

RED WEEKLY

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INSIDE:

'The real danger is not that the Labour Party will be taken over by Trotskyists, but that the Labour Government has already been taken over by the IMF.'

— JOAN MAYNARD M.P.

For full interview see page 6

MAD AXEMAN AT WORK

CHOP HEALEY NOT SERVICES

THIS WAS HOW 78-year-old Ruby Thompson's home looked hours after she left it. Ruby was lucky. She was rehoused. But the Labour-controlled Lambeth Council, whose 'vandal squad' wrecked the ground floor, was unable to offer a house to the family who now intend to occupy the second floor as a Christmas home.

Neither can neighbouring Southwark Council — also Labour-controlled. Instead of giving building labourer Laurence Hoey, squatting with his wife and children, the home they wanted, the Council offered them one-way tickets back to Ireland.

The Council wanted to prove that Laurence was none of their responsibility because 'the homelessness is self-imposed'.

So far Laurence has not 'self-imposed' unemployment on himself, but building workers now make up a staggering 20 per cent of the male dole queue.

While those workers' skills are thrown on the scrap heap, council house building for next year is expected to drop by 6 per cent. No increase is forecast for private housing. **AND ALL THIS BEFORE CHANCELLOR HEALEY'S STATEMENT.**

The trade union leaders will feebly complain that the mini-Budget 'places a question mark over the Social Contract'. But the Government will counter by pointing out that not only were the trade union lead-

ers fully consulted, but they are already negotiating the third instalment of the wage-cut incomes policy in which this Government specialises. The trade union leaders are up to their necks in it.

So Alan Fisher, leader of the 600,000-strong National Union of Public Employees, bears a great responsibility. The cuts will hit his members harder than almost any other section of the working class.

RESOLUTION

We would remind those NUPE members of the resolution that Mr Fisher proposed at the Labour Party Conference in Octo-

ber, a resolution which was carried overwhelmingly. It read: 'This conference rejects cuts in the social wage and instructs the Labour Government to carry out its manifesto commitments to expand and improve the Social Services.'

ROUGHSHOD

The Labour Government has quite clearly and cynically run roughshod over that policy and the millions of workers who voted them into power.

The labour movement is in a new situation. That betrayal has to be rediscussed and action organised around that section of Labour's conference resolution

which called for an active campaign against the cuts in public expenditure and support for the trade unions and Labour councils opposing the cuts.

That means recalling the Labour Party conference. The right-wing Labour leaders, Callaghan and Healey, should be forced to resign. Every Labour MP who claims to support democracy should abide by the conference decisions and vote against the package.

Pressure can be brought to bear on Fisher and the other trade union leaders who were able to mobilise 60,000 workers on 17 November in the streets of London to turn those workers towards strike action against the cuts.

ALLIES

Such action would find allies. Every miner knows that their bid for early retirement cuts right across the Social Contract.

Miners have struck against cuts before, in solidarity with the nurses' action against the lack of money in the health service to pay a decent wage. The fight must be on for similar unity in this struggle against the cuts.

Action like this provides the basis for the fight for policies like a crash programme of useful public works, to employ the jobless and meet social need. And that is the answer for the families who will be homeless this Christmas — the first step towards resolving the anarchy which prevents building workers from building their houses.



EGA stays OK

LAST SATURDAY's conference to build support for the occupation of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital in North London was a big success. A hundred people were there, assembled at short notice, to thrash out a London-wide strategy for fighting the health cuts.

The EGA work-in has been going on for five weeks now. The workers are determined to thwart DHSS plans to demolish the hospital and sell the site to property speculators.

But it is not just the EGA which is threatened with closure. In the afternoon delegates discussed how the cuts would threaten health jobs and services all over London. In particular it is important that the EGA is a women's hospital. Many such hospitals — in London and Edinburgh, for example — are likely to be put in the same position.

The recent Rourke report proposed transferring services from 'overprovided' London to areas of 'real' shortage in the rest of the country. But Janet Maguire, from the National Coordinating Committee Against NHS Cuts (NCC), argued that the solution lay not in



Dominic Costa called for conference of London health stewards.

The need for city-wide action was stressed repeatedly. Dominic Costa from Hammersmith Hospital argued that it was necessary to fight for the leading bodies of unions to take up this action. But he also pointed out that the abject failure of the union leaderships to organise effective solidarity with the EGA meant that no trust could be put in them.

support for the conference of London health stewards on 23 February, organised by South Camden joint shop stewards committee.

IMG health workers successfully put forward an amendment which called for the main NHS unions to organise a day of all-London strike action against closures. They emphasised the importance of using

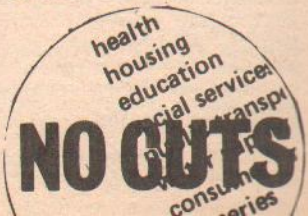




Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

TURN MINERS' VOTE INTO ACTION

'IT MUST MEAN STRIKE ACTION'

BEN DAVIES, from Cwm Lode NUM and a member of the Union's South Wales Executive Committee, told Red Weekly:

'The result of the ballot in South Wales is about 95 per cent against the National Coal Board offer — that's the highest vote we've ever had. That vote gives our national Executive a mandate for industrial action. For me that must mean strike action.'

'People talk about the need to defend the Labour Government. But you've got to look at what they've done. Their policies have meant a steady decrease in our standard of living.'

'When the Social Contract was brought in, we were told that by holding back on wages we would save jobs and avoid the need for cuts. Yet the unemployment figures have been increasing steadily ever since, and cuts are taking place everywhere. That's what the Social Contract has meant to us.'

'Some of the younger miners haven't got that blind loyalty to Labour that we've always had. If the Government are relying on this, they're in for a shock.'

WHAT'S ON

HANDS OFF IRELAND! New Bulletin from the Revolutionary Communist Group arguing the need for an anti-imperialist movement in Britain. Articles include 'What will Britain do next?' and 'Political Status'. 20p + 11p postage, from RCG Publications Ltd., 49 Railton Road, London SE24 0LN.

XMAS DISCO held by Campaign Against Racism in the Media together with Journalists Charter. Tues 21 Dec, 8pm to midnight, St Hilda's East Settlement, 18 Club Row, Bethnal Green, London E2. £1 at the door.

GLASGOW Socialist Forums: every Thursday night at 7.30pm in the Iona Community Centre.

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.

CAMBRIDGE Challenge Group — discussion group for regular Red Weekly readers. Meets Wednesdays at 8pm in the 'Horn' (Newly St).

WITH THE result of the miners' ballot, the way is now open for the biggest clash so far on the Social Contract policies of the Labour Government. Just what those policies represent is illustrated starkly in the mining industry. On one side are the miners who:

- * have a higher retirement age than the vast majority of miners elsewhere in Europe;

- * suffer an appalling accident rate. Last year 59 miners were killed, 538 seriously injured and 52,946 injured in accidents;

- * endure such illnesses as chronic bronchitis, emphysema and pneumoconiosis through their work conditions.

On the other side is Sir Derek Ezra, who as well as being boss of the National Coal Board is also chairperson of the British Institute of Managers. Ezra has

- * written to Callaghan saying he 'supports the aim of reducing wherever possible non-productive expenditure' — that is, he wants cuts;

- * also told Callaghan that any squeeze on managers' pay 'threatens our industrial strategy';

- * raised the pay of the NCB bigwigs so that while there were 28 bosses last year at the NCB who were paid between £10,000 and £12,500, and one between £12,500 and £15,000, the numbers have risen this year to 120 and 21 respectively;

- * told the Sun newspaper that the miners' claim would 'add

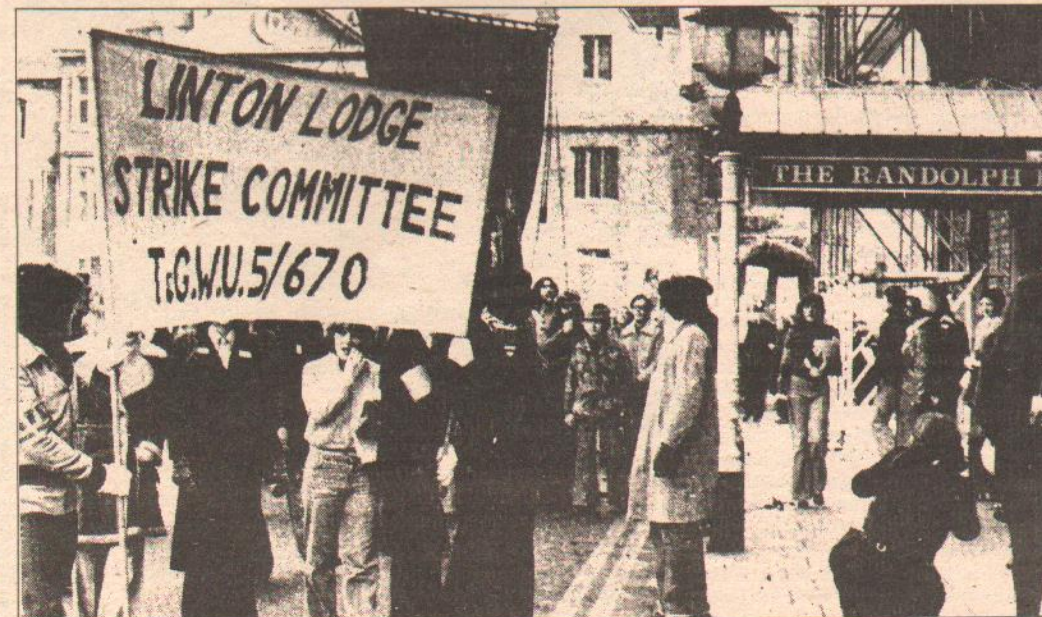
greatly to the nation's problems'.

These two positions are what the Social Contract is all about. For the working people it means illness, death and the closure of hospitals. For the Sir Derek Ezras of this country it means they are exempted from any 'sacrifices' as they are a 'special case'.

This is why the miners' fight is a fight for all trade unionists, because if successful it will finally bury the anti-working class policies of the Social Contract. In 1972 and in 1974 the miners struck for us all. A strike at this time would have the same effect as it did then — demolish Tory policies and leave the way open for real advances in the living standards of working people.

The miners' vote has shown what rank-and-file trade unionists think of the policies of Callaghan, Healey and Ezra. The 'lie of Murray, Jones and Scanlon that trade unionists support attacks on their wages, their services, and their jobs has been exposed through the large majority for the call for 'industrial action' received from the pits.

That vote must now be translated into action. Already the North West Area Council of the National Union of Miners have called for all-out strike action to back the retirement claim. That call is clearly supported by the majority of miners. It should now be supported by all militants up and down the country.



250 people demonstrated through Oxford last Saturday in support of workers at the Linton Lodge and Randolph hotels who are on strike over victimisation and union recognition. A meeting afterwards heard calls for greater solidarity from shop stewards at both hotels. A speaker from Oxford Student Trades Union Liaison Committee was applauded when he suggested that the Transport and General Workers Union District Organiser, Geoff Hulet, should bring out members of the union throughout Oxford and Cowley in solidarity.

Women in the trade unions

THE ABOLITION of the separate women's section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers was decided on by the union's rules revision committee last week. The committee also decided to launch a campaign to explain to its members the changes in its rules that affect equal rights. The reason given for the changes was the provisions of the Sex Discrimination Act.

The move was not unexpected. There has been a growing sentiment in the labour movement for the ending of separate women's sections, based on the notion that 'women have equality now'. Such forms of organisation are therefore considered outmoded.

But it is only in the last few years that unions have really been confronted with the question of the unionisation of women. And this has largely happened because of the fight that women themselves have waged for better pay and conditions and, in a large number of cases, the basic right even to join a union. Only last summer women at the Orlake's factory in Dagenham, Essex, were out on strike for 10 weeks for union recognition and wage increases.

Despite this growing tide of resistance among women workers, the response of the unions has been only partial.

CAUCUSES

The 1968 Ford machinists' strike saw the organisation of women's shop stewards into an active and militant movement and the seeds of the self-organisation of women in industry. Unions like TASS and NATFHE have set up bodies (in the case of TASS, national, regional and local sub-committees) open to women only. These provide the opportunity for collective discussion around women's specific needs and problems, and could provide the necessary strength through self-organisation and solidarity for their demands to be taken up in the unions as a whole.

It is no coincidence that it is unions like TASS which have probably the best policies and record on women's rights in the labour movement.

One example of this process was the national women's conference of the General & Municipal

Workers Union, which took place last week. Delegates discussed and passed specific amendments to the equal pay legislation which will be forwarded to the TUC Women's Conference, as well as discussing the way in which cuts in social expenditure are hitting women due to the cut-back of nursery facilities and the like.

Whatever their weaknesses, such conferences and other similar forms of organisation should be defended in the absence of alternative forms of women's self-organisation. But their weaknesses are numerous. In many unions they tend to be closely tied to the bureaucracy, and to that extent carry little weight inside the union as a whole.

The women's section of the National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades, for instance, tend to take their lead from the union leadership — a line which does not lead anywhere in particular. In addition the practice has been that women members only attend meetings of the women's section, and thus tend to be isolated from the men. In the past this has meant that some women militants have found that men are pitted against women rather than united in a common struggle against the employers.

So while such official structures are important, they have to be made responsive to the rank and file. This means organisation at the local level. Increasingly women find that they are compelled to organise democratically in order to be effective. In particular, strike action by women has increasingly seen the systematic use of mass meetings and elected strike committees.

The fight is now on for women's caucuses, meeting on an ongoing basis, to launch campaigns for union meetings in work time and creches for union members, so that as many practical obstacles as possible are removed from the involvement of women members in the unions.

RALLY

But this in itself is not sufficient. In order for women to be in a position to fight these imposed handicaps, policies of positive discrimination in favour of women should be fought for to enable women to challenge the barriers that have prevented them from gaining those positions in the past.

Women will never have equality within the trade unions or society as a whole until such preconditions for equality as adequate child care provisions, free abortion and contraception on demand, maternity leave and allowances, equal training and education, and the rest are established. To hide behind the existing legislation is to end the fight for equality before it has properly started.

The AUEW has merely re-affirmed the rulings of the Sex Discrimination Act against the separate organisation of women within organisations. But the SDA also pretends that from the time of its passing women are equal. This is a legalistic position contradicted every day by the actual experiences of women.

The fight for the self-organisation of women inside the mass organisations of the working class is part of the fight to transform that legalism, riddled with loopholes, into a living reality.

This will be one aspect of the fight for united action for women's rights to be discussed on 26 February at the 'One Year on from the SDA — a Rally for Women's Rights' at the Alexandra Palace in London. The rally was initiated by the National Working Women's Charter Campaign and is now getting increasing support from the labour and women's movement. All Red Weekly supporters should raise the necessity for support for the Rally to show that the fight for women's rights, far from being over, has only just begun.

ANNE CESEK

Labour abortion campaign launched

FORTY-FIVE WOMEN and a handful of men held an extremely successful meeting in London on Sunday to launch a campaign in the Labour Party on abortion rights.

Delegates came from Constituency Labour Parties throughout the country to the meeting, called by the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign. The meeting was chaired by Dr Berry Beaumont, while Toni

Gorton introduced the LARC resolution.

This stressed the need to build an active campaign in the constituencies in support of 'the 1975 Conference Resolution Composite No. 30 [section h] calling for extended facilities for pregnancy testing, contraception and abortion so that they are available to all women on request, free of charge. And around the 1976 Women's Conference Resolution [composite 1].'

The Women's Conference resolution calls for 'the fundamental right of a woman to control her own fertility and the right to free abortion'. It is also against the 'free vote' for MPs, and argues that abortion must be seen from 'a class point of view'.

AGREEMENT

The role played by the Labour Party Women's Section was hotly debated. Many felt that this was used to relegate women to the organising of jumble sales and social activities. Others argued that the Women's Section could make an important contribution to initiating discussion on women's oppression, as well as developing the self-confidence of women and allowing them to play a greater role in the Labour Party.

that the committee would be open to anyone in the Labour Party supporting LARC's aims.

REMOVAL

To build on the success of the meeting as many as possible rank-and-file Labour Party members need to be involved in taking the campaign into the constituencies. LARC supporters should approach all bodies affiliated to the Labour Party, as well as groups such as the National Abortion Campaign, in fighting for the aims of LARC inside the Labour Party and trade unions.

For such a campaign to have a maximum effect, it is obvious that a central issue must be the removal of all Labour MPs who attack a woman's right to control her own fertility. But in the near future the most urgent task is to build support for the Abortion Rights Tribunal on 29 January.

Women in the Labour Party can play an important role in the Tribunal by giving evidence on their experiences in campaigning for abortion rights in CLPs.

The next meeting of LARC will be in early January, and will discuss the production of a bulletin in time for the Tribunal. Any members of the

TORIES SQUARE UP OVER SCOTLAND

THE TORIES' inner party truce was blown apart last week with the announcement that a decisive section of the past and present leadership of the party intended to defy a three-line whip in the Commons. The occasion for this revolt was the Scotland and Wales Bill.

This Tory split is partly motivated by electoral opportunism. But deeper and more important issues lie behind the verbal smoke-screen.

For the first time since the battle over Protection and Free Trade at the turn of the century, deep and profound differences of material interest are surfacing inside the ruling class in Britain.

Much of Scottish industry is, for better or worse, still riveted to the financial structures, investment patterns and government protection which only the British state can guarantee.

It is defence of these links which provides the basis for the newly formed 'Scotland is British' campaign. This motley bunch of industrialists includes the Chairman of Weirs group, Lord Toothill of Ferrantis, the Scottish CBI, and the Scottish Chamber of Commerce. All are united in outright opposition to any form of devolution.

To these firms the British connection is their very life blood. Devolution is not only irrelevant but downright dangerous, threatening to disrupt a sophisticated and well-oiled system of public handouts from regional aid and private deals via London-based financing and services.

Oil changed this bleak perspective for only a small and distinct section of finance capital in Scotland. All three major Scottish banks are now heavily involved in

leasing equipment and direct participation in the oil exploitation. The Bank of Scotland is one of the main forces backing the International Energy Bank.

Unlike traditional sections of Scottish industry, these banks and institutions have every interest in actually reducing Westminster's intervention into the economy. Above all, they are eager to disentangle themselves from the disastrous fortunes of sterling and the London financial institutions.

These clear divergences of interest represent only half the story. Over 60 per cent of Scottish workers are employed by non-Scottish firms. It is their attitude to devolution which will be decisive for the ruling class.

For these employers, often American multinationals, the issue is simple: who can guarantee political stability in Scotland, who will

ensure access to the EEC financial community, and who is going to do something about the 'labour inflexibility' of the organised workers movement? As always their balance sheets will decide their political alliances.

It is to this dominating bloc of the multinationals within the 'middle ground' of employers that all the parties have been addressing themselves over the last period. Foot, Heath and Thatcher each argue that they alone can best guarantee the stability and development of private capital in Scotland.

Between these rival packs of piranha fish, Scottish workers can only be indifferent. But this does not mean that we turn our backs when the ruling class go for each other's throats.

VIGOUR

Socialists must have clear solutions to every issue in the capitalist political world under which workers are compelled to live. The continuing crisis over devolution has to be seized with vigour. We need an Assembly, but not one which will referee disputes between big business.

We need an Assembly which will break with all these gentlemen, which will assume the powers to implement a socialist programme against the Weir group, against the merchant banks, against BP oil, and in favour of the working people of Scotland.

NEIL WILLIAMSON

IN FOCUS

Fight Europe's austerity measures

THE WORKERS are going out all over Europe. They are marching against austerity measures which make them pay the cost of the economic crisis. At the time of going to press, we do not know the precise content of Denis Healey's 'mini-Budget', but we can be sure that it will be more of the same.

The Social Contract is the big daddy of all these austerity plans, hinged upon an incomes policy. In the case of Britain this is doubly effective for being policed by the trade union leadership in concert with a Labour Government. On the introduction of the Spanish austerity plan this autumn, its architect remarked that he didn't know what the workers were complaining about. His package was not as tough as the Social Contract on which it was based.

We all know what the Social Contract means. In return for pay controls and for the co-operation of our trade union leaders, we were to get attacks on unemployment, a massive cut in inflation ('single figures by the end of the year'), and a return to free collective bargaining 'next year'. It's always next year. That deal was a con when it was made two and a half years ago and it has been exposed a thousand times since then.

Unemployment is 1½ million even by the official figures, inflation runs at 20 per cent (again the official annual rate over the last three months), while the axeman hacks away at our essential services and jobs in the public sector. The mini-Budget will be more of this — cuts and redundancies. The only question is how much we will get now, after the divisions in the cabinet, and how much will be saved up for the 'maxi'-Budget in April.

PAY POLICY CENTRAL

To some extent all Western European governments have introduced similar measures in recent months. The keystone of all these plans is a pay policy. Italian and Belgian workers have faced attacks on index-linked wage increases; French wage rises are restricted to 6.5 per cent in 1977; the Spanish Government has imposed wage restrictions and limits on collective bargaining.

You only have to look at incomes policy to see that, if anything, the Healey measures have been and will be harsher than any in Europe. The 4½ per cent pay limit, and even its £6 predecessor, are lower than the others. And this is to say nothing of unemployment and social expenditure cuts. Even Callaghan has forecast a sharp rise in unemployment next year, and the last round of cuts alone was £3 billion.

But it is a world crisis. In all the European capitalist countries where the workers are being made to recoup the cost of international currency speculation and the low growth rate, things are getting worse.

Throughout Europe, however, there have been fight-backs against austerity. In October, 100,000 workers demonstrated in Paris against the Barre plan. Italian workers have organised a series of short national stoppages, as well as protracted struggles in those areas hardest hit by government plans. In Spain the November national strike and hundreds of local actions have been launched against the Juan Carlos 'Social Contract'.

FAILURE TO LEARN LESSONS

But all these actions have been marred by the failure of the major workers parties to learn the lessons of Britain. In each case these parties, above all the Communist Parties, have adopted a policy of waiting for a left government which will reverse or 'modify' these plans. A French CP leader, for instance, has commented that 'we are not seeking a trial of strength with the Government.... nor do we believe in strikes as a political weapon against the Government. We are happy to wait for the proper election date, March 1978.' And Marcelino Camacho of the Spanish CP 'will not reject any effort to meet the grave economic situation, but we want it to be fair to all Spaniards'.

Luciano Lama, Italian CP trade union leader, has gone furthest in actually supporting the Andreotti attacks on index-linked wage increases. The Italian austerity plan is only enforced by the abstention of the CP in parliament.

The strategy of the British CP, waiting for a left government, hardly differs from its European counterparts. The difference in Britain is that it is the government of a workers party which is leading the attack. The TUC bureaucrats are quite happy that they have had 'adequate consultation' about the contents of the mini-Budget, while the Cabinet lefts, like Benn, claim to have opposed the projected cuts without giving the slightest whisper of what is in store. In fact the only people who have not been consulted are those millions whose jobs and services are threatened or have been lost already.

NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR CRISIS

When savage attacks on our living standards do nothing to save the 'nation', it is proof positive that we have no responsibility for the bosses' crisis. That must be the watchword of the fight against the cuts and Social Contract, following in the steps of the Italian and Spanish workers. We accept no cuts and all those made must be restored. We accept no unemployment; what work there is must be shared out with no pay cuts. Jobs can be created by a programme of public workers which will extend essential services, not cut them. We accept no pay cuts, and wages must be tied to a workers cost of living index which ensures that our real wages can keep pace with



STUC in the mud

IN BITTER cold and rain, over 4,000 people came onto the streets of Glasgow last Saturday to demonstrate their opposition to cuts and unemployment. The demonstration had been called by the Scottish Trades Union Congress. Despite the deployment of large numbers of stewards, there

was no holding back the real views of the marchers on Labour's betrayals.

'I want to make it clear that this is not a demonstration against the Labour Government', pleaded the Communist Party President of the STUC, Hugh D'Arcy. But the real mood of the march was correctly

described by Douglas Gilchrist, Strathclyde Regional Executive member of the Scottish teachers' union, the EIS, at a packed Scottish Labour Party meeting on the cuts afterwards.

His reply to D'Arcy, 'I submit that it was!' won loud applause from the more than 100 militants present.

With the largest contingent of any political organisation, the Scottish Labour Party made its presence felt on the demonstration, too. Some 80 supporters marched behind its banners, raising slogans for workers control, nationalisation, opening the books, a sliding scale of wages, and a shorter working week.

All these demands are contained within the Stirling Trades Council programme which won 632,000 votes at this year's STUC and won the unanimous endorsement of the SLP's recall congress on 14 November. The SLP contingent's main slogan challenged outright the right-wing policies of the Labour Government and the class collaborationist 'alternative strategy' of the STUC's 'left' leaders — 'No to the Social Contract, No to import controls'.

the STUC rally, the SLP meeting was organised so that all points of view in the labour movement could be heard. Douglas Gilchrist's opening remarks calling for opposition to all cuts and unemployment, maximum support for the miners and total accountability of all labour movement representatives and trade union officials were amplified by activists from their own experiences in campaigns.

RIGHT TO WORK

George Kerevan, a member of the EIS Further Education Central Committee, backed up a call by John Glen, a member of the Right to Work Campaign National Council, for support for the Right to Work marches to next year's STUC. But he added that it was crucial to organise not only outside the STUC, but also on the floor of the Congress itself if the fight of Stirling Trades Council for a programme of action was to be carried forward.

Kerevan also announced the intention of the SLP in Edinburgh to run 20 class-struggle candidates in this year's District Council elections against any councillor who refuses to oppose all cuts.

Corrie McChord, Chairman of Stirling SLP and the man who moved the Stirling Trades Council resolution at the STUC, explained its importance in the eyes of SLP members. It went beyond mere protest resolutions and actions to outline a socialist solution to the

Back Thornett T&GWU Bid

ALAN THORNETT, the Cowley shop steward who has been at the centre of the fight to throw back management's offensive against the unions in British Leyland, is to stand for the position of General Secretary in the Transport & General Workers Union.

Nominations close this Saturday for the election to decide the successor to Jack Jones—chief backer and architect of the Labour Government's Social Contract policies. Other candidates include Moss Evans, who has obstructed the development of a fight-back in the car industry against rationalisation and participation schemes; Alex Kitson, the probable choice of

of other careerists.

Not included in this latter category is the candidate of the Right to Work Campaign and the International Socialists — Tommy Riley. Riley is a deputy senior steward in the Bolton Metal Box Factory, and stands for building the strength of the rank-and-file in the union on a fighting basis. But he does not have the record of struggle of Alan Thornett, nor does his programme include many of the essential policies — especially those centring on workers control — which have been fought for by Thornett.

Thornett's nomination came at a meeting last Monday of the T&GWU Cowley 5/293 branch.

SILLARS

Jim Sillars MP, who founded the SLP and organised the purge of its socialist elements at the October congress, turned up and was invited to join the ranks of the contingent. He refused, and left to take his rightful place among the T&GWU bureaucrats who defeated the Stirling resolution with block votes last April. He did not even

WIDE



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

MAMOUD AHMED, Grunwick Strike Committee Secretary tells the public meeting of the determination of strikers to fight till final victory over the right wing backed management is won.

GRUNWICK BOSSES' RUSE EXPOSED

IT IS NOT OFTEN that the leader of the Trades Union Congress attends a public meeting to build support for a local strike.

But that was what happened in North London last Sunday when Len Murray spoke at a meeting called by the Grunwick Strike Committee, Brent Trades Council, and Brent East Constituency Labour Party. Whether what Murray had to say was of any great help is another matter entirely.

RECOGNITION

The strike, now in its 16th week, is over the basic right to union recognition from a management who in the words of local MP Laurie Pountney 'would have been straight out of the Dickensian era'.

Before the strike the workers were paid a basic rate of £25 for a 35-hour week and £28 for a 40-hour week, with compulsory overtime at normal rates. They had little knowledge or experience of trade unionism then, but their subsequent unity and determination has been one of the main aspects of the dispute.

The strike began in the midst of the general fight-back against racist attacks, and again it is the immigrant youth who are in the forefront of the Grunwick strike. Despite police harassment, which has led to the arrest of a dozen pickets so far, it is they who have carried the fight into the trade union movement, especially over the issue of the blacking of Grunwick's work.

IMG NOTES

- IMG STUDENT CONVENORS MEETING, Tuesday 21 December, 2pm, at the National Centre.
NATIONAL IMG STUDENT SCHOOL for members and sympathisers interested in joining IMG. Will be held in Birmingham on weekend 8/9 January.
IMG TRADE UNION CADRE SCHOOL for members of trade union fraction leaderships. 22/23 January.
NATIONAL IMG TEACHERS FRACTION for members. Sunday 9 January, 11am.
NATIONAL FUND RAISER wanted by IMG. A really challenging job for someone with flair and organising ability.

Advisory Service.

This promise was clearly shown to be a manoeuvre when the list of employees to ballot sent by the Grunwick management included the managing director of the company but not the strikers.

The exposure of this ruse forced the issue of UPW blacking into the limelight again, and it was on this that Sunday's meeting centred. Maurice Styles, of the UPW Executive Committee, would make no promises but said that if the general secretary of APEX — the clerical workers' union involved in the strike — wrote to the UPW asking for the blacking to be re-imposed, he had no doubt that the union would respond.

TRIBUTE

Styles ended by saying that if any postmen were jailed for supporting the black, they would expect better treatment from the TUC than the Shrewsbury Two received. But Murray ignored Styles's comments and instead sought merely to 'pay tribute' to the Labour Government for passing the Employment Protection Act.

Clearly Murray is not prepared to give full backing to the actions necessary to win the Grunwick dispute. Red Weekly therefore urges all its readers to send resolutions from their union branches, trades councils and Constituency Labour parties pledging support for the Grunwick workers.

And should the postal blacking be re-imposed, full support will be needed for the postal workers who carry out the blacking in face of a renewed right-wing witch-hunt:

STALEMATE AT NUS CONFERENCE

THE DEPARTING figure of Sir Keith Joseph from the National Union of Students conference in Blackpool last weekend underlined the deep tensions in the student movement.

PROVOCATION

His presence at the NUS conference was a deliberate provocation initiated by the rapidly growing forces of the Federation of Conservative Students (FCS), who commanded the support of about 200 delegates at the conference.

The correct decision of the conference, to request his departure in the light of this provocation, was marred by the political confusion of some forces in the far left — particularly the International Socialists' student organisation, NOISS, who regaled this right-wing Tory with shouts of 'Nazis Out' and 'Fascists Out'.

IMG delegates issued a statement explaining that the correct way to take on the right wing in the union is through the fight for left unity based on action. They strongly condemned the statement from the Broad Left-led Executive which accused the far left of laying the way open for further disaffiliations by student unions from the NUS.

In the past the Broad Left has tried to fight off these disaffiliation threats by emphasising the role of student services offered by the NUS and playing down the political campaigning activities of the union.

However the collapse of three of the main service companies three weeks before the conference threatened to bring this whole flimsy strategy crashing down around the Broad Left's ears.

But this position of the Executive was reaffirmed by the conference. An amendment put forward by the far left (NOISS and IMG delegates in particular) gained the support of between 200 and 250 delegates.

CAMPAIGN

This third of the conference delegates called for the defence of jobs and services through a campaign for an end to commercial secrecy in all such operations and for the Government to guarantee jobs through an immediate cash injection as the first step towards the nationalisation of NUS companies.

The amendment also called for a vote of no confidence in the four members of the services board, including the NUS President Charles Clarke. Movers of the motion made it clear that this was not just on the basis that the services had been mismanaged (the position of Tory students who called for Clarke's resignation), but was intended as an indictment of the whole political strategy of the Broad Left in basing the continued existence of the union on the expansion of services.

STRONGEST

The fact that the far left was the strongest single current in the conference (as compared to the less than 200 delegates who supported the Broad Left), was dramatically confirmed when the conference passed by a majority of 55,000 a resolution on Government economic policy which totally rejected the Social Contract and the cuts. It called for a united fight-back against the Government's measures, while opposing nationalist solutions such as import controls.

However, in an unprecedented two hour procedural wrangle, the Broad Left and FCS managed to

force through a re-vote to overthrow the decision. As a result no policy was adopted by the conference.

The alliance of the Broad Left and the forces to the right of them in the conference, including the Tories, was upset in the debate on how students should tackle the fight against racism. This revealed a dramatic split inside the ranks of both the Communist Party and the Broad Left.

As a result, a prominent member of the Broad Left majority on the NUS Executive, Neil Caldwell, played a leading part in the successful defence of the existing policy of the NUS to deny fascists and racists a platform to propagate their views, against Executive attempts to reverse this position.

But the consistently chauvinist position which the NUS has taken on the question of Ireland was not changed at the conference, despite a vigorous campaign by some 35 IMG delegates and sympathisers and supporters of the Troops Out Movement. Instead the conference overwhelmingly decided to launch a campaign of 'Peace and Progress', supporting the Bill of Rights in the North, the Better Life for All Campaign, and the efforts of the Peace People.

ALTERNATIVE

Nevertheless, on many issues the wide forces for a united left alternative to the Broad Left's policies of collaboration with the right wing were shown to exist.

But the posturing of the NOISS as the only alternative on the left both repels those within the Broad Left who are drawing the relevant conclusions from the present precarious position of the NUS, and also acts as a block towards collaboration between the organised forces on the far left.

In the absence of such an alternative, seriously fighting for the leadership of the NUS at the next conference, the growth of support for the right wing (at the expense of the Broad Left) will go ahead unimpeded.

On the central questions the policies decided on by the conference will not provide a fighting lead for the union. The fight in the colleges against the cuts will have to be strongly related to the fight for a new leadership for that struggle.

PAUL BROOKE [IMG Student Organiser]



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

SIR KEITH JOSEPH flanked by FCS members is heckled by students at the NUS Conference in Blackpool.

MOVES TO AFRICAN STUDENT UNITY

THE AFRICAN emigré community in Britain has long been a fragmented and dispersed one, organised if at all in the various African societies, or in the various national associations (such as NUSZIS — National Union of Zimbabwe Students).

The call for the formation of an African Students Union in Britain is clearly a major development. However the second conference of the African Students Union (ASU) in London last weekend was marred by poor attendance — some 25 individuals (of whom only a few were delegates from African societies or associations) — and disagreement over whether to continue with the Union as presently constituted or to suspend the constitution and set up an organising committee to build for a conference in the new year. It was eventually decided to maintain the Union but also to establish an organising committee — both in London and in the regions — with the task of working with the present executive to build for the next conference. This will be held the

day before the Southern Africa demonstration in March (on which the ASU will organise its own contingent). It is hoped that this conference will be more representative.

Another important debate took place on the question of affiliation to the NUS. Many militants denounced the bankrupt leadership of NUS, particularly over the overseas students' campaign, and demanded that no links should be established with NUS since the latter would attempt to take over the ASU. It was agreed finally that the Union should use NUS to build the ASU, but no clear definition of its relationship with the NUS was established. It was also decided that the ASU should link its forces with the call made by Middlesex Polytechnic for an Overseas Students' conference in the new year.

For further details of the African Students Union, write to: The Secretary, ASU, c/o The Africa Society, University College Students Union, Park Place, Cardiff.

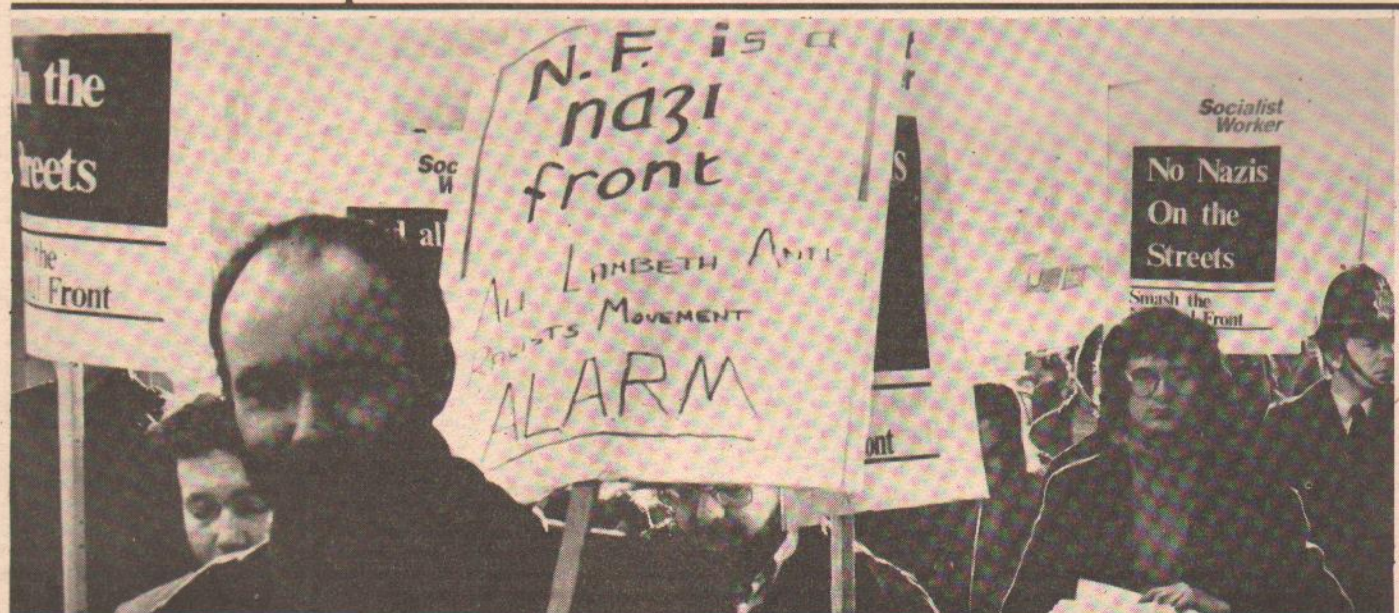


Photo: MARK RUSHER (IFL)

TONY BENN had to scrap his prepared speech at a 200-strong Battersea Labour Party meeting against racism last week. National Front hecklers planted throughout the audience threatened to drown him at various points throughout the meeting. But Benn's response was merely to attack floor speakers who demanded that the fascists be thrown out.

The fascists know exactly what they are doing by interrupting such meetings. The free publicity they get in local papers such as the South

wives, and that the NF candidate in the recent Angell ward by-election stood as a 'housewife'.

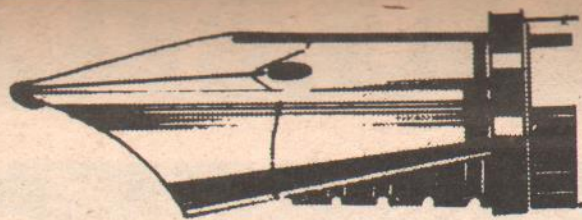
The ongoing campaign against racism and fascism in the area continued with a 150-strong demonstration last Saturday called by the All Lambeth Anti-Racist Movement (above). The demonstration followed clashes with fascists in the Angell by-election, during one of which

Amongst recent victims of the Act are many Cypriot refugees, 12,000 of whom came to this country during and after the 1974 war. The Government refused to recognise them as refugees, and consequently these 'illegal' immigrants have been at the mercy of all and sundry.

The growth of 'sweat shops' in North London is one aspect of the exploitation these Cypriots suffer — sweat shops where the wages are dimly low, where unions do not exist, but where the immigrants have to stay because they can get no work permits.

As if this wasn't enough, the refugees face the constant threat of deportation. At the moment there are at least 12 Cypriots in Pentonville Prison awaiting deportation. Amongst these are a Turkish Cypriot couple, Metin and Hulya Satin, who face deportation to their 'home' which is now part of the Greek sector of Cyprus.

The Cyprus Defence Committee has been launched to fight these and other deportations and all trade unionists, immigrant and



LETTERS

WHY 'FREE SPEECH'

Just a line about the debate in Red Weekly on 'free speech'. Whereas I think that your headline was completely correct, the reply to comrades Young and Foster [Red Weekly, 9 December] was a little too summary. Two qualifications should be added:

1. Revolutionaries deny a platform to fascists, not simply to 'defend free speech' but because fascists threaten even more elementary democratic rights, such as the right of blacks to preserve life and limb. And in denying a platform we emphasise the inability [and unwillingness] of the bourgeois state to protect the rights of

the working class and its allies.

2. Revolutionaries defend workers' democratic rights, i.e. the enclaves of workers democracy within bourgeois democracy. This is because 'democratic rights' in bourgeois society have a contradictory nature.

There are trade union rights and the right to free speech, etc., which we not only defend but fight to extend; there is also the right to own property and to exploit, enshrined in bourgeois democracy. The fight for proletarian democracy is a fight to destroy these 'rights' through the smashing of the bourgeois state. — A. M. (Cambridge).

An impressive debate

Over the last few months I have regularly been reading Red Weekly and Socialist Worker with interest.

As a disillusioned ex-member of the Labour Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain seeking a real alternative in the struggle for socialism, the continuing debate in your pages on the policies of the left, and particularly the constructive criticism of certain of the actions of the International Socialists, have impressed me very much.

Through reading both Red Weekly and Socialist Worker I have decided that my commitment to socialism should lie with the IMG. I would be obliged, therefore, if you will send me details of joining the IMG — R.F. (Edinburgh).

What programme for teachers?

In his interview on the Socialist Teachers Alliance (Red Weekly, 2 December) Bernard Regan correctly attacks the IS-led Rank & File for substituting themselves for mass action and refusing to build elected action committees as the democratic bodies centralising those struggles (as in the case of the London Allowance campaign).

However, whilst accusing R&F of not 'seeing the difference between organising the left in the union and organising the mass of teachers in action against the Government attacks', comrade Regan appears to see the only difference as one of the left constructing organisational forms for the somehow spontaneous action of the masses to be channelled into.

He sees the role of the left solely as 'campaigning amongst the mass of union members for united action against the Government's policies'. What is missed here, and was glossed over at the conference, is the need for socialists to provide a political lead to the fight against Government policy.

The role of STA is not merely to service and extend actions already taking place, but to shape and give direction to those actions. This can only be done by organising around a political programme of action, and it is the formulation

of this programme that the IMG comrades refused to take up at the Open Conference.

What is missing from comrade Regan's interview is an admission of the need to build a rank and file movement in the teachers union which, to have any ongoing fighting strength against the union bureaucracy, must be organised around a clearly defined programme. Instead, he seems to imply that it is possible to bypass this process and attract the mass of teachers (permanently?) to an organisation merely by latching onto developing struggles and posing unclear and inadequate demands in a vain attempt to win over large numbers by not upsetting anybody. — INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE TEACHERS.

• We agree with the comrades of the ICL that 'the role of the STA is not merely to service and extend actions already taking place, but to shape and give direction to these actions'. However, we do not resolve these problems simply by saying that the STA needs a programme for action which can present an alternative to the Social Contract programme of the bureaucracy.

First, forcing acceptance of such policies as the sliding scale of wages at the first Open Confer-

ence cannot substitute for the thorough debate that the STA needs to have over policies, in the course of its campaigns and at the next conference, if the comrades in the STA who oppose those policies are to be won over. A purely formal victory for those policies at the first Open Conference could only have obscured the debate now going on about the sort of policies which the STA should be fighting for.

Secondly, however, a deeper difference underlies the comments of the comrades. The lack of an adequate programme was by no means the only problem with IS Rank & File. Where Rank & File saw itself as a movement which itself could organise the mass of teachers against the bureaucracy, we see the STA as an organisation which can unite the left in the union, organising campaigns amongst the mass of union members politically independent of the bureaucracy.

That is why we say the chief task of the STA is 'campaigning amongst the mass of union members for united action against the Government's policies'. An adequate programme is essential for this, but had R & F had the best programme in the world, because of its orientation it would still have been incapable of meaningfully confronting the bureaucracy in the union.

Kurds hit by earthquake

The recent earthquake in the Middle East has struck savagely at the Kurdish people. As has been well documented in the media, their plight is desperate. We should all concern ourselves to see that international aid is made available as quickly as possible. However it has been brought to our notice that not a single report of the disaster has described the area as other than Eastern Turkey. This is disturbing for two reasons.

The first is that the complete absence of any mention of Kurds, Kurdish or Kurdistan in the reports argues that the military officers in control of the area (which has been under martial law for fifty years) are exercising a strict censorship. While this is unacceptable at the best of times, the thought that news of an area where a natural disaster of such proportions has occurred should depend on politically motivated censors is doubly abhorrent.

Secondly, in Turkey in the past and in other areas of Kurdistan, forced deportation has been used to reduce the density of the Kurdish population. This fact, taken in conjunction with the lamentable record of the Turkish authorities in administering aid sent for the relief victims in the Lice earthquake in September 1975, causes us serious concern. Steps

must be taken to ensure that neither corruption nor political considerations affect the speedy passage of aid to the earthquake victims.

In the longer term, the frequency of earthquakes in this region argues that it should be declared an Earthquake Zone, the relevant seismographic monitoring in the region carried out, and improved building techniques etc. employed. However, such necessary developments would have to be fought for, as Turkey would not be anxious to see such a debate beginning. They would not welcome suggestions that money and resources should be poured into an area they are seeking to depopulate. Nor would they welcome a continued focus of world attention on their problems with a subject nation inside their state boundaries at a time when they are seeking entry to the EEC.

We look for your support and suggestion in calling for an International Committee: (1) to supervise aid to Turkey Kurdistan during the present emergency; (2) to assist the Kurds in investigating the organisation and funding required to declare Turkey Kurdistan an Earthquake Zone. — SHIRKO ABID [for Kurdish Solidarity Committee]



Technis Theatre

In her review of GAST [Red Weekly, 11 November], a play on 'the causes and effects of migration', your critic who saw the play at the Technis Theatre writes: 'I must admit that the bleak set, with only balls of wool and T-shirts as props, and the gloomy lighting made me feel like the victim of a new experiment in sensory deprivation.'

A minimum amount of information about the group's finances would have enlightened her remarks and prevented her from

implying that a bleak set and 'gloomy lighting' are intentional on our part. We had to borrow the 'set', and pay for the lights out of our own pockets.

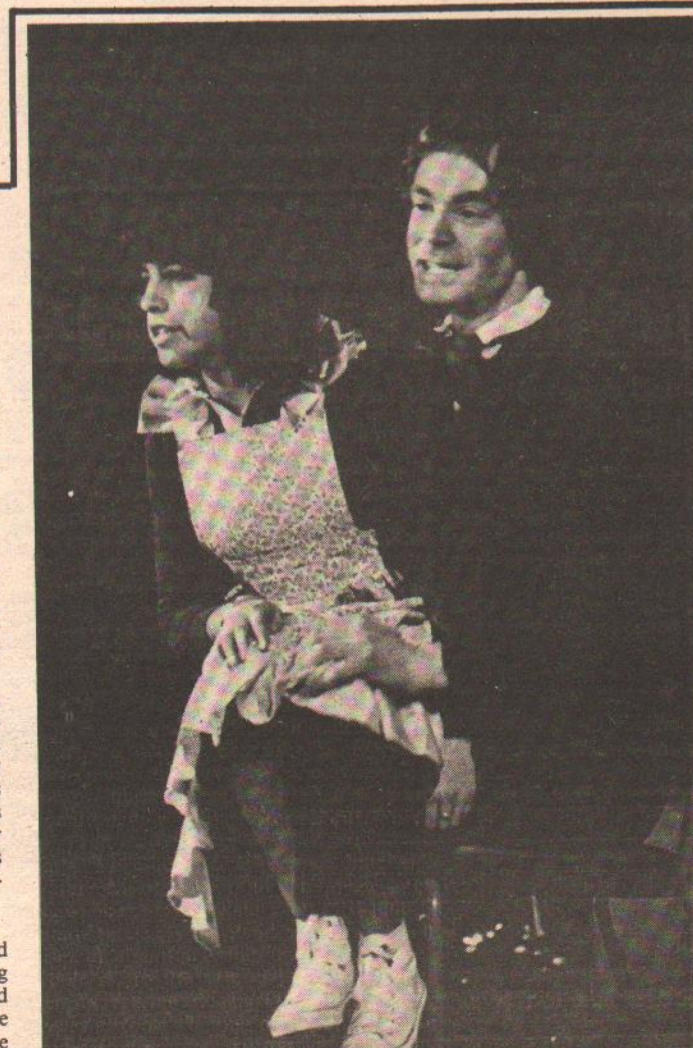
It's quite disappointing to read a review in Red Weekly that treats financial contingencies in this way and seems to be geared to the 'special effects' convention that at times — we agree — markets 'sensory deprivation' and calls it cultural experimentation. This however is not our kind of theatre, and we could happily do with

more lights, many more.

Also, the Technis Theatre is virtually unique at least in one respect. It has been built by 'actors', stone by stone. Actors-workers in the true sense of the word. This your critic could easily have found out and written about. One of her colleagues has 'seen' better:

'I saw the play in the Greek community centre, Theatre Technis, which Camden Council are threatening to knock down in favour of flats, car parks, etc. This would be a tragedy as the centre provides a focus for Greek Cypriots, many dispossessed by the Cyprus war and who have fled here only to experience many of the traumas so graphically described in the play.' — ALFIO BERNABEL.

• 'Save Our Theatre', by the Technis Theatre, is this week's Open Door programme on Friday 17 December at 11.30pm on BBC-2 [repeated the following day].



'RED' wears off LADDER

FUNNY THINGS are happening to Red Ladder. From being the most effective political theatre group in Britain — surely a description earned through their excellent productions *The National Cake*, *A Woman's Work is Never Done*, and *It Makes Yer Sick* — this latest offering, *Anybody Sweating?*, marks a distinct step backwards.

Conceived as a piece of 'popular theatre', to be played in pubs, working men's clubs and community centres, it has no central theme but consists of a series of self-contained sketches, songs and monologues. These vary from the highly amusing, if apolitical, to the downright dubious — particularly those touching on the position of women in the home.

Scattered about were the odd gems, such as Leon Rosselson's anti-marriage song and a chorus pastiche on 'A Farmer's Boy'.

However, it is difficult to see what Red Ladder think this uneven production will achieve except as a vaguely political, directionless entertainment. Their usual skill and inventiveness is again in evidence but to little avail.

'popularity'. For example, past productions were mainly seen as a stimulus and aid to working class struggle, particularly through discussions following the shows.

Such a feedback and debate was an integral part of their dramatic process. But *Anybody Sweating?* could in no way contribute to the development of working class action or act as a focus for vitally needed discussion.

What then has happened? In stressing their need to play to mass working class audiences, rather than the maligned left/fringe theatre circuit, Red Ladder has accommodated to some of the prejudices and weaknesses of that audience. The social composition of the audience has become an end in itself, reflecting a very 'workerist' and uncritical stance.

A strength of their previous work was the way in which they took assumptions of bourgeois ideology and skilfully undermined and destroyed them through a process of dramatic confrontation. In this play those assumptions, for example on the position of women, remain largely unchallenged.

their husbands to cook twice a week has little to do with women's liberation.

The very title itself comes from a game of bingo, which forms the motif for one of the sketches. But the futile and destructive nature of the game itself, played by millions of women, is never questioned, thus enhancing its mindless content with a new validity.

The whole project of a mass working class political theatre is misconceived at the present time, given the defensive, incoherent and largely demoralised state of the British labour movement.

Good left theatre, developing the seeds for its future mass expansion, will for some time find its audience limited to a relatively narrow number of class-conscious workers, around their struggles, as well as radicalising white-collar sectors. There are no short cuts through so-called 'popular theatre'.

What has happened to Red Ladder is a sad but timely warning of a process of political and dramatic 'dilution'. Let us hope that they and others heed the

Broad Left gags discussion

It seems that certain Broad Left supporters in the National Union of Students are not content with forming an alliance with the Tories to prevent a fight to save NUS Services — they also want to stop debate on the issue.

At Southampton University, discussion on an amendment condemning the NUS Executive's decision to sack the 200 workers (jointly put to the union by Red Weekly supporters, NOISS members and many non-aligned socialists) was halted after just one speech. The chairperson of the Wessex Area Student Federation, a prominent figure in the local Tribune faction, demanded that the discussion end by producing an obscure procedural motion.

Massive support from the Tories allowed this through, although only by six votes. Many students left the meeting in disgust after this.

The Broad Left supporters are digging their own grave; they are giving support to the Tories, whose strength in our union is already massive. By bureaucratically stifling debate on our proposals, they are ensuring that the Tories win complete control of the

Photo: PETER HARRAP (Report)



'Why I oppose the witch-hunt' JOAN MAYNARD

Joan Maynard is Labour MP for Sheffield, Brightside. She has been an active member of the Labour Party for 30 years. For six years she was a member of the Executive of the Agricultural Workers Union. Today, she is a member of the NEC of the Labour Party. Last week she told Jonathan Silberman

The policies that are being pursued are so obviously failing to solve our difficulties that the Government and the right wing have decided that the best means of defence is attack. To divert people away from the serious difficulties that the Government faces, they've turned this vicious attack on the left in the Labour Party.

It's also possible that some people are interested in the coalition idea, and are therefore trying to whip up a feeling that there is a danger of the Labour Party being taken over by extremists as a way of trying to push people towards coalition.

The real danger is not that the Labour Party will be taken over by Trotskyists, but that the Labour Government has already been taken over by the IMF. Because the IMF is really dictating what the policies of the Government are.

The only answer that socialists could give to such a witch-hunt is to actively oppose it. Take this attempt to have a go at the Young Socialists. Last year the National Agent reported to the NEC about our young people and their alleged connection with Trotskyist groups, and tried to get an enquiry going. We managed to reject that. Now there's to be another attempt.

I very much hope that the NEC will reject that too, because we've always had people of many different points of view in the Party — some with a Trotskyist point of view which I don't necessarily share, some with a more 'traditional' point of view, and some with a Marxist point of view. And I think that's right.

If we accept this witch-hunt on the young people, it will be followed up by a witch-hunt on other progressive people in the Labour Party. That has always been the inevitable result of this kind of activity.

man of the Committee which interviewed for the appointment was Bryan Stanley. I don't think that Bryan would claim that he's of the left.

In moving that Andy be appointed at the NEC, he drew attention to the connections that Andy has had with **Militant**. Nobody took that up, and the appointment was carried unanimously.

Following that, the Agents raised it at the Party Conference in the private session. But their proposal to throw out the appointment was rejected. The NEC has no right to overturn this decision of Conference.

The witch-hunt has also been directed at constituencies re-selecting their MPs. This is a vital issue. If you cannot make people in authority accountable, then you're in a hopeless position — they can do just as they like.

For years the Labour Party has been bedevilled by this problem that the membership of the whole movement decides on a policy at Conference, and then has that policy side-stepped by the Parliamentary Labour Party. The Labour Party seems to have been so structured that most MPs use the Party as a vehicle for getting them votes, and then really ignore the Party once elected.

But if you've got a safe seat, you shouldn't be able to think that it's a free meal ticket for life — you should have to be accountable. And therefore I'm in favour of the proposal of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy that there should be mandatory reselection of MPs.

I often hear that we've got a lot of responsible people in high places, and I wonder whom they are responsible to — that's the crunch for me.

One argument used is that MPs are responsible to all their constituents. I certainly feel responsible to all the working

the General Management Committee — if it weren't for them I would never have had the opportunity to serve the working people in my constituency.

Another argument, used by Callaghan and Prentice, is that MPs are responsible to Parliament. But none of the individual MPs, including Ministers, would be in Parliament today if it weren't for our parties.

I therefore think that you can't escape the final responsibility, which is to the people that select you, work for you, and raise money for you, the trade unions that sponsor you and so on.

What Trotsky really said

THE Honourable Algernon might well inherit his money and politics from his forefathers. It's not so for Labour prime ministers.

Heredity has nothing to do with the treacherous policies pursued by one Labour PM after another. Their devoted commitment to the gradual ways of Parliament, to reasonableness and compromise have ensured their common stamp on the last fifty years of British history.

The tradition was well set by Ramsey MacDonald, the first in line. MacDonald, who is today remembered only for his class collaboration, described the infamous Trotsky as 'a pamphleteer not an historian, a devotee of theories not a slave to facts'.

Red Weekly readers can judge for themselves in the great debate about 'Trotskyist infiltrators'. Below we reprint excerpts from a speech made in Russia by Trotsky in April 1924 about the first in the line of Wilsons and Callaghans.

'You know that the so-called Labour Party does not have an absolute majority in Parliament

WHO'S STRIPPING LABOUR'S ASSETS?

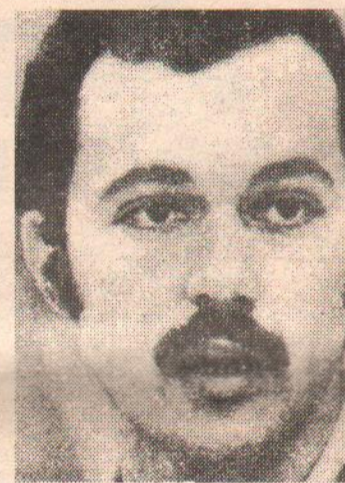
As the Labour Party NEC meets to discuss the appointment of Militant supporter Andy Bevan as Labour Party youth officer, 500 yards down the road Denis Healey will be announcing the most savage cuts to date. It's anyone's guess how such 'coincidence' came to pass. But it takes no guessing to realise that the attacks on Andy Bevan are nothing more than a criminal cover-up for the wage-cutting policies of the Labour Government.

It is Healey and Callaghan, Jones and Murray, who are the real 'asset-strippers'. They attempt to lay down the blame for the bankruptcy of their own policies at the doors of so-called 'Trotskyist infiltrators', be they in Newham North-East, Hayes & Harlington, Hammersmith North or the Labour Party Young Socialists.

But by-election after by-election has shown that it is their right-wing policies which are stripping the Labour Party of its own great asset — its working class support. Thousands of workers are saying: 'Why take Tory policies via Callaghan and Healey when we can get them directly from the Tories?'

REPEATED

They said it about MacDonald in 1924 and repeated it in 1951 and 1970. Last year, workers said it in New Zealand and Australia, and repeated it only months ago in Sweden. It is only a matter of time before the end of the Callaghan Government is sealed.



ANDY BEVAN

But the right-wing leaders know that the consequence of their disastrous policies will not only be the defeat of Labour at the next election. It will also mean a deepening of criticism and self-criticism in the ranks of the working class.

They fear such open and democratic discussion because it threatens their positions. And so they are preparing to place the responsibility for Labour's dec-

line at the door of the left.

The attack on **Militant** is only the first step. In 1966, within hours of Wilson's withdrawal from office, the Government was hunting of reds in the seams and beds, Sir William Carron was denouncing 'outsiders' alleged to be 'influencing' the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

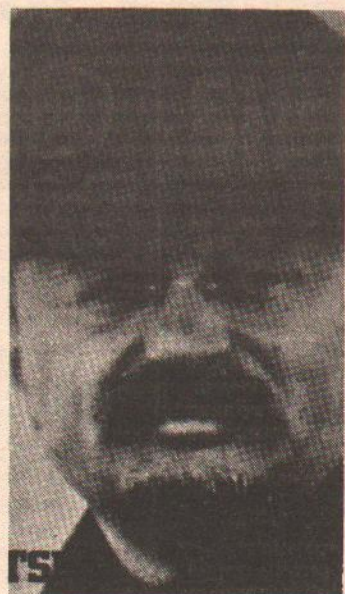
SIMPLE

Today it will not stop at 'Trots'. ... They'll be round the 'Trib' in the afternoon!

The policy is simple: combat the attack on working class living standards with an attack on democracy in the labour movement.

Through rule changes Trades Councils and secret ballots in the unions they attempt to weaken the power of the rank and file to start any fight back. Through witch-hunting in the Labour Party they try to isolate the activists and put the finger on the left.

A united fight against the witch-hunt is vital if the smokescreen is to be cleared away and the real infiltrators exposed. T



we have no need." If he added that those sitting in the House of Lords and in other state institutions were all the titled heirs of bloodsuckers and robbers and that it was necessary to take a broom and sweep them

quicken with joy?

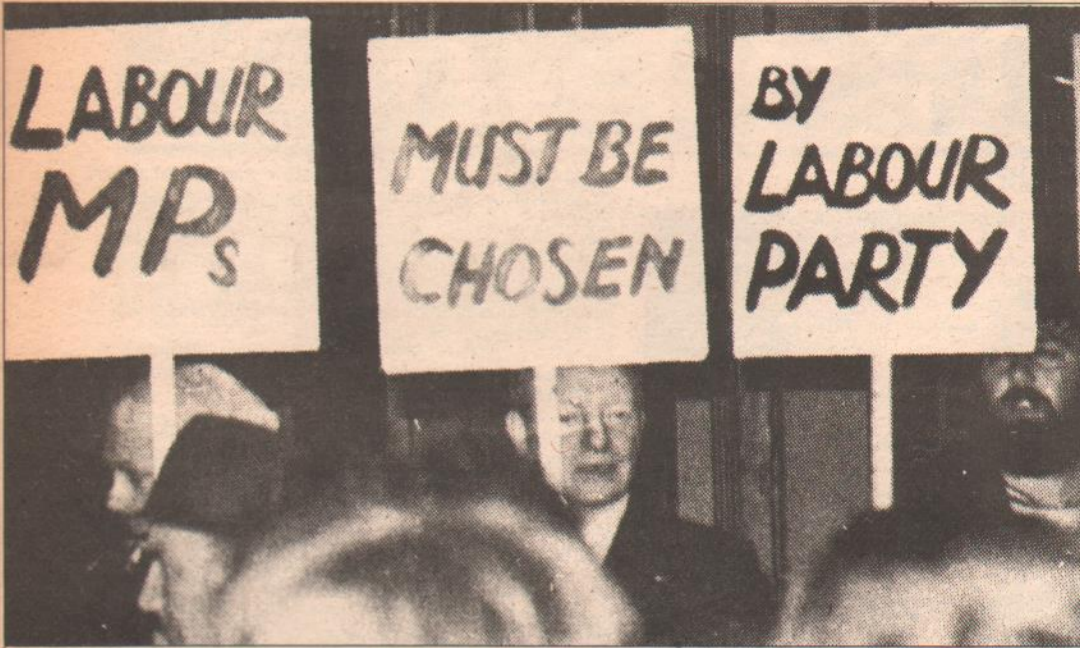
"What if he added, "We are going to take their lands, mines and railways, and nationalise their banks." ... If he added "With the resources released by the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords we are going to undertake the construction of housing for workers", he would unleash tremendous enthusiasm ...

"If MacDonald walked into Parliament, laid his program on the table, rapped lightly with his knuckles, and said, "Accuse me or I'll drive you all out" (say it more politely than I phrased it here) — if he did that Britain would be unrecognisable within two weeks.

"MacDonald would receive an overwhelming majority in the next election. The British working class would break out of the shell of conservatism which it has been so cleverly surrounded; it would discard that slavish reverence for the law of the bourgeoisie, the propertied classes, and the Church and monarchy.

"But MacDonald will not do that. He is conservative

THE LABOUR PARTY



NEWHAM NORTH-EAST Labour Party confirmed its opposition to the right-wing policies of Reg Prentice last week. Officers opposed to the reselection of Prentice for the next election were returned with their majorities increased threefold. The meeting which elected them was attended by 90 per cent of the 84-strong General Management Committee.

Prentice, who himself has taken one step further away from the labour movement by rejecting his T&GWU sponsorship, blamed apathy for his defeat. 'The results are a reflection of the apathy of people who didn't come.' One notable absentee was Mr Prentice himself, who now rarely attends meetings organised by his own constituency party.

The fight to remove Prentice has acted as a beacon for all those fighting for the representatives of the labour movement to be made accountable to their base, rather than to parliamentary cliques and circles.



stand taken by many left MPs is therefore to be welcomed. Tony Benn's speech in Bristol last week defended the democratic rights of Marxists and Trotskyists to be members of the Labour Party.

But the fight against the diversionary witch-hunt is lost if it is not combined with an assault on the very leaders whose policies are responsible for the attacks on living standards. And the same Tony Benn has for the past two years and more taken his full share of collective responsibility for Labour's Tory policies.

Over the past two months and more he has sat in the Government which has been cooking up secret deals with the Algernons of the IMF. Not once has he spoken out and thrown his weight behind building mass action to stop the cuts.

Other lefts on the NEC have done little more. They have endorsed the Social Contract, the banner under which the working class has been made to pay for a capitalist crisis.

The Labour Party Conference called for 'the Labour Party to conduct an active campaign against the cuts', but the NEC

will call no labour movement action in response to Healey's cuts. The lefts' conception of an 'active campaign' is talk, talk, and more talk.

The time for talking has ended with the so-called 'mini-Budget'. As a first step, the lefts must vote against the mini-Budget.

The NEC must roll back the witch-hunt. It must throw out the Underhill report and appoint Andy Bevan. And it must recall the Party Conference in order to put an end to all bans and proscriptions and launch a campaign of mass action against the Government's Tory policies.

Watch out!

There's a trot about.

Garland with apologies to Crime Prevention Dept., Bow St.

Safeguard your constituency while you're away

Keeping in with Algy.

SUNNY JIM Callaghan rushed into the Commons last week to face a question from Liberal leader, David Steel. Was it the Government's policy, Steel asked, to stir up 'envy, greed and class conflict'?

Sunny Jim was undoubtedly as surprised as the rest of us that anyone could dream of such a thing. Of course not, he told what the Sun described as 'cheering Tories'.

Steel, along with the usual array of ruling class papers, was complaining about the 'Honourable Algernon', a Labour Party political broadcast on television last week.

But Sunny Jim did not find it strange that Tories and Liberals should be so concerned about Labour's image. Or that the Sun, a paper renowned for its anti-working class tirades, should be so worried that any further broadcast along the same lines would 'only boomerang against the Labour Party'.

Callaghan — along with Healey, Jones, Murray and all the other right-wing leaders — knows only too well who are his real allies, and with whom to discuss the content of political broadcasts.

And the tale of the Honourable Algernon does not fit into Callaghan's projections. 'Algy', born in a £50-a-day private nursing home, and educated at £2,000-a-year Eton, and who only talks of a dole queue to keep his workers in line, is not really a figure to be depicted as a class enemy just now.

Indeed, he is rather a sympathetic but strong-minded gentleman to whom Labour Prime Ministers and Chancellors of the Exchequer go when they want a big loan to bail out an ailing capitalist system!



SOON ALL OVER BRITAIN—

RED KONG

THE TROTSKY GORILLA X

CAN OUR SHINING KNIGHT RESCUE HIS MAIDEN IN DISTRESS

?

MPS ARE SHAKING IN

Sir Harold Witch-hunt 1966 1976

'It has been apparent for some time — and I do not say this without having good reason for saying it — that since the Court of Inquiry's report a few individuals have brought pressure to bear on a select few on the executive council of the National Union of Seamen, who in turn have been able to dominate the majority of that otherwise sturdy union.

'It is difficult for us to appreciate the pressures which are put on men I know to be realistic and reasonable, not only in their executive capacity but in the highly organised strike committees in the individual ports, by this tightly knit group of politically motivated men who, as the last general election showed, utterly failed to secure acceptance of their views by the British electorate, but who are now determined to exercise backstage pressures, forcing great hardships on the members of the union and their families, and

Sir Harold gives 'a grave warning' to the Labour Party against 'infiltration by small unrepresentative groups, insistent on take-over bids in respect both of policy and of personalities ...

'We are seeing increasingly the effects and ambitions of these people, seeking to unseat respected Members of Parliament.

'I must lay a lot of the blame on inadequate membership especially in some of our safest seats, and on the sheer laziness and complacency to be found even in constituencies where membership is somewhat larger.

'Parties so organised or unorganised present a tempting target to the predatory minded, the take-over bidders, in the self same way that in the property boom of the early 70s, boards characterised by apathy and inadequate stewardship laid themselves open to the asset-strippers.

'We should show a corresponding contempt for the political asset-strippers, where the prize is not a few thousands of unearned money, but a

The Birth of Marxist Politics

review by ALAN JONES

The first five volumes of Marx and Engels' Collected Works, covering the years 1835-1845, were devoted chiefly to the theoretical and empirical works through which revolutionary Marxism was first formed. This latest volume* introduces a new and crucial element to the situation — the period of the first organised political practice of Marxism in the period leading to the revolutions of 1848.

While there are still crucial works in this volume, above all *The Poverty of Philosophy*, whose emphasis is theory in the general sense, the centre of attention has shifted here to an analysis of contemporary political developments — notably the Chartist movement in England and the early organisation of the working class in Europe. The period culminates in the founding of the first Marxist party, the Communist League, and, as the theoretical counterpart of this, the production of the first great programmatic document of Marxism — the Communist Manifesto.

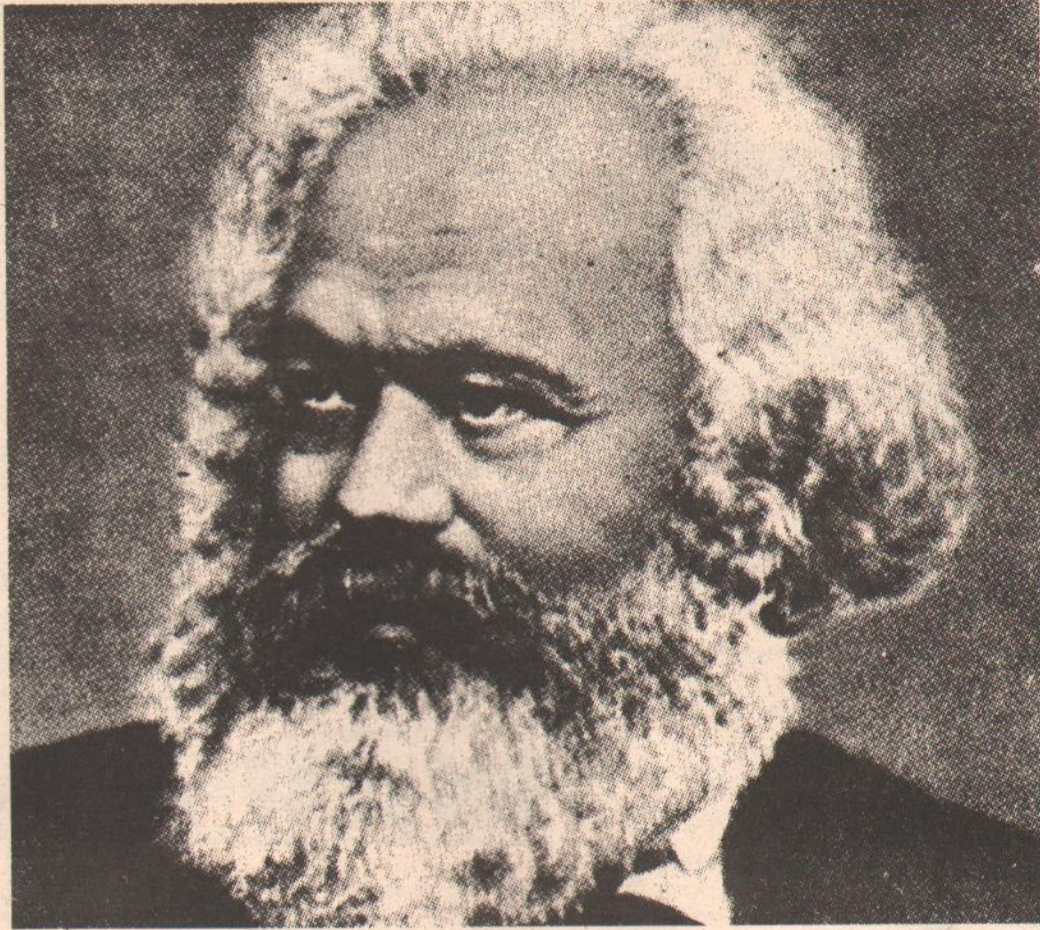
In looking back over 120 years to the first political intervention of Marxism, what stands out above all is not the limitations of what Marx and Engels had achieved by this time, but just how much of the basic outlines of working class political practice, strategy and tactics had already been laid down by 1848. It would be ridiculous and unhistorical not to recognise the amount which was added to Marxism by Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky and others — not to mention the later works of Marx and Engels themselves — but a concentrated reading of this volume reveals with striking clarity how much these contributions were a concretisation rather than a contradiction of what Marx and Engels had already achieved by 1848.

POLITICAL IDEAS

It is impossible here to give even a small fraction of the examples from a volume ranging over a dozen countries. Three points however, dealing with central points still discussed on the Marxist left today, should serve to give an idea of just how systematically, even at this early period, Marxism was able to develop its political ideas and practice.

The first question is the political basis of the Marxist party. Its foundation is already laid down clearly in the Communist Manifesto itself, in this famous statement: 'The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas and principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle.' (p.497)

From this flows both the scientific relation of Marxism to the working class and the basis of all Marxist strategy and tactics. The defining characteristic of the revolutionary Marxist party was already defined not as adherence to any particular tactics or nostrum, or some interest of its own, but as the fact that the Communists defended the interests of the working class movement as a whole right through to



the end, not merely against other classes but even against any apparent or sectional advantages which could be gained by any part of the working class against the interests of the proletariat as a whole.

Communists 'have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.'

*The Communists are distinguished from the other

working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole' (p.497).

The means, organisational and political, by which to construct a party which comprised precisely all those (and only those) who defended 'the interests of the working class as a whole' was something developed after the death of Marx and Engels by Lenin and Trotsky. Yet they only concretised and secured the means whereby to secure the goal which Marx had already set out in the Manifesto. The Bolshevik or revolutionary party equally has no 'interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole'.

PROLETARIAN

Flowing logically from their concept of the political basis of the proletarian party, and in particular that 'in the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they (the Communists) point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality', came the type of organisation which Marx and Engels considered necessary to develop the intervention of the revolutionaries in the working class movement. Already the very first article in this volume finds Engels formulating for the first time in scientific terms the relation of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat to internationalism and the nation state:

'The bourgeoisie in each country has its own special interests, and since these interests are the most important to it, it can never transcend nationality But the proletarians in all countries have one and the same interest, one and the same enemy, and one and the same struggle Only the proletarians can destroy nationality, only the awakening proletariat can bring about fraternalisation between the different nations' (Engels, 'The Festival of Nations in London').

In this analysis the culminating great slogan of the Communist Manifesto, 'Workers of All Countries Unite', was being prepared.

However for Marx and Engels — and this is a characteristic which is displayed throughout the volume — no analysis remained abstract and without a concrete conclusion. Each analysis led towards a slogan or demand which expressed it, and to practical steps which embodied it. In relation to this analysis of the international solidarity of the working class, and even though the theory of the party was not at all fully developed, Marx's conclusions led inexorably to the necessity of international political organisation of the working class.

INTERNATIONAL

Marx and Engels were already clear that the formation of a political organisation must be based not on the nation but on international organisation of the proletarian vanguard. The Communist League, the first organisation which Marx and Engels helped to establish, was (like every other political organisation in which they participated) built **simultaneously** as a national and an international organisation.

But Marx and Engels not only first clearly formulated the theory of the party in the period covered by this volume; they also began to lay down the tactics of

The basis of this policy is explained quite clearly in the Manifesto itself. Communists are the **only** force who defend the interests of the working class right through to the end, and in their full historic and international dimension.

However, it is not at all the case that politics and the class struggle are always being fought out at the level of the 'last analysis' and the historic interests of the working class. On the contrary, the class struggle is fought out most of the time on the terrain of limited and **immediate** interests of the classes. On this field, while revolutionaries are the most determined and consistent fighters, it is not true that **only** Marxists are capable of taking steps and waging struggles which are in the interests of the working class.

VACILLATING

A whole series of vacillating working class, petty-bourgeois and other forces can wage **particular** struggles which correspond to the interests of the proletariat. In such circumstances it is the policy and the duty of Marxists, precisely in order to defend the interests of the working class, to enter into united action with all those prepared to fight for particular and immediate aims. The relation of historic goals and immediate struggles which is involved in the united front was already clearly spelt out by Marx at this time:

'The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement

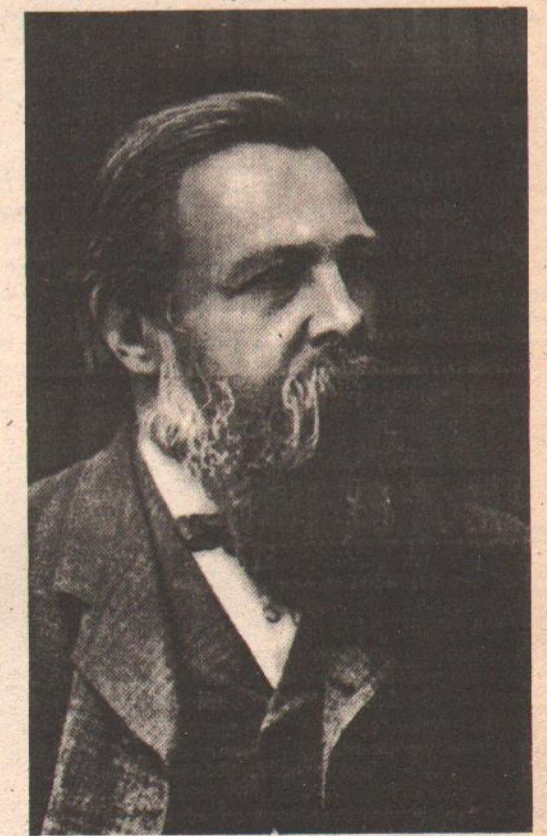
'In Germany they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie. But they never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightforwardly use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin

'In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. In all of these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time' (p.62).

UNITED FRONT

The concrete application of these principles today is of course vastly changed, and the particular alliances no longer exist. Nevertheless all the basic aspects of united front policy — the seeking of united action for the immediate interests of the working class, the necessity within that united action of maintaining full independence of propaganda and agitation, the continuation of the struggle for the interests of the working class against the previous 'ally' the moment it turns against the proletariat, the pushing forward through the united action of the fundamental historical interests of the working class — are already contained in the Communist Manifesto.

Far from the united front being a cunning manoeuvre developed by the Communist International to cover a temporary retreat (as is sometimes



asserted), the theory of the party and the theory of the united front were in fact developed **simultaneously** by Marxism. From the fact that they are the consistent defenders of the interests of the proletariat as a whole, flows inextricably **both** the formation of a separate party based on the defence of the historical interests of the proletariat and the necessity to enter into united action with other forces to defend the 'immediate' and 'momentary' interests of the working class.

In a period when the revolutionary left in Britain is slowly beginning to clarify out its ideas from the fog of sectarianism, an attention to the fundamental bases of Marxist politics, to the fact that revolutionaries 'have no interests separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole', is long overdue. There are few better starting points for such a study and its

£15,000 must be raised by May '77 THE CHOICE IS YOURS

LAST WEEK the IMG launched a Fund Drive for £15,000 by May. And already the response has been very good.

- ★ £1,000 from a supporter — his compensation money for an injury.
- ★ £100 from a Tyneside Red Weekly reader.
- ★ £15 from a Scottish supporter for 'the only paper with a correct line on devolution'.

Let these comrades be your example. Send in your donation with the form below, or, if you would like to make a regular commitment, then please fill in the Bankers Order. Area targets have now been worked out, and we will be publishing regular reports on the progress made towards reaching them.

TO GIVE IS A MILITANT ACT!

I donate £ (cheques/POs payable to 'The Week') to the £15,000 Fund Drive.

Please tick box if you do not want your name to be mentioned in the paper.

NAME

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The Fund Drive runs only until the end of May 1977. If you would like to regularise your commitment beyond this period, please fill in the Bankers Order below instead.

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TO (name of your bank) (branch)

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Dear Sirs, Please make payment to the debit of the account specified as per the details given:

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Targets

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| Bath | £70 |
| Birmingham | £790 |
| Bradford | £90 |
| Brighton | £160 |
| Bristol | £270 |
| Cambridge | £145 |
| Canterbury | £160 |
| Cardiff | £235 |
| Colchester | £70 |
| Coventry | £215 |
| Crewe | £55 |
| Darlington | £90 |
| Hemel Hempstead | £110 |
| Huddersfield | £35 |
| Hull | £90 |
| Lancaster | £55 |
| Leeds | £360 |
| Leicester | £160 |
| Liverpool | £200 |
| London | £3,060 |
| Manchester | £830 |
| Middlesbrough | £55 |
| Newcastle | £160 |
| Norwich | £35 |
| Nottingham | £360 |
| Oxford | £430 |
| Portsmouth | £90 |
| Preston | £70 |
| Reading | £125 |
| Sheffield | £340 |
| Southampton | £160 |

The Shah's Empire of Repression

THREE PAMPHLETS on Iran have been published recently. Their appearance coincides with the growth of the Iranian opposition and with the disclosure of the activities of SAVAK [Iranian Secret Police] resulting from the occupation of its headquarters in the Iranian Consulate in Geneva in June 1976.

Iran: the Shah's Empire of Repression, by the Committee Against Repression in Iran (CARI), Iran, by Amnesty International [November 1976], and Workers of Iran: Repression and the Fight for Democratic Trade Unions, published by the campaign for the Restoration of Trade Union Rights in Iran (CRTUI), are all essential tools for socialists.

The Iranian regime is no more democratic than that of Chile, yet there is a generally accepted myth that Iran has a benevolent monarchy which is leading Iran into being the 'Japan' of the Middle East. As a first step towards fighting this myth, Red Weekly will be reviewing all three pamphlets, starting this week with Iran: the Shah's Empire of Repression.

This pamphlet is particularly good, because it destroys systematically the whole myth promoted by the media on Iran. The pamphlet has a foreword by Stan Newens MP, who together with William Wilson MP has been under the surveillance of SAVAK.

The pamphlet relates how the Shah's father rose from being a private in the army to seizing the throne in 1925. But he supported the Nazis, so the allied troops forced him to abdicate.

Under the new prime minister, Mossadegh, political organisations and free trade unions, previously illegal, were allowed to develop. In 1951, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (now BP) was nationalised.

Imperialism retaliated by organising an international boycott of Iranian oil, and when that failed, the CIA organised a coup in 1953 to overthrow Mossadegh and put the present Shah on the throne. The coup cost the CIA \$19 million.

KILLED

To remain in power the Shah built an immense repressive apparatus with the help of MOSSAD (Israeli security organisation) and the CIA. According to Newsweek, SAVAK employs between 30,000 and 60,000 people full time and one out of eight adults are thought to be occasional informers of SAVAK.

The regime's propaganda has made a lot of noise about a white (bloodless) revolution. In fact the 'revolution' was far from 'white'. A few months after the Shah had proclaimed the 'revolution' in June 1963, massive demonstrations occurred in the capital, Tehran. They were attacked and over 4,000 people were killed.

Half the peasants did not get any land out of the agrarian reform, whilst those landlords who did lose some land were given enormous compensation.

Over three quarters of the popu-

lation remain illiterate. Although school is compulsory, 25 per cent never go to school.

Outside Tehran there is one doctor for 10,000 inhabitants. In the handful of state hospitals, seriously ill patients have to sleep on the floor of corridors for weeks before they can receive medical attention.

STRIKES

On average workers are paid between 10p and 13p an hour, with the income per head for more than half their families working out at less than 63p per week. And the cost of living in the towns in Iran is no lower than in Britain.... foodstuffs are especially expensive because of constant shortages.

As for the regime's 'industrialisation' programme, it consists of importing whole plants and the technical and skilled labour to go with them, regardless of the needs of the country and the absence of the necessary infra-structure.

Following the withdrawal of British troops from the Gulf, Iran has also sent 11,000 troops to fight the liberation forces in Oman.

In the last few years there have been an increasing number of strikes and factory occupations. But frequently the strikers are attacked by the army or armed police, workers get killed, and SAVAK tries to arrest the leaders.

One example is that of the Jahan textile factory workers in Karaj, who decided to march to the Ministry of Labour in Teheran to demand the legal minimum wage. An army truck machine-gunned the demonstration, killing one tenth of the work force.

SUPPORT

There are an estimated 100,000 political prisoners. Most of them have never been tried. Nearly all are subjected to torture by SAVAK, whose methods include

electrical shock treatment to sexual organs, broken bottles or electric batons being shoved up the anus or vagina, and slow burning on an electrified bed. Iran has the highest rate of political executions in the world.

The pamphlet also describes the activities of SAVAK in Britain, and the close links that exist between the British Government and the Shah. The pamphlet describes how the interests of the British working class lie in support for the workers of Iran, and explains how this can be done.

It is essential to mount a campaign which can make the student and workers movement aware of the situation in Iran, thereby leading to a situation in which SAVAK is expelled from Britain, in which workers black the export of arms to Iran, and eventually the Government is forced to break all trade and diplomatic links with the Shah's reactionary regime. It should also give concrete material aid to the progressive forces of the opposition both inside and outside Iran.

CARI is a first step towards such a campaign. Its sponsors include seven Labour MPs, and it also has the active support of the Confederation of Iranian Students, the



IMG, IS, the Gulf Committee, and several other organisations. Many students unions have affiliated, and sub-committees of CARI are being formed in colleges and universities throughout the country.

CARI invites all progressive Iranian and British forces to join it. The publication of this pamphlet is a major step in building the campaign, and it can be obtained from CARI, Box 4, Rising Free, 142 Drummond Street, London NW1. Single copies are 30p (+10p postage and packing), 10 or more copies 20p each. The pamphlet is also available at Red Books. For further information about CARI write to the address above.

ROBIN BLACK-DOUGLAS



Iran has the highest rate of political executions in the world.

ZAPATA RIDES AGAIN?



ECHVERRIA

of these spontaneous actions, the First National Conference of Worker, Peasant and Poor People's Opposition took place with over 2,000 delegates. Central to the debate was the political independence of the workers movement from the PRI.

There have been independently led strikes [an electricians' strike, for instance] and for the first time in 40 years an independent workers candidate in the presidential elections won a million votes against the PRI's 15 million. This is an important advance, cutting across the traditional abstentionism of the Mexican left, and dragging the CP off the PRI's coat tails into an electoral front with other left organisations, among them the Liga Socialista, a sympathising organisation of the Fourth International.

The independent workers movement will be qualitatively strengthened by the LS's fusion with the Liga Comunista Internacionalista, another sympathising organisation of the FI, making the new party the largest on the Mexican left after the CP. The new ringmaster of the Mexican 'Revolution', President Jose Lopez Portillo, will undoubtedly take the same view and act accordingly.

... or so Luis Echeverria, Mexico's outgoing President, would have us believe.

A year ago hundreds of landless peasants, taking the Government's revolutionary rhetoric seriously, occupied rich farming land in the northern state of Sonora. The army threw them off again, killing seven, severely wounding more than 20, and arresting countless others. But Echeverria's parting shot, before relinquishing office to his hand-picked successor, was to expropriate nearly a quarter million acres of the very same land from 72 families and hand it over to 8,837 peasant households.

A flicker of life from the ashes of the 1910 revolution? Or the left face of the longest running 'social contract' of the 20th century, the near monolithic rule of the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party]?

The Echeverria presidency differed in several important respects from its predecessor [see Alfonso Rios, 'The Decline of Mexican Bonapartism', in Inprecor no 19]. The Diaz Ordaz Government, faced with massive mobilisations of students and workers, opted for bloody confrontation. The result was the massacre of 2 October 1968 when more than 500 people were mown down by a fusillade of bullets.

Echeverria saw the need to give the regime a liberal face-lift, and began a drive to recover the mass social base that had seemed irrevocably lost in 1968. Repression of independent working class activity became more selective, though no less vicious.



LOPEZ PORTILLO

Minor 'reforms' — periodic wage increases and guaranteed prices for agricultural produce — were used to head off independent mobilisations against PRI rule. But with an economy deeply penetrated by foreign — above all US — capital, this bourgeois 'anti-imperialism' has fixed borders.



Peruvian Trotskyist Murdered

from BOB JOHNSON in Lima

THE LIFE of yet another young Trotskyist has been sacrificed, this time in Peru. According to the official version, 22-year-old Fernando Lozano suffered a heart attack whilst undergoing interrogation by the police, and died before he reached hospital. Fernando was arrested the previous day, 26 November, after the police seized duplicating equipment and a quantity of political literature attributed to the FIR (Front of the Revolutionary Left), one of the two sympathising organisations of the Fourth International in Peru.

The students union of the Catholic University, where comrade Lozano studied law until recently, has demanded a minute investigation of the events leading up to his death and the exemplary punishment of those directly responsible. It also emphasises that this crime is part of a pattern of attacks on human rights and restriction of democratic freedoms in Peru, under which any person whose ideas express a serious concern for the oppressed majority of Peruvians is increasingly threatened with imprisonment or physical violence.

In a statement intended to establish that Lozano's death was a regrettable accident, the Ministry of the Interior has made clear that investigations continue with a view to 'smashing the subversive apparatus of the FIR'. Declarations of this sort, which are not accompanied by specific charges or evidence, have become increasingly common in recent months as part of a concerted effort by the regime of General Morales Bermudez to intimidate or crush all the more militant or important sections of the workers movement. Both the Trotskyist PST and elements allegedly associated with the Castroist MIR have

provincial union federations.

In these circumstances, the responsibility of the Government for the fate of Fernando Lozano is direct and unavoidable, irrespective of the nature of the 'interrogation' to which he was subjected. Protests to this effect should be rushed to Peruvian diplomatic representatives or to General Francisco Morales Bermudez Cerruti, Palacio de Gobierno, Lima 1, Peru.

• Trotskyists are under attack throughout Latin America. An international campaign has been waged, for instance, to save the lives of Páez and Apaza, two trade union militants of the PST [Socialist Workers Party], Argentinian section of the Fourth International.

The campaign to save Páez and Apaza has achieved some success so far in Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, USA, Australia, Spain, Portugal, Greece and France. José Páez is a prominent trade union leader currently in jail in Córdoba, in a very precarious situation where prisoners are taken out and killed at night. Arturo Apaza is a leader of the engineering trade union of Buenos Aires, and played a prominent part in the general strike of July 1975. He was taken from his factory in April by uniformed soldiers and there has been no news of his whereabouts since then.

The PST campaign to save these comrades' lives must be supported, and the Argentinian Government must be forced to guarantee the life of Páez and issue news of Arturo Apaza, producing him immediately. Full information is available from Campaign to Save Páez and Apaza, c/o 97 Caledonian Rd., London N1. The petition to save Páez and Apaza has been signed recently by Jack Jones and others. This is a first step.

POLISH PM SEEKS AID TO STAVE OFF CRISIS

THE POLISH Prime Minister, Jaroszewicz, arrives in London this week amidst fresh evidence of a growing political crisis in Poland.

The present leadership of the Polish Communist Party, including Jaroszewicz, came to power during the uprising of the working class on the Baltic in December 1970. Gomulka fell and Gierek took his place.

After four months of strikes in 1971, Gierek was able to stabilise his position by promising a continuous rise in living standards for the workers if they in return dropped their demands for democratic liberties. To make good his promise Gierek borrowed heavily from the West.

DEBTS

By the summer of 1976 these debts had to be repaid, while Poland was losing vast quantities of hard currency thanks to a growing trade deficit with the capitalist world. In June the Party leadership tried to solve this problem by introducing huge price increases for consumer goods: Gierek planned to cut internal consumption of food, thus expanding Poland's food exports while reducing the import bill.

So by the summer Gierek's economic strategy had been turned on its head: he had borrowed from the West to increase consumer goods in order to dampen working class discontent; now he had to ride this discontent and decrease the supply of consumer goods to pay back debts to the West.

The move failed: the announcement of price increases brought a nation-wide strike wave, forcing the Government to retreat on the price issue. On the defensive in front of the working class, the regime tried to restore some measure of control over the course of events by beginning a course of selective repression to persuade workers not to meddle in politics.

Working class militants from two centres of the June strike movement were put on trial and sentenced to many years in prison. In spite of subsequent denials by the regime, a number of demonstrators were killed by the police.

BEATEN

Of the people arrested in Radom 93 were badly beaten by the police, and 45 jailed workers from Ursus were also badly beaten. According to Gomulka's former Minister of Culture, Bienkowski, 'Those arrested were beaten and subjected to torture, and in this way forced to admit to the offences of which they were accused' (Le Monde, 13 October).

The regime's most important repressive weapon, however, has been the use of dismissals from work. Such sackings are more crippling for workers in Eastern Europe than in the capitalist world, because the bureaucracy can use its control over state-owned industry to effectively exclude workers from earning their living.

There are reports that no fewer than 20,000 workers were sacked for political reasons from the main industrial establishments of the country after the June strikes. The list of factories would be endless; but to give one example, we know that in the Baltic ports the shipyards, which were not main centres of the June protests, saw sackings of between 200 and 400 workers apiece.

DEADLY

This second move to re-establish its authority has backfired on the Polish Stalinist regime: after retreating on the price issue, it has had to retreat on the field of repression. Strong and courageous protests from within the country as well as protests from the Italian Communist Party have led to the release of some of the Ursus and Radom workers put on public trial in the autumn.

Some of the workers have been reinstated, and the overall effect of the repression has been the reverse of what was intended. Instead of teaching those who try to meddle in politics 'a lesson', it has thrown up a potentially deadly political movement against the bureaucracy.

The publicly visible part of this movement is the Committee for

gate the scope of the repression, and to reveal the facts to the outside world.

In spite of harassment from the police, denunciation by Gierek at the Central Committee meeting held recently, black propaganda from the political police in the form of forged committee communiques, and outright arrests, the Committee has grown in strength and authority. It is in fact a centre of a much wider movement involving large numbers of workers and students, as well as intellectuals throughout the country.

The latest event has been a demand, openly signed by over 800 Ursus workers, for the reinstatement of their fellow workers who were brutally victimised in the summer. The fact that such an open political demand to the party leadership can be made by workers shows how counter-productive has been the regime's attempt at intimidation.

Meanwhile the economic crisis in Poland is becoming more acute: sugar is rationed, coal is rationed, meat is short, and Poland's international debts are

mounting.

The Soviet leadership has provided some new credits after the recent visit of Gierek to the USSR, and Jaroszewicz's visit to Britain is part of a more general drive to get economic assistance from the capitalist world. But the economic crisis has developed such a momentum that only drastic internal measures can halt it.

Furthermore, while the existence of an open political movement in opposition to the regime is intolerable for any of the bureaucratic dictatorships in Eastern Europe, the Gierek leadership does not feel strong enough to do the normal thing and brutally crush the movement: such is the depth of the crisis of the Polish bureaucracy.

The need for solidarity with the Polish workers is greater than ever and it is necessary for the socialist and trade union movement in Britain to urgently turn its attention to the growing political crisis in Poland. The pickets of the Polish Embassy supported by the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group on 10 and 15 December are a first step in this direction.



Picket of Polish Embassy by Polish Workers Defence Committee on the eve of Premier Jaroszewicz's visit.

Photo: LAWRENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

PORTUGAL: Elections the signal for new attacks on workers

On 11 December the Portuguese people went to the polls for the third time this year, this time in local elections. The predicted fall in the Socialist Party vote from the Constituent Assembly elections in April will allow President Eanes and the ruling class to press even harder for a coalition government between the SP and the bourgeois PSD (Social Democratic Party, formerly the Popular Democratic Party — PPD), perhaps with the participation of the military or the CDS (Social and Democratic Centre).

ATTACKS

Since the election of Eanes in June and the formation of a minority SP Government, continual attacks have been made on the gains of the working class and peasantry. The role of the workers commissions has been limited, attempts have been made to limit the right to strike, and old bosses have been allowed to return.

But this challenge is still insufficient for the ruling class, who eventually want to see the denationalisation of much of industry, and the total evacuation of all the occupied land.

Such an assault cannot be carried out by the SP if it wants to keep any of its working class base, nor does the present relationship of class forces permit it. The workers movement still retains its militancy and organisational strength. Hence the pressure for the involvement of the parties of the ruling class, the PSD and CDS, in the Government.

In the last month the centre of class struggle has again moved to the south. Following the appointment of a new minister of agriculture, Antonio Barreto, new moves were taken against the agricultural cooperatives.

UNITY

Under agrarian laws passed by the Fifth Provisional Government led by Goncalves, former owners were given the right to return to part of their land which was occupied when many of these absentee landlords fled. Previously

In two cooperatives the workers refused to return the land, while in two others pickets surrounded the land. The National Republican Guard were sent in and the Government suspended all credits to the cooperatives for ten days.

The SP's efforts to consolidate a base within the trade union movement have also suffered a setback during the autumn. Immediately after the April elections an 'open letter' was launched signed by 29 unions calling for a congress of all unions to be planned by a parity commission of Intersindical and other unions (190 of the 307 Portuguese unions are affiliated to Intersindical).

These proposals were rejected by the CP-dominated leadership of Intersindical, as well as by the Maoist UDP (Popular Democratic Union) and the centrist MES (Left Socialist Movement), on the grounds that they opened the way for 'division'. The LCI (Internationalist Communist League), Portuguese sympathising section of the Fourth International, was alone in arguing for democratic trade union unity with the right of tendency to safeguard the interests of minorities.

CONGRESSES

The campaign for the open letter reached its high point in Coimbra on 13-14 September, when 51 union met to support it. But in the wake of the attacks by the Soares Government on trade union rights, the open letter rapidly lost support.

Twenty-one unions had resigned by the end of November leaving only unions such as the Lisbon teachers and the Oporto and Lisbon bank and office workers. The Intersindical conference planned for January will be attended by all the unions of the most important sections of the workers movement.

During November the SP and the CP held their national congresses. The first to meet was that of the Socialist Party.

A few weeks later the Communist Party held its eighth congress. The objective of the hierarchy was made clear — to appear as the most ardent defender of the constitution and to get into the Gov-

advance towards a socialist society, and that of course means respecting the powers of the President and the military. This 'non-capitalist road', which Cunhal took 2½ hours to explain, can only be guaranteed by the 'convergence of government action and the active participation of the workers' — that is, the CP in the Government.

CALL

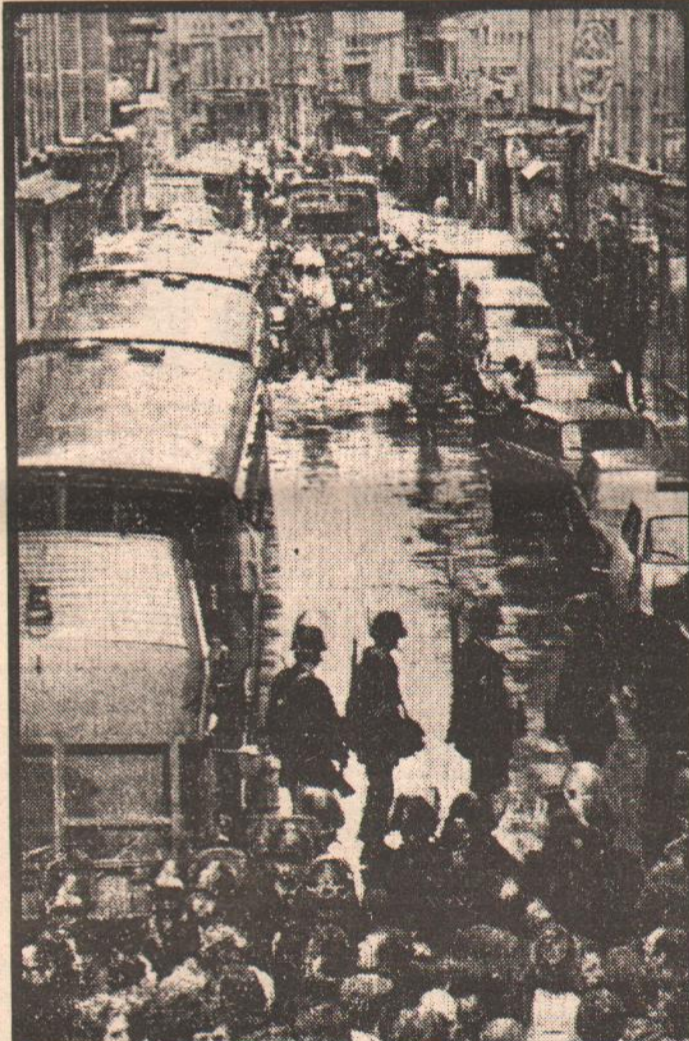
However, Cunhal offers no real alternative to the Soares Government. He too supports austerity measures and an increase in production with reductions in consumption.

Soares' aim was to marginalise the criticisms of the Government from its trade union and working class base, and by so doing to unite the party behind the Soares Government.

The price he paid for this was considerable; if not in the short term, then undoubtedly in the long term. The president of the teachers' union was suspended; Lopes Cardoso, then minister of agriculture, resigned from the Government; an alternative slate for the National Committee won 25 per cent of the votes: an emergency congress is going to be held in January to change the party statutes; while shortly after the congress five leaders of the left were suspended for backing a meeting against terrorism of the right.

While the two reformist parties have been jockeying for favours with the military, the LCI and another Trotskyist organisation, the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party), were putting forward a joint slate in the elections under the slogan of 'For a workers majority in the elections'. In their election material the LCI and the PRT explained their call for a government of the SP and CP:

'It is necessary that the mass workers parties, that the leadership of the SP and the CP, abandon their politics of making concessions to the bourgeoisie and to Eanes and form a government of the two parties, responsible for the application of a plan of struggle decided by the workers, and par-



French Printers Strike Against Eviction

FRENCH POLICE have thrown out the occupying workers of the newspaper *Parisien Libéré*. Despite a massive working class mobilisation — one of the largest since 1968 — and a solid strike of Paris newspaper workers, police violence was able to implement a court order authorising the expulsion of the workers. And after two days the CGT union leadership called off the strike, falsely claiming that guarantees had been given against redundancy.

The *Parisien Libéré* struggle has been going on for some two years, since the paper's owner, Emilien Amaury, attempted to create widespread redundancies and challenge the unionisation of the workforce. According to Prime Minister Raymond Barre, justifying the police action, the workers in that time caused 338 traffic blockages, 31 violent occupations of buildings, 30 attacks on carriers, 224 incidents involving damage to warehouses and vans, the destruction of more than 1,600,000 copies of *Parisien Libéré*, the theft of card indexes, and many other 'disturbances'.

This alone indicates that the struggle has been no simple union dispute. *Parisien Libéré* is one of the leading right-wing dailies, and the bourgeois papers and the Government were quick to point out that their 'freedom of the press' was at stake. But the weakness of the CGT union leadership of the struggle has been its consistent failure to take up this ideology.

The fight against the capitalist press is not a question of simple economics. The struggle against sackings posed the immediate possibility of a fight for workers control of the press. *Rouge*, the Trotskyist daily, pointed out that the unions were in a position to impose on the Paris press the use of their pages by the workers of *Parisien Libéré*. But there were very few who understood this great opportunity.

Indeed, the Stalinist-led CGT made clear where it stood on the question of workers democracy in the press when its stewards attacked the contingent of *Rouge* workers on the 7 December mass demonstra-

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

The Social Democratic and Labour Party was formed six years ago at the height of the civil rights struggle in the North of Ireland. It saw itself as the 'constitutional' alternative to mass action and armed struggle. Predominantly an election machine it has always relied on nationalist sentiment to preserve its image when not in office. Looking four ways at the same time — to Britain, to the Loyalists, to the 26 County Government and, most importantly, over its shoulder at the activity of the anti-Unionist masses — the SDLP has found it increasingly difficult to paper over its contradictions.

Today they are more isolated than ever. At one level there is the latest surge of activity in the ghettos; at another they have been deserted by their erstwhile allies, the Unionist Party and the Alliance Party. The SDLP themselves are a bit distrustful these days of both Britain and the 26 County Government because they refuse to coerce the Loyalists into 'meaningful' power-sharing.

So they are reduced to ludicrous contradictory poses. SDLP leader Gerry Fitt congratulates the Peace Movement, while Paddy Devlin, another leader, condemns both the Peace Movement and British Army activity in West Belfast. The party leadership demands the introduction of the SAS into North Belfast to 'protect' Catholics, while Seamus Mallon, another prominent SDLPer, demands the expulsion of the SAS.

So where does this highly disorganised expression of 'moderate' Catholic collaboration turn? There were a number of clues presented at the party's annual conference, held on 4-5 December, where the splits were publicly admitted for the first time. A resolution demanding a declaration of British intent to withdraw and a negotiated independence was defeated by only 153 to 111 votes — a slender majority which led to the conference breaking up in disarray with the compromise position of carrying out a study of negotiated independence for the Six Counties.

But this wasn't all. To the horror of the party leadership it was revealed that a number of prominent members — Paddy Devlin, Paddy Duffy and Seamus Mallon — had already had talks with John McKeague and the Ulster Loyalists Central Coordinating Committee (the joint Loyalist paramilitary front) on the issue of independence.

The Loyalists are very clear what they mean by 'independence': the

restoration of a Loyalist parliament based on the Loyalist Royal Ulster Constabulary and Ulster Defence Regiment, with a generous financial hand-out from Britain to maintain the 'jobs for the boys' Protestant state. Official Loyalist opinion is only against the idea because it would mean the legal dismantling of the British link and the resulting loss of their own influence amidst an atmosphere of continuous instability.

But for the disgruntled petty-bourgeoisie in the SDLP it is rapidly becoming a case of any port in a storm. These people have dreamed for years of becoming a recognised political party with parliamentary representation and ministerial office; so if Britain isn't going to do it for them, they have to do it without Britain. When it gets to this advanced stage of utopianism, the consequences don't matter; or, as one SDLP member put it, 'with independence for Ulster there will be no problem with the Loyalists because we will support the forces of the state'. Small wonder that even Gerry Fitt said he couldn't understand this position, because the forces of the state would be Loyalist forces.

This growing disintegration of the SDLP is evident in another way. Over the last few months tens of thousands of militants have been marching in the streets and organising in their areas around the demand of political status for political prisoners. But the SDLP are so far removed from these militants and from the Catholic ghettos that political status was not even mentioned at the conference. It seems the SDLP may soon join the ever-growing list of forgotten and unsupported 'moderates'.

MIKE PINTER

WRITE TO THESE PRISONERS

The wife of the Prime Minister recently wrote to the Prime Minister of South Africa in her capacity as chairperson of the Board of Governors of the Hospital for Sick Children. She expressed deep concern at the treatment of Susan Rabkin, a British woman detained by the South African Security Police for 16 days in solitary confinement.

Ms Rabkin was a political prisoner. In Britain there are many political prisoners, and the majority are Irish Republicans.

Forty-six of them have been held in a state of solitary confinement within the last twelve months. Many get regular beatings. Sean Campbell has had his arm and leg broken and his ribs fractured. Father Fell has had his nose broken, while Eddie Byrne was dragged down several flights of stairs and was left uncon-

scious. While we are all talking about Christmas being a capitalist plot, and drinking ourselves sick, the political prisoners in this country will be suffering much the same as they suffer every other day. So the least we can do is send a card or letter. Below we list these prisoners, and where they are. Write to one in your area.

Sixty prisoners have asked for transfers to jails in the North of Ireland to be nearer their families, but all have been refused.

It seems unlikely that Mrs Callaghan will write to her husband complaining about the treatment of these political prisoners, so instead we urge all readers of Red Weekly to write to the prisoners themselves this Christmas.

- Albany, Isle of Wight:**
EDDIE BYRNE, HUGH CALLAGHAN, SEAN CAMPBELL, BRENDAN DOWD, FR FELL, PATRICK HILL, LIAM McLARNON, CON McFADDON, JOHN McCLUSKEY
- Aylesbury, Bucks:**
PATRICK MAGUIRE Jnr, VINCENT MAGUIRE, MICHAEL MacLOCHLAIN
- Bristol:**
PATRICK CHRISTIE, THOMAS COOPER, JOSEPH DUFFY
- Durham:**
ANN GILLESPIE, EILEEN GILLESPIE, ANNE MAGUIRE, CAROLE RICHARDSON, JUDITH WARD
- Gartree, Market Harborough:**
STEPHEN BLAKE, PAUL HOLMES, GERRY HUNTER, SEAN KINSELLA, PETER SHORTT, GERRY YOUNG
- Hull:**
PATRICK MAGUIRE Sr

- Lancaster:**
SEAN MCGOURGAN
- Leeds:**
MARTIN BRADY
- Leicester:**
PAUL HILL, GERRY MEALEY
- Long Lartin, Evesham:**
JIMMY ASHE, JOSEPH COUGHLAN, RONALD McCARTNEY, RICHARD McILKENNY, PHILIP SHERIDAN, WILLIAM SMYTH, JOHN MELIA
- Parkhurst, Isle of Wight:**
KEVIN DUNPHY, ANDREW MURRYAN, MICHAEL MURRAY, PATRICK O'NEILL, GERRY SMALL, BILLY ARMSTRONG, NOEL GIBSON, ROY WALSH
- Perth, Scotland:**
JAMES SWEENEY
- Strangeways, Manchester:**
PADDY ARMSTRONG
- Wakefield:**
GERARD CONLON, MARTIN COUGHLAN, BUSTY CUNNING-

- Wandsworth, London SW18:**
RAY McLAUGHLIN, MICHAEL REILLY, PETER TOAL, GERRY CUNNINGHAM
- Winchester, Hants:**
JOHN WALKER
- Winston Green, Birmingham:**
DAVID OWEN
- Wormwood Scrubs, London W12:**
PATRICK GUILFOYLE, ANTHONY LYNCH, PATRICK NORNEY, SHANE O'DOHERTY, EDDIE O'NEILL, WILLIAM POWER, PATRICK MULRYAN, JOHN CANAVAN, GUISEPPE CONLON, THOMAS RUSH
- Walton, Liverpool:**
WALLY HEATON, DONAL McLAUGHLIN, JIMMY KELLY, HAM, BOBBY GALLAGHER, TONY MADIGAN, STEPHEN NORDONNE, MICHAEL SHEEHAN.

MURRAYS REPRIEVED

Statement by Murray Defence Group

The Supreme Court in Dublin has decided that the two Irish anarchists, Noel and Marie Murray, sentenced to hang in June for the murder of an off-duty policeman, Michael Reynolds, are to be reprieved. It has also decided that Marie Murray, who was accused of the actual shooting, is to have a retrial because the Special Criminal Court in which they were tried failed to establish whether or not the man who was shot to be a policeman.

Whilst welcoming the reprieve from hanging, we condemn the decision to hold another trial in the Special Criminal Court, where there is no jury and from which the three judges in the previous trial were able to exclude the press for four days. The only evidence heard there were the confessions of Noel and Marie, which they both affirmed to have been extracted, under torture in Noel's case, and under duress in Marie's. (The Supreme Court recently reversed a decision of the Special Criminal Court in another case where the only evidence was a confession.)

Ronan Stenson, also accused in association with the Murrays, was found unfit to stand trial with them in June on account of treatment he had suffered at the hands of the police when arrested nine months earlier. He is due to start his trial on 17 December,



MARIE MURRAY

again in the Special Criminal Court.

The Murray Defence Group demands a fair trial by jury in an ordinary court for both Marie Murray and Ronan

Stenson and that full reporting facilities should be given to the press throughout. A picket of the Irish Embassy was held on the day of the decision, from 4 to 7 p.m., in support of these demands.

RUN-DOWN ON THE SPOOKS

These were the US Intelligence men visited by last Saturday's 'magical mystery tour' to expose CIA activity in Britain.

RICHARD L. KAHANE, Apartment 13, 47 Park Street, W1. Tel: [01] 491 7282.

Kahane is one of the CIA's top case officers operating from the American Embassy. His presence in Britain was first uncovered by Red Weekly earlier this year (4 March 1976), but according to the doorman at 47 Park Street he moved out two years ago.

This is very interesting. If Kahane had been present in Britain all this time, why had the Embassy not reported this to the British Government? Why had Kahane not been deported as an illegal immigrant?

What is even more interesting is how Kahane could have answered the phone at 47 Park Street only last Thursday. What does go on in Apartment 13? Is this the sort of thing we want happening in our cities?

NASTY

Kahane is a nasty piece of work. He arrived in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) in the Congo (now Zaire) in July 1964 — precisely the

CIA target) were then busy establishing the 'People's Republic of the Congo' in opposition to Tshombe. The US backed an intervention by Belgian troops and the rebels were defeated.

Although Tshombe was dismissed in October 1965, a coup just a few weeks later by General Mobutu secured the US and the CIA one of their tamest client states in Africa. Shortly afterwards Kahane moved on to Algiers.

He's also a bit of a buff on Eastern Europe, having undergone special training at the Foreign Service Institute before an assignment in Prague. He's in London now.

We wish he wasn't.

JOHN T. KIRBY, 60 Park Street, W1. Tel. [01] 493 1504. Kirby must be a big buddy of Kahane. Not only does he work in the American Embassy under the same cover, that of a senior 'Political Liaison' officer — he lives in the same street.

Unfortunately he wasn't in to answer our intrepid reporter's questions on Saturday afternoon. But we do know that in more than 25 years in the CIA Kirby has travelled the familiar Manila (Phi-



spell back at the State Department. Now he's in London. Ah well, 'Attaché, Attaché, we all fall

fortunately Joe wasn't 'at home' to see it. Which was a bit disappointing, as we don't know too

you're reading this now Joe, give us an Xmas present — piss off. **MILTON S. ZASLOW**, 35 Bryan-

Liaison Officer.

Earlier described by an Embassy spokesperson as 'a Defence Department thing specialising in communications and communication facilities', the top secret SUSLO office has since been confirmed as a unit of the super-scientific US National Security Agency. One of the NSA's responsibilities is to trade information with British intelligence.

The February issue of the French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique* described the NSA as the CIA's 'big brother'. So on your way out, Zaslow, take all 60 or so of your kid 'brothers' operating from the American Embassy with you.

NOW OUT: The second pamphlet from the defence campaign, detailing the CIA's 'destabilising' activities in Jamaica (price 10p). Individual or bulk orders for this, any information, speakers, etc. from the campaign to: NCCL, 186 Kings Cross Road, London N.1.

RED BOOKS

- * Will close 5pm, 24 Dec.
- * Reopens 1pm, 28 Dec.
- * Open 10am-6pm, 29/30/31 Dec.
- * Reopen normally, 3 Jan.

WESTWARD LEADING, STILL PROCEEDING

Photo: LAWRENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

THREE WISE MEN visited London last week, bearing gifts which were greeted with enthusiasm (if not completely unmixed) by Labour Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland.

Wise man number one was retiring US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He was the one with the most to offer, but at the same time gave the least cheer to the Labour Government.

He was not going to intervene directly in the Geneva constitutional conference, he said, but this does not rule out the possibility that his successor, Cyrus Vance, will do so. Even more importantly, he shared the Labour Government's optimism that the conference could arrive at a satisfactory deal between all the parties, and put the weight of American prestige behind British attempts to find a stable neo-colonial solution for Zimbabwe.



Smith—no star in the west?

London and Washington.

Wise man number three was Joshua Nkomo, joint leader of the Patriotic Front delegation. He explained that he was not here to see Crosland, but only to speak at a public meeting.

The first speaker there was a wise man of a few years ago, former Rhodesian Prime Minister Garfield Todd, who is now a member of Nkomo's delegation. He pointed out that those whites who oppose majority rule British style 'do not understand their own best interests'.

Nkomo explained how he had been prepared to compromise with Richard over the date for independence, as the British were now making this date unconditional. He made no mention of the demand for majority rule now. But then, neither did either of the other two wise men.

DISMAL

Nkomo was adamant in his opposition to power-sharing with the Smith regime, but the following day added his substantial weight to those calling for a British governor.

In fact, he has consistently been the foremost among those calling for Britain to carry out its 'colonial responsibilities' in Zimbabwe and provide Crosland as chairman of the Geneva conference.

Crosland does not want to play that role, but he must have welcomed this invitation to interfere further in the affairs of the Zimbabwean people.

The record of successive Labour Governments on Zimbabwe has been dismal. They have failed consistently to recognise the obligation, not to supervise 'decolonisation', but to pull out all British interests now and allow the Zimbabwean people the right to self-determination.

They and their paymasters in the banks and industries of Britain and the USA have seized upon people like Nkomo who are prepared to

recognise that they still have some colonial role to play.

There is a wise man number four who did not show his face in London last week. Ian Smith pointed out that he would probably end up in the Tower of London. Certainly the Smith strategy for colonial rule is out of favour, but it is unlikely that the Labour Government would be that harsh on a racist. Perhaps even a white settler racist has a sense of humour.



Kissinger, Richard and Nkomo visit London. Three wise men, they each have their own interests in the infant Zimbabwe.

RED WEEKLY

Basques Strike Against Sham Poll

THE MAJOR Basque workers parties, including the Communist Party [PCE], Socialist Party [PSOE], and the Trotskyists of the LCR, have called a General Strike on 15 December, the day of the referendum on the Government's 'reform' plans. They are calling for no vote in this sham democracy. This represents the culmination of a long battle fought by the far left for an active boycott, which will be seen as a positive show of working class strength and rejection of the government proposals.

The PSOE and PCE in the rest of the Spanish state are not making such a call. The difference in the Basque country is that after the massive campaign to release the 154 LCR members arrested a fortnight ago, the reformist parties have been forced to join in united action with the far left and the most militant sections of the working class.

Next week Red Weekly will carry a full report of the General Strike and an analysis of the referendum results.

SURLY

In this instance Kissinger does not need to intervene directly at Geneva, because he knows that US interests are well served by the British Government. Instead he went to watch Chelsea play Wolves at Stamford Bridge. He refused to shout for either side.

Wise man number two was jovial Ivor Richard, chairman of the Geneva conference, who had progress to report. His incorrigible optimism is not entirely forced. He has met Ian Smith for the first time in some weeks and has been in constant conference with the leaders of the Patriotic Front.

Although Smith is as surly and uncooperative with the imperialist plan as usual, it seems that Richard has made an advance in getting agreement on a joint document with the nationalist delegations.

The final details of the plan have not been sorted out, but it hinges essentially on an 'Indian solution', which Crosland long denied was a possibility. There would be a British 'resident commissioner', like the Indian Governor General in 1947, who would be head of state and supervise the transition to 'majority rule'.

WHITES

Although the Government continues to rule out the possibility of a British military presence, it is certain under this plan that the repressive apparatus would be in colonial hands. This would allow the phasing out of the white settler Rhodesian Army, while ZIPA, the guerilla army, is dismantled and replaced by a 'proper' black army which would meet the needs of



Youthful protesters join the torchlight picket of South Africa House by the Anti-Apartheid Movement on Human Rights day last week.

Photo: LAWRENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

Agee/Hosenball Defence Campaign Hunt the Spook

'I'VE SEEN IT ALL NOW', moaned one perplexed policeman as supporters of the Agee/Hosenball defence campaign toured the plush parts of London's West End last Saturday. It was, after all, a tour with a difference — the highlights being visits to the homes of four CIA and other US intelligence officers operating from the US Embassy in Grosvenor Square.

The aim of this magical mystery tour was to put the blame firmly on the CIA for the deportation orders served on ex-CIA agent Philip Agee and Evening Standard reporter Mark Hosenball.

As a defence campaign spokesperson stressed, 'We're not on the defensive any more. We're going onto the offensive. We want the CIA out and the reactionary immigration laws under which Agee and Hosenball are being deported scrapped'.

Saturday's activities were the culmination of a hectic week's campaigning in support of Agee and Hosenball, whose defence has now been taken up by dozens of MPs, several prominent trade unionists (including Alan Fisher of NUPE), and a dozen Constituency Labour Parties.

MARKS

One of the star speakers at a central London teach-in organised on Wednesday 8 December was John Marks, co-author with Marchetti of the first book to expose the activities of the CIA — *The Cult of Intelligence*

tions, because the CIA succeeded in getting an injunction prior to its publication. The urbane Dr Proctor, the new London station chief and 'reckoned' as something of a liberal, played a major role in the ensuing trial and censorship.

Specially flown in for the teach-in, Marks told reporters that he saw the deportation orders against Agee and Hosenball as 'a threat to the professions, a threat to civil liberties'. Just how all-pervasive the CIA's influence could be, and how much of a threat to democratic rights it represents, he demonstrated from his own experience.

After 4½ years service in the State Department, in which time he rose to be the Staff Assistant to the Director of Intelligence and Research who is responsible for liaison with all intelligence services including the CIA, he resigned his post in 1970 — the American invasion of Cambodia was the final straw for him.

In 1974 Marks went to Vietnam to do a piece for Rolling Stone magazine on the war. Four days after he arrived, 'twelve policemen burst into

States Marks used a little known provision concerning freedom of information to force the release of the CIA file on him. 'Included in the file was a memo from CIA Washington to CIA Saigon announcing I was coming — two days before I got on the plane.'

Marks underlined the 'special relationship' between US and British intelligence. 'The CIA learned its dirty tricks from the British', he said. 'You had an Empire held together by a few civil servants, an army and dirty tricks — particularly divide and rule.'

'In the Second World War the Americans got in on the act — and after the war they just kept going. For the first seven or eight years nothing was done without British help. The first truly independent operation was in 1954 when the CIA replaced the Government in Guatemala.'

Because both the CIA and the British Home Office have absolutely no evidence of Agee or Hosenball being in contact with enemy agents, the vague concept that they are 'Agents of Influence' — conduits for enemy propaganda — has been used to justify the deportation orders. Just what this means was spelled out by Marks: 'If you were against the war in Vietnam, the CIA would have called you an "Agent of Influence".'

like Agee and Hosenball in this country to continue their work. If Agee was forced back to the States, censorship of further books would not necessarily be the only problem he faced.

DATES

The key dates coming up in the campaign are 11 and 19 January, when Agee and Hosenball will in turn appear before the kangaroo court set up under the machinery of the 1971 Immigration Act (Hosenball's appearance having been put back a fortnight from 4 January).

They will be allowed to 'make representations' to three reactionary civil servants without the right to know the charges against them, to call witnesses, to cross examine or to consult lawyers. On the eve of the first of these farcical proceedings the defence campaign has called for a national demonstration on Sunday 9 January.

Students still on vacation at that time are particularly urged to make a note of the date. Agee was afforded a rapturous welcome at NUS Conference on Sunday night — a response which should be reflected in the number of students on the streets amongst the demonstrators on 9 January.



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