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# ORGANISE TO DEFEAT WILSON'S POLICIES

As the Labour Party meets in conference at Blackpool a wave of anger and resentment against the policies of the Wilson Government is beginning to sweep through the working class.

Workers at NVT are fighting against Government attempts to close the factory. The Blastfurnacemen have won at least a temporary victory. On Saturday 20 September, 7,000 people took to the streets in London protesting at the collaboration of Wilson with the counter-revolutionary leaders of the Portuguese Socialist Party. The removal of Prentice in Newham has encouraged party activists to initiate similar action in Hammersmith North and Hayes & Harlington. These struggles are just the por-

tents of even bigger struggles to come. However, the weakness inside the workers movement is that most of these struggles remain unco-ordinated and lack a central organised focus. Nor do they share either an agreed programme or agreed aims for united action.

## INITIATIVES

Many different initiatives are taking place. The Tribune Group has called for the establishment of a campaign to defend the Labour Party Manifesto. This winter the Institute of Workers Control is organising a Conference to discuss the fight against unemployment and a campaign for the Manifesto. number of organisations have sprung into existence to fight on particular issues. The National Abortion Campaign has fought a consistent battle against the James White (Amendment) Bill. The Medical Committee Against Private Practice now supported by two national unions - is organising a Conference against the cuts in the NHS on 11 October. Within these campaigns there are many different political organisations and groupings such as Tribune, Militant, the Communist Party, the IMG, the IS etc.

Whilst many campaigns on many different issues are necessary it is

equally clear that a centralised organisation is needed to carry the fight forward on all fronts.

## VITAL STEP

The International Marxist Group considers that the vital step which must be taken is the unification of the militants in all these campaigns into a class struggle left wing in the labour movement. Such an organisation must be based on a definite programme. It needs a definite organisation. It must have definite goals. It certainly must support every struggle against the £6 limit and the Healey measures. Furthermore, it must ensure the fullest democracy to all those working within it.

The International Marxist Group puts forward the following measures which it believes could provide a platform for a class struggle left wing:

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**Party Conference** 

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INCLUDING INTERVIEW

WITH TONY KELLY



munist Party, and the International Marxist Group, there were also a number of trade union banners — including the AUEW, Ford Halewood workers, T&GWU International and London Bookshops branches, UCATT Midland Region, EEPTU Glasgow, NUR Feltham, NALGO Tower Hamlets, NUT Wandsworth, NUJ Book branch, APEX Holborn, and CPSA British Museum. Trades councils represented included Southwark, Nottingham, Leicester, Brent, Islington, Camden, Croydon, and Coventry. There were also a number of branches of the Labour Party Young Socialists, as well as several Spanish groups — LCR-ETA (VI), PSOE, and FRAP.

Greetings to the demonstration came from several groups in Portugal, among them the CUF co-ordinating committee of workers' commissions, the executive of the Transport Workers' Union of Lisbon, and a.mass meeting of Plessey workers. After a rally in Hyde Park a large number of demonstrators marched to the Spanish Embassy to protest at the eleven death sectences so far imposed by the Franco regime.

Unfortunately the impact of the demonstration was marred by the attempts of membars of the International Socialists to disrupt the Hyde Park rally. After a tremendous speech by a representative from Radio Renascenca, the next speaker was announced as Judit) Hart MP – who, whatever her other failings, has consistently spoken out against the manoeuvres of imperialism and right-wing social democracy to frustrate the workers' struggles in Portugal. Immediately IS members tried to drown her out with shouts of 'Social Democracy – Out, Workers' Democracy – In.

It would be hard to think of a more inappropriate combination of slogan and action. All the IS action achieved was to discredit the *whole* mobilisation, and provide the the Labour and trade union bureaucrats with the perfect excuse for refusing to commit themselves to the Portuguese solidarity movement.

Nevertheless, the possibilities for building such a movement are now excellent. The next step must be to establish local committees in every area to carry forward the campaign. Everything must be done to ensure that the reactionary plans of the Labour leaders are thwarted, and that the Portuguese workers are free to continue on the road to socialism and a workers' state.





# **1. THE FIGHT TO** DEFEND **RADIO RENASCENCA**

The Western mass media have accused us of attempting to curtail freedom of information - but we don't believe truly free information is possible in capitalist society. It depends on those who own and have money. So we are struggling for a socialist society where this "freedom" of private property will be abolished.

The speaker is Joao Alferes Goncalves, a journalist at the Radio Renascenca station in Lisbon. The station - owned by the Catholic Church - has been occupied and run by the workers for several months, and Goncalves was elected by them to speak at last Saturday's solidarity demonstration in London. The previous day he spoke about the significance of the struggle at Rado Renascenca at a press conference organised by the Portuguese

Workers Co-ordinating Committee.

Before 25 April 1974, there was a very strict system of internal censorship. But despite the difficulties caused by this - which led to sackings and so on - we managed to build up a body of anti-fascist journalists at the station. So when the management tried to continue with the same censorship and control after 25 April, they at once had a strike on their hands.

## **STRUGGLE**

This was followed by a prolonged process of struggle - there were advances and retreats which tended to follow those of the general working class struggle. But finally in May of this year we decided to occupy Radio Renascenca under workers' control and put the station openly at the service of the working class.

While many papers speak about the working class, at Radio Renascenca the working class itself speaks. We are in direct contact with the autnomous organs of the working class the workers' and neighbourhood commissions, etc. Before 25 April, Radio Renascenca was a commercial radio station which existed by selling time to all sorts of reactionary and immoral causes. Now, of course, because we can't rely on advertising, we depend on funds from the workers' organisations.



JOAO ALFERES GONCALVES

away with all differentials between the technicians and journalists, and now all the revenue is equally divided. But to make sure that the service is really controlled by the working class, we are now planning to form a 'people's information co-operative' - including not just Radio Renascenca workers, but also representatives of the workers' commisformation workers has now been established, and it was unanimously agreed that the workers of Radio Renascenca should be represented on this body.

You must be clear about one thing – we are not attempting to be unbiased, we have made a class choice, and so we give no time on the air to forces opposed to the interests of the working class. But no single party controls the station, and all pro-working class currents have ready access to programmes. To give you one example - the group 'Christians fo: Socialism' produces a programme which is broadcast three times a day. And we have a lot of support generally from progressive Catholics.

## HIERARCHY

Of course the hierarchy of the Catholic Church has bitterly attacked us, and they have been supported by the Socialist Party leadership. In private Mario Soares has told us he is not unsympathetic to our struggle; but for political reasons he needs an alliance with the Catholic Church. That is why he has been seen attending Mass in Porto, even though he used to declare himself an atheist!

As part of their conditions for entering the Sixth Provisional Government, the SP leaders laid down an overall plan for information which included the handing back of Republica and Radio Renascenca, the closure of O Seculo, and the replacement of all the senior staff at Diario de Noticias and ANI (the national news agency).

The situation in Portugal seems likely to provoke a major row at the Labour Party conference. This was foreshadowed when three members of the National Executive Committee - MPs Judith Hart and Joan Maynard, and Alex Kitson of the Transport & General Workers Union - opposed a motion to invite Socialist Party leader Mario Soares to speak from the platform.

Disagreements with the official pro-Soares line have also appeared with increasing frequency in the Party's official newspaper, Labour Weekly. Writing in the 12 September issue, Tony Banks had the following pertinent comments to make in an eyewitness report on Portugal:

Since the April election, when the SP won 38 per cent of the votes, Dr Soares has led his party towards the Right. There is mounting dissent within the SP about the party programme and the personal leadership of Soares.

## **EXPULSIONS**

'There have been many expulsions of those expressing their discontent, and although the SP campaigned on a Socialist programme, its growing denunciations of nation alisation measures carried out by the MFA seem to indicate a readiness to use Socialist rhetoric but a reluctance to turn it into action ...

'In addition, there has been a growing readiness on the part of the SP to stand aside from attempts to construct a popular front and to indulge in the sort of inflammatory anti-communism that has given rise to violence in the North ....

'In his personal campaign against the Government of Goncalves and the Communist Party, Soares has legitimised international pressures against the Portuguese economy and given encouragement to the forces of the Right.

'My own feeling is that the SP is now being used by the old ruling class to give it respectability and thwart any real progress towards Socialism.

## **RE-ASSESSMENT**

Banks concludes with a call for 'a re-assessment of Labour Party support for Dr Soares', and although his article contains absurd illusions in the Armed Forces Movement as the hope for the future - illusion which must already have been shattered by subsequent events there can be no doubt that it is an accurate account of the present role of the SP leaders in trying to hold back the workers' movement in Portugal. The same view is also expressed by Audrey Wise MP in a new Spokesman publication, Eyewitness in Revolutionary Portugal (to be reviewed next week). The pamphlet is an account of her visit to Portugal last month, and she too gives examples of how 'the attitude of the leadership of the PSP gave the reaction cover in the beginning'. In her introduction, she comments: 'The groundswell of popular power and direct democracy .... is by far the most exciting and probably the most significant feature....It is not true that there is repression and dictatorship in Portugal. In August 1975 the overwhelming atmosphere

is one of free and intense discussion." The debate at the Labour Party conference is likely to focus on a motion submitted by the Electricians Union which 'records its strongest admiration and support for the stand of the Socialist Party, and its leader Mario Soares'. An amendment has been submitted by York CLP, which we urge all our Labour Party readers to support. This would make the motion read as

follows: 'This Conference, whilst it ex-

2. Soares under fire from Labour 'lefts'

presses its concern at events in Portugal which threaten a loss of the democratic rights of which people were deprived for so long under the Fascist regime, welcomes the advances made by the Portuguese workers towards the socialist transformation of society.

'Conference views with alarm the build up of reactionary forces around some of the leaders of the Armed Forces Movement and the leadership of the Socialist Party. The international support afforded these people and their call for a 'pluralist' (ie.



Inside the station we have done

sions. General policy would be decided by mass meetings, and then there would perhaps be a secretariat elected to take the day-to-day decisions.

We are also establishing close links with other information workers - this was seen in the collective decision to defy the ban on reporting military affairs. A secretariat of in-



Our fund for the LCI (Portuguese sympathising group of the Fourth International) has got off to a slow start. Only £18.34 has so far come in-£5 from E.J. Ryan, £5 from J. Holloway, £5 anonymously, £2.34 from Newcastle IMG, and £1 from B. Austin.

While the CP and SP can rely on massive aid from their well-placed supporters abroad, the LCI has to rely on the comparatively small forces of the international revolutionary vanguard. Please give generously to help build the Fourth International in Portugal in a situation so ripe with opportunities. Send all monies to: Red Weekly (LCI), 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. All donations will be acknowledged.

## CONFLICTS

But any attempt to force the return of Radio Renascenca would lead to unforeseeable conflicts. When the Revolutionary Council ordered its return in June, the working class mobilised to defend the station physically for several days. And the COPCON soldiers refused to obey orders to evict us, and said they would defend the station if the police were called in.

We are absolutely opposed to the Sixth Provisional Government. It is a clear attempt to reinforce the position of the capitalist class in Portugal. But that is not to say we gave blanket support to the Goncalves Government. We could not, as it was not based on the independent organisations of the working class. Of course we supported its progressive moves, but we opposed it when it took anti-working class decisions."

capitalist) democracy, is typified by the espousal of their cause by such champions of socialism as The Times, The Daily Telegraph, Economist, etc.

## **NO SOLUTION**

'Conference sees no solution to the problems of the Portuguese working class other than the complete abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a democratic workers' state, and calls on the National Executive Committee to afford all moral and material support to the Portuguese Socialist Party members who struggle for those aims.

#### RALLY IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

SPEAKERS INCLUDE PHILIP AGEE (former CIA operative) and a representative from the PWCC

Friday 26 September 7.30 pm Holborn Assembly Hall, John's Mews, Northington St., London, WC1

Eleven opponents of the Franco regime now face death by the garotte as a result of the latest 'trials' -eight alleged members of the Patriotic Anti-fascist Revolutionary Front (FRAP) and three Basque militants. Six of the sentences-imposed under the new 'antiterror' laws-were due to be carried out or revoked by this Friday. And there could be many more victims unless the international labour movement throws its full weight into the scales. The Italian dockers' vote to boycott all Spanish ships must be built upon around the world.

Below we interview a militant of the LCR-ETA(VI) who explains why the repression is taking place.

Q. Why do you think that the regime has launched the wave of repression at this time?

A. I think they are doing it because the internal contradictions of the regime are becoming more and more serious - there is a bigger and bigger upsurge of the mass movement, and the Franco regime and the Spanish capitalists cannot come up with a viable political and economic alternative. The only means left to them are repression.

Q. What has been the overall response of the working class to the repression?

A. Since the Burgos trial in 1970 the Spanish workers' movement has established new democratic forms of struggle. This is an unprecedented gain for the workers' movement. The response of the working class to the repression has been the general strikes of 14 June and 11 December.

A state of emergency has been imposed on the Basque country because it is here that the workers' response has been the strongest. As the general strikes have shown, there is a more militant vanguard here because of the domination of the extreme left in this area.

#### Q. What do you think are the chances of the death penalties being commuted?

A. First of all, if they obtain a reprieve it will be because the mobilisation of the working class has forced Franco to do so. It will stimulate even more the combativity of the working class.

For example, look at the upsurge after the Burgos trials in 1970, when all the political prisoners condemned to death were saved by the mobilisations of the Spanish and international working class. This was the first generalised and central struggle against the dictatorship, and it made the working class aware of its own strength. If Franco is forced to save the lives of Garmendia and Otaegui, thanks to Spanish and international solidarity movements, the upsurge will be even bigger than after Burgos, because the contradictions faced by the Spanish bourgeoisie are deeper than they were in 1970.

Q. How do the different currents inside the ruling class view the situation?

A. First you must understand that the state of emergency imposed on the Basque country reflected the response of the whole Spanish bourgeoisie to the upsurge of the workers. At the moment the whole Spanish bourgeoisie is in favour of repression, even if sections are trying at the same time to find a political solution to the crisis.

In this situation some sections of the bourgeoisie openly declare that they favour 'democracy' and are attracted by the programme of the 'Democratic Junta' (see below). That is the case with the Christain Democrats. However, you cannot expect these fractions to fight against the state of emergency at the

# BEHIND FRANCO'S TERROR

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spain

of forces in its favour. This is why the 'Democratic Convergence', composed of SP, Christian Democracy, and some Maoist groups is a real bureaucratic alternative to the Democratic Junta. I think it is a manoeuvre by the SP to create a more favourable position for when it eventually joins the Democratic Junta.

Q. What is the weight of the revolutionary left in Spain?

A. In Spain we have seen the development of a working class vanguard which is now bigger than in any other European country. This clearly explains the general strikes in the Basque country.

The problem is that this development has been uneven. The Basque country is under the control of this revolutionary vanguard, whereas some other parts - like Madrid and Andalusia - are dominated by the CP. It explains why the call for the extension of the December strike to the whole of Spain found a resonance, because the influence of the CP was insufficient to oppose it. However it prevents the working class from putting forward a global alternative.

Q. What are the workers' commissions?

A. In the Spanish conditions of struggle, when the main union is clandestine, the working class has provided itself with a new instrument of struggle - the workers' commissions. These were born in the 1960s during the Asturian miners' strikes, and they developed as rank and file organisations inside the factories. They are co-ordinated at a regional and national level, and now constitute an alternative organisational structure recognised by the whole of the workers' movement.

In some regions the CP controls them, in others it is the revolutionary left, eg. the engineers in Barcelona. But the co-ordination is most effective in the Basque country, because only there does workers' democracy really exist. Even there it is not yet perfect, but there is a big difference with the rest of the country.

Q. Certain officers have been arrested because they showed sympathy for 'democracy'. What is the general situaion in the army?

A. The Spanish army is different from the Portuguese army. You cannot expect the phenomenon of an Armed Forces Movement, as in Portugal, because the Spanish army has not been radicalised by the colonial wars.

However, there is a very small current inside the Spanish army which opposes the use of the army for political ends. For example, at the time of the Burgos trials some 2,000 soldiers signed a petition saying that the army should not be involved in political life. This is the current represented by the officers recently arrested.

But the bulk of the Spanish army, and more specifically the generals - who came out of the civil war covered in the glory of their atrocities - is linked primarily with the extreme right.

Q. What do you think are the tasks of the international revolutionary movement today?

A. The main task of all those who claim allegiance to proletarian internationalism and to the class struggle is that of solidarity. Today two political prisoners are sentenced to death - with more undoubtedly to come - and we must organise international mobilisations to defend them. It is not a humanitarian question, it is a political question.

The victory of the Spanish working class, if the sentences are not applied, would mean a qualitative and quantitative increase in class combativity and in the confidence of the workers to smash the dictatorship. The role of the international revolutionary movement is to organise the broadest united front cam-

moment because the strikes hit the whole of the ruling class.

Q. How have events in Portugal affected this analysis?

A. The events in Portugal, following on from the elimination of Carrero Blanco, have undoubtedly deepened the crisis within the Spanish bourgeois order. Some factions of the bourgeoisie reckon that the Spanish dictatorship should be even harder now in order to prevent a repeat of the Portuguese situation in Spain. Others, on the contrary, reckon that the dictatorship should transform itself into a democracy in order to undermine the possibility of a coup d'etat on the Portuguese lines.

The ruling class has had to take a stand over these questions, and we have seen a real polarisation of the political options for them. The Portuguese and Spanish situations cannot be seen in separation - for example, if the Portuguese revolution fails, it will mean a strengthening of the Spanish dictatorship.

Q. What is the current role of the Socialist and Communist Parties?

A. The Communist Party is a Stalinist party, which up till now has maintained a position that the dictatorship should be transformed. They do not believe in the necessity of breaking the dictatorship by a revolutionary upsurge of the masses; rather, they are seeking an alliance with democratic currents inside the state apparatus in order to transform the dictatorship into a bourgeois democracy be-

fore it becomes an 'advanced democracy', etc.

This explains the proposal for a 'pact for liberty' made by the CP towards a section of the Spanish bourgeoisie, and since taken up by the Democratic Junta. The Democratic Junta is a class-collaborationist alliance between a. large part of the workers' movement and some significant sections of the ruling class This has big consequences for the Spanish situation, not only in terms of the government which might well come to power, but also because they are betraying the struggles of the Spanish workers now: they break strikes to allow collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

You can see the practical conclusions of this in the 11 December strike. There were more than 25,000 workers on strike, but the CP and the Democratic Junta not only failed to call for the strike but also denounced it publicly because 'it did not cor

the historic moment to overthrow the Franco dictatorship'. Their programme is not designed to develop the self-organisation of the working class, but to assist alliances with some parts of the bourgeoisie.

However this does not mean that the CP opposes all strikes. Firstly, there exists in Spain a vanguard which is outside its influence. Secondly, its own base - under the influence of this vanguard - reacts against its leadership's right-wing policies. For example, the CP was forced to call for a general strike in the Basque country on 28-29 August, against the trials of Garmendia and Otaegui, because it learnt the lessons of the last general strikes. when the base ignored the leadership's strikebreaking call. If the CP wants to control the strike, it has to call for it first.

Because of the Socialist Party's absence from the workers' movement since the civil war, it can be considered as a 'ghost' party. But in the last two years it has begun to wake up, and has understood that it must obtain a base and pose an alternative.

The SP does not want to join the Dem-

paigns to save Garmendia and Otaegui and all the other militants who also face the threat of the death penalty.



Available from RED BOOKS. 97 Caledonian Rd., London N.1. price 20p + 8p p&p

## red weekly 25 september 1975



### Anita Bennett reports

'In prison with me', explained the Spanish feminist Lidia Falcon, was a woman serving a sentence of 38 years for performing abortions.' Such penalties are common in Spain, where even for embracing in public a couple can be charged and fined for 'a violation of morality'

Un Aborto Criminal, a sensationalist anti-abortion film, has been given a special government prize, the premio especial, to boost its attendance. The plot is trite beyond belief; one scene shows the criminal woman dreaming of the appearance of her aborted 'child' one year after her abortion. But the film also shows incidentally just how dependent Spanish women are on abortion facilities in Britain. One scene reads: Q. Where is Manuela?

- A. In England.Q. What's she doing there?
- What everyone else does.

A. Of course those who do come here are mainly middle class women, but I also met a poorly paid bank clerk who borrowed her whole month's salary to do so.

For those who are forced to have an abortion in Spain, the picture is grim. An estimated 300,000 occur yearly, with at least 1 per cent mortality rate (ie. three thousand deaths) and that doesn't take into account

hidden complications. Accurate statistics are of course impossible to obtain. Many deaths are simply hidden; as one woman told me: 'My mother died of an illegal abortion, but everyone in the family goes on saying that she died of a haemorrhage."

What leads women to such des-

perate and primitive measures as razor blades, plastic tubes filled with soap, pills, and herbal baths? For one, lack of proper contraception. All propaganda mentioning contraceptives is banned. Legally, the pill can only be prescribed for regulation of periods; it cannot be suited to the individual women's needs and complications.

## **UNOBTAINABLE**

For example, the low estrogen pills available in Britain are virtually unheard of -- such a dosage would indicate that the pill is in fact being used for contraceptive rather than regulative purposes. The diaphragm is virtually unknown. IUDs must be purchased abroad and a friendly (expensive) doctor found who is willing to insert the IUD. The rhythm method needs no further explanation.

In a country where the peasantry account for around 30 per cent of the population, the peasant woman faces every difficulty imaginable her sexual oppression is reinforced by the generally backward surroundings. 'I have watched a woman from my home town in Andalusia publicly stoned for committing adultery', a



university student told me.' 'She can get three years in prison for adultery. Single mothers are known to abandon their babies on others' doorsteps.' Interestingly enough, a foetus is not legally a human being until the age of 24 hours; so there are cases of infanticide, again hidden.

The penalties for performing and for having an abortion vary according to region and class. The statutes lay down a penalty of six years' imprisonment, with an approximate fine of 20,000 pesetas (around £200). The nurse (conmadrona)

imprisoned with Lidia Falcon is serving a term for four abortions, including one woman who died. Her fees were about one-third as much as those of a doctor, whose fee averages around £400.

One question arises immediately is there a women's movement in Spain which works for contraception and abortion? Unfortunately not. Many women interested in women's liberation feel that the immediate fight against the dictatorship takes a higher priority. Nonetheless, women are very active in

most political struggles: neighbourhood mobilisations around living conditions in the barrios, textile. strikes (the majority of the workforce is female), even fights for nurseries, as for example in Madrid.

Besides the legal difficulties, the problems of clandestinity for any women's movement are enormous and make the issue of abortion at this point only a question of discussion. While there is not a movement in any organised sense, the general interest is shown by the August 1975 publication of the magazine Cuadernos para el Dialogo, totally devoted to the subject of women International Women's Year has also provoked much controversy.

## RESPONSIBILITY

In Britain, one of the provisions of the James White Abortion (Amendment) Bill would exclude foreign women from coming here for abortions. Even if the White Bill is to be dropped, we should launch a vigorous campaign against any other government-proposed attempts at 'tightening up' - such as those proposed in the Select Committee Report which could lead to any more difficulties for non-British women.

We have a special responsibility in fighting against any moves in this direction. As one Spanish woman at the 21 June NAC demonstration put it: 'This is the first time I have ever been in England for anything but abortion. Your movement is more important for us than I can explain.

## 'I was lucky - many women die by themselves' Interview with 'Teresa' about her abortion

## How did you come to have an

I had been taking the pill, but when my boy-friend and I split up I stopped. I didn't know that stopping makes you even more fertile, and I became pregnant

I live with my parents - we all do involved in politics. Of course I couldn't tell my parents I was pregnant. I bought

#### Couldn't you find any doctors in

Barcelona to do an abortion? There have been many arrests of doctors recently, and for performing abortions some are still in practice and others have lost their entire practice. There are some trendy lefty' gynaecologists, but they won't do it unless you have lots of money and they know you. Many women go to London, but many stay here. I had money problems, but worse still I had legal charges and a trial pending against me for 'subversive propaganda' This meant I couldn't leave the country without being arrested when I came back into Spain. Then I telephoned a conmadrona (neighbourhood abortionist, untrained nurse) who refused me at first, not because of money, but because she was afraid of my family. I dressed up in nice clothes and tried to look older than 18. 1 told here I was 21 - she seemed to believe me and then took the money, about 1700 pesetas (£17).

Can you describe what happened? I went to the conmadrona's office, which had a few instruments and a hard wooden table. A nurse and a doctor were also present, but the conmadrona did all the work. She gave me some small injections in my legs, but nothing to knock me out. She had been raided several times already and knew that if the police came while I was unconscious they would have the proof to jail us all.

The abortion itself lasted at least three hours. I cannot describe the pain I had twins - and because I am very narrow they had to use forceps. And even then they didn't do a complete abortion.

very much against abortion and he didn't hide his feelings. But the two women were very feminist in their own way. They kept telling me how brave I was and they made jokes You may think that's terrible, but they weren't being mean, they just made me feel better.

#### • And afterwards?

They gave me antibiotics, but I kept bleeding and discharging foetal matter. I couldn't go to a clinic because they would have known that I had just had an abortion. For that I could be put in iail

I had told my parents that I was spending the weekend at my girl-friend's house, and on the Monday I had to go back to work or lose my job. But the pain kept coming back as if I were reliving the whole experience. The conmadrona told me to call back if there were any complications. I tried many times, but there was no answer. After about 40 days the bleeding stopped and I was all right. I was lucky - many women die by themselves.

### Did you tell your boy-friend?

## NEW TROTSKY BOOKS The Challenge of the Left Opposition

(1923-25) is the first of a series presenting the major writings of Trotsky during the first two years of the Left Opposition. Included are: The New Course; Lessons of October, Problems of Civil War, and To wards Capitalism or Socialism. In addition, there are several items not readily available before in English: Trotsky's letters to the Central Committee of the RCP of October 1923, his point by point rejoinder to his critics; and several other smaller items. Price £1.80 (post 24p).

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1930 is the latest of the twelve-volume series. It brings together the articles, letters and pamphlets written during the first ten months of 1930, the second year of Trotsky's exile from the Soviet Union. This period was extremely important for the struggle to construct the International Left Opposition, and the programmatic ation involved in this (dealing

support of women's emancipation in the early 1920s changed to vacillation under the influence of Stalinism. The book also outlines the role of women in the revolution and the transformation of Chinese society. Price 65p (post 10p).

Teamster Politics, by Farrell Dobbs, is the third of a four-volume series - the first two being Teamster Rebellion and Teamster Power - which tell how the International Brotherhood of Teamsters grew during the 1930s to become the largest trade union in the US. In Teamster Politics, Dobbs writes about the Teamsters' expansion in the eleven-state area around Minnesota; employer-inspired FBI'frame-up attacks on the Teamster organisation; the Minneapolis Teamsters and Farmer-Labour party politics; and the struggles of the unemployed and the victimisation of their leaders. Price £1.30 (post 15p).

Pragmatism versus Marxism: An Appraisal of John Dewey's Philosophy by George Novak, assesses the theories of John Dewey, the most representative and coherent advocate of pragmatism in the field of philosophy, education and political theory. Pragmatism and Marxism are contrasted point by point on questions of scientific method, logic, the nature of experience, the criteria of truth and the anatomy of society. Price £1.55 (post 17p)

abortion? Red Books News ! --very soon afterwards.

for reasons of money and political security. Single people, especially women, are more vulnerable if they want to be some pills but they didn't work. I was sick every day.

A medical student comrade gave me an injection to induce a misearriage, but that didn't work either. I was then about three months along and very scared. There was no way that I could raise a

with such questions as the class nature of the Soviet Union, attitude towards the Bukharinists, etc.) Price £1.80 (post 24p).

Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism (by Lenin and Trotsky) is a unique collection of letters, speeches and articles - including Lenin's suppressed Testament - showing that Lenin began a many-sided struggle against Stalinism at its inception. It also documents Lenin's fight on the national question against Stalin and his henchmen Other questions dealt with are the state monopoly of trade, the growth of bureaucracy and Lenin's approaches to Trotsky to form a bloc. Price £1.00 (post 11p).

#### OTHER NEW PUBLICATIONS

Capitalism in Crisis, by Dick Roberts, is an analysis of the combined crisis of inflation and recession, the struggle over Middle East Oil, and the rise and fall all of US power from World War II to its defeat in Vietnam. Price 90p (post 11p).

Women in China, by Katie Curtin, describes the change in the status of Chinese women since the revolution of 1949. Curtin, a Canadian socialist, traces the early women's movement and shows how the Communist Party's wholehearted

Eyewitness in revolutionary Portugal, by Audrey Wise is an account of the impressions she gained on a trip this summer to Portugal. On her return she put out a call, together with Judith Hart, for solidarity action with the Portuguese people against an attempted right-wing counteroffensive. This book explains how Hart and Wise came to their views.

During her description of events, Audrey Wise knocks on the head the propaganda about repression: 'It is not true that there is repression and dictatorship in Portugal....the overwhelming atmosphere is one of free and intense discussion. The book has the 'Strategic Programme of the Armed Forces Movement' as an appen dix. It will be a useful weapon in countering right-wing propaganda. Price 50p (post 8p)

All from RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

• How did they treat you? You know it's funny, the doctor was

a lot of other girls anyway. He was too immature to understand.



Supporters of the National Abortion Campaign picket doctors attending the DHSS-financed 'International Conference of Doctors who Respect Human Life' in Birmingham last Saturday. As well as protesting against this misuse of much needed health service money, pickets pointed out that the anti-abortionist doctors' apparent concern for human life didn't seem to extend to women forced to go anted pregnanc



# LABOUR PARTY IN

As the delegates assemble for the Labour Party conference, the working class movement in Britain stands at a crossroads. In February 1974, the miners, in the most important working class victory since the Second World War, swept the Heath Government from office. For a few months the working class reaped some benefits from this triumph. Living standards, which had fallen sharply under the Tories' Phase Three incomes policy, rose once more. A freeze was imposed on rents. The hated Industrial Relations Act was swept aside.

## **BOSSES' AGENTS**

Eighteen months later the situation is very different. It is summed up in the Healey measures — which are driving down living standards, and driving up unemployment, even more rapidly than under the Tories. A Labour Government which was elected against the wishes of the capitalist class is now openly used to impose the policies of the employers. This does not apply simply to wages and unemployment; the Government is also pursuing directly anti-working class policies on Clay Cross, Shrewsbury, Chile, defence, Portugal, Ireland, abortion . and virtually every other issue of national and international life and politics.

What is more, it is clear that this policy,



far from saving the Labour Government — as Jack Jones claims — will in fact lead to the greatest electoral disaster for the Labour Party since 1931. Already in February and October 1974 the Labour Party received the lowest share of the poll since the 1930s. Today every opinion poll and by-election shows that Labour would do still worse.

But the total destruction of the Labour Government has hardly even started. International experience shows what lies in store for Socialist Parties which in present conditions pursue openly right-wing policies. In 1969, before it turned to the 'Union of the Left', the French Socialist Party received a mere 5 per cent of the vote in the Presidential elections — its lowest total since the First World War. In Denmark the Socialist Party lost nearly 20 per cent of its vote in eighteen months through its attempt to introduce incomes policy. In Australia the appalling right-wing policies of Whitlam have led to the Labour Party losing seats which it has held for 20 years.

These developments give some idea of the scale of the disaster which awaits the Labour

Party if it continues on its present course. To lose 100 or 150 seats, to see virtually the whole of the Labour left wing swept out of Parliament, to be discussing not the fight which Benn and Hart are making inside the Parliamentary Party but how to save their seats or get them back into Parliament — that is in all seriousness the prospect which faces Labour Party delegates in the coming year if the present policies of the Government are not defeated. But even so, a much worse threat faces the Labour Party than that of electoral disaster.

When the Tories came to office last time, they were faced with a working class which fought back with a strength which broke the back of Heath's policies. The struggle against the Industrial Relations Act, Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, the first miners' strike, the freeing of the Pentonville Five, the second miners' strike and finally the fall of the Government were the landmarks in Heath's road to defeat.

Today, however, Wilson's policies threaten to create the conditions in which such a fight back is infinitely harder. The betrayal by their leaders cannot but demoralise sections of the working class. The creation of 1½ or 2 million unemployed must inevitably weaken the ability of the unions to fight back. Worst of all, by continually saying that working class 'restraint' is the only answer to the crisis, Wilson, Jones and the Labour leadership encourage every tendency within the working class which believes struggle is useless and pointless and which wants to capitulate before the employers' and Tories' offensive.

It is also clear that the employers and their spokesmen fully realise the havoc which Wilson is trying to wreck in the working class. Thatcher openly proclaims in New York that when she is elected she will dismantle large sections of the welfare state. Liberal MPs talk of returning to the 1930s and making strikes in the public sector illegal. Lock-outs and imprisoning of militants have reappeared for the first time since the immediate post-war years.

## **REMOVE WILSON**

The reality must be squarely faced and spelt out. Wilson is leading the working class movement to disaster. Everyone who supports him in his manoeuvres or who covers for him - from Jack Jones to Benn — is aiding and abetting in that disaster. They are savagely attacking the working class themselves and preparing the way for the coming to office of the most anti-working class Tory Government since the 1930s — and they are at the same time systematically weakening the ability of the working class to resist that Government. It is starting from these facts that the labour movement has to work out its future actions and policies.



# THE FIGHT TO REMOVE THE WILSON



According to the press and many people on the Labour left, the Labour Party Conference is going to witness the most dramatic clash between the left and right for years.

Dissatisfaction with the Wilson Government's policies is leading to the use of strong words. Judith Hart says: 'We are to face a devastating fall in the real standards of living for most workers, massive unemployment, and the draconian cuts in public expenditure which have been under discussion since early June. I spoke of a historic catastrophe facing the labour movement. You will understand what I was talking about.'

Judith Hart's words – like those of Benn, when he said that the crisis inherited by the Labour Government should be the occasion for fundamental change rather than the excuse for postponing it – correctly identify the problems facing the Labour Party Conference and the workers' movement in general.

When it comes to alternatives as opposed to diagnoses, however, the 'lefts' are not so good. As the workers increasingly feel the effects of the Government's anti-working class policies, a massive revolt against Wilson will build up. This revolt will not simply be restricted to the Healey measures, but will tend to take up every aspect of the Government's role. The question, therefore, is how to organise this growing opposition in such a way that Wilson is defeated, his policies are rejected, and the fight for socialism strengthened.

LEADERSHIP

The fight of the reformist 'lefts' would hardly frighten a mouse. They have no alternative policies. Nor have they any suggestions on how to mobilise working class opposition against the Government's policies.

Thirty-six Labour MPs voted against Healey's measures, and two Ministers walked out of the Government. One third of the votes at the TUC were cast against the measures. These actions are to be welcomed. But they certainly go nothing like far enough, and are often used by the reformists as diversions from the decisive struggles.

After their initial vote against the £6 norm, the hard-core Tribunites have failed to give open support to a single strike against the Healey pay laws. At least Scargill and Mc-Gahey – whatever their other failings – spoke out against the £6 norm in the Mineworkers' ballot and campaigned within the membership to get it rejected. The Tribune MPs remained silent and took no part in that campaign.

## Lack of action

If the Tribunites defend this lack of action on the grounds that it is not permissible to interfere in the affairs of a trade union, they have obviously learned nothing from the Bevanite experience. Bevan also failed to organise his forces inside the unions. Instead of using his prestige and support as a lever to build



support amongst the rank and file for the removal of the right-wing union leaders, he allowed them to have their own way in 'their' kingdoms.



#### JENKINS - OUT!

As a result, the right-wing union leaders in alliance with the right-wing of the Labour Party — were left free to organise their forces to crush the Bevanites. No serious fight can be fought inside the Labour Party unless the left does 'interfere' inside the unions. Every struggle has to be used to weaken the grip of the right-wing bureaucrats.

On some other issues, of course, 'left' Labour MPs have taken stands which warrant support. Audrey Wise and Judith Hart endorsed and campaigned for the Portuguese demonstration, for instance, and the Tribune Group has sponsored the MCAPP Conference. But the overall balance sheet clearly shows that the Tribunite left has failed to become ininvolved and give a lead to extra-parliamentary struggles.

Fortunately the present crisis is spawning hundreds of extra-parliamentary struggles; and out of these, forces are beginning to emerge that can form the backbone of a *real* movement to change the policies and leadership of the workers' movement. Despite the TUC decision, groups of workers have been in struggle against the pay norms – as at Swan Hunter's, for instance. Workers on the railways. instead of extending the offensive, the TUC meekly went and negotiated with the Tories, thereby demobilising the working class when everything was in its favour.

red weekly

Later the Tories felt strong enough to impose Phases 1, 2, and 3 of their incomes polit – they were able to inflict some savage defear on groups like the hospital workers, and ever to reduce working class living standards. It was not until two years after those initial victories that the miners once again imposed the decisive defeat on the Tories which drove the from office.

## On record

Despite the fact that every section of the Labour and trade union movement went on record against the EEC, no attempt was mad to impose these decisions on the parliamenta leadership of the Labour Party. Wilson was thus left free to sabotage the anti-EEC campaign and win a victory for the capitalists. This prepared the ground for his latest offen sive against the working class.

The scheming of the right wing and its open class-collaborationist policies therefore turned working class advances into pyrrhic victories. Nor has the right wing restricted itself simply to manoeuvres. Like the ruling class whose interests it represents, it has reso to every vile method in the book to defend i interests.

The despicable slanders used against Tony Kelly, the Shrewsbury 2 and the Clay Cross councillors illustrate this only too well. Whe Kelly said of the right wing that 'they don't fight clean', he was only too right. Wilson's



The Labour Manifesto has acted like a pol and trade union left — and it is not diffic

The immediate crisis of British capitalis the capitalist world. In neither France no government attempts to reflate the econor firm resistance by the American working of

Hunter's, for instance. Workers on the railways, in the post office, in steel, at NVT, etc. are faced with the pressing need to defend their jobs.

Conspiracy

Hundreds of thousands will be involved in fights against cuts in public expenditure. Cases like the Shrewsbury pickets, the Glasgow anti-fascists, the Iranian 21 and the Iberian 19 all involve militants in fights against conspiracy charges and other frame-ups. Meanwhile tens of thousands have taken to the streets – and will do so again – on issues like abortion, Portugal and Ireland. It is in fighting to unify, coordinate and organise these forces, ensuring that they are turned towards the mass organisations of the working class, that a real movement can be built to defeat and remove the right-wing leaders.

Too often in the past the working class has won important victories, which could have been used as a springboard for a real offensive against the capitalists, only to allow the advantage to be dissipated. In 1972 the victory of the miners and the releasing of the Pentonville 5 by mass working class action set the stage far succeeded in reversing the downward tr

The US is thus likely to emerge from the imperialist competitors. This will of course alists to reflate their econimies via an expecfinanced British economy, wracked by long

The halcyon days are over. The concest relative ease are no longer there for the tal cut in living standards of at least 5.9 per cocome the crisis of lack of profitability.

If the rate of inflation in Britain is to b competitors – then further huge cuts in pu amount to as much as  $\pounds 6,000$  million.

Since the spring of 1975 the Wilson Go toral rhetoric has now been replaced by having — all the essential trappings of the soci bone.

## REA

The demand to implement the Manifes the working class was actually making real in one way or another opposed to Wilson's ly pro-capitalist leaders of the Governmen 'socialist' solution to the crisis.

The removal of Benn as Minister for In straw. The 'custodian' of Clause Four had Furthermore, his removal was clearly time been quietly aropped into the waste-pape



manipulation to retain control inside the Labour Party – starting from the way he put himself in line for the leadership by draping the mantle of Bevan around his shoulders – would arouse the envy of Machiavelli himself.

Compared to Wilson, Prentice and Jenkins are amateurs, and their more open declaration of their capitalist loyalties makes them less able to influence the trade unions. 'Unifier' Wilson, however – added and abetted by Jones and Foot – has been able to impose a 5 per cent cut in living standards and 1½ million unemployed.

Nevertheless the workers' movement does have one lesson to learn from Wilson. He serves the interests of the capitalist class with a fervour, devotion and ruthlessness second to none. Unlike the timid and equivocating



CALLAGHAN - OUT!

leaders of the parliamentary and trade union left, he never fails to ram home his victories to strengthen his position. If the workers' leaders displayed one tenth of the determination on behalf of the working class that Wilson devotes to the interests of the ruling class, they would have capitalism rocking on its heels.

Any determined struggle must include a fight to remove Wilson and his supporters from their positions at every level of the labour movement. Of course some people will claim that 'it is policies that count, not personalities'. But while one must always begin from policies, it is essential to understand that it is people who have to implement them. Labour MP Sid Bidwell understood this when he explained that it is not a question of personalities but a question of the collective responsibility of a whole group of people for disastrous antiworking class policies.

## Mystique

The mystique which capitalism has woven around the positions of party leader and Prime Minister must be demolished. How ludicrous it was for Eric Heffer to write in *Tribune* at the height of the EEC campaign that the issue of the leadership was not in question. Eric Heffer himself has stood in the trade union movement against rightwing candidates for positions – he favoured their removal. Why should he draw back against calling for the removal of the very person who was acting as the agent of the ruling class in the EEC debate and vote? Only one of two conclusions could be drawn from Heffer's statement. Either Wilson is reformable – which is obviously untrue – or the EEC issue was not very important.



WILLIAMS - OUT!

Such an attitude was hardly likely to enthuse people to join in the anti-EEC campaign. If you want to lead real armies in battle, you have to convince them you are prepared to fight right through to the bitter end.

Benn has shown a similar lack of resolution. During the EEC campaign he attracted large working class audiences, and received great applause every time he implicitly struck out at Wilson and his policies. But implicit criticism was not nearly enough. What was needed — and what most workers wanted to hear — was an explanation that Wilson's EEC policies were only a small part of his entire range of reactionary politics.

Benn made no call for the workers to organise themselves in every area, nor did he put himself forward as a challenger for the leadership. Yet there is no doubt that he would have got a big response to such a call, which could have set in motion the forces that are capable of bringing down the right-wing leaders.

By remaining silent on these issues, Benn built no base that could come to his aid when the Cabinet 'reshuffle' took place. Prentice was kept in the Cabinet as a result of an ultimatum from Jenkins. But no such ultimatums came from the 'left'. Jack Jones was more interested in getting the TUC to support the pay norms.

## Cynical

Now Wilson can cynically use Benn as a 'left' cover. He and his colleagues answer protests about the pay norms by saying: 'Well, you may not like it, but Jack Jones, Len Murray and even Tony Benn stomach it – why not you?'

The argument that it is necessary to stay in the Cabinet and fight does not hold water. The Cabinet is nothing but the Wilson team. They are hand-picked for their loyalties to capitalism. Their implacable support for Wilson's anti-working class policies demon-



# ind the 'Manifesto' campaign

magnet in drawing together the Labour Party see why.

ncides with a deep-going recession throughout many is there any sign yet of an upturn, despite he United States, benefiting from a lack of s the only major imperialist power which has so For a whole period the better-organised workers screwed higher wages and improved conditions out of the employers largely through struggles in individual factories. The enormous growth of the shop stewards' movement in the late 1950s and 1960s reflected this. At the same time there was a big reduction in working class membership inside the Labour Party. Living standards rose more by dint of sectoral trade union struggle than as a result of any governmental actions.

sent slump in a much stronger position than its te it much harder for the west European capitboom. Worst hit will be the archaic, undern structural decay.

previously wrung out of the employers with If the £6 limit is maintained it will represent a average. Even this will not be enough to over-

ight down to 10 per cent — the rate of its main xpenditure will also be needed. These could

ent has firmly turned the clock back. The elecaded capitalist realism. Health, education, housnocratic dream — are now being pared to the

## GAINS

cause it is directly associated with the time when , thus brings together forces which are eise. It provides a dividing line between the openthose — however confused — who want a more

was seen by many on the 'left' as the last axed from what the 'left' saw as the key job. eassure the ruling class that the Manifesto had et in Transport House. Even the 1969—71 recession did not sap the confidence of the working class. Occupations became a standard form of struggle against redundancies. But while workers at places like UCS, Briant's, and Fisher-Bendix rejected the idea of the sack in this way, they fought mainly with the aim of finding another employer to take over the business. Assuming that, as in the past, there would shortly be another upturn in the economy, the idea of regaining profitability under a new and more efficient management seemed to them a credible solution.

## PARALYSING CRISIS

But the paralysing crisis which now grips the entire economy has blown apart the idea that factory militancy and pure trade union strength are sufficient to defend or extend living standards. By common consent, any economic upturn is a long way off at best - if, indeed it ever returns.

The £6 pay limit confronts workers with a struggle not simply against an employer but against the State. This situation is creating a mood inside the trade unions for a return to 'politics', which coincides with the emergence of the 'left' inside the Labour Party.

Essentially this current yearns for a return to the 'economic normality' which provided the basis for Labour's reforms and the success of trade union militancy. But the nature of the world capitalist crisis in general and the British crisis in particular rules out such a perspective. Living standards and jobs cannot be defended — never mind extended — in the 'mixed economy'. For British capitalism to survive, the working class has to pay the price with cuts in real wages and unemployment.

The formation of the 'Manifesto' groups is a step forward, and represents the fusion of sections inside the labour movement. But unless they completely reject the Social Contract — the cornerstone of the Manifesto — and organise to fight for the removal of the Wilson leadership, they will remain impotent. Furthermore, they will also need an alternative economic programme — not just to that of the Government, but one that provides a socialist plan as opposed to the utopian theories of the 'mixed economy'.

#### HEALEY - OUT!

#### strates where they stand.

The only real path for Benn is resignation and open organisation of a challenge to Wilsoft's policies and his leadership. If he did this, openly rejecting the Healey measures and the other policies, every socialist would support this campaign. The fact that he doesn't only shows that he too, like Heffer, cannot be relied on to adopt policies which really mobilise people to deal with the situation.

The reality of the situation is very clear: the burning necessity is to smash the policies of the Government and replace Wilson and his supporters at every level of the movement. Eventually it is probable that even Benn and the Tribunites will be forced, kicking and screaming, to take up the gauntlet – and it will be absolutely correct to unite in action with them for this goal. But by their cowardice, their reformism, their indecision on this as on every other issue, they show that they cannot be relied on really to defend the interests of the working class.

by Alan Jones and Jeff King red weekly 25 september 1975

# <sup>6</sup>Plums for the picking<sup>9</sup>

'Many people joined the Labour Party seventy years ago expecting it to introduce socialism. Many of them died inside the Labour Party without seeing socialism. I intend to see it.' Those were the words with which Tony Kelly, a leading figure in the fight to oust Reg Prentice as MP for Newham North-East, greeted the 200strong audience at Hulme Labour Club in Manchester last Thursday.

Speaking on 'After Newham – What Next for the Labour Left', Kelly went on to serve notice that: 'Wilson can go the way of Prentice and he knows it. There are plums that are ripe for the taking all over the country. If we don't take them, they will take us. It's a fight. It's not a clean fight – because they don't fight clean.' He pointed out that in the Newham fight Prentice's support came only from the 'right-wing media' and a pack of 'Gaitskellite hacks'.

Warming to his attack on Prentice, Kelly declared: 'He has called me a thief. I am. I have thieved his seat from him and I am proud of it.' He went on to argue that the Parliamentary Labour Party should be bound by the decisions of annual conference, and that all socialist organisations should be free to affiliate to the Labour Party.

The commendable struggle in Newham North-East against the coalitionist Prentice is an example of what needs to be done throughout the labour movement. For a start, all Labour MPs and trade union bureaucrats who support the Healey measures must be replaced. Tony Benn should resign from the cabinet and organise a fight against the present leadership. The difference between the militants in Newham and the fake lefts in Parliament is that they have realised that verbal opposition is not enough to smash Wilson's Tory policies and remove the Wilson leadership.

After the Manchester meeting, *Red Weekly* talked in more detail to Tony Kelly. Obviously we do not agree that the Labour Party can be transformed into a party that can lead the working class to socialism and we are absolutely insistent that the socialist revolution can only be achieved through the overthrow of the capitalist state and its replacement by a workers' state. But by taking *action* against the right wing, the militants in Newham North-East Labour Party have provided a popular focus for opposition within the labour movement to the pro-capitalist Wilson Government.

**Q.** How did the Newham campaign begin?

A. It was largely because of Reg Prentice best our worst enemy. He constantly eninged his own personal position using any means at his disposal. We don't deny him that right, but what we do demand is our right to question him politically. Having done to, and having produced an overwhelming majority in the constituency party opposing him, we have the right to choose someone else. A. This is a very, very important question, actually. If people like Reg Prentice feel that Clause Four and Clause Five of the Labour Party constitution are obsolete and invalid, then one must ask why they are in the Labour Party at all. I agree with Clauses Four and Five, as do vast numbers of members of the Labour Party throughout the country.

If there are extremists within the Labour Party, if there has been infiltration, it must be by people like Reg Prentice and his supporters.

## 'If there are extremists within the Labour Party, if there has been infiltration, it must be by people like Reg Prentice and his supporters.'

**Q.** What has been the effect of the witch-hunt set up by the press?

A. I'd imagine, judging by Reg Prentice's own behaviour, that he's very disappointed with it. Any person who was waging an argument on political lines would obviously have stated that they were opposed to it, that it had no political significance whatsoever.

In what I regard as a very gloating manner, Reg Prentice kept significantly quiet, hoping it would preserve his careerist ambitions. It didn't. It served no useful purpose whatsoever, because political arguments carried the weight and not the personal smears. Q. The right wing inside the Labour Party and also inside the unions say the working class must accept their policies because the only alternative is a Tory Government. What do you say to that 2

A. It is an abdication from the responsibility of political leadership. If one's going to stand to gain office at any cost, *any* party can do that.

The responsibility of people committed to socialism, as laid down by the constitution of the Labour Party, is to stand up and say exactly what sort of society they wish to establish and how they wish to establish it. If you gain election on that programme, you're quite entitled by the mandate implied by election to go immediately ahead and implement it. Q. At present the leader of the Labour Party is elected by the Parliamentary Labour Party. Do you think that's right, or do you think that should be changed?

A. The leadership of the party should be based on the selection of people who represent the demands of the party at any moment in time. To my mind those demands are exemplified by annual conference. The leadership of the party should be elected at annual conference and the Parliamentary Labour Party should be bound by the decisions of annual conference. The manifesto placed before the electorate at a General Election is a gross misrepresentation of what the Labour Party really thinks.

Q. What about the bans and proscriptions inside the Labour Party? Recently there's been a lot of witch-hunting of the supporters of the Militant newspaper. A. I think this is a manifestation of the fright which is felt by the right wing, and an attempt to sectionalise the socialists within the Labour Party. If one examines the various statements which have been made they're all empty, they're all cliches, there is no factual evidence whatsoever to suggest that an outside organisation of any sort has infiltrated, manoeuvred or manipulated the Labour Party.

about the left wing forces outside the Labour Party? Do you think that there's a need for the unity of all those forces?

A. I think there's a need for unity. I also regard the Labour Party at this moment in time as being a political manifestation of the aspirations of the labour movement. I feel that if all these forces could draw together with a domination of left-wingers, Jenkins, Wilson, and Callaghan could be totally confronted and replaced.

We could immediately sweep forward with a complete socialist programme and be totally prepared for the opposition of whatever kind which would obviously come from the rightwingers. This opposition would not just be in terms of parliamentary opposition. They will hit the working class with every means at their disposal. They will probably abdicate parliamentary democracy — that's an historical probability forecast by many people and there's no reason to presume that this country will be any different from others.

**Q.** Do you actually believe that socialism can be achieved through parliament?

A. I'm a member of the Labour Party because I believe that within a state that's had a parliamentary democracy for a considerable period of time there's every reason to assume that the possibility can be achieved....

However the incidents in Newham raise very, very serious questions for me. *They* appear to be striving to their utmost to prove the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, that in any situation where the working people attempt to take their destiny into their own



**Q.** What do you think will be the effects inside the Labour Party of your success in getting rid of Prentice?

A. I would hope that the effect will be that everyone within any constituency party who is committed to socialism will start to look at who is representing them and whether they are the best people – be they Harold Wilson, Callaghan, Jenkins, Williams, Silkin. You name them, they've got to be looked at.

Q. What do you think of Arthur Scargill's views when he said that any MP sponsored by a union who went against union policies should have their funds cut off by the union?

A. I cannot see any point in unions financing MPs who oppose the political convictions of those unions.

Q. Do you think that the extreme right wingers in the Labour Party like Prentice should be actually expelled from the Labour Party, or just removed from their positions of influence? **Q.** What do you think that 'lefts' inside the Government such as Benn should do?

A. I do not regard Wedgwood Benn as a left-winger. He's a manifestation of populist politics. He's got no identification with the working classes.....

**Q.** Do you think the Wilson leadership of the Labour Party should be replaced – and if so, by whom?

A. I think this is again going back to a previous question – the problem that the activists within the Labour Party haven't seriously considered. It's all right to confront and oppose, it's all right to demand that people follow the example of Clay Cross, but it's not sufficient to demand that.

If one's going to demand that people follow a programme, and you are committed personally to that programme, you've got to place yourself in a position where you are prepared to take responsibility. **Q.** What sort of policies do you think socialists should be fighting for as alternatives to those of the Wilson Government?

'They will hit the working class with every means at their disposal. They will probably abdicate parliamentary democracy.'

A. There is only one answer to the present situation. That is a total confrontation with the capitalists. A programme is needed put forward by everybody committed to socialism, demanding the gearing of the whole of the economy at once and irreversibly to meet the needs of the people – without compensation for any type of capitalist.

If we do it step by step we fall back into the old Fabianist trap that it's got to be done by gradual degrees – those are the people who really know the revolutionary potential of the country and are frightened of it.

Q. Do you think socialists should rely simply on the Labour Party 'leftwingers' as you describe them. What hands they will break every known constitutional rule to stop it.

**Q.** So therefore you are doubtful whether the Labour Party can be changed given your experience of Newham?

A. No, the experience of Newham has renewed my optimism. We were confronted not only with the combined efforts of television, radio, the national press and the local press, but with the right-wing elements in the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Cabinet, Harold Wilson himself and the Social Democratic Alliance. We still went ahead and we still achieved a victory. I think there is hope if committed socialists rejoin the ranks of the Labour Party and fight for socialism. red weekly 25 september 1975

For leafletting soldiers pacifists SPEECH dropthe charges face trial

One of the most important political trials in recent years is due to begin at the Old Bailey on Monday, 29 September. Fourteen supporters of the British Withdrawal from Nortnern Ireland Campaign (BWNIC) will plead not guilty to charges of conspiring to contravene the Incitement to Disaffection Act; some of them also face additional charges under this and the Army Act. The charges arise from the distribution by BWNIC supporters of the leaflet 'Some Information for Discontented Soldiers' to members

of the armed forces.

It is no accident that this and other similar cases are being brought now. It is six years since substantial numbers of troops were sent into Northern Ireland, and despite repeated promises by the top brass that 'victory is around the corner', the Army is no nearer to suppressing the nationalist population. The strain is beginning to tell on morale, and the number of desertions is increasing.

Sections of the British labour movement are also becoming more conscious of the role of the troops in Ireland. Nearly 250 trade union and Labour Party delegates attended the Troops Out Movement labour movement conference in May. The lesson of the potential role of the armed forces inside Britain has also been brought home by their strike-breaking intervention against the Glasgow binmen.

In a situation of deepening economic crisis, workers striking to defend their jobs and living standards are ever more li' ely to be faced with the threat of Army intervention. And any attempts to communicate with the soldiers to dissuade them from strike-breaking - as Mick Mc-Gahey threatened to do if the troops were brought in during the 1974 miners' strike - will meet with a hysterical reaction from the capitalists.

## PRECEDENT

With the BWNIC 14 trial the ruling class is trying to establish the precedent that such actions will be treated with the utmost severity. Certainly they are right to be worried: unemployment may be an effective 'recruiting agent' in persuading young people to join up, but the example of the four new recruits who deserted from their platoon in Cambridgeshire because

### by John Marston

already shown the vital importance for the working class of fighting for the democratic rights of soldiers and so undermining the reliability of the army as the ruling class's instrument of repression. Moves like that by Ron Thomas, Labour MP for Bristol North-West, who has called for trade union rights for soldiers, must be supported in every way.

## CAMPAIGN

But the first priority must be the building of a massive campaign to defend the BWNIC 14. The use of the conspiracy charge, which carries unlimited sentences, means the politics of the defendants are central. As happened with the Shrewsbury building workers, it is not necessary to prove that any offence was actually committed, merely that it was intended.

This means that all sorts of insinuations about people's political beliefs, life-styles and friends - which would usually be dismissed as immaterial even in a capitalist court become 'evidence'. No doubt the ruling class will be seeking to extend the precedent set in the Shrewsbury 'trials' - first to the BWNIC 14; then to the Iranian students, currently awaiting trial for conspiracy to trespass in their own embassy; and then to the 19 socialist militants charged with conspiracy to trespass in the London offices of Iberia Airlines.

The State has already failed to get one conviction it wanted when the jury failed to agree in the case of Andrew Lloyd, another BWNIC supporter accused under the Incitement to Disaffection Act in Preston last week. A victory for the BWNIC 14 would not only have an immediate



JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

Soldiers of the Black Watch, the British Army regiment operating in the Catholic Turf Lodge area of Belfast, shot dead 17-year old Leo Norney on the night of Saturday 13 September. The killing took place in the Shepherd's Path, a lane used as a short-cut between the Whiterock and Turf Lodge housing estates.

The British Army alleged that Leo was a 'gunman' who had fired on a patrol and been hit by return fire. But the boy's mother claimed that her son had been guilty of no offence and that his killing was murder. At a press conference Mrs. Norney stated that the Black Watch had raided and searched her home at 4 a.m. on Sunday - five hours after her son had been shot dead. 'When I asked them what it was all about, they said one of my sons was missing .... My son's murderer was probably in the house then and I didn't know it. I aidn't know until three o'clock on Sunday afternoon that he was dead.'

## **'HE WAS MURDERED'**

Four 15-year oid boys who were stopped by the same Black Watch patrol said that they had been crossing a field when they heard a single shot. Then in the lane where Leo Norney was killed they met an Army patrol and were ordered to lie face down on the ground. They saw Leo Norney's body about 10 yards away ' and reported that different soldiers said: 'Say it was a sniper's bullet'; and 'If he is not dead now, we will

self passing St. Paul's Church on the Falls Road had his head cracked open by the rifle butt of a member of the Highland Fusiliers.

ireland

The Royal Ulster Constabulary has also been stepping up its use of torture methods, leading to an announcement by the Belfast Brigade of the Provisional IRA that in future RUC men would be regarded as legitimate targets for retaliation-a forecast rapidly borne out in practice.

### COLLUSION

What especially concerns anti-Unionists is the increasing evidence of collusion by the British Army with Loyalist extremists. We have previously noted the unexplained presence of the British Army in the vicinity of sectarian assassinations, and the ease with which Loyalist murder gangs avoid being detained by the Army. Over the last couple of weeks, evidence has been produced that the Parachute Regiment has handed over dossiers on Republican leaders - including their photographs - to the para-military Ulster Defence Association. The Ulster Volunteer Force has circulated a photograph of Margaret McKearney which they said came from British Army sources; and Paisley has produced a photocopy of a document on the movements of Seamus Twomey - believed to be Chief-of-Staff of the Provisional IRA - which came from the Royal Marine Commandos, then stationed in the Andersontown district of Belfast.

The Republican newspaper An Phoblacht also recently published a document 'captured' from a Loyalist source, which was headed 'The Derry Trades (IRA) Council'. According to An Phoblacht the document lists names and addresses plus the religion of the delegates, and advises Loyalists to 'check them and see if you agree that they are an impartial body'. This information was without much doubt passed to the Loyalists by the Army, and amounts to incitement to assassinate the Trades Council delegates.

of brutal treatment by their NCOs shows how easily things can go wrong.

The example of Portugal has

的

effect on the other conspiracy trials: it would be a victory for the whole labour movement as it prepares for the massive struggles to come.

#### finish him off'.

A priest who attended at the boy's home, Father Patrick McWilliams, said: 'I have never seen a body in such a condition. The hands were black and pulped. It was impossible to cross them. There must be a thorough investigation into this boy's death. He was murdered.' Mrs. Norney commented: 'It was obvious that after he was shot his hands were battered. They not only killed him, they attacked his dead body as well.

The murder of Leo Norney is a particularly brutal example of the increasing harassment of the anti-Unionist population by the British Army. Since the anti-internment protests of early August this has taken on an added ferocity. There have been a series of sinister shootings in Belfast involving British troops; more than a dozen homes in Belfast and Derry have been raided; and Republican News reports that the notorious interrogation and torture department at Castlereagh has been brought back into action, with more than thirty people being forced to sample its fares.

## PHYSICAL ABUSE

Provocative-screening operations, where people are stopped in the streets and grilled on their movements and family, have been reintroduced in nationalist areas; and the population has been subjected to general physical and verbal abuse. A young lad who crossed him-

## REVAMPED B-SPECIALS

The British Army has never been enthusiastic about the truce with the IRA, and the last GOC, Sir Frank King, spoke out publicly against it earlier this year. The Loyalist para-militaries have never made any secret of the 'co-operation' they receive from the British Army, and have admitted that serving members of the Army are also members of their para-military organisations.

Republicans in Andersontown have warned that joint patrols of regular forces and the UIster Defence Regiment are operating in that area, and have suggested that this is to familiarise this revamped B-Special organisation with nationalist areas in preparation for a Loyalist takeover. Certainly, anti-Unionists are being left in no doubt as to where the British Army stands and will stand in the event of any repetition of a UWCstyle stoppage, such as occurred last year.



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auew/news

## **BAUEW-DANGER OF RIGHT-WING** TAKEOVER The second largest union in the ween left and right. the capitalist press in its efforts to

red weekly 25 september 1975

## THE **UNCO-OPERATIVE Mr MAXWELL**

The workers' co-operative is dead .... long live the workers' unco-operative' -that could well have been the cynical cry after the resignation of Allister Mackie at the Scottish Daily News last week. Mackie, who led 500 former Beaverbrook workers in the founding of the new paper, resigned as chairman of the workers' council running the Scottish Daily News after a vote of no-confidence in him by 295 to 12 of the workers.

Tycoon Robert Maxwell has now assumed almost total control on the basis of promises of further cash for the ailing paper. In what was to have been one of Tony Benn's shining examples of industrial democracy, aided by £1.2 million million of government money, only Maxwell insists that a workers' co-operative still exists.

The shortcomings of workers' cooperatives have often been spelt out in the pages of the Red Weekly. Whereever a single concern goes bust it is due to the logic of the capitalist market. The only way jobs can be saved is by the creation of new markets, a massive increase in productivity allowing the firm to compete in existing markets, or naconglisation and state-backed financing to cover losses

The Scottish Daily News never had my of these. On only one condition could it have become a viable news-- by putting itself at the service of the Scottish working class and becoming an instrument for the development and organisation of its struggles. From this position of strength the workars at SDN could have forced the Labour Government to provide the necessary finances to cover any losses.

The fight for jobs at the Glasgow aper could have put the SDN workers in the forefront of the struggles of the scottish working class. A daily paper interests of the working lass at the time of the mass strikes by Scottish lorry drivers, dustbinmen and teachers against the Labour Government's social con-trick could have been of nestimable value.

Instead the SDN -hiring a former Express man as its editor - has tried to ape the style of its better equipped competitors in a cut-throat market in which raw material prices are constantly escalating, and the introduction of labour-savng techniques is the key to capitalist survival. Maxwell's return to supreme power is the culmination of this process.

The tit-and-bum approach of the Sun

country, the Amalagamated Union of Engineering Workers, could fall under right-wing control in the near future. The election of John Boyd to the position of General Secretary - creating a vacancy in Scotland and the contest for the Manchester/ Midlands No. 4 executive seat means that two posts on the Executive Council could fall under rightwing control. That would be enough to change the balance of power bet-

The response of Scanlon and tne Communist Party dominated Broad Left has been to attempt to avert the danger by postponing the Manchester/ Midlands elections to next March. This would exclude 2,000 members in the predominantly right-wing Banbury area who are due to be transferred into No. 5 executive division in January 1976. Such manoeuvres, however, have only provided grist for the mill of



Scanlon speaking at the AUEW conference earlier this year

## Action against youth unemployment

While Labour ministers and the capitalist press mouth pious platitudes about the plight of the young unemployed, some sections of the labour movement are beginning to take independent action to deal with this problem.

In Birmingham alone, 5,000 schoolleavers were still without jobs at the beginning of September. This is almost twice as many as in any previous year since the 1930s. The Labour Government's injection of £50 million into the Manpower Training Services Commission for the whole country will do little to solve the problem. And the bosses' efforts have been confined to exploring ways in which the young unemployed can be used as cheap labour to break the back of the organised workers' movement.

In Birmingham the Trades Council, via its Youth Advisory Committee, has taken three steps to tackle the problem of youth unemployment. Firstly, it has produced an enquiry into the local trade union movement on the state of apprenticeships and training schemes. Secondly it is sending a delegation to Michael Foot to protest about the level of youth unemployment. Thirdly it is calling a demonstration in the autumn in Birmingham to back up this protest.

can win tens of thousands of young workers to their side in future struggles against the bosses. And by explaining how the £6 limit and attacks on the social services are creating unemployment by cutting living standards and therefore demand, more forces can be won for the fight against Wilson's pro-capitalist policies.

paint all left-wingers as anti-democratic plotters.

## **BROAD LEFT**

In an act of open betrayal of the principles of free trade unionism, Duffy, the assistant Divisional Organiser for the AUEW in Wolverhampton and the right-wing candidate for the Manchester/Midlands seat, has threatened to use the law courts to reverse this decision. This opens the road for the state to intervene directly in all matters internal to the union. It is intolerable that a full-time official like Duffy can remain in the ranks of a trade union when his actions strike at the very founding principles of the trade union movement.

The vacillations of the Broad Left over the fight agaisnt the Industrial Relations Act, the abortive overtime ban in pursuit of the 1974 national pay claim, and more recently the bureaucratic handling of the postal balloting issue are responsible for this sorry state of affairs. The political lessons of the recent election defeats must be drawn. But the Broad Left shows little sign of doing this.

Although it is Union policy to oppose the £6 limit and take industrial action to defend jobs, nowhere in his election address does Bob Wright - who is defending his seat in the Manchester/Midlands election put forward the policies which could actually enable the rank and file of the Union to fight against cuts in their living standards. Yet this is the only way to defeat the propaganda campaign being carried out by the press on behalf of the right wing.

Red Weekly will continue to

The Sun can't stand 'extremist manipulation in the unions-unless it does it itself, of course

The moderate candidate in the election, pledged to end all the nonsense of the Communists and their allies, is Terry Duffy, former chairman of the Wolverhampton Labour Party. We salute his 'courage.

call for a vote for the Broad Left candidates against the bosses' stooges of the right wing. But such an election campaign will have to be carried out despite the policies and bureaucratic antics of the Broad Left. It is only through the adoption of policies which show a way forward in practice for the rank and file that the hold of the right wing will be broken. That must mean:

An all-out fight by the Union against the £6 wage limit - the submission of a £15 across-the-board claim protected by monthly threshold payments in the next round of negotiations, and a mass campaign inside the Union to back it up.

Officially backed occupations of factories creating redundancies, and a Union-backed fight for their immediate nationalisation under workers' control.

\* A national fight for the introduction of a 35-hour week and for work-sharing with no loss of pay to combat unemployment.

It is through the adoption of such policies, which offer a real solution to the present crisis, that the rank and file can be mobilised to prevent the take-over of the Union by the right-wing. If such a campaign was launched there would not be so much need to worry about 'outside intervention in union election' (ie. the capitalist press giving undue publicity to the right wing) as we would have the policies with which to answer their accusations and slanders. JOHN GRAHAM (AUEW)



In reviewing the first part of Days of Hope, the Allen-Garnett-Loach series now showing on Thursdays on BBC1, the Daily Telegraph-while recognising the brilliant production and direction of Garnett and Loach-described it as 'doctrinaire'. So it is. Furthermore, its unashamedly pro-working class doctrine came over even more strongly in the second programme, '1921'

Ben deserts from his regiment when

ments, I can't afford to be' - to take away the food donated in solidarity by Liverpool workers, the miners rapidly disarm them and hold them captive.

From this position of strength, they proceed to wire up the pits with dynamite, in an attempt to force the employer to agree to their demands. But tragedy follows. Lulled by the coal-owner's promises of 'justice' and no victimisations, the miners shake hands on the



and Mirror may not be quite so blatant in the pages of the Scottish Daily News, but as a paper it has never tried to be anything better than a poor man's version of its slicker, bigger brothers. Just how far it is from serving the interests of the working class can be seen from the headline on a major article in Monday's issue Abortions made me quit, says doctor'.

The Scottish Daily News has now become the pawn in a bitter capitalist dogfight between Maxwell-who for a mere £114,000 investment has achieved his long-held ambition to run a daily paperand rivals like former owner Beaverbrook, who are trying to seize nearly £60,000 of the paper's funds. In the process, the workers have disappeared completely from the centre of the stage: in Saturday's issue, it was Maxwell (complete with large photo) who 'hit out' at Beaverbrook.

For the moment the mistaken belief that 'industrial democracy' can be anything more than a con in capitalist society has taken a knock. Unfortunately, in the longer term, the workers at SDN will pay with their jobs for their mistaken belief in workers co-operatives as a solition to unemployment.

## VICTORY

In Sheffield, workers at Laycock's Engineering - part of the Guest, Keen and Nettlefold group - have gone one step better. When twelve apprentices complete with the kit they were asked for turned up to start work, eight of them were given a letter telling them they did not have a job. The issue was immediately taken up by the convenor who demanded their re-instatement.

With feeling high on the shop floor, management were warned that industrial action could not be ruled out; and after wide publicity in the local press and radio, management were finally forced to concede the union's demands. All twelve apprentices are now back at work. and management has agreed to maintain the future intake at twelve.

If this kind of action is taken up nationally, the trade union movement

the troops are sent in against striking miners, only to find himself in the thick of the struggle against the vicious wagecut policies of the employers. He is befriended by Joel, a leading militant, and accompanies him through the climax of the struggle, when first the police are brought in against the miners - 'All the land you see and all that lies beneath. belongs to someone else, and don't you forget it' - and then the army.

It is here that the strength and honesty of the programme's vision of the contradictory nature of the working class shines out. First we see the passive, 'nice' side of the workers as they are over-awed and lectured by the paternalistic coal-owner about the 'family spirit' and 'common sacrifices'. 'Violence has no place in the British way of life, we want revolution by consent', he concludes, as the camera pans to a soldier wielding a bayonet.

Then we suddenly switch to the obverse of this-the working class's aggression, initiative and creativity in defence of its class interests. When a squad of soldiers are sent in, led by an upperclass captain - 'I'm just carrying out orders, I'm not interested in your argu-

agreement and celebrate their victory with their families - only to be attacked in the night by the army and their key militants arrested.

The film has other strong points deserving of mention: the continual references by Ben to his experiences in Ireland and the role of the army there (the same then as now); and the isolation of women in the home.

However the overall impression which comes across, despite the defeat, is optimism and hope - the hope dormant in the working masses standing together after weeks of inactivity and oppression, who suddenly start to live, to play an active, creative role when the situation arises. For some the feeling of being masters of their situation is further enhanced by the memory of previous defeats - 'We tried it in '93, but the other side matched us, had us eating grass. I had a wife die in '93' one old militant reflects, almost casually reminding us of what is at stake,

It is this vision of the richness, the unity and the courage of the organised workers' movement which makes Days of Hope worth a million other TV 'plays'. Carl Gardner

Joel-leading the miners in his village

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# **A HARROWING** TALE OF CUTS

Abortions have been cut to three a week at Northwick Park Hospital in Harrow. This is just one aspect of the savage cuts being launched by the Tory-controlled Harrow Council in line with Government policy on public spending. But activists fighting the cuts, including Harrow NAC, have pointed out that the pressure on the ever-growing list for gynaecological operations - the 'official' reason for the reduction in the number of abortions available - is largely the result of the fact that one of the consultants spends so much of his time doing private practice.

Despite Harrow's reputation as a very middle-class, suburban area, the cuts aren't being taken lying

down. Over 100 Harrow social workers signed a petition against the cuts and arranged a picket of the the Social Services Committee which was joined by health visitors, workers from Northwick Park Hospital, and supporters of the National Abortion Campaign.

The tactics of the Conservative majority on the Council are obvious. As they went into the meeting they told the social workers to ask their teacher colleagues to take an extra four children a class - this would account for the total cuts! However, a Labour Councillor has estimated that if Harrow stopped sending children to direct grant schools, this too would cover the cuts.

## NALGO BACKS **11 OCTOBER** MCAPP CONFERENCE

The National and Local Government Officers Association (NALGO) has decided to support the 11 October Conference called by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice. In a circular to its 1200 branches, NALGO says: 'Abolition of private medical practice within and outside the NHS is essential to the continuance of a system of state care and the ending of abuses by the private sector. All private hospitals and clinics presently built, or building, or planned, should be taken into public ownership as new community hospitals for the NHS.

Another national union - the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT) - is also supporting the Conference and has sent a £50 donation to help with expenses in building it.

The North-West Region of the Labour Party has asked MCAPP to supply brochures and registration forms so that it can circulate them to all its 80 affiliated Labour Parties. The Hull Port Shop Stewards Committee has elected three delegates and sent a letter 'expressing support'. The NUPE North Camden Health District Branch has also elected five delegates, making a total of about 100 delegates elected so far. The support of important national unions and the response that the Conference is getting in the organised labour movement shows the possibilities that exist for organising a real struggle against the Labour Government's cuts and winning support for an NHS that serves the interests of the working class.

MCAPP have asked us to call on every Red Weekly reader to make sure that this issue it raised in all the organisations in which they are active. We endorse that call from MCAPP, and urge our readers to get their organisations to elect delegates for the 11 October Conference.

......

brings death'



The social workers' leaders are determined that these divide-and-rule tactics will fail. They recognise the importance of contacting local teachers and workers in the local hospital, as well as other council and public sector workers, to establish an adhoc committee of all groups affected by the cuts.

To highlight their problems, the Harrow Housing Action Campaign will be picketing the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool. They point to a house that has lain empty since the death of its owner, former prime minister Clement Attlee, as a symbol of their problems. There are an estimated 700 empty houses in Harrow, and at the same time Harrow has the lowest number of council houses in any London borough - a mere 7,000.

It is not only in the area of the social services that Harrow is affected. The cuts proposed by the British Railways Board include a 40 per cent reduction on the Watford-Euston line, which runs through Harrow. The National Union of Railwaymen has declared its opposition to any cuts.

## PROMISING

The proposal to establish an adhoc committee to fight the cuts is a promising start. By drawing together all the workers in the public sector affected by the cuts, finding out the extent of the cuts and the resources needed to maintain and improve existing facilities, a broad campaign can be built in the local workers' movement to defend the social services and public sector spending.

Pickets around local council meetings, schools and hospitals can draw in wide support for the campaign and prepare the way for more advanced forms of action. The East London Action Committee against the cuts, which has for some time been monitoring the cuts and preparing the fight against them, is now in the position to organise a day of action against the cuts which will involve many sections of the local labour movement.

What is ironic is that Harrow is not a poor borough. If it has problems - and the Council is, for instance, on the verge of agreeing to set up a home for battered wives - then how much more are other areas of Lon-. don and the big cities reeling under the effects of the cuts?





#### Demonstrator assaulting two policemen outside the Kingston Halls

## **Glasgow trials halted** as police case falls apart

The mass frame-up of the 76 Kingston Hall anti-fascist pickets ground to a temporary halt last week. But the force which applied the brakes was not a mobilised Glasgow labour movement. It was simply because the systematic lying and switching around of police witnesses had got to the stage where public trials could not, for the time being, retain any credibility.

Evidence given in the third of the trials against two women charged with assaulting the police was so contradictory that it became quite obvious that the two had in fact been themselves assaulted by police witnesses. This was so obvious that the Sheriff, Lord Wilson was forced to return unequivocal 'Not Guilty' verdicts on both. The case as a whole was so discredited that Wilson also had to release the other four defendants - including the fascist Derek Curtis, of Leeds - on Not Proven' verdicts.

### **'BREATHER'**

Later in the week, the High Court upheld the right of appeal of one of the defendants in the second trial. The effect of this will probably be that the trials of the remaining 44 Sheriff Court defendants will not now commence until after the result of the appeal in October.

Someone on high must now have decided that the police need a 'breather' in order to co-ordinate their systematic perjury a little bit better. This provides a chance for the Glasgow labour movement to mobilise a mass campaign which will not just stop the trials in their tracks, but derail the whole frame-up. The alternative already being aired in court - to rely

on nifty footwork by lawyers, and presen the image of timid, peaceful individuals who 'were trying to avoid trouble', who don't wish to make a noise as 'their career prospects might be damaged' will only lead those who adopt it to a stark and miserable dead-end when the trials resume.

## STATEMENT

Now, in the absence of the big Sheriff Court frame-up, the police and prosec utors are concentrating on isolating and hammering the 13 defendants whose trials, on serious charges, were taking place in Govan Police Court earlier this week. Six of these defendants - IMG militants John Ford, Mike Jordan, George Kerevan, Stewart Maclennan, John Presland and Dave Stevens - issued a statement outside the court on Monday denouncing the frame-ups, the farrago of police and fascist lies, and calling for all-out support to stop the trials. The IMG also organised a picket of the threeday hearings in their support.

The sentences the 'Govan 13' receive may well be a pointer to the treatment the Sheriff Court has in preparation for the remaining trials. Such sentences will probably be based on a conclusion that the law has nothing to fear from the Glasgow labour movement. But, if the magistrate draws that conclusion, he will at least do so in the face of defendants who are not afraid to fight a frame-up on the basis of their socialist politics. J. MacAllister

Donations and messages of support are urgently needed. Please send to: Anti-Fascist Defence Fund, Glasgow Trades Council, 83 Carlton Place, Glasgow G5.

Labour movement conference on the fight against the cuts in the NHS

A six-year wait

for a hospital bed

**City University London. October 11** Chaired by Jack Collins speakers include -Audrey Wise MP and health workers. Organised by

Medical Committee Against Private Practice 55 Bridge Lane London NW TI

The headmaster and six teachers at the William Tyndale Junior School in Islington picket their own school together with supporters on Monday. Accused of politically indoctrinating the children, the teachers were on strike against interference by the managers, who include right-wing Labour Party councillors and an ILEA inspector.

LONDON SOCIALIST FORUM: 'Defend the Iberan 19'. Tues 30 Sept., 7.30pm, Conway Hall.

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NEWCASTLE IMG educational meetings, every Thursday at 8pm at the Bridge Hotel

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JOF CAMDEN NAC will be meeting Weds. 1 Oct., 8pm, at 41 Randolf Street, N.W.1.

NEW NAC HEADQUARTERS: now at 30 Camden ST Road, London NW1 (tel. 485 4303).

NAC CONFERENCE: 18-19 October at Imperial College, London. Registration £1 (50p for students, claimants, one-parent families, etc.). Write to above address for registration forms.

NEW NEWSPAPER published by NAC is available, price 10p each, pre-paid bulk orders of 50+, 8p each. Place your order now-write to above address.

A WOMAN'S RIGHT To Choose/Free Abortion on Demand badges available from 97 Caledonian Road, London N1-10p each plus s.a.e., bulk reductions on request.

MERSEYSIDE Association of Trades Councils International Women's Year Committee conference Women's Struggle in Chile, Portugal, Ireland and Vietnam'. Speakers include Carmen Castillo (Chile). Carmen Miranda (PWCC), Ann Speed (Dublin shop steward), and Vietnamese woman. Sunday 5 Oct.,

10.30am-4pm, Creche, SOGAT Hall, 254 County Road, Liverpool 4. Tickets 25p and other details from: News from Nowhere, 48 Manchester Street, Liverpool 1

NEWCASTLE TEACH-IN on Abortion, Saturday 4 Oct., Shipley Baths Community Centre, Raby Gate, Byker Wall, 2–5pm. Speakers Wendy Forest of National Abortion Campaign plus member of NAC. Creche provided.

AFRICAN REVOLUTION-first issue of new jour nal by IMG Africa Commission out in early Octo-ber. Orders to African Revolution, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1

'PERMANENT REVOLUTION' No. 3 now out, includes: 'Communism and Philistinism: the two souls of the Comintern (obituary article on JP Cannon and RP Dutt); 'The Left and the Common Market'; 'IS and the Common Market'; Bukharin on the Economics of the Transition Period'; 'Chile awing out the lessons?' Price 30p from 98 Gifford Street, London N1 0DF



With most students still packing their bags for the new term, the authorities got the new season of confrontations off with a bang.

Ageing student readers of *Red* Week by will remember that several years ago an insignificant Tory poltician tried to apply legal shackles to the political activities of student unions. Faced with the mass oppostion of students throughout the country, Margaret Thatcher, the 'milk snatcher', was forced to retreat with not so much as a broken bottle to show for her pains.

### Not content

But the college authorities and the state were far from content. Places like Essex, Kent, Warwick and North London Poly were, after all, hotbeds of revolution – at least when the dirty scroungers weren't in bed. So began the long and continuing struggle to crush the political autonomy of student unions. ancial activity of a student union which has been at the forefront of national student struggles and the centre of several bitter fights to oust the Poly's reactionary director, Terence Miller.

Despite the press campaign suggesting the underhand mis-use of funds, the NLP students union has has never hidden its support for workers' struggles nationally and internationally. All monies have been voted by democratically constituted student union general meetings. But what better way to carry through spending cuts and impose freezes on student union funds than under the guise of attacking 'extremist minorities'!

What is even more ludicrous about the NLP affair is that most of the donations referred to – for example money to the miners' and gasworkers' strikes and support for the Palestinian Liberation Organisation – took place years ago and were public knowledge at the time.

No one should be under any illusions about the interference of



Eight comrades of the Socialist Workers Party (PST) of Argentina were murdered by right-wing gangs during the first week of September. Speaking at a commemoration ceremony in La Plata, Ernesto Gonsalez, an Executive Committee member of the PST, told the gathering: 'These fallen comrades can only be appreciated in the light of the task for which they gave their lives: Trotskyism and the construction of the world party of socialist revolution.'

These assassinations make a total loss of fifteen comrades (two more are missing in Tucuman) for the PST and the Fourth International in Argentina. The first five comrades, found naked and riddled with bullets in a car outside La Plata, were involved in work with the strikers at the Propulsora Iron and Steel Works. They were Adriana Daldua, Ana Maria Guzner Lorenzo, Lydia Agostini, Patricia Claverie, and Carlos Enrique Pov edano. In addition, three others were murdered shortly afterwards: Roberto Loscertales, a member of the regional leadership of the PST and an activist in Petroquimica Sudamerica; Hugo Frigerio, a state employee; and Oscar Lucatti, a member of Juventud Socialista, the youth group working with the PST.

## DELEGATION

A delegation from Petroquimica informed Avanzada Socialista, weekly paper of the PST, that the workers in the factory, besides attending the funeral. were also sending a card to Curi, the boss of Petroquimica, which read 'Curi buys bullies to kill'. Other factories also sent delegations.

## by Anita Bennett

Workers have good reason to believe that the bosses and Government are working in collaboration with the right-wing gangs such as the Argentine Anti-communist Alliance (AAA). The examples are too numerous to cite, but the following is indicative of the militant response to attacks on trade unionists: Marcelo Di Fernando, a delegate in the Transax plant and a member of the Partido Intransigente, was found murdered with three bullets in his thorax, although police had denied any knowledge of his whereabouts. Immediately workers struck not only in his own plant but also in Fiat Concord, Ika, Perkins, and Thompson Ramco. This strike was described by Avanzada Socialista as 'one of the most important anti-fascist demonstrations, an example which should be repeated on a national scale'

The word fascist is not used lightly here; women prisoners in the infamous Villa Devota prison have likened their conditions to those of concentration camps 'where 60 women and 10 babies are crowded into a space of 22 metres by 9 metres'. Many of Argentina's large Jewish population live in increasing fear, particularly after a teacher Mita Judewicz, was drugged and tortured to death 'for being a Jew'.

In a situation where inflation is running at a rate of more than 250 per cent, the 'retirement' of Isabelita Peron and the ousting of her adviser Lopez Rega indicate that the right has not decisively triumphed in Argentina. The militancy of the working class, shown through strikes, demonstrations, and assertions of its right to organise has done much to arrest any Pinochettype coup. The interim President, Italo Argentino Luder, is no doubt making many changes in the Cabinet to suit his and the military's longterm interests: it is unlikely that Isabelita will resume the presidency on 17 October when she is scheduled to return from her air force resort.

## **STATE OF SIEGE**

Since the State of Siege was first imposed on 6 November 1974 supposedly as a means of 'eliminating - there have been close to violence' 500 deaths, the majority of them trade unionists and political militants On 8 October the Cabinet sessions terminate for the year 1975. This will be the last date for the lifting of the State of Siege, and the PST, victim of countless attacks on its headquarters and harassment of its militants, has called for 'a great demonstration against-Parliament supported by all the political parties, the CGT, the workers' com missions, and families of all political prisoners to abolish the State of Siege'

Agitation around political prisoners has already won the release of four PST comrades held under the provisions of the State of Siege for their involvement in the metalworkers' strike in Villa Constitucion. Eight others are still in prison at the time of writing.





union fund. So Scotland Yard – whose use of funds is never investigated by anybody – are now looking at the finthe police and the state at North London Poly. What is at stake is the right of students to use their organisations and the money allocated to them to advance their own political interests and side with working class struggles.

## Cutbacks

In a period of intensifying class struggle and with even bigger spending cutbacks threatened in higher education, nothing would suit the ruling class more than the political and organisational castration of student unions. The working class and students must see to it that the ruling class's wishes are frustrated.

KEEP BIDDING !

A MILLER'S

ALE

At the 75th Anniversary Celebrations of the Hackney Trades Council someone had the idea of auctioning off a £1 note personally signed by TUC boss Len Murray.

The bids however were slow. It stuttered to £1.25 and a rather embarrassed auctioneer ignored a persistent bid of £1.25%. Finally the highest bid was £1.54.

Obviously the workers of Hackney do not put a high premium on the TUC general secretary. We certainly hope that you, our readers, rate the *Red Weekly* much higher. With eight days to go we need £208 to reach our target. Make sure we get it – address 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.



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## Defeat Wilson's policies (cont. from page1)

to secure the right to work, work sharing with no loss of pay, the nationalisation of all firms creating redundancy, the nationalisation of the banks, and the bringing under workers control of all major sections of industry;

- wages cannot be fully guaranteed against inflation without automatic cost of living increases which fully compensate for every price rise.
- not merely must every social expenditure cut be opposed but expenditure must be automatically increased to compensate for price rises – this should be financed through increasing taxation on the rich, on wealth and on companies;
- the struggle for the liberation of women can only be started througn an end to all discrimina-

tion in employment and education, free abortion and contraception on demand, free 24 hour community controlled nurseries, immediate equal pay; for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland:

 opposition to all imperialist intervention in Portugal;

## Urgent task

The urgent task is to unify all those who are prepared to fight for these and similar policies and to thrash out a common basis for action. Here the resolution passed at the last Sheffield AUEW Shop Stewards Quarterly shows the way:

This shop stewards quarterly recognises the danger presented to the labour movement by the right wing course being pursued by the Labour Government. It therefore calls upon the District Committee to approach other organisations in the labour movement with a view to organising a conference to discuss the most effective way to mobilise opposition to these policies and to campaign for socialist policies."

Such conferences of the working class movement in every area can be the first step to uniting all the forces in the different campaigns and struggles and to forming a class struggle left wing. They are a vital step in the struggle to defeat the capitalist policies of the Labour Government and to remove Wilson and his supporters from all positions of authority at every level of the labour movement.