accepted considerable cuts and redeployment. The 'no troops' myth has now been exploded by the success of the strike and the picket.

And what is true of education workers in Hereford and Worcester is true of those elsewhere.

Because although the militancy displayed in this local action was striking, it highlighted some important weaknesses in the overall fight against education cuts. For workers do not have the strength to fight what are essentially national policies on a county by county basis.

It also displays the tepid nature of the National Union of Teachers leadership's opposition to the education cuts, to sanction local days of action in areas like Hereford and Worcester while they suspend teachers at Little Ilford for organising against cuts in their area.

Most important of all is the need for a national NUT campaign — as was recognised by the teachers at Hereford and Worcester who passed a resolution calling for such national action.

A further barrier to providing an effective campaign is the divisive alternative offered by the NUT leadership to education cuts. Either they say 'cut elsewhere' or 'put up the rates' — both of which cut off public support for teachers fighting the cuts.

The NUT would do better to turn its attention to the biggest growth area in education budgets — the rise in interest payments to the banks. In Hereford and Worcester this rose last year by 20 per cent, to total £7 million in all. Also worth looking at is the £730,000 the council still finds it necessary to spend in order to keep just 1.2 per cent of its pupils in independent schools.

7 Days in the 6 Counties

A few weeks ago this column reported on the growing disarray of the Peace Movement, and the ascending influence of the Churches — especially the Catholic hierarchy — in its ranks. Events in the last two weeks have shown these processes to be very much connected with each other.

On Wednesday 10 February, Tom Conaty, a prominent Belfast Catholic, was expelled from the 'Peace People' after he had attacked Peace guru Claran McKeown for his criticisms of church leaders. The same day in Derry, one of the leaders of the movement there, Liam Doherty, echoed Conaty's criticism and then he and his wife resigned from the movement, accusing its leaders of acting dictatorially.

Betty Williams, one of these leaders, responded by remarking 'there'll be a few more beetles to come out of the woodwork before this is over'; which as another dissenting voice in the movement remarked, 'is hardly the language of peace and love'. To cap it all, on 12 February the Irish Times, one of the strongest backers of the 'Peace People', demanded the removal of McKeown from his leadership of the movement, as a way of easing the tension within it.

The immediate source of these squabbles is remarks made by McKeown attacking such personages in the Catholic hierarchy as Dr Philbin, Bishop of Down and Connor, and Canon Murphy, a reactionary cleric from West Belfast. McKeown had accused these gentlemen of jumping on the peace 'band-wagon' without being prepared to wage a real fight for 'peace' amongst the militant anti-Unionist flock.

COLLAPSE

In fact, ever since the collapse of the old Nationalist Party in the wake of the rise of the civil rights movement in the late 1960s, the Catholic hierarchy and its local stalwarts have nourished the vain hope of restoring their influence and returning the anti-Unionist masses to the political leadership of a party of the Nationalist type which was heavily dominated by clerical interests.

In their opposition to the 'men of violence' of the Provisionals, the clerics have a much longer and more determined record than McKeown; it is just that they are a bit more subtle about it.

'Moderate' opinion on the dissensions within the 'Peace People' has a different version of the events. So scared are the moderates about the collapse of the only movement which retains them a foothold in Irish politics that they explain that all the problems are only caused by 'administrative inability'.

EXPLANATION

Yet a further explanation is offered by the Unionist bloc. According to the Belfast daily Newsletter, the reasons are that the 'Peace People' have had 'a calculated ambivalence towards the security forces', which considering the support McKeown and company have given the RUC and the Army in the past has the appearance of the most ridiculous explanation of all.

And yet there is a small grain of truth in the Newsletter's analysis. In so far as the Peace leaders have not called for the genocide of the Catholic population, they have indeed alienated Unionist opinion.

Although they have desperately tried to satisfy all sections of opinion at the same time, McKeown, Williams and the rest have found it impossible to keep the 'politics of division' out of their 'movement'. Essentially this is just one more testament of the utter impossibility of reforming the six county state under British imperialism.

But the real, underlying reason for the growing disintegration and the narrowing of options of the 'Peace People' is their total failure to influence significant sections of the anti-Unionist masses. The growing calls to withdraw the British Army from the Catholic ghettos are a glowing illustration of the Catholic masses' understanding of the real cause of 'violence' and 'terror' in the North of Ireland.

MIKE PINTER



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We have had to leave out details on the progress of the Fund Drive this week because of the pressure on space caused by the last minute arrival of the revelations printed on the front page. But the message is that if we are going to continue this fight against state repression of journalists you must dip into your pockets. Send donations or bankers orders to Fund Drive, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

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