

RED WEEKLY

19 AUGUST 1976

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Britain out of Ireland!



**MARCH ON BLACKBURN
AGAINST RACISM!**

SATURDAY 11 SEPTEMBER

**Assemble 1.30 p.m., Brookhouse Lane,
Whalley Range area**

Rally 3 p.m., King George's Hall

See article inside, page 2

IT HAS BEEN A LONG WEEK in the North of Ireland. It opened with 10,000 demonstrators marching down the Falls Road in a vigorous defence of political status for Republican prisoners held in the jails in the North. It ended with another 10,000 people gathering last Saturday to chant prayers and raise the demand of 'peace at any price'.

During that week three children died in one incident when a car, shot-up by British troops, went out of control. At the end of the week a further child died, shot by the British army in an incident which even that massive public relations machine has been unable to explain away.

For the press and TV, the 'peace' demonstration was by far the most significant event. They have hailed it as a turning point of the violence which has rocked the North of Ireland. Quite simply, the press and TV are wrong. This was no turning point.

They are wrong because the source of the violence which has turned the streets of Belfast into a battleground lies not in the strategies of Republican organisations or even Loyalist para-militaries, but in the character of the Northern Irish state itself — undemocratic and sectarian.

GUN-POINT

The Six County state was established at gun-point. Pointing the guns were the British Army, the Black and Tans, and the Ulster Volunteer Force. Throughout its fifty odd years of existence, the state has been maintained by these same guns.

There will be no peace in Ireland, north or south, until these forces have been defeated; no peace until that state is finally overthrown; no peace until British imperialism, which promoted and defends that state, finally gets out of Ireland.

It is now five years since internment was introduced. The anniversary was celebrated on the streets in Belfast and Derry by the oppressed Catholics with actions similar to those which greeted internment in 1971. Despite the short term phenomenon of the carefully stage-managed 'peace' movement, the truth about Ireland lies in this continuing resistance displayed on the anniversary of internment — resistance which states clearly and unmistakably that Britain must get out now.

Britain has achieved nothing in those five years, because Britain while it remains in Ireland can achieve nothing except death and destruction. Britain has never brought any good to the Irish people, and the only good it can achieve is to get out, lock stock and barrel, once and for all, now.

IRISH DEMONSTRATION — LONDON — SUNDAY 22 AUG.

Support Political Status for Republican Prisoners

Peace With Justice

Assemble: Speakers Corner (Marble Arch tube), 3.00 p.m.

Organised by Provisional Sinn Fein

INSIDE on page 11

**WHO'S BEHIND THE
PEACE MOVEMENT?**

MARCH ON BLACKBURN!



'LEFT-WING FASCISTS!'

— Tariq Ali replies to 'Jewish Chronicle' slurs.

Marxists 'fascists of the left'? Tariq Ali 'anti-Jewish'? These wild accusations, made at a Jewish Board of Deputies meeting following the 4 July demonstration against racism, were reported in the Jewish Chronicle of 30 July. An accompanying editorial again equated anti-Zionism and anti-semitism, stressing that Anglo-Jewry's 'natural allies' in the fight against fascism, racism and anti-semitism are 'the moderates in the coloured community'.

Tariq Ali, a well-known leader of the International Marxist Group, was singled out for special comment because he pointed out the anti-Arab racism that existed in Israel during his speech on the 4 July demonstration. In a letter to the Jewish Chronicle he replies:

'To call us "fascists" because we are opponents of Zionism is an infantile way of conducting a political debate. To level this remark against Trotskyists, in particular, is absolutely scandalous. The record of the Fourth International in fighting fascism and anti-semitism is second to none.

'Leaving aside that many of our members were butchered by the Gestapo in the concentration camps, there is a more concrete demonstration of our line ever since the FI was founded. Our American comrades of the Socialist Workers Party waged a single-minded and fierce campaign in the Thirties in the United States to demand an open door policy from the US Government in order to admit all Jewish refugees. They were opposed by the Zionists, who did not favour such a policy because they wanted the refugees to be forced to settle in Palestine!

'Our organisation has always fought anti-semitism, and in countries where anti-semitism is equated with anti-Zionism some of us (myself included) have been accused of being "Jewish agents" because many of the leaders of the Trotskyist movement (and, of course, Trotsky himself) were and are of Jewish origin.'

Ali stresses that the International Marxist Group is in favour of the broadest possible united front against racism and fascism — and this includes the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen (AJEX) — but not at the cost of limiting the views of any of the groups involved.

'The fact that you struggle against racism in Britain is to be welcomed, but you have then to explain your inconsistency in not struggling against it in Israel and you have to explain the close relations enjoyed by Israel and the white settler regimes in southern Africa. If you do not wish to defend these things then that is your privilege, but we defend our right to criticise you for it.'

The racists are on the move. Spurred on by the speeches of Enoch Powell, the press hysteria and the 'little Englander' philosophy of the Labour leaders, left and right, they are beginning to win support inside the working class itself. Blackburn is the advance post of the racist menace. Two candidates of the fascist National Party were elected in the recent local council elections. After all the horrors of Nazi Germany, Pinochet's Chile, Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal, fascism is on the up again.

DEFEND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Jenkins and the Labour leaders tell us to ignore the fascists and they will go away. Meanwhile the black community in Blackburn — as elsewhere up and down the country — is under constant physical attack and intimidation. As all historical experience shows, appeasement will only egg on the fascists.

They must be confronted with a massive show of force. The number one priority is to show labour movement support for the self-defence actions of the black community in Blackburn. This should be the launching pad for a national campaign to chase the racist scum back into their holes. This is why we say: MARCH ON BLACKBURN TO DEFEND THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

DEFEND BLACK PEOPLE, DEFEND THE UNIONS

The ground for racist policies has been laid by the policies of the Labour leaders. Every one of them supports the controls on immigration into this country, pretending that such a policy will ease the economic crisis. It is the TUC which is demanding the withdrawal of work permits. It is the Labour lefts who are calling for import controls.

But these policies are not in the interests of the working class. These policies are the policies of the most rabid Tories. These people have got one concern: to turn the justified anger of the working class about their declining living standards and soaring unemployment away from the real culprits — the right-wing Labour leaders and their capitalist backers — onto the backs of innocent and down-trodden black women and men. And in the absence of any lead from the trade union leaders, they are beginning to succeed in mobilising some working class forces. This is a direct threat to the whole of the working class and to the trade union organisations.

"Jang" workers fight sweat-shop conditions

ONLY FIFTEEN WORKERS might be involved in the strike at the *Daily Jang International* in East London, but the four week-old strike has an importance for the whole of the immigrant community in Britain.

The *Daily Jang* is owned by business magnate Mir Khalilur Rahman, the 'Lord Thomson' of Pakistan, and is one of a chain of Pakistani newspapers. As the only Urdu daily in Britain, the *Jang* has a circulation of 35,000. The workers came out on 23 July demanding basic union rates for a 40-hour, five day week. At the moment wages are well below union rates and the staff work a 48-hour, six day week.

When management refused to concede the workers' demands, a unanimous decision was taken to occupy the works to force management's hand and prevent any moves to close the paper down — a suspicion fully justified by the subsequent serving of dismissal notices on the strikers.

The occupying workers have all been members of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades for three months, and the owner sees this as an opportunity to break the unionisation of the workers. Because of racist employment policies, immigrant workers are often forced to work in sweat-shop conditions in their own communities. Breaking this vicious circle is part of the fight to unite black and white workers against racism and capitalist exploitation.



The main concern expressed by SOGAT officials is that this strike is a test case to build confidence amongst black workers that trade unions will defend their interests. The sentiment is worthy enough, but it is the black workers themselves through their

THE FOLLOWING LEAFLET HAS BEEN DISTRIBUTED NATIONALLY BY THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP TO MOBILISE FOR THE ANTI-RACIST DEMONSTRATION IN BLACKBURN ON 11 SEPTEMBER.

REPEAL THE IMMIGRATION LAWS!

Workers must not be taken in by the claims that black workers are in any way to blame for the capitalist crisis. These people are forced to leave their homelands in search for work because British imperialism has stripped their countries of wealth for centuries. The development of their countries' economies have been systematically distorted in pursuit of profit for British firms. Now the British economy — born of this plunder and exploitation — is itself in crisis.

The immigration laws enshrine the myth that immigrant workers are at the root of the crisis. What patent nonsense! The Labour Government has deliberately slashed the social services and allowed the unemployment figures to rise well over the million mark. But the support for the immigration laws by the trade union and Labour leaders fosters the racist sentiment inside sections of the working class. An indispensable step in rooting out this racist menace is the building of a powerful movement inside the labour movement to force the repeal of the immigration laws.

SOCIALIST POLICIES

In this way we can begin to win support for policies which place the burden of the crisis on the capitalist system itself — where it belongs. Policies of nationalisation of firms declaring redundancies, of work-sharing with no loss of pay; policies which tie wages and benefits to the rise in the cost of living. These policies, which begin to wrest the control of the economy from the capitalists and impose the control of the working class over the economy, are the only answer to the racists. Mass action on these policies can throw back the attacks of the Labour Government, undermine the support for the fascists and drive out the right-wing and racist leaders of the labour movement.

PUBLIC MEETING

Speakers: TARIQ ALI (*International Marxist Group*)

TONY CLIFF (*International Socialists*)

THURSDAY 9 SEPTEMBER, 7.30pm

Windsor Hall, Blackburn

Labour Government-imposed decline in living standards. Asian workers are no longer ready to be a pool of super-exploited labour.

The workers involved at the *Jang* are determined to see their struggle through to the end. But although support has been forthcoming from the local labour movement, including Hackney Trades Council, they remain isolated and feel the need for active support in the occupation. Since the occupation started, the actual press has only been taken over once to produce a special strike edition of the paper.

With mass support outside, a full occupation of the press would become a possibility, allowing the strikers to produce a regular strike bulletin which could use its existing distribution outlets to extend the struggle into the whole Asian community and become a weapon in the hands of Asian workers in the fight against racism.

One opportunity to spread the struggle will come on 5 September when a number of far left organisations in East London are building a large public meeting in preparation for the demonstration in Blackburn on 11 September. The participation of the *Jang* workers in the build-up to Blackburn would show that it is through struggle that immigrants can win their rights, and it is through struggle that black and white workers can be united in the fight against racism.

Mike Colley

militant action who have shown the best way to defend their interests.

Their strike and occupation itself demonstrates the increasing militancy and confidence that has been developing in the Asian community in response to recent racist attacks and the

ALL AT SEA?

The first major threat to the Government and TUC leaders' wage cut policy was diverted over the weekend when the executive of the National Union of Seaman voted against immediate strike action and decided instead to hold a ballot on the present offer. The offer means that the scandalously low basic rate of 85p an hour will be frozen until the New Year.

This proposed freeze takes place despite an apparent willingness by the shipowners to pay an immediate £6 a week rise now, and even a judgement by the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service which the NUS interpreted as supporting its case. Apart from the Government itself, the only organisation which has opposed the NUS claim is the TUC — which acting in its now usual role of the Labour Government's snivelling lap-dog told the NUS that it couldn't get its paltry £6 a week rise.

The NUS general secretary, Jim Slater, who says that his claim is within the pay guidelines, has explained this TUC rejection as due to a 'lack of knowledge and foresight'. He argues that the TUC simply don't understand the justice of the NUS claim — after all, Slater himself has described the 4½ per cent pay policy as 'well-intentioned'.

With such remarks it is hardly surprising that the NUS executive voted against strike action, and even if a majority of the members reject the present offer, the wording of the ballot is such that strike action may not follow. All the executive are asking is for an opinion on whether there should be industrial action 'in a manner to be decided by the executive'; and the signs are that such action would be restricted to an overtime ban.

Despite these damaging limitations, it is obvious that the NUS ballot does offer at least a

minimal opportunity to challenge the pay policy. But such a challenge will have little prospect of success as long as the leadership of the NUS argues in the context of the social contract, rather than against it; and as long as Jim Slater waffles around complaining that his claim is becoming a 'political issue'.

Of course it is a political issue, and in this sense the NUS claim is important for all trade unionists. Sadly the lessons of the claim so far are all rather negative — negative, in that arguing in terms of the social contract, arguing that the national executive cannot make decisions on strike action, and arguing that the claim should not be seen as 'political' all open the door to division and defeat rather than the fighting unity which is necessary to win the claim.

Tom Marlowe

IN FOCUS

THE LEFTS' "DILEMMA"

"All those who seek to sustain the Government in office must accept the bankers' cuts in principle — not in their entirety — but in principle."

The speaker? Norman Atkinson MP, the Labour 'left-winger' who has challenged Callaghan year in, year out for the Treasurership of the Labour Party. A doyen of the Tribune Group of MPs. In a speech earlier this month in his Tottenham constituency — which covers most of the Haringey borough where Labour councillors are for the moment refusing to implement the cuts — Atkinson spelled out with admirable clarity the 'dilemma' of the Labour lefts.

Unwilling to challenge the Government's policies head-on by voting against them in Parliament and mobilising action outside, they are caught in the right-wing trap: vote against the Government and you will bring it down. 'But such action would make little sense', said Atkinson, 'because if Labour won the election it would be taken as an endorsement of the bankers' policies and would mute the left for a long time to come. If, on the other, Labour lost it would mean at least two and a quarter million unemployed, because the Tories have already confirmed that they would introduce expenditure cuts of that order.' Atkinson's only remaining fig-leaf is the belief that the Government has a secret no-go level of 1.6 million unemployed.

'Saving' the Government?

So the 'lefts' are led by the nose by the right-wing leaders of the Labour Government, who are far more concerned with protecting the interests of the bankers and the bosses rather than 'saving' any Labour Government.

Atkinson's arguments were promptly rebuffed — or more precisely, side-stepped — by fellow Tribunate Eric Heffer. 'There is a difference', said Heffer, 'between voting to sustain a Labour Government in office and agreeing with or accepting all of their policies.' But the point is this: whether or not the lefts are willing to defend wages and jobs by actually voting down Labour's anti-working class policies. Their refusal to do so shows that their 'disagreements with' and 'non-acceptance' of Government policies is just so much balm to soothe their wretched consciences.

What is equally disgraceful is that the Militant, which claims to be Trotskyist and has considerable influence inside the Labour Party Young Socialists and several constituency parties, supports the Tribune Group's betrayal: 'It would be a serious mistake, as the Tribune Group recognises, to vote in such a way as to bring down the Government. As Arthur Latham said, the Labour Government might be like a bad meal, but another Tory Government would be like a dose of arsenic for the workers.' The same argument could have come from Callaghan and Healey and their collaborators in the TUC.

No compromise

Red Weekly rejects all these 'don't fight' policies. We say that the lefts should vote down the Government's attacks in Parliament and fight for alternative anti-capitalist policies and action in the trade unions and Labour Party outside. Such policies would include work-sharing on full pay to combat unemployment, and a sliding scale of wages and social expenditure to defend living standards and the social services against the effects of the capitalist crisis. At the Labour Party conference this means that every delegate should take a clear stand against Labour's Tory policies and vote to remove those responsible for their implementation.

There can be no compromise on the cuts and unemployment. If defending wages and jobs means bringing down the Labour Government, then the responsibility lies on the heads of those who have squandered the fruits of the victory won by the miners over the Tories in 1974. And such a campaign would mean apart from anything else that no-one could possibly interpret any subsequent Labour election victory as 'an endorsement of the bankers' policies'.

Steel Leaders Dodge Action

Last month the first ever national conference of the Iron & Steel Trades Confederation was held in London. This union, the main organiser in the steel industry, has never been known for its 'progressive' face (Dai Davies, former General Secretary, was knighted by Heath in 1973 for 'services to trade unionism'); however, under Bill Sirs the union is trying to 'get back into the mainstream of the trade union movement'.

The 'practical' side of this was seen at the conference, when various resolutions were passed on unemployment and earlier retirement — although no attempt to organise action around these issues was proposed!

On unemployment a motion was passed unanimously 'in backing the TUC to curb the rising tide of unemployment'. This ignores the fact

that the TUC is in an alliance with a Government which tolerates 1½ million unemployed. Indeed, in the steel industry 20,000 jobs have been lost in the last year alone.

Again, the steelworkers followed the miners in demanding retirement at 55 — but unlike the miners, agreed only to use 'all reasonable means at their disposal'. This gives the Executive Council a blank cheque — to do nothing!

However a resolution was passed against the Executive's advice calling for a 35-hour week, showing that there is plenty of rank and file concern over such questions as overtime and unemployment.

While left to the 'official leaders' these resolutions will become useless scraps of paper, they do provide the basis for organising a campaign for the

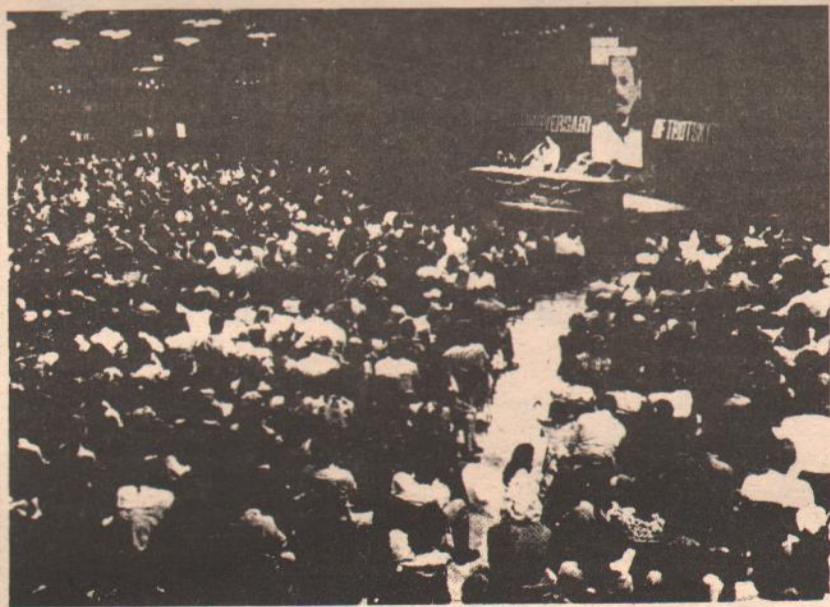
implementation of conference decisions. Such implementation would involve fighting for the demand of work-sharing with no loss of pay as a practical way of securing the 35-hour week and early retirement.

It would also mean demanding that BSC's policies for redundancy programmes and steel capacity at various plants are open to workers' inspection. For instance, a coke oven at East Moors in Cardiff was shut for a year and has only recently reopened — but neither the workers themselves nor the unions were ever told why! A demand for the opening of BSC's books would prevent such an insult to the workforce re-occurring, just as a demand for work-sharing with no loss of pay would give practical effect to the conference resolutions.

Robert White (ISTC)



Vereeken — considered a security risk by Trotsky in 1930s, but not by Healy today



Healy's Circus Comes to Town

FROM OUR THEATRE CRITIC

The gossip column of the *Sunday Times* of 15 August carried a regurgitation of the Workers Revolutionary Party's slanders against Joseph Hansen, the veteran leader of the American Socialist Workers Party. The charge this scribbler repeated in all seriousness is that Joseph Hansen was and is an accomplice of the Stalinist GPU, was implicated in the assassination of Leon Trotsky, and has postured as a leader of the world Trotskyist movement for forty years!

No indication is given that this slander has ever been challenged, yet alone refuted by volumes of testimony

ranging through various Trotskyist activists to Ken Coates and Tamara Deutscher. The *Sunday Times* made no attempt to verify its story, which was swallowed whole from the Healyite hacks of the *News Line*. Indeed, one wonders whether the appearance of the article — coinciding as it did with a Workers Revolutionary Party public meeting allegedly called to commemorate the death of Trotsky — was not unconnected with the fact that Alex Mitchell, editor of *News Line*, was formerly a writer for the *Sunday Times*.

The *Sunday Times*, for its own reasons, is very pleased to print slanders

which aim to discredit revolutionary Marxist leaders and revolutionary socialism in general.

As it is, the Healyite circus wound up in town last Sunday night in the appropriate surroundings of the Hammer-smith Palais. There the assembled multitude — complete with transistor radios when the speeches got boring — gathered to see the show. As usual the WRP cadres had been struggling to drag people off the streets to attend the jamboree. On the balcony the world of entertainment sipped their camparis while the proteges went through their paces.

Healy's new show is a black farce — 'The Trial of Joe Hansen', a re-run of the Moscow show trials staged in the thirties by Stalin. As is usual in this genre, the victim is framed before the trial so that everyone knows in advance that he is guilty. However, unlike Stalin, Healy himself chose to play Vishinsky's role as chief prosecutor.

His star witnesses are Harold Robins and Georges Vereeken. These people have been dredged from history's more obscure sewers in order to drag Trotskyism through the gutter. As witnesses they have absolutely no credibility even to act as a fig leaf to cover Healy's naked break with Trotskyism. Why did Healy not explain that Trotsky himself considered Vereeken to be a security risk because in 1935 Vereeken publicly attacked the Belgian section of the Left Opposition as counter-revolutionaries? Trotsky then described Ver-

eecken as 'a reactionary tendency in our ranks' (emphasis in original in Trotsky's *Writings*, 1933-34).

As for Harold Robins, he has a much more auspicious history as the captain of the guard when Trotsky was murdered. However, in speaking to the *Sunday Times* he seems to have forgotten that the other guard who overpowered Trotsky's assassin with him was.... Joe Hansen. He also describes Natalia Sedova, in 1940, as 'dying from cancer'. Natalia did not die until 1962!

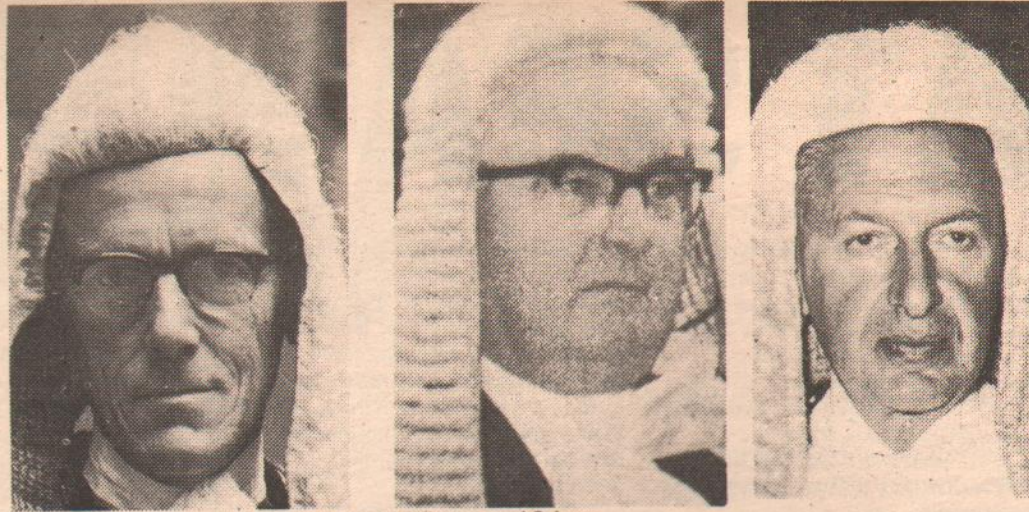
FARCE

He now accuses Hansen of being the cancer of the Trotskyist movement — a movement he broke from to follow Healy's ever decreasing number of followers in the States.

In its death agony it is appropriate that Healyism links up with these veteran opponents of Trotskyism. Their activities only give aid and succour to those who did perpetrate the murder of Trotsky — the Stalinists and their armed agents in the GPU.

Marx was fond of saying that history repeats itself — the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce. As Healy tries to prop up the crumbling edifice of the WRP with the organisational methods of Stalin, branding every political opponent as conspirators of the Special Branch or CIA, one can only wonder how long this not very amusing farce will continue to run.

...AND THE LORDS TAKETH AWAY



Three of the noble lords (l to r): Diplock, Dilhorne, and Salmon

By
**MICK
GOSLING**

The 'Rule of Law' scored another notable victory earlier this month. Five senile judges, in the Eton and Oxford mould and nicely cushioned by company shares and the privileges of their cloistered world, decided that it was 'reasonable' for the Tory Council in Tameside to reintroduce grammar schools in the area.

The fact that the previous Labour Council's plans for comprehensive reorganisation were already being implemented was of no concern to these worthies. The fact that teachers and even the National Association of Head Teachers in Tameside opposed the Tories' plans was of no significance. The fact that no selection procedure could be found that was 'fair' even by normal 11-plus standards was ignored.

Mess

Now, with only three quarters of the 240 grammar school places filled by 'suitable' candidates (and only a quarter of all places allocated to girls), the new Tory chairman of the Tameside education committee is blaming parents, not his colleagues, for the mess.

What has been thrown up by the Tameside judgement is more than the willingness of the legal authorities to support the resistance of

hide-bound Tory local authorities to the all too slow progress towards comprehensive education. The Court of Appeal and the Law Lords have shown once again that they will bend and twist the so-called 'law' in whatever way it suits their ruling class paymasters. When the Clay Cross councillors

who defied the Tories' Housing Finance Act were dragged through the courts they were left bankrupt and officeless. They had dared to defend the interests of the working class by resisting rent rises. When the Tories of Tameside fought to put privilege before education they received the ac-

claim of the same legal system. The cherished myth of the 'sovereignty of Parliament', supposedly putting power in the hands of the elected government of the day, was nowhere to be seen. The declaration of Labour education minister Fred Mulley that he would accept the decision of the 'highest court of

the land' only served to underline the ineffectiveness of labourism in pushing through its own half-hearted reform projects.

Tameside will now become the battle-cry for every Tory bigot on local councils who wants to put education of the privileged few before the education of the vast mass of working class children. The revelation that the ultra-right National Association for Freedom — set up in the wake of the shooting of Ross McWhirter last December — had coughed up £4-6,000 in legal fees to help the Tameside Tories hardly came as much of a surprise. This 'non-partisan' and 'non-political' body is backed by such noteworthy 'moderates' as Tory MPs Jill Knight, David Mitchell and Nicholas Ridley, Peregrine Wors-thorne of the *Sunday Telegraph*, and Pinochet supporter Robert Moss.

The lessons of Tameside for all those who are concerned with the education of working people's children are equally clear: it is only the teachers in the schools with the support of the labour movement as a whole who can push forward the reorganisation of education not just to get comprehensive schools but to turn them towards meeting the needs of the working class child.



Renee Short MP speaking at the protest meeting against the Select Committee report on 29 July

New attempt to restrict abortion

'The Select Committee has attempted to create a climate of illegality to substantiate its direct attack on the social grounds for abortion.' That was how the latest restrictive report by this parliamentary rump of anti-abortionists was described by Toni Gorton of the National Abortion Campaign at a packed meeting in the House of Commons immediately after the publication of the Select Committee report on 28 July.

Other speakers at the meeting were Renee Short MP, Joyce Gould of the Labour Women's Advisory Committee, and Dr John Dunwoody of the Socialist Medical Association.

LIMIT

The Select Committee has been forced to drop for the moment some of the grosser proposals contained in the original Abortion (Amendment) Bill put forward by Labour MP James White. They recommend, for instance, that there should be further discussion about the grounds on which a woman may obtain a termination of pregnancy; and they do not openly advocate dropping the 'social' clause. What their amendments to the 1967 Act consist of, however, are a series of bureaucratic time-wasting measures which would in effect drastically limit a woman's right to abortion.

Firstly, the Select Committee proposes that one of the two doctors whose consent is needed for an abortion should have been in practice for at least five years, and that the two doctors involved should

have no financial links.

One of its main enemies, however, are the charitable clinics like PAS and BPAS, which provide cheap safe abortions for women who cannot obtain one on the NHS. The Select Committee wants the strict licensing of premises and an end to all financial links between the clinics and the counselling services.

Under the guise of protecting women from exploitation, the Select Committee is trying to make it impossible for the charitable clinics to operate and thus further restrict the number of abortions performed. The best solution, and the one the charitable clinics want, is to make abortion freely available on the NHS so that women would not be open to this danger of exploitation. But that is the last thing the reactionaries of the Select Committee want.

PENALTIES

The Select Committee also recommends that the upper time limit for an abortion be reduced from 28 weeks

to 20. This would in practice be 17 weeks. Thus women who had met delay after delay in obtaining an abortion — partly as a result of the Select Committee proposals — would finally be denied one altogether because it was too late.

The penalties for contravening the regulations would be raised to a maximum fine of £1,000, and prosecution could take place up to three years after the alleged offence.

Finally, the Select Committee suggests that the right to object of

nurses and doctors who do not wish to perform abortions should be enshrined in law. It shows no concern, however, about the rights of women who want abortions but cannot get them because the doctors in their area object. The right of women to decide whether or not to terminate their pregnancy is fundamental and must take precedence over the wishes of doctors.

The Select Committee has asked the Government to sponsor legislation to implement these proposals, but this does not appear very probable at the moment. However, the report is not likely just to fade away. Even if the Government do not adopt it, it may be used as the basis of a new Private Member's Bill — the procedure adopted by James White!

FEELING

The 300-strong meeting in the House of Commons showed quite clearly the depth of feeling on this issue. Joyce Gould cited as an example which should be taken up all over the country the Labour women in Herefordshire who have set up a county-wide committee to defend the 1967 Act. Such committees in the Labour Party and trade unions would show that the TUC and Labour Party conference resolutions demanding abortion rights are not just pieces of paper.

Toni Gorton outlined the main activities being planned by NAC, which include a fund-raising benefit with Glenda Jackson and other celebrities in London in September. This will help to finance the campaign being run by NAC groups throughout Britain to collect evidence about abortion facilities in preparation for a one-day mass tribunal in London in January in response to the secret deliberations in Parliament.

NAC needs everyone's help to build this tribunal. We need more trade union and Labour Party sponsorship, and active help from all individuals. For further information contact the Tribunal's national convenor, Maria Duggan, at NAC, 30 Camden Road, London NW1 (tel. 01-485 4303).

Phyllis Duncan

That's Capitalism

By ESTHER RANCID

From the *Sunday Telegraph* we learn that a man who complained to doctors at St Mary's Hospital, Paddington of severe shoulder pains was ejected at 4 am because he groaned too loudly. Later the unfortunate patient was charged with causing a disturbance. The kindly magistrate dismissed the charge but informed the unemployed Mohammad Arbab: 'You may have been in pain but try to suffer in silence like many of us do.'

Also suffering, apparently, is Roger Daltrey, singer with The Who. He recently flew in to London to launch what the press described as 'a blistering attack' on the Labour Government. 'I have just earned a load more dollars for them to squander', he raved. Perhaps he should join up with well known guitarist Eric Clapton, who recently urged an audience in Birmingham to support the 'prophet' Enoch Powell. Both are understood to be exponents of 'progressive' pop. Of course there's progressive and progressive . . .

Talking of definitions, the new *Websters* dictionary describes Marxism as 'a theory and practice of socialism including the labour theory of value, dialectical materialism, the class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat until the establishment of a classless society'. The new *Concise Oxford Dictionary* prefers: 'Political and economic theory . . . advocating abolition of private property, and state provision for all.' And their definition of objective?

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Cooking the books

With 20,000 teachers, including 13,000 newly qualified ones, facing the dole in September, the Government has found a neat way of preventing this disgraceful figure from rising much higher. As well as cutting the number of new places in colleges of education from 15,000 to 12,000 next year, they are also instructing college authorities to fail more students.

In future you won't be an unemployed teacher, a victim of the Government's cuts, you will simply be a personal failure. Instead of the current 14 per cent failure and drop-out rate, the Department of Education and Science is demanding a 20 per cent throw-out rate from every college. No

doubt one of the hoped for side-effects of this vicious scheme will be to increase competition amongst student teachers and deter them from taking collective action to demand jobs.

The total cynicism of the DES schemes is underlined when it is remembered that the recommendations of the James Report on teacher training — which, although never implemented, were themselves an attempt to 'rationalise' the system — at least called for a one year probationary period in school itself before any decision on a trainee's competence was made. The only criterion now would appear to be the size of the Government's cuts.

'Out till we win'

vow Trico strikers



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Police knock down pickets (shop steward Sally Groves seen here on ground) to force way through for scabs, 29 July

'WE'LL STAY OUT TILL WE WIN.' After thirteen weeks on strike the 400 women and supporting male workmates at Trico-Folberth in West London are as defiant as ever in their struggle for equal pay.

Eight months after the implementation of the Equal Pay Act they have been on strike for three months to win the provisions which that Act is meant to lay down. No wonder the placards say 'Equal Pay 1975-Trico 1985?'

The Trico workers, with the full support of their union (the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers), are refusing to appear

before an industrial tribunal.

Simple arithmetic determines that: tribunals have upheld 41 equal pay claims—and rejected 104.

After abortive negotiation with the union in which a maximum of £2.40 on the grading system was offered compared with the women's demand for £6.50, management sought a re-arranged tribunal for 17 August. The strikers and the union are maintaining their boycott and say they will ignore it, while management will use its findings to try and force the women back.

But there are problems. Despite a strong picket and blacking campaign, the strike has not had the impact that component disputes often do in the motor industry. Fords and other firms have been able to obtain and use supplies from abroad, particularly Germany.

BLACKING

A black on all wipers is vital and needs to be extended to the docks, railways and airports. This could reproduce and extend the situation that is now occurring at British Leyland where cars are being turned out with wipers only on the driver's side. Although Leyland hope that the dealers will still stock them so that production can continue, management are worried that soon there won't be enough stocks left to fit even one wiper.

By effective and intensive blacking the AUEW could bring down the whole weight of the car industry on Trico management's heads. This means organising meetings of the workers in all the major companies that use Trico's products and at all points of import into the country. This would freeze the market outlets that Trico management has been exploiting to smash the strike with supplies from their non-unionised factory at Northampton.

The picket line has been broken on three separate occasions, most recently a fortnight ago when lorries aided by police took out supplies.

TEST

The picket crashing operations of these firms hand in glove with the police show that to win the strike it will have to be extended. Effective blacking is one means. Another is for the AUEW to organise a one day solidarity stoppage throughout the local district and set up a workers' enquiry into the role of the police in aiding unmarked lorries through the picket lines.

Co-ordinated with the activities of a support committee, which has been proposed by the Working Women's Charter Campaign, the resources of the local labour movement which supports the strike, including Brent and Hounslow Trades Councils, could be pooled to win even wider and broader support. The establishment of such things as a nursery by the Strike Committee will aid the full involvement of all the women in the strike.

Trico is a test case. They'll need the broadest support throughout the labour movement to win. Pat Masters

Fighting NHS cuts

With the Labour Party conference approaching, several organisations are now calling for lobbies and demonstrations against the Government's cuts. At the weekend a meeting called under the direction of the North West Council of the TUC initiated a joint union committee against the cuts and called for a march in Blackpool on the eve of the conference. The National Union of Public Employees has also now called for a lobby against the cuts. In the interests of unity, the National Co-ordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS—which had already called for a lobby on Wednesday 29 September to demand the implementation of conference policy on the health service—will now be coordinating its arrangements with NUPE.

Below STEPHEN PAGE, Senior NUPE Steward at the St. Andrews and Hellesdon Hospital and Secretary of Norwich Health District Committee of NUPE, explains how they are planning to fight the Area Health Authority's cuts; while EVELYN BAILLIE, chairwoman of the Darlington nurses' branch of NUPE, tells why she will be on the NCC lobby and has circulated copies of the NCC petition amongst her members.

in Norwich

Norfolk Area Health Authority have recently come up with the perfect way of introducing the Government's cuts. Instead of engaging in proper consultations with the Joint Shop Stewards Committee, they talk with their own 'set up'—the District Joint Staff Consultative Committee. The unions are effectively by-passed.

And they've been having some interesting 'discussions'. Unbeknown to the mass of shop stewards within the District, a 'Consultative Document' prepared by the District Management Team has been discussed. This indicates closure of two hospitals and a maternity home before 1980/81, and would inevitably mean mass redundancies.

The document was passed onto the Regional Health Authority with the views of the Joint Staff Committee—but not the views of the workers directly affected. They were given a deadline of 6 August to present their views, but the document was sprung on them so quickly they didn't have time to say a word!

Despite the deadline, the Norwich Health District Committee along with Norwich Trades Council promptly picketed the offices of the AHA, which was meeting to discuss the redundancy notices served on 27 nurses at the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital. After

trying in vain to gain entry to the meeting to present their case, they did force a future meeting of the AHA, Norwich Trades Council and all unions concerned.

As secretary of the NUPE Health District Committee, I also requested copies of the Consultative Document in a letter to the General Administrative Officer. The request was denied, but the Officer's letter stated—wait for it—'It is not our wish, of course, to keep any part of this document from anybody who has a constructive contribution to make.'

The Joint Shop Stewards Committee of St. Andrews and Hellesdon Hospitals were also kept uninformed, even though they are a recognised committee and most of the cuts are within the committee's field. We have consistently opposed the cuts, and this blatant and provocative manoeuvre will, as one steward put it, 'rejuvenate the stewards committee in a more rigorous and concentrated fight against the cuts in the NHS'.

Plans are now being made for a stewards meeting in early September to organise a campaign to abolish the management-orientated Joint Consultative Committee.

STEPHEN PAGE

...& Darlington

Ms. Evelyn Baillie works at Darlington Memorial Hospital. Recent industrial action led to the closure of part of an inadequately staffed ward. This stand came after patients at the Memorial Hospital suffered tragic consequences as a result of staff shortages:

'In the space of 27 days last summer, four patients in the psychiatric wing died—from drowning in a bath, asphyxiation from a stolen van's exhaust fumes, an overdose of drugs, and from being burnt to death in bed. These unnatural deaths in the hospital, together with a fifth in April this year, were the result of too few nurses and staff trying to cope with the number of patients.'

An independent inquiry into the deaths blamed administrative complacency, but another report from the Durham Area Health Authority tried to put part of the blame on the nursing staff! That was the final straw for NUPE members, who were sick of bearing the brunt of the Government's refusal to pay for sufficient nurses and staff.

'A psychiatric wing in particular needs adequate 24 hour supervision',

explains Ms. Baillie. As a result, she and her colleagues decided to insist on providing what they considered to be correct staffing levels. The management, rather than providing the staff, decided to fill only a percentage of the beds!

When David Ennals, Secretary of State for the Social Services, visited the hospital recently he blamed the deaths on an 'unlucky' set of circumstances. But the staff know full well that they were a result of the Government's failure to provide fully trained nurses and staff throughout the NHS.

The story has now taken a bizarre twist: a new wing of the Memorial Hospital may now remain empty because of the staffing dispute. At the same time, the construction of the wing is providing an excuse to close down Bede Hospital in Barnard Castle, 16 miles from Darlington.

It is as a result of these experiences of the cut-backs in the health service in Darlington that Ms. Baillie is supporting the lobby of the Labour Party conference and asking her NUPE regional organisation to provide transport for her members to attend.



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

HAMMERSMITH hospital workers on the picket line on 6 August during an official National Union of Public Employees strike. The four-day strike was in support of seven administrative and clerical workers who were already taking action against disciplinary threats by management.

These members of NUPE had taken at face value the words of Alan Fisher, General Secretary of NUPE, about opposing the cuts with 'guerilla tactics' by refusing to cover for absent colleagues. With cuts of £1.2 million threatened in the Ealing, Hounslow and Hammersmith area in this financial year alone, action against cuts through natural wastage of staff and freezing of vacancies is vital. The strike's main demand was for no victimisation of workers carrying out official national union policy.

The support that it gained from other unions, including ASTMS inside the hospital, Transport & General members at the large Unigate depot, and building workers on nearby sites was very important. To further build the campaign against the cuts both inside and outside the NHS, a lobby is being organised for the September meeting of the Area Health Authority which will be giving the green light to the cuts. A public meeting and an area-wide demonstration are also being prepared.

THE BEGINNING OF THE FOR APART

South Africa continues to be rocked by the most massive black uprisings in its history. Throughout the country (most recently in Cape Town), African students and workers have defied police bullets and poured into the streets to express their hatred of the apartheid system.

In the forefront of the struggle have been the youth — of Soweto's one million population, more than 42 per cent are under 20. Young Africans, inspired by the cry of 'black power', are prepared now to brave even the most brutal police violence in order to sweep away the hated system of white racist oppression in their country.

The reflex of the white rulers has been to step up repression — to keep the black majority in its place by arresting its leaders and sending heavily armed police into the black townships to fire into crowds of African demonstrators. By 15 August, over 219 Africans had been killed in this slaughter according to South African government sources (though the real death toll is believed to be far higher).

Schoolkids

Hundreds of African school students have been arrested; and, on 15-16 August, police seized 50 African leaders in a series of nationwide swoops. Among those detained (under the notorious Internal Security Act, which allows detention without charge or trial) was Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, the leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

While the African masses step up their fight for liberation throughout southern Africa, the major imperialist powers are redoubling their efforts to defend their vast economic and strategic interests in the region.

The NATO powers see South Africa as a vital part of the world imperialist system. Much of the world's trade (including 7 million barrels of Middle East oil a day, half of western Europe's oil consumption) is shipped past the Cape of Good Hope. Furthermore, South Africa has some of the largest naval bases bordering on the Indian Ocean.

Diamonds

There are also large deposits of diamonds, gold and other valuable minerals in South Africa that are considered strategically important to western imperialism. 26 per cent of the world's uranium reserves — essential for both nuclear warheads and nuclear power stations — are located in countries that have armed the racist regime — in Britain's case despite a

In addition, 360 US companies have over \$1.2 billion invested in South Africa — and US investment continues to grow in South Africa by 12.8 per cent a year. 500 British companies have investments in the country worth over £2,000 million

Since the wages of black workers in South Africa are kept at extremely low levels by the apartheid laws, these imperialist investments yield some of the highest profits in the world.

Collaborate

But perhaps the most important consideration for the western powers is Pretoria's role as a bastion of imperialist rule on the African continent. Itself an imperialist power, the South African regime has the economic and military strength to advance its own interests and those of its western allies well beyond its borders — as the South African invasion of Angola last year proved.

Moreover, the imperialist powers are committed to the defence of white



rule in South Africa since a transition to neo-colonial methods) as elsewhere in the continent) would be virtually impossible in South Africa's case. The rigid apartheid system has blocked the development of a black bourgeoisie; while the black proletariat — now numbering more than six million workers — is a powerful force that could lead the national liberation struggle toward the overthrow of capitalism along with the apartheid system.

Bastion

This is why (despite ritual denunciations of apartheid for public consumption) the western powers have continued to collaborate with the Pretoria regime. France, Britain, the United States, Italy and other NATO countries have armed the racist regime — in Britain's case despite a supposed arms 'ban' — and maintained trading relations with South Africa.

On 9 August, for example, South Africa's Finance Minister, Senator Owen Horwood, announced that the International Monetary Fund had arranged stand-by credit of over \$150 million for the racist regime. On 6 August, officials of a French consortium (which includes Framatome, Als-

**JIM
ATKINSON
reports**

thom, Spie-Batignolles and Framateg) signed a contract with the South African Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) to build two 920 megawatt nuclear reactors in South Africa — a decision which many observers fear could assist Pretoria's well-known drive to develop a nuclear weapons industry.

These cases of assistance to South Africa — both made since the wave of black uprisings began in June — illustrate the NATO powers' determination to bolster the racist regime.

The same interests have prompted the imperialists to seek a shift to more indirect, neo-colonial forms of rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia, where the burgeoning liberation struggles threaten — from the imperialist point of view — to spark still greater unrest among the black masses in the

bastion of South Africa itself.

The imperialist powers hope — though it may now be too late in the day — that the explosive situation in southern Africa can be defused if a stable transfer of power to pro-imperialist black regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe can be achieved.

Strategy

This strategy was unveiled by the US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, in Lusaka, Zambia, on 27 April. Kissinger publicly called for a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe, leading to independence in two years. As for Namibia, Kissinger advocated a 'definite timetable acceptable to the world community for the achievement of self-determination.

In his speech, Kissinger endorsed the so-called 'Callaghan Plan' — a set of policy proposals outlined by Jim Callaghan in Parliament on 22 March, which included a transfer to majority rule in two years, British involvement in planning elections prior to independence, and financial hand-outs to white settlers who might want to resettle.

Kissinger turned to South African prime minister John Vorster for assistance in forcing the Smith regime to

knuckle under to the imperialists' plans. This was the main purpose of the celebrated meeting between Kissinger and Vorster in West Germany on 23-24 June. As Kissinger explained before the summit in a press conference on 17 June: 'The question I want to explore is whether South Africa is prepared to separate its own future from Rhodesia and Namibia.'

South Africa, with its control of all Rhodesia's supply routes (both road and rail) since Mozambique's decision to impose sanctions last March, would be in a powerful position to force the Smith regime into acquiescence with the US plan.

Vorster

The Vorster regime has now declared its backing for Kissinger's policy, though it is still unclear what practical measures Pretoria will be willing to take to bring the Smith government to heel.

Addressing the congress of the ruling National Party in Durban on 13 August, the South African Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller, said: 'What must our attitude be towards the direction in which Dr Kissinger and the United States are moving? I believe we must welcome it heartily,

END HEID



Black leaders dodge key tasks

The developments described above point to the possibility of a rapid overthrow of white rule. But an examination of the present political state of the opposition must lead to more pessimistic conclusions about the nature of the state which is likely to emerge.

As C. Gabriel has outlined in *Inprecor* ('Rhodesia, the Contradictions of Nationalism', in issue of 27 May 1976), the leadership of Zimbabwean oppositional movements has been consistently characterised by 'personality conflicts, careerism and bureaucratisation of the external apparatuses', explained by 'the petty bourgeois social character of the leadership of the nationalist movement and by their training by British liberals, missionaries and Fabians'. Thus Nkomo and Muzorewa squabble over questions of recognition of their respective wings of the movement while it becomes increasingly clear that neither of them can lay claim to the leadership of any effective structured organisation.

SMITH LASHES OUT

The war by black guerillas against the Smith regime in Rhodesia is hotting up. The white troops are suffering regular and serious casualties, particularly in the border areas. Last week the settler regime took revenge in the only way it knows, with the cold-blooded massacre of 618 people in the refugee camp of Nhagomia in Mozambique. But such murderous actions will only harden the determination of the resistance to finish once and for all with the white racist oppressors. In a special report below, JOHN BLAIR outlines the crisis of the regime and analyses the state of the opposition.

Although formal UN sanctions have been imposed against the Rhodesian regime since UDI in 1965, it is not economic problems which have brought on the present crisis. The entire international capitalist class — their banking institutions, oil and transportation companies, etc. — have provided the means for the effective evasion of these sanctions, as was so graphically revealed in the wake of the recent Lonrho report.

This does not mean, of course, that all is well with the Rhodesian economy. Naturally, as a segment of world capitalism, it has been affected by the recession from mid-1974 onwards, especially by the decline in commodity prices. Nevertheless, the central problems facing the Smith regime are not economic but political and military, stemming largely from the new situation in southern Africa following the Portuguese withdrawal from Angola and Mozambique. These events most notably affected the South African attitude to Rhodesia in the following way.

1. As early as 1974, Vorster's need to avoid a direct confrontation with the new FRELIMO Government in Mozambique — which supplied vital mine labour, electricity (Ca bora Bassa), and port facilities for South Africa — was certainly a factor in the decision to withdraw South African 'police' from the anti-guerilla 'operational zone' in Rhodesia. Since this force at one time numbered 3,000, and Rhodesian regular troops amount to only just over 4,000, this has led to a considerable weakening of that country's defences.

2. The South African Government has, while never openly espousing black majority rule in Rhodesia, consistently aligned itself with attempts to produce a 'settlement' placing leadership in the hands of the petty bourgeois black nationalist leaders. The high point of these attempts was the September 1975 meeting at Victoria Falls, where Vorster and his ally in these attempts, Kaunda of Zambia, sponsored a meeting of Smith and the ANC leaders.

3. It is undeniable that the debacle in Angola has reinforced Vorster's reluctance to commit troops to Rhodesia. The inspiration for South Africa's blacks of a further military setback could be disastrous for the regime. Any renewed intervention would make it quite impossible to envisage further collaboration with the neo-colonialist regimes to the north, especially that of Kaunda.

All this means that there is little chance that the South African Government will do anything positive to rescue the Smith regime — except perhaps by sending a helicopter in its final hours! The latter's own prescience concerning its future is amply summarised in Smith's ownership of a substantial farm in South Africa!

Rhodesian whites, then, have never been more isolated. Even Kissinger now finds it more important to discuss where to settle this potentially displaced population than to talk of means for their survival in Zimbabwe!

Meanwhile the centre to which all the most militant elements, determined to see a rapid overthrow of the regime, are being attracted is the armed struggle wing represented in the camps in Tanzania and Mozambique. In the past nine months hundreds of secondary school students have deserted across the border to join the camps to the east, obviously seeing this as the only way forward. Unfortunately there are three important factors to be noted here:

1. The continuation of rampant sectionalism and tribalism amongst the leadership of the armed struggle wing. The tradition by which all disputes are settled within the movement by the gun appears to have continued into the so-called 'Third Force' wing with the killing in the last week of June of its treasurer, Saul Badza, in Tanzania, and the disappearance of its commander, Rex Solomon Nhangu.
2. Associated with and contributory to these methods is the total lack of any independent political statements from the guerilla leadership. Despite continued (Rhodesian) reports of military successes, there is a deathly silence from the 'Third Force' camps and leadership. The latter have not produced even a basic political programme with which to propagandise amongst the urban population.
3. Without doubt this silence is attributable not only to their own political heritage (see the article of C. Gabriel), but also to the determination of the neo-colonial 'front line states' to keep a tight rein on the freedom fighters. Kaunda, Machel and Nyerere want to keep the latter under their own control so that they can be turned on and off like a tap — not in response to the needs of the Zimbabwean struggle itself, but to the diplomatic requirements of these states.

The aim above all is to ensure that no new leadership emerges which might be intimately linked into the new elemental and potentially anti-capitalist thrust — a thrust whose effects could extend to the development of new mass movements inside the neo-colonial states themselves. When the fighters have done their job, it is to the old leaders — the Nkomos and the Muzorewas — that the 'front line states' and their South African collaborators will look to ensure an unhampered transition to neo-colonialism in Rhodesia.

The building of an anti-capitalist vanguard organisation which is capable of intervening in this process is the only guarantee against such an evolution. But a prerequisite for any successful intervention by revolutionary Marxists will be a firm commitment world-wide to intensified solidarity action with Zimbabwe's freedom fighters.

Development of armed struggle

The increasing isolation felt by Rhodesian whites has been brought home by the development of the armed guerilla struggle over the past nine months, and particularly in the last three. From camps in Mozambique and training bases in Tanzania, the guerillas have mounted a series of raids which have considerably shaken the stability of white rule, inducing a new sense of vulnerability in every member of the white population.

The pattern of guerilla activity which has emerged in the east and south-east of the country over the past period is of necessity quite different from that found in most of the classic examples of such warfare in Africa — for instance, in Guiné Bissau and the northern areas of Mozambique before independence.

In these latter places the population was entirely African apart from a few administrators, teachers and priests. Here it was possible to construct liberated zones in which the guerilla army created its own separate administration and institutions through a day-to-day relationship with the rural masses.

This was in fact the kind of model initiated in the relatively successful campaigns in 1972-4 led by ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] in the 'Tribal

Trust Lands' of the north-east of the country. It led the Rhodesian Government to respond in classic fashion by forcibly concentrating the population into a series of 'protected villages', similar to the US 'strategic hamlets' in Vietnam.

The latest campaign, however, is operating mainly in the rich agricultural areas of the east and south-east, where the majority of the African population are employees on the farms or in service industries, and where the largest part of the land is white-owned. Here there can be no question of the creation of 'liberated zones', and military activity will of necessity be of a 'hit-and-run' nature. However there are two points which should be noted:

1. For this kind of operation to be successful, a high degree of commitment to the struggle from the local population is necessary. They must be relied upon to provide food, shelter, etc. — often at considerable risk to their own employment and safety [a 70-year-old man was recently sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for failing to give information he was supposed to have possessed about the whereabouts of 'terrorists']. In Rhodesia the ability of the guerillas to hit targets up to 200 miles from the Mozambique border testifies to the existence of this necessary level of local commitment.

2. By striking in this fashion within the areas of white settlement, the guerillas are having a powerful demoralising effect on a population which now feels itself to be under constant threat of surprise attack. The effect of this is seen in the emigration figures for the two month period April-May 1976, during which the country had a net loss of 1,450 Europeans. These very figures are likely in themselves to have a 'snowball' effect.

A further powerful reason for emigration, especially by young white males, is the ever more demanding call for military service for a period every year, which is now a fact of life for every white male between the ages of 18 and 40. The death rate amongst soldiers has been pushing one a day for the past three months, and an increasing number of young whites are 'skipping the border' into South Africa, from whence the Vorster Government refuses to repatriate them.

The campaign has also had a noticeable effect on a key source of foreign exchange for Rhodesia — tourism. Since the killing of three South Africans on the main road from Salisbury to Beitbridge over the Easter weekend, arrivals from the south have spectacularly declined. One hotel at the Victoria Falls has closed down, and others around the country are reporting occupancy rates of only 25 per cent or so.

It is, of course, absolutely true that the final overthrow of the Smith regime will not be achieved through such hit-and-run actions, but only by a full scale mobilisation of the mass of the black population in the big urban centres such as Salisbury and Bulawayo. But there can be no doubt that the present campaign is acting as a catalyst for this, because it reinforces the belief of the urban population in the vulnerability of the oppressors. It cannot be long before its effects are felt in an upsurge in these areas which will sound the deathknell of white rule.

and must hope that their efforts will be crowned with success.'

Smith

Reuters reported from Johannesburg on 15 August: 'South Africa has thus come out into the open with its desire for stability in neighbouring Rhodesia, even under black rule, instead of an intensifying guerilla war that could engulf this country too'.

But the Smith regime has so far been unwilling to sacrifice the privileges of the Rhodesia settlers to protect the wider interests of the imperialist powers in South Africa. Speaking on BBC Radio 4 on 15 August, Ian Smith declared that he was willing to negotiate with African nationalists — but if they are simply going to repeat the cry of "One Man, One Vote" and "Immediate Majority Rule", then there is not much point in going to the conference table.'

Commenting on Smith's remarks, the Tory shadow Foreign Minister, Reginald Maudling said (reflecting the fears of the big imperialist monopolies): 'I fear that things are bound to get worse, the war will escalate and the whole of southern Africa may soon be engulfed in it.' He could be right!

We welcome readers' letters on all topics of concern to socialists. Contributions should reach the Red Weekly offices (97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.) by 10 a.m. on the Friday before publication. We reserve the right to cut letters of more than 400 words.



LETTERS

So you call this freedom, Jim?

I read with amazement and anger reports of the recent interview given by the British Prime Minister James Callaghan in which he complained that the Soviet Union had still not implemented some of the agreements reached at the Helsinki conference one year ago. In particular, he made mention of the Soviet Government's failure to allow greater freedom of movement.

This hypocritical rhetoric from a so-called Socialist is similar in nature to opinions he voiced almost one year ago at the Labour Party's annual conference. On that occasion he expressed his 'disgust' and 'abhorrence' at the executions of five Spanish revolutionaries by the fascist Franco regime; and he condemned the efforts of the Franco dictatorship to stifle political freedom, the treatment meted out to political prisoners, imprisonment without trial etc. etc. 'The use of state violence,' he said, 'was alien to all the labour movement stood for.'

Half marks for Tyndale

Alf Jennings' article in Red Weekly of 29 July is misleading both on progressive education generally and William Tyndale in particular.

Although revolutionaries should welcome aspects of progressive education we must also be critical. Progressive education encompasses many different courses and ideas the vast majority of which were not introduced as 'the result of a struggle by pupils and teachers' but by the bourgeoisie. For example the Nuffield science course

Coming from a Prime Minister whose army still occupies by force a part of Ireland and who is directly responsible for some of the most draconian legislation on political and social freedom seen since Hitler's Germany, this is indeed hypocrisy of the highest magnitude.

Here in the occupied six counties of north east Ireland, British forces have been given the green light to use every and any method available to them, whether legal or illegal, to oppress and defeat the struggle by the Provisional Irish Republican Army for the national liberation of our country and the establishment of a Democratic Socialist Republic. Over the past few years the catalogue of murder and torture by the British Army and its Quisling supporters has increased by leaps and bounds. They have been responsible for some of the most barbaric acts ever witnessed.

FACT: Thousands interned without charge or trial and brutally beaten

was initially financed by big business and the state. The schools council courses such as the humanities project and the language across the curriculum work were also introduced by the state.

Although such courses do move away from rote learning and towards enquiry based learning they are not a break from the state and its interests. Liberal courses can be advocated by the state if it finances and therefore controls the courses and examination system. Teachers and pupils are given neither real control nor a real choice as education is geared towards examinations and hence the labour market, over which they have no control.

Further, Jennings falls into the same trap as the bourgeois press, seeing Tyndale as the epitome of progressive education because the teachers gave the children choice of activities in an unstructured way. Unfortunately the teachers also decided not to keep records of the children's work. Even progressive methods we endorse, such as mixed ability teaching, choice of activities, content relevant to the needs and interests of the working class, must be organised effectively both to evaluate the success of the course and to monitor the child's progress. Further, parents and trade unionists must be drawn into an explanation and an ongoing dialogue of what the school is doing.

Although it is correct to say that trade unionists should support the teachers it is not surprising that their support is not readily forthcoming; where were the meetings between teachers and trade unionists to discuss what the school was doing? Where were the teachers' call for a workers' enquiry into the school? Instead the staff called on the state in the form of a Department of Education and Science inquiry to solve the problems of the school.

Even now with the threat to their jobs the staff have not taken up such questions seriously nor are they even trying to get the NUT to back them. Such an attitude will seriously hamper their case. We must of course support them but at the same time be critical of their approach to progressive education and also the trade union movement.

HILDA KEAN, London.

while imprisoned.

FACT: Thousands beaten and tortured because of their opposition to British Imperialist domination.

FACT: Thousands given mock trials for their opposition to British rule in Ireland.

FACT: Hundreds murdered; 14 on Bloody Sunday; 6 in the New Lodge in one night in 1973; Harry Thornton; Leo Norney; Peter Cleary etc, etc. Many others killed and injured by the British Army's counter-revolutionary forces the Military Reaction Force

(MRF) and the Special Air Services (SAS).

FACT: Two Irishmen forced to go on hunger strike for their basic rights and callously allowed to die.

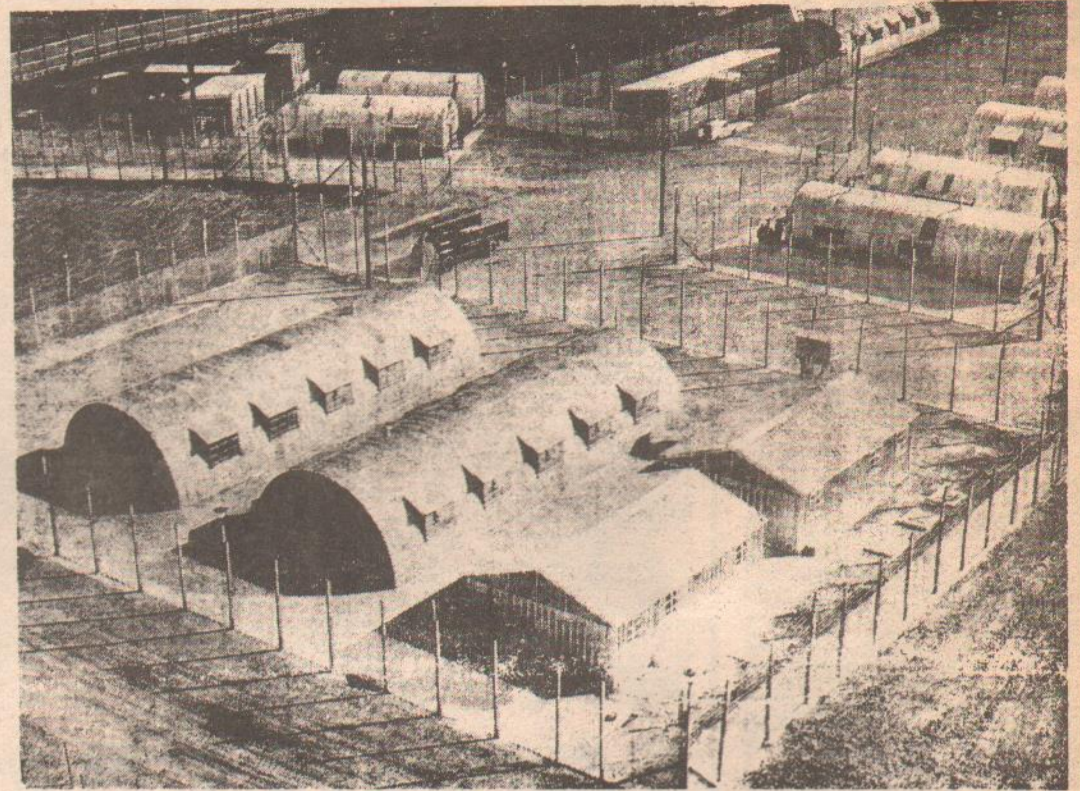
The list of facts, of atrocities, murders, destruction is endless, and yet the British Prime Minister had the audacity to criticise and condemn the Soviet Union and others, such as the Revolutionary Government of the people of Angola.

When next you read or hear of verbal attacks by British politicians, be

they members of the so-called Labour Party or right-wing fascists such as Margaret Thatcher, think of Ireland which for 800 long years has struggled against British imperialistic domination.

British politicians have no right to condemn or criticise other nations, for few if any have such a record as hers for oppression and exploitation of another nation.

R.G.McAULEY P.O.W. P.R.O. Republican Prisoners of War, Cage 12, Long Kesh.



BENN'S RIGHT TO CONFUSE

At the end of last month Tony Benn held a surgery in his constituency. In light of the Imminent Select Committee Report on abortion the Bristol Branch of the National Abortion Campaign decided to go and ask him a few pointed questions. Red Weekly readers might like to know his answers.

Benn began by stating his personal position that 'every woman should have the right to an abortion on conscientious grounds'.

On being asked what he meant by 'conscientious' it eventually turned out that he did support 'A Woman's Right to Choose' full stop. But in explaining his 'conscientious' bit we got on to MP's being responsible to their constituency parties.

Benn said it was important that MPs should have a free vote because 'we have a great problem with morally committed people'. When it was pointed out that abortion on demand/ a woman's right to choose is Labour Party policy and wasn't there a contradiction between this and allowing MPs a free vote, Benn denied there was a contradiction by again referring to the problem of people and their 'moral' beliefs.

From this we proceeded to the recent cuts announcements. Two or three times I went through step by step the causal links between the £70 million cuts in the NHS with hospitals closing down, building being cut back and equipment remaining unused and its contradiction with a wo-



'What, me take a position?'

man's right to choose — which implicitly means fully adequate facilities in the NHS.

His response to these arguments was:

a) to refuse to comment unless I could prove with figures a direct causal link between the cuts and a woman's ability to get an abortion;

b) to say that he thought that the latest cuts would not be affecting medical services and provision.

Finally, on being somewhat forcibly pushed, he agreed that 'a shortage of facilities does affect women's rights'. But he brushed this off by diverting on to the subject of contraception — 'prevention is better than cure and wouldn't that be

better'. We agreed but pointed out the limitations on contraception (access/ failure/ unable to use etc.) and tried to drag him back onto abortion.

Whereupon he said it was 'all a matter of priorities'. If we were to put £70 million back into the NHS how would we decide which specific areas would receive the money? Though he did agree that 'proper public provision of health care is a priority'.

Poor Tony couldn't quite remember which way he had voted on the last Select Committee report but thought he had voted against the James White Bill. Overall he didn't seem very aware at all of what was happening on the abortion front. But he did seem anxious for us to believe both that he supported us — and for us to go.

SARAH ROELOFS, Bristol.

WHAT'S ON

THE FINAL DEADLINE for notices for 'What's On' is 10am on the Monday of the week of issue. Adverts are only accepted over the phone in exceptional circumstances. Rate: 2p per word.

FIGHT RACISM badge (see left on this page) available again, 25p inc p&p from Jo-Ann, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. Bulk rates on application.

CHILE: Don't forget national demonstration, Sun 12 September, assemble 1pm Clerkenwell Green, London EC1. Chile Solidarity Campaign.

SOLIDARITY with workers fighting multinationals in Spain! Public meeting, Thurs 19 August, 7.30pm at the Roebuck pub, Tottenham Ct Rd (Warren St tube). Organised by North London Committee Against Repression in Spain.

SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT—pamphlet containing first thorough critique from a socialist perspective. 23p (inc p&p) from Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Rd, N1.

WANTED: anyone interested in setting up a socialist theatre group, probably based in Birmingham area. Must have some theatre experience, be committed socialist, and prepared to work very hard. Write with information, suggestions etc. to: R. Honey, 1 Berlin St, Grossbeerenstr. 70, Deutschland.

RACISM, Imperialism and Apartheid in South Africa—weekend educational conference at the University of East Anglia, 29-31 October. For details contact Students Union, University of East Anglia, Norwich.

MANCHESTER: Revolutionary Communist Group public dayschool on 'The Crisis of Capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat', Saturday 18 September, 10-6pm, UMIST Students Union (off Sackville St). Sessions on Women, Ireland, the Public Sector Cuts. Speakers: Judith Harrison, Terry Marlowe, David Yaffe. Further information from 'Dayschool' (RW), 49 Raiton Road, London SE24 0LN.

WORLD REVOLUTION public forum: The British Situation—Racism/anti-racism—unemployment/right to work: why all these are attacks on the working class. Saturday 21 August, 2.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

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



While agreeing with the Red Weekly that 'Labour movement support for black self-defence groups' is a crucial orientation on the struggle against racism and fascism, I believe that certain other points should also be stressed.

Obviously, racism is growing because of the decline in the material conditions of the working class. This, of course, is being unscrupulously used by the fascists who use such slogans as 'One million blacks, one million unemployed'.

What Trotskyists have to do in this situation is give a positive answer to the fears of the class around jobs, prices, housing and so on. Therefore we have to explain the whole of our programme in

...with a programme as well!

relation to the fight against racism, and relate our demands on jobs — worksharing with no loss of pay and wages — the sliding scale of wages, to the fight against racism. This I believe the Weekly has failed to do in a clear enough way.

We should also explain that labour movement support for black self-defence is the first step forward to workers' self-defence, and in this light explain how black self-defence at Southall paved the way for black and white workers protecting immigrant areas from the fascists during the Rotherham by-election—an example of workers' self-defence.

STEVE VOKES, Cardiff.

Argentina:

SAVE THESE MILITANTS!

Interview with JULIO MENDOZA, European representative of the PST (Socialist Workers Party)

Q What is the purpose of your visit to Britain?

A The aim of my visit is to try to launch an international campaign to save the lives of Jose Francisco Paez and Arturo Apaza, worker militants and leading members of our party. Paez is now in jail in Cordoba, while Arturo Apaza has disappeared after being detained by military forces at his workplace.

These two comrades symbolise the hundreds of members of the PST who have been jailed, kidnapped and persecuted in one way or another, often having to leave their jobs and their homes. I am here to stress the need for your solidarity in developing a campaign to demand from the Argentinian Government guarantees for the life of Paez, and the immediate location of Arturo Apaza.

We are asking for public statements from MPs, trade unions, political organisations, well-known personalities, artists, etc. addressed to General Videla demanding that the lives of these two comrades be saved. We have already succeeded in this in Colombia, where 30 MPs from the left wing of the Liberal Party have made such a demand. The Colombian teachers union is calling for a similar move from other trade unions.

Q What is the present level of repression in Argentina?

A Well, of course there was already repression under the Peronist regime. For the last two years the PST has been a particular target of the ultra-right terror gangs which operate with complete immunity. The vast majority of the PST's regional offices were bombed, and 15 leading members had been killed by the time of the coup in March. Since then these gangs have continued with their actions, also murdering 'political refugees' from neighbouring countries.

Our party has been banned, our national headquarters were occupied by the army, over 100 comrades are in jail — most of them working class leaders — while others have disappeared during the actions carried out by the armed forces in the factories, offices and working class housing areas.

To give you one example, we are almost certain of the death of our comrade Carlos Agustin Falcon, an activist in a Buenos Aires factory. He was detained with two other shop stewards in the factory, taken to a place where other comrades were already detained, and brutally tortured. Since then we have heard nothing about him or the other two comrades.

Again, a comrade who was a clerk in the general tax office was taken from his house during the night and murdered. Four other comrades only escaped a similar fate by deliberately leaving their houses. A fifth comrade, having also left his house with his family, then saw it blown up by a bomb.

The fourth issue of a legal fortnightly, La Yerca, which guardedly expressed the orientation of the PST, was seized by the police — showing the Government's determination to stop its publication.

Jose Francisco Paez, whom I've already mentioned — he's been detained since January — has written to us telling how a number of detainees are taken from their cells during the night and are found dead next morning, with the Government declaring that they 'died during gun battles between the armed forces and the guerrillas'. Although most of these people had been accused of being members of the guerrilla movement, Paez says that one recent victim had no connection with any such organisation. This suggests that his own life is in serious danger.

As for comrade Apaza, he was detained along with other comrades by uniformed officers of the armed forces in the presence of

many witnesses — including the owners of the factory. However, in spite of requests by his family, comrades and even the factory owners, no official body will admit that he is a detainee.

Q Was there any resistance to the coup?

A To answer this I must first explain a few things. During the last eight months of the Government of Isabel Peron, the Argentinian working class twice successfully defeated economic plans which had the aim of stopping inflation by freezing wages — in June 1975 and March 1976. But this success was not a total one, and its exact lessons remained unclear to the working class.

However, there was a qualitative difference between the triumphs in June 1975 and March 1976. The latter was organised and led, particularly in Buenos Aires and the surrounding areas, by new organisations called the 'coordinadoras zonales' which massively mobilised

taken away by the repressive forces, the workers in many factories fought to defend them. But despite some successes, both in defending living standards and in preventing some repressive actions, these did not spread and the Government was able to apply its policy little by little.

Q What are the political perspectives of the main left-wing groupings?

A The main problem for the Argentinian vanguard in the last thirty years has been how to overcome Peronism. This meant fighting for the working class, particularly its vanguard, to break with this bourgeois party and get rid of the brake on its actions represented by the Peronist trade union bureaucracy.

I don't want to deal here with the Stalinists of the Communist Party, who are not particularly significant in Argentina but like the Stalinists everywhere are constantly seeking an accommodation

unnecessary excuses to the enemy for the repression of those who are allegedly defended by the guerrillas. Today there cannot be any doubt that all the guerrillas' 'exemplary actions' (kidnappings, assaults on barracks, bombings, assassinations) have been and are totally isolated from the masses, who never felt identified with them and even repudiated some of them.

We are sure that as the workers movement increases its combativity, becomes conscious of its strength and deepens its experience, the illusion that any 'outsider' can solve its problems will be finally dispensed with.

Despite the personal heroism of the guerrilla militants, their objective role has been to confuse the workers movement and delay the process of breaking with Peronism. It would not surprise us if the ERP and the Montoneros decide to carry on the tasks of 'national liberation' by forming a



ERP guerrilla leader Roberto Santucho, murdered recently by Argentinian troops



Police murder Venezuelan Trotskyist



Widespread outrage has greeted the news of the murder by torture of Venezuelan Trotskyist leader Jorge Rodríguez. General Secretary of the Liga Socialista, sympathising organisation of the Fourth International in Venezuela, Rodríguez had been arrested by police on a frame-up charge of taking part in a recent kidnapping.

The Liga Socialista has accused the Interior Minister, Octavio Lepage, of direct responsibility for the death of Rodríguez in an attempt to halt the increasing influence of the Trotskyists in the Venezuelan workers movement. There have been protests in Parliament and a massive funeral demonstration — which was fired on by members of the armed forces.

This incident has emphasised again how the democratic facade in Venezuela relies on an essential underpinning of repression. President Perez is due to visit Britain in November to discuss a strengthening of trade links. His murderous record is hardly likely to worry the right-wing Labour Government, which has recently played host to government leaders from Brazil and Argentina. But those on the left may well have other ideas.

the workers and almost achieved a general strike. But this qualitative leap forward, which in fact meant overcoming the trade union bureaucracy, could not be crystallised in a clear alternative leadership.

It was then that the armed forces took advantage of the situation to do away with a Government which had been almost demolished by the workers' struggles. This explains the confusion, a certain feeling of relief, and the demobilisation in the workers' ranks immediately following the coup.

Nevertheless, there was some isolated resistance against the first economic and repressive measures of the military regime. When the trade union delegates who had led them in the struggles of the previous eight months were sacked or

with the bourgeoisie.

What I want to do mainly, with the deliberate aim of polemicising, is to talk about the conceptions and strategy of the guerrilla groups, and contrast them with our own — which is to build the revolutionary party of the socialist workers through the concrete development of the workers' struggles. The PST rejects guerrillaism in favour of the only strategy which makes it possible for us to be part of the working class experience: work in the factories alongside the workers.

Marxists have always rejected the 'elitist' conceptions involved in guerrillaism — they disorganise and miseducate the workers movement on the correct methods of struggle, and they provide

'national and anti-imperialist front' with sectors of what they call the 'national and progressive' bourgeoisie.

That is not our way. We remain confident in the strength of the workers' mobilisations, even if today they are unable as yet to launch a massive response to the repression of the reactionary regime and its servants. There is no way of destroying this bourgeois regime if the majority of the exploited do not understand the need to do it.

The PST is in urgent need of funds, both to aid those comrades and their families who have no other means of support and to maintain the work of the organisation in clandestinity. Please send all donations, marked PST, to: Red Weekly, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

No enthusiasm for Soares plans

The return of ex-General Spinoła to Portugal, with permission to move freely inside the country—at the same time as members of his former Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal have been charged along with the police chief of Oporto with responsibility for a series of right-wing bomb attacks—shows the character of the new administration. Below DAVE WIMHURST reports from Portugal on the plans of the Soares Government and the problems posed for the workers movement.

Try as they might, the theme pursued by the Portuguese ruling class over the past few weeks—euphoria for the first 'democratically' elected President and Government for the past fifty years—has failed to fire the imagination of the Portuguese people. And no wonder! With two exceptions, the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Labour, almost the entire Government is made up of right-wing members of the Socialist Party. In addition, and somehow forgotten in all the talk about democracy, three members of the Government are 'independents' (in other words, unelected) and another three are members of the armed forces.

Two in particular command extremely important posts. Lieutenant Colonel Costa Bras was 'invited' by Soares to take over the Ministry of the Interior, responsible for organising the GNR and the PSP, the two sections of the para-military police responsible for numerous workers' deaths over the past months. And Lt.Col. Firmino Miguel—once Spinoła's nominee for Prime Minister—moves into the Defence Ministry.

WAGE FREEZE

So far Soares has avoided mentioning directly the need to freeze wages. He knows full well that such a declaration would unleash a massive upsurge of workers' struggles. Instead

a series of strikes if it is not consulted on all trade union questions.

These warnings reflect both the desire of the workers to continue the struggle against inflation, unemployment and low wages, and the desire of the Intersindical and Communist Party bureaucracies to have a voice in the new Government. When the Intersindical demands the right to represent the views of all the Portuguese trade unions, it does so not because it wants to lead an offensive against the bastions of capitalism but because it wants to do a deal over how many workers should be made unemployed.

MILITANCY

When the CP makes threatening noises it does so in order to satisfy the militancy of its base, to regain the electoral support it lost during the presidential elections to Otelo, and to attempt to show its indispensability to the stability of the new Government.

However, most important for the CP is the question of the control of the trade union movement. Intersindical is demanding the right to negotiate for all trade unions but Soares is set on widening the gap between those trade unions affiliated to the Intersindical and those who are independent (mostly service industry unions led by the SP). With all the key industries

'SPINOŁA TRAIĐOR
CHIEFE DOS BOMBISTAS: ELP/MDLP
AMIGOS, SOLDADO LUIS, EXIGE JUSTIÇA



Some 10,000 demonstrators marched in Lisbon last Friday to denounce the return of Spinoła

Their paper, *Poder Popular*, commented last November: 'It is still the case that the Socialist Party wants to introduce the right of tendencies into the Portuguese trade union movement, which means pluralism, divisions and the introduction of a bourgeois cancer into workers organisations.'

But it is precisely the open and continuous debate on all questions that would result from the organisation of tendencies inside the trade unions that in itself is the best guarantee against bourgeois infiltration. And it is

precisely the bureaucratic control of the trade unions as practised by the CP that weakens them.

The conception of a federation of unions, directly controlled by the workers, with the right to form tendencies, is being put forward by the Trotskyists of the Internationalist Communist League (LCI) in the debate on the forthcoming trade union congress. As they point out in their paper *Luta Proletaria*: 'The formation of a class struggle tendency goes hand

in hand with the formation of the trade union in the factory.'

As a contribution to this process, the comrades of the LCI will be fighting for the following demands: against any 'social pact'; for the democratic organisation of the unions; for an across-the-board increase for all of 2,000 escudos (£36) per month; for a sliding scale of wages; for a 35 hour week; for full employment. That is the only way to build a fighting opposition to the pro-capitalist policies of the Soares Government.

SPANISH GOVERNMENT WORKS OVERTIME TO STAVE OFF COLLAPSE

The Spanish Government is working overtime to stave off a huge social and political explosion this autumn that would spell its defeat—and the defeat of the whole Francoist system it represents.

Since Franco's death both Arias Navarro and his successor as premier, Adolfo Suarez, have tried to get on top of the situation by making reforms that would give the Government some 'respectability' abroad and at least limited room for political manoeuvre at home. But the strength of the die-hard right-wing faction inside the regime paralysed the Arias Navarro Government, and as soon as the Spanish workers became tired of living off its empty promises it collapsed.

The new Government inherited an even trickier political situation. The basic problems of the economy—runaway inflation of over 25 per cent, persistent unemployment, a worsening balance of payments caused by declining tourism and the weak position of Spanish exports—had not been relieved by measures like the devaluation of the peseta. At the same time the combativity and organisation of the workers was growing stronger.

Something had to be done quickly. In October the key collective wage agreements expire. Experience shows that only sharp repression could prevent such struggles becoming generalised and coordinated, but this would have the effect of politicising the struggles and producing turbulent solidarity actions.

Moreover King Juan Carlos is due to pay a state visit to France at the end of October, in the opening move of a major diplomatic offensive towards the Common Market, with a view to paving the way for Spain's admission. For this visit to occur at a time of upheaval and bloodshed in Spain would be to turn it into a disastrous debacle.

Weakness

The autumn will thus be a time of fatal weakness for the Spanish dictatorship, when a serious push could smash it to smithereens. But the leading forces of the workers movement—the Communist and Socialist Parties (as well as a number of influential groups who like to pretend that they are 'revolutionaries')—are completely tied up in the so-called 'democratic opposition', where they are more concerned with bureaucratic deals and wooing ageing capitalists like



Premier ADOLFO SUAREZ

Christian Democratic leader Gil Robles than in stimulating the struggle of the masses.

The Spanish Government understands this well. So it has opened up 'discussions' with leading figures of the opposition, like Socialist Party leader Felipe Gonzalez, after first sweetening the path with a limited amnesty for political prisoners.

'Break'

Thus far the Government has been highly successful. Gonzalez came from his intimate chat with Suarez full of praises for his 'sincerity' and 'good faith' and assuring the Spanish workers that a 'negotiated break' with the dictatorship was quite possible.

The basic scenario proposed is as follows: a draft law on constitutional reform to be drawn up by the present Government, which will then be put to a vote in (surprise, surprise) October; elections for an Assembly then to be held under this law in May of next year. Hopefully this burst of democratic activity will take workers' minds off their economic problems; their 'leaders', eager not to upset this delicate democratic applecart, will work to hold them in check; and King Juan Carlos can trot off to Paris with a democratic feather in his crown.

Meanwhile the present Government remains in office, and if anything should go wrong between October and May, well ... there's always the Army (and the Civil Guard, and the Armed Police, and the torturers and ...)

The only snag is the thorny question of the Communist Party.

An interesting development has been the statement by the leader of a small middle-class group in the Democratic Coordination—Professor Tierno Galvan of the Popular Socialist Party—who recently proclaimed that 'the legalisation of the Communist Party was not a precondition for negotiations between the opposition and the Government'.

If this was just the first break in the ranks of the Democratic Coordination, it would be important encouragement to the Government. But, significantly, Galvan and the PSP are old allies of the Communist Party. Could Galvan actually be floating a balloon for the leadership of the CP itself?

Decisions

This possibility is reinforced by recent decisions of the Communist Party Central Committee (which met in Italy) to operate openly inside Spain, despite the legal ban to which it is subject. This suggests that the CP, in the interests of making a deal with Suarez, is considering accepting 'toleration' from the Government rather than insisting on outright legalisation, at least until after the referendum.

Despite all these manoeuvres by the enemies and mis-leaders of the working class, it is unlikely that the hope of 'democracy in 1977' will prevent important economic struggles breaking out in the autumn, and the inevitable repression that will follow is likely to exhaust the patience of the Spanish masses.

They have had almost a year of empty promises. And already the Suarez Government looks like backpeddling—its much vaunted amnesty was first supposed to free '90 per cent' of political prisoners; this then became scaled down to '50 per cent'; at the present time the tribunals charged with laboriously implementing the amnesty have only seen fit to free about 150 militants out of more than 1500 prisoners. Only by bringing down the Francoist regime can its opponents finally be assured of their freedom.



Another section of the march

he is attempting to cobble together a project well known to British workers—a 'social pact' between the government and the trade unions. But in order to achieve success in this field, Soares must come to grips with the Intersindical trade union federation and the Communist Party.

The Intersindical, which organises some 1½ million workers, most of them in the key industries—shipbuilding, civil construction, iron and steel, transport, etc—has now taken up the demand for a national minimum wage of 5,000 escudos (£90) per month, with a price freeze on all basic commodities. Such a demand, while not going nearly far enough, is something that Portuguese capitalism can ill afford. Going further, the Intersindical has threatened to unleash

unionised (closed shops) and affiliated to the Intersindical, he could face trouble here. So prospects for a 'social pact' are slim.

It is obvious that the interests of the Portuguese working class are the last thing to be taken into consideration in this inter-bureaucratic/reformist manoeuvring. And of course it is of the utmost importance that the control of the trade union movement lies in the hands of the workers themselves, and not in those of distant bureaucrats as is the case at the moment.

From this point of view the democratic organisation of the trade unions is crucial. However, it is not only the hard line Stalinist bureaucrats of the Intersindical who are opposed to workers democracy, but also centrists like the MES (Left Socialist Movement).

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

The political status demonstrations, which began an eventful week in the Six Counties were organised to coincide with the fifth anniversary of internment.

Officially internment was ended last December, and the British administration expected the protests this year to be small and ineffective.

But the size and scope of the demonstrations, which spanned some five days and

took place throughout the Six Counties and inside the prisons, showed that large sections of the Republican population were not to be deterred by pro-imperialist propaganda.

It was with this background that a human tragedy was turned to the vile use of the British Government on Tuesday 10 August. British soldiers emptied 60 rounds into a car travelling along Finaghy Road North in the Andersonstown area of Belfast. The

car had been hijacked earlier by members of the Provisional IRA who were making their getaway after a gun battle with British troops. Danny Lennon, the driver of the car, was killed instantly and his comrade was seriously injured.

Finaghy Road North acts as the border to many working class housing estates, and there are always crowds of children playing in the streets; it is also a busy thoroughfare. In firing on the getaway car the soldiers showed no regard for the safety of the people in the vicinity. They deliberately shot the car-driver dead in the full awareness that the car was bound to go out of control.

And so it did, crushing a woman and her three children against the railings of a local primary school. Joanne and Andrew Maguire were killed instantly, John Maguire was fatally injured, and the children's mother Ann Maguire was seriously injured.

The accidental death of the three Maguire children provoked an immediate revulsion throughout the nationalist population at the effects of the anti-imperialist struggle. The distress of the Maguire family and the shock of the

population were seized upon by the Northern Ireland Office, the capitalist political parties, the Official Republican movement, and the reactionary 'Woman Together' group to launch a 'slam the Provos' campaign. According to them the young IRA volunteer already dead when the car crashed is 'a murderous thug', while the British troops who emptied sixty bullets into his back were 'only doing their duty'.

Repression

It is such people who are behind the latest peace movement. Their message is 'collaborate with the Brits to defeat the IRA and there will be peace'. This is a downright lie. British imperialism has always been the aggressor in Ireland. It gives not one damn for the Maguire family so tragically affected by the forceful British rule of the Six Counties. It cares only for maintaining and defending its interests: the exploitation of the working class.

The defeat of the IRA would lead to increased repression against the national-

ist community, the return of the RUC to the Catholic ghettos, the return of Stormont and all the sectarian discrimination in jobs and housing which goes along with the Protestant ascendancy. And always lurking in the background are the murder gangs of the Loyalist paramilitaries.

Those behind the 'peace' movement — with their sophisticated political organisation, full page press ads and massive TV coverage — are fully aware of what is involved. But many of the women who have so far turned out to call for peace are by no means in favour of Britain or the return of the RUC. However they are tired of a struggle whose tactics strictly limit their involvement and leave them prey to the sick sentimentality of the bishops and the RUC.

If more women and men are not to be captured by hypocritical peace groups then the Republican movement and the anti-imperialist organisations must begin to outline a strategy for victory based on mass participation of the nationalist working class, and abandon the strategy which relies on a small 'army' of the people which is forever prone to isolation from the people.

Labour Movement Delegation Threat to open debate

This weekend those trade unionists and Labour Party members who have been delegated to go on the National Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland will meet in London to discuss the Delegation's agenda and follow-up.

More than any other newspaper on the left, Red Weekly has given full publicity to building the delegation, arguing that the initiative offers a great opportunity for bringing the Irish issue into the British labour movement. Unfortunately the way in which the delegation's organisers in the Troops Out Movement are now suggesting that the agenda and follow-up should be organised threatens this potential, and offers TOM's opponents the chance to attack the Delegation as undemocratic.

It is undeniably the case that the leadership of TOM is attempting to restrict both the scope of the Delegation and the debate it can promote on its return. TOM is suggesting that:

* The delegates meet no Loyalist organisations or even official labour movement bodies who hold pro-Unionist views.

* The findings of the Delegation will be decided by the delegates alone rather than by the delegat-

ing bodies.

* The public report-backs be organised mainly by the TOM rather than by the labour movement bodies who are sending delegates.

All these suggestions threaten the impact the Delegation could have on the labour movement in this country. By restricting the organisations which the Delegation will meet, TOM is laying itself open to the charge that it will only see those organisations it supports or has sympathy with. Equally important, by refusing to meet any organisation which holds Unionist views, the Delegation would be missing a great opportunity of directly reporting to the British labour movement the pernicious and reactionary nature of those views.

Even more serious is the manner in which the TOM leadership suggests that the findings of the Delegation be decided. The TOM is proposing that a commit-

tee of only four — one of whom will be a nominee of TOM itself — should draw up the final report which will then be 'presented' to the other delegates for approval.

What is worse is the recommendation that the conclusions have to be approved in outline by the delegates on the final day of the Delegation's visit, without allowing those delegates any chance to consult their members. This procedure is contrary to all normal trade union practice. The delegates are there on behalf of their organisations, and it is these organisations as a whole which should have the right to decide the political conclusions based on what their representatives saw.

DEBATE

Not only is this the normal standard of workers democracy, it would also strengthen the effect of the Delegation. By taking the debate into the labour movement the Delegation will have the opportunity of opening a thorough debate on the Irish issue involving all those in the delegating bodies and not just the delegates themselves. This cannot be done if the Delegation comes back with a hurriedly agreed 'line' which it then attempts to thrust upon the various labour movement bodies which have backed the Delegation.

The same tendency to restrict those involved is evident in TOM's

proposals on how to organise the report-backs. TOM is suggesting that the main organisers of these be TOM itself. But again this gives the impression that TOM is trying to control everything the Delegation does, and it demotes the importance of the trade union branches, trades councils and Constituency Labour Parties organising and controlling the public meetings themselves.

INSIST

All these attempts to restrict the Delegation should be resisted. Both the delegating bodies and the delegates themselves should insist that:

* The agenda be open to all official trade union and labour movement groups.

* The report includes only whom the delegates met, what they saw and what they were told; that the political conclusions be decided by a national report-back after all delegating bodies have had the opportunity to formulate policies.

* The local report-backs be organised by the delegating bodies themselves.

In this way the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland can have a real impact on the labour movement in this country. It can show itself willing to take the debate into the labour movement in a way which no other initiative on Ireland has dared to do.

Save the Murrays!

British style justice also reigns in Dublin, where the coalition government of Liam Cosgrave seems daily to be seeking new repressive measures to satisfy its imperialist master. The most horrific example is the proposed legalised murder of Marie and Noel Murray, now under sentence of death after being convicted of killing a policeman during a Dublin bank raid last September.

The trial which convicted and sentenced the Murrays was no more than a stage-managed political show trial held under the auspices of the Special Criminal Court — at which there is no jury and the normal rules of evidence do not apply.

The 'confessions' were the only piece of real evidence produced in court; and they were later retracted by the Murrays as having been made under torture conditions. But such considerations did not influence the judges who proclaimed the Murrays guilty, or their fellow judges of the Appeal Court who at the end of last month dismissed the Murrays'

appeal.

The Irish state forces are determined to show a willingness to be hard on 'terrorists', and it scarcely matters if those they are hard on are guilty or not. The 'terrorists' must be punished — and so too must anyone who protests against the jack boot legality. Thus the Irish liberal fortnightly *Hibernia* is facing contempt of court charges for publishing letters commenting on the 'trial'.

Such behaviour by the 26 County state is just one further indictment of the extent to which the pro-imperialists in Ireland are prepared to go to achieve their victory, and it seems likely that only an international campaign of protest can stop the execution of the Murrays. In Britain this protest is focusing on weekly Saturday pickets at 12.30 pm outside the Irish embassy in London, and it is important that these pickets be supported. For further information contact the Murray Defence Committee, c/o Centro Iberico, 83a Haverstock Hill, London NW3.



HOW TO FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK

Unemployment is chronic throughout the valley areas of South Wales, where one in twelve are unemployed. But a recent strike by 40 electricians and mates was successful in fighting redundancies, victimisation and pointing the way forward to the kind of action needed to defend the right to work.

The sparks employed by the contractors, R.H. Williams, are employed in electrical work at the Girlings brake factory at Pontypool. On Tuesday 10 August six men were laid off after being transferred to a non-existent job, and from there to the office to pick up their cards.

It was no coincidence that these six men had been involved in forming a union shop which had successfully fought against 19th

century safety conditions on the site. As the manager said to shop steward Billy Williams: 'The game's up, Billy, and after all you're too clever to be a spark, you should become a supervisor.'

On Wednesday a mass meeting of the shop was called. The deputy steward Alan Marshall addressed the meeting and proposed strike action in defence of Williams and in opposition to the redundancies. As IS member Lawrence Morcombe and IMG member Phil Cornwell put it, the fight against the lay-offs had to be seen and fought for as a fight for the right to work throughout South Wales.

The strike began and was solid. Several of the electricians went to address meetings

on a neighbouring site and received support. Electricians inside Girlings also backed the strike.

Every worker turned up on the picket line and leaflets were issued to the regular factory workers explaining that the electricians' fight was a question directly concerning them: the defence of jobs. All those involved in the dispute had a say and the strike was organised to involve everyone affected.

Faced with this united and militant approach the management caved in and the men were re-employed. A victory notable both in itself and for the action-orientated, democratic way in which it was organised and won.

...and how not to

Two extremely serious developments have occurred which cast the strongest doubts on the claims of the International Socialists to be building a united movement against unemployment. IS leaders of the Right to Work Campaign have banned gays and women from marching as separate contingents on the forthcoming Right to Work March from London to the TUC at Brighton.

In reply to a letter from an All London Gay Workers meeting to join the march with its own banner, Right to Work Campaign secretary John Deason wrote: 'Experience has shown that alternative loyalties to political groups or other campaigns can only sow confusion on the march.' An exactly identical attitude to that shown by the Communist Party when they told off IS for raising the previous Right to Work march at the National Assembly on Unemployment!

Then, in a telephone conversation with a spokesperson for the Working Women's Charter, Jimmy McCallum, another leader of the Right to Work Campaign and IS candidate in Walsall North, said that the campaign would not permit the Charter to march behind their own banner. When told that the Charter had already built the march with their own leaflets McCallum replied

that in that case the Charter 'had a check to issue your own leaflets'. He said that the Charter would not even be allowed to send a representative to the Campaign's National Council to argue their case.

With the same arguments used by bureaucrats against the rank and file, McCallum insisted: 'You have to go through the right channels, you have to have a green card.' Faced with a request to speak at the Right to Work Council on the theme 'A Woman's right to Work', McCallum replied: 'Organise your own meeting.' He also said that the Charter would not be allowed to issue their own leaflets on the march, despite assurances that the leaflets would not attack the march's organisers.

Similar

Earlier in the week McCallum had given similar replies when student teachers in South London had also asked for recognition of the contingent under the 'Woman's Right to Work' banner.

This is a scandalous attitude. It is a fundamental principle of workers' democracy that given agreement on the basic issue, all contingents on any march should



be permitted to take part and use their own slogans.

By saying that all marchers have to march behind Right to Work banners, the IS is attempting to cut out any political current which it does not control. This was obvious when McCallum in the same phone call told the representative from the Charter: 'The Labour Party wants to send delegates. Well it's just not on.'

This sectarian attitude will destroy any potential the Right to Work March has for beginning a serious fight against unemployment. The only successful campaign will be one built on a united front basis—which means the right of open and democratic discussion in that campaign. It has no future if everyone who does not agree with IS is kept out.

The attitude to gays and women is

Why I'm marching

I am an unemployed graduate from Warwick University where the Students Union has a policy of supporting all initiatives against the cuts and unemployment, and is affiliated to the Right to Work Campaign. We also have a more detailed policy which provides an overall strategy for these campaigns, and while supporting all initiatives, we argue for our policy to be adopted.

Briefly, our position is that of an action programme to defend all living standards against inflation (sliding scale of wages, social expenditure, etc.) to guarantee jobs for all by work-sharing without loss of pay, linked to nationalisation without compensation of the banks and key sections of industry, and for workers control to be fought for of firms threatening redundancies via a campaign to open the books and to implement the demands listed above.

A coherent general strategy is essential, we feel, at a time when the Labour movement is disorientated by the attacks of the Labour Government, and is split along the lines of race, sex, employed/unemployed, etc.

YOUTH

One of the most urgent tasks facing revolutionaries today is to aim the campaigns against unemployment, racism, and cutbacks at the unemployed youth. This is a very difficult task as most of these kids have never been in a union, and have never been involved in any political activity, but a lot of good work has been done in this direction by the Right to Work

RED WEEKLY



More than 800 workers marched through Manchester on Saturday in support of 25 Engineering Union members sacked from the Swinton factory of Automat. For thirty weeks they have kept up a picket of the factory and weekly mass pickets have attracted hundreds of supporters. But with the majority of the firm's non-unionised workforce continuing to work the local district of the AUEW has stopped short of calling sympathetic strike action which could force recognition at Automat.

disgusting, especially at a time when the most important struggle currently taking place is at Trico on the issue of equal pay for women — where the Working Women's Charter, incidentally, has organised all night pickets. The IS ban on gays also coincides with a struggle by Tower Hamlets social workers who have gone on strike after a welfare worker was sacked because he was gay. The attack on the rights of women student teachers takes place when this section of workers is one of the worst hit by the cuts.

Red Weekly will continue to support the Right to Work March. We do so with the demand that all contingents have a right to march, to make their own propaganda, and put out their own leaflets. We ask all members of IS to demand of their leadership a commitment to make the campaign

open to all those willing to fight for the right to work: women and gays included!

JOIN THE MARCH FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK

SATURDAY 4 SEPTEMBER: assemble Embankment, Charing Cross, 11am. March to Downing Street to lobby Callaghan, then on to BRIXTON. Camp the night at CROYDON.

On the nights of 5 and 6 SEPTEMBER the march will stop at CRAWLEY and PYECOOMBE. Entertainments are being arranged at both stops.

TUESDAY 7 SEPTEMBER March into Brighton and Lobby TUC. Special transport down for this is being arranged in London and other towns.

A Good Start But...

It was with a certain foreboding that we sorted out the mail following our summer break. With more bills having accumulated, with no income from sales for two weeks, it was important that a healthy amount came in for the Fighting Fund. Unfortunately, though the number of readers responding was encouraging, they weren't all that rich.

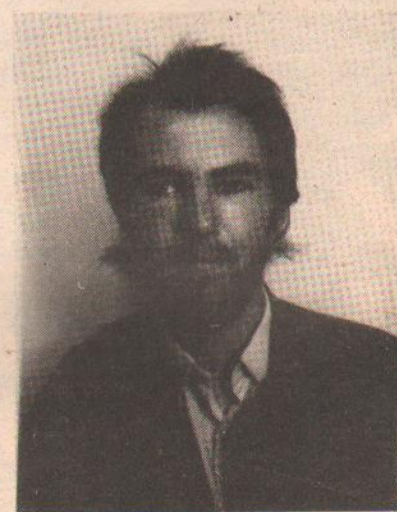
Our grateful thanks, however, to: Birmingham IMG, £3; John Brown, £2.50; Oxford IMG, £6.90; HH [Glasgow], £15; J. Kellerman, £1.50; Ilkley readers, £2; Jim White, £32; West London special sale, £10; I. McKenna, £2; Leigh Park readers, £3; Brighton sympathiser, £1; West London supporter, £5; Des Stepto, £3; Swansea IMG, £5; and £28 from an American reader. That makes a total of £136.90 and a grand total of £181.60 since we launched our new appeal.

With the conferences of the Labour Party and TUC fast approaching, it's important that the voice of revolutionary socialism is heard loud and clear in the labour movement. That is the role Red Weekly tries to fulfill. It needs dedication and money from our supporters to be able to do that. So please give us an extra hand over these difficult summer weeks and rush donations to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.



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PHIL DAVENPORT

Committees in Coventry and other large towns.

There are, though, several inadequacies in the present campaign which, if not corrected, will lead it up a blind alley.

Firstly, although a rank-and-file movement is essential at a time when the attacks against the working class are being carried out by its own official leadership, it will degenerate into an irrelevant side issue unless it is directed at the mass organisations of the labour movement, and unless more effort is made to force 'left' MPs and trade union leaders into action. The last Right to Work March clearly failed to do this; it was totally inadequate just to obtain signatures of support from a few MPs, as this merely gave the march some respectability and the MPs a left cover.

Similarly with the unemployed youth, excellent as it is to involve them actively, they will be unstable allies unless they can be directed towards the mass organisations (by speaking at union meetings, holding factory gate meetings, etc. to explain their case and to force the labour movement into fighting for their jobs).

In many areas Right to Work Committees are beginning this sort of work, but it is always based on the slogan 'Ban Overtime'. This slogan is hopelessly inadequate, because many men have to work overtime in order to support their families; I think that the slogan 'work-sharing without loss of pay' is far better suited to unite employed and unemployed workers in a fight for jobs for all without eroding the living standards of those already employed.

USEFUL

Our propaganda should also take up the question of job creation schemes, fighting for them to be well paid and unionised and directed to socially useful works. This has to be linked to demands for an injection of funds into a building programme and social expenditure and for this to be protected against inflation by a sliding scale.

Despite the shortcomings produced by the basically apolitical approach of the International Socialists, the campaign is having a certain impact, and I feel that all Trotskyist groups should be devoting far more energy to building the march and to giving the campaign a more purposeful direction along the lines I have mentioned above.