

RED WEEKLY

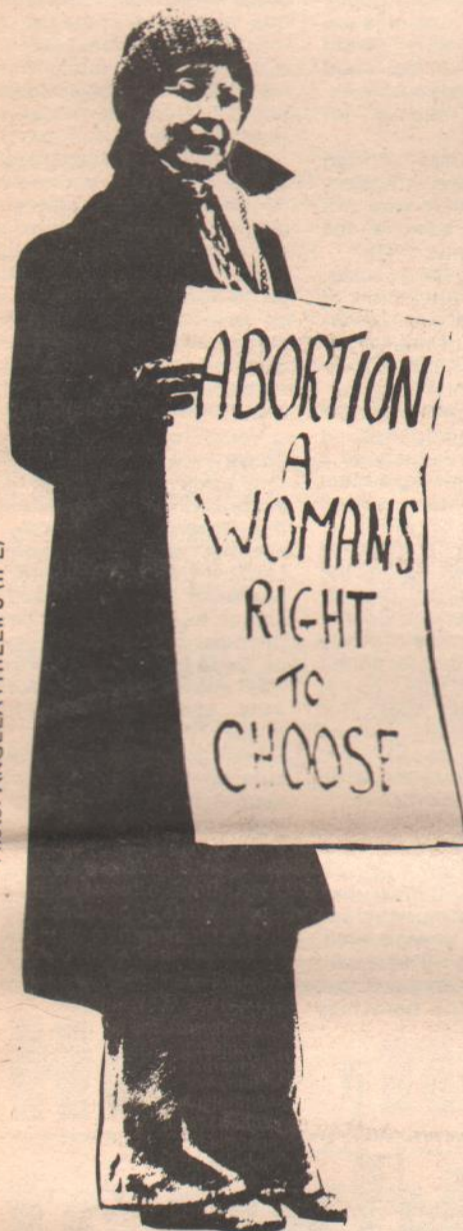
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ABORTION RIGHTS THREATENED

Photo: ANGELA PHILLIPS (IFL)



STOP THIS BILL!

WILLIAM BENYON is the son of an Admiral in the Royal Navy. He is a Powellite, owns an estate of 2,000 acres, and is a Tory Member of Parliament. Impressive qualifications for an enemy of the working class.

For it is William Benyon in whose name a parliamentary Bill is to go forward which represents one of the most serious attacks on democratic rights likely to be seen in 1977. The Bill aims to restrict the right of women to control their own bodies; it is an anti-abortion Bill.

For a number of years anti-abortionists have been waging a systematic, well-financed campaign to overthrow the gains of the 1967 Abortion Act. In 1975 there was the James White Bill. Last year it was the Select Committee on Abortion.

The White Bill was dropped, the Select Committee was eventually boycotted by pro-abortionists. But the new Benyon Bill is in part based on the Select Committee proposals, and it will be a lot more sophisticated and carefully worded than the James White Bill.

It is expected that the Bill will ban abortions after 20 weeks, stipulate that the two doctors authorising an abortion should not be connected with each other, and make it easier for doctors who are 'conscientious objectors' to performing abortion.

Also under attack are the charitable institutions which advise on abortion rights and services and to which many women are forced to go because of lack of National Health Service facilities.

Those who try to deny a woman's right to choose in this way are not

who have agreed to sponsor the Bill. They are James White and Leo Abse, long-time opponents of abortion; Ian Campbell, MP for Dumbartonshire and Justice of the Peace; and Fred Willey, failed Cabinet Minister.

At present Willey is vice-chairperson of the Labour Party Liaison Committee, one of whose tasks is to liaise between the Labour Party and its parliamentary representatives. Now Willey has shown his utter contempt for the policies agreed nationally by the Labour Party by sponsoring a Bill which is in fundamental opposition to Labour's conference policy.

He has also gone against the policy of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, which sponsors him as an MP. An ASTMS official told *Red Weekly*, 'our policy is to fully support a woman's right to choose'.

Willey and these other Labour traitors have no right to represent the Labour Party, in Parliament or anywhere else. But the attack they lead is one which all militants should take with the utmost seriousness, for the Bill has a real chance of becoming law unless a massive campaign is mounted.

This campaign must break out of the parliamentary confines of Westminster. While all Labour Party militants should demand a three-line whip against the Bill in Parliament, the best chance of scuttling the Benyon proposals is if there is a massive organised groundswell of opposition in the workers' movement.

This means sending resolutions from Constituency Labour Parties,

means preparing to go onto the streets on the issue; most urgently it means building support for the Tribunal on Abortion Rights on 29 January.

Throughout all these activities, let the demands ring clear and loud:

* Remove all Labour MPs who support the Benyon Bill!

* Free Abortion on Demand, on the National Health Service!

* For a Woman's Right to Choose!

On page 2 Toni Gorton explains what lies behind new threat to women's abortion rights.

RIGHT WINGERS BEHIND OXFORD HOTEL BOSSES

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Methven(left) and Watkinson. Their plan for '77 coincides with Jones'.

Jones / CBI in pay pact

In the next fortnight TUC leaders will be sitting in secret session with Denis Healey to plan the third stage of incomes policy under the cover of 'an orderly return to free collective bargaining'. They will be fulfilling the first and most important step advised in the CBI Manifesto, Programme for Action '77, which demands the continuation of incomes policy until August 1978.

Jack Jones is in complete agreement with CBI bosses Lord Watkinson and John Methven on the need for a flat rate increase with allowances for differentials. Finance editors have been doing their sums, and like Patrick Hutter of the Daily Telegraph conclude that the most a flat rate increase can amount to is three per cent!

Prices are now increasing at an annual rate of 19 per cent and will not fall below 15 per cent next year. Hutter anticipates 'an unprecedented fall in living standards'. 10 per cent is the figure they're bandying around.

Union branches are now discussing policy for the spring and summer union conferences. The first item of any policy being fought for by militants is to stop this disastrous collaboration with the Labour Government. Far from keeping Labour in power, as Jack Jones claims, the TUC-supported policies of this Government are preparing the way for a mass abstention of Labour voters at the next election and the return of the Tories.

The second item must be a policy which defends all workers from the effects of inflation. Only by fighting for immediate automatic compensation for price rises — a sliding scale of wages — can the responsibility for inflation be put where it belongs, on the backs of those who are represented by Watkinson and Methven.

Conference on incomes policy — see page 3

THE RIGHT-WING National Association for Freedom has been giving advice and assistance to managements at the strike-hit Linton Lodge and Randolph Hotels in Oxford since the beginning of the disputes in November.

Members of the Transport and General Workers Union have been out on strike for union recognition for nine weeks. The intervention of the NAF comes at a time when they are also the moving force behind Grunwick management in London, who are resisting a similar demand by their largely black workforce.

Harassment of the strikers has increased apace. Two weeks ago, Eric Hoyle-Mills, a member of the Randolph strike committee, became the seventh picket to be arrested, allegedly for damaging a car. Workers from the Linton Lodge Hotel were evicted from their staff quarters after a brief occupation.

Yet after nine weeks the workers are determined not to accept victimisation. An emergency meeting of Oxford & District Trades Council last Thursday heard mo-

sympathetic action by the T&GWU in Oxford and for a national blacking of all Trust Houses Forte companies, especially Gardner Merchants, the caterers in all British Leyland canteens.

Geoff Hulett, the T&G district organiser responsible for the disputes, has promised to fight for this sort of action on the union Finance & General Purposes Committee, and to consider the call for an emergency District Committee meeting if necessary.

But such promises are nothing new for the strikers. Three weeks ago union leaders promised to back sympathetic action by canteen workers in the Cowley car plant if there was no progress in negotiations; but this was quickly changed to a call for a meals boycott by car workers.

National support is urgently needed in this dispute. These disputes are a test case for low paid and badly organised workers everywhere.

The ferocity with which Trust Houses Forte and the secret society of the NAF are fighting this battle in Oxford demands the widest

Why Benyon's Bill must be stopped

TONI GORTON is a long-time campaigner for abortion rights. She is a member of the organising committee of the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign, and convenor of the 'Governmental' session of the forthcoming Tribunal on Abortion Rights on 29 January. Last week she told Red Weekly

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When the National Abortion Campaign first discussed the idea of a Tribunal on abortion rights, we saw the probability of another Private Member's Bill, similar to James White's Bill, coming up about this time of year. Therefore the session that set the tone for the day had to establish clear aims for the pro-choice movement.

So this particular session will present evidence about the role of the Churches and their involvement in the anti-abortion organisations. It will also take up other questions, such as the role of Parliament and how it is that certain Members of Parliament feel that it is their primary job in life to restrict abortion choice for women.

Another area we hope to have evidence on is the confrontation which has occurred between the charitable abortion sector and London Transport. Amazing as it may seem, London Transport refuses to allow advertisements with the word 'abortion' on them!

We hope that this sort of evidence will prepare people to defend the 1967 Abortion Act, whatever its limitations, against the new threat of the William Benyon Abortion (Amendment) Bill.

This new Bill is extremely serious. It is based on two years of extremely professional work by the anti-abortion movement inside and

outside Parliament. This started with the distribution to every MP of the scandalous **Babies for Burning**. They have created a whole atmosphere of abortion as an industry that exploits women and that should be banned.

The tactics of the American anti-abortionists which Rose Knight described in the last issue of **Red Weekly** are also being adopted by the anti-abortionists in this country. They are trying to restrict the abortion law on a piecemeal basis.

We do not yet know the content of the Benyon Bill. Although a Bill has to pass three readings before it takes effect, it automatically passes its first reading — it doesn't have to have anything behind it except its title.

The second reading only requires that MPs and the public have four or five days to see the content of the Bill. It is really scandalous. How can working class people make any protest when a few days is all there is to see and digest projected changes which may fundamentally affect them?

So far only one newspaper, **The Times**, has given any information about the projected proposals for restricting the abortion law. They reported just before Christmas that the Bill would have eight clauses.

The most important points are ones we are familiar with already from the White Bill and the Select Committee on Abortion. The essential one is that abortion would be banned after 20 weeks of pregnancy unless the woman would suffer grave permanent physical or mental injury, or the child would be born with severe disabilities. That is a time limit of two months less than the present one!

Because doctors always give a margin to be on the safe side of the deadline, this would in effect mean a deadline of only 18 weeks of pregnancy. Although there are actually very few abortions performed after the 20 weeks, it is very important that women must have this access, because these are often the most desperate cases.

A second area the Bill will attack is the charity sector. It does this by calling for a total separation between the advice bureaux and the clinics where abortions are performed.

Over 50 per cent of women having abortions in Britain are



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

now forced to go into the private sector, mostly to the charity clinics, because the NHS is taking less and less responsibility for providing abortions. But this Bill would make it virtually impossible for the charitable sector to continue to exist, because funds coming from performing the abortions could not be used to provide counselling services.

Another clause said to be in the Bill would lay down that doctors who authorise abortion cannot be connected with each other, and that one of them should have been registered for at least five years. Again this is aimed at the charitable sector especially, and would eliminate a great number of abortion facilities if enacted.

There are all sorts of punitive measures also — concerning statutory regulations, licensing, police access to abortion records of the clinic, etc. It has already been proposed to increase the penalties for illegal abortions from £100 to £1,000 under the Criminal Law Bill. All this is designed to once again create the atmosphere of abortion as something beyond the pale.

The Tribunal is extremely important for people who believe that abortion should be a woman's right, and that free, safe, legal abortion should be the norm. Many people may feel that because the White Bill disappeared, the same thing will happen with the Benyon Bill. This is absolutely not the case.

This Bill is the culmination of many years of campaigning by the anti-abortion lobby. They have the bit between their teeth, they have an extremely strong group within Parliament. The backers of the Bill are quite diverse. Some of its sponsors even voted for the Abortion Act in 1967!

There is undoubtedly wide support for this measure in Parliament. The vote on the White Bill and on the reconvening of the Select Committee also indicates the support they will get.

But we have every confidence that from the Tribunal we will be able to organise a big response to this attack on women's right to abortion. It can't be said too clearly: the Labour Government has not got a principled position on this question. Despite various resolutions that have been passed at the Labour Conference, the Labour Women's Conference and the TUC for 'free abortion on request', the Labour Government refuses to accept any commitment to this.

Already a number of initiatives have been agreed by various organisations. Several proposals included specialised meetings, with delegations to particular MPs. However, the National Abortion Campaign is planning a national demonstration on 14 May and a national conference on 19 March.

We hope also to have a meeting in Central Hall on the eve of the second reading of the Benyon Bill. All of our efforts over the coming period will be directed towards involving large numbers of people in the campaign to defeat the new threat to abortion rights. It is important to note that a number of new groups have recently been set up, such as the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign, the Doctors for a Woman's Choice on Abortion, and we have even heard of a new organisation of Christians for Abortion. All of these organisations will be taking on the battle in their specific area of influence.

We also hope that from the Tribunal we will encourage other groups of people to begin to campaign in a similar way — teachers, nurses, and school students, and anyone really who is prepared to commit themselves to join in the pro-choice struggle. There has never been a more urgent time for such developments.

Nursery campaign gathers support for Rally

'The fundamental step in releasing women from their isolation in the home is the provision of nurseries, to allow women to play a full part in economic, social and political life.'

'We have seen that when women are necessary in the workforce, Government policy has ensured that nurseries are provided. For example, during the Second World War child care facilities were rapidly expanded to free women for work.'

'Now, in a period of high unemployment and inflation, women are the ones who will have to bear the brunt of the social and economic crisis.'

Vera Stephens, the speaker, is a member of the Union of Post Office Workers (UPW) and chairperson of the Lancashire Women's Action Committee, with a child in a nursery. The Action Committee is calling for a public meeting in Preston on 20 January as a first step to organising a meeting to co-ordinate action throughout the county.

Measures like a regional demonstration will be discussed in response to the attempts of Lancashire County Council to increase nursery charges. For a single parent with one child and a net income of £34 per week, this would mean that nursery charges would be £11 per week — one third to a quarter of the family's total income.

As Vera Stephens says: 'The increases will mean that women will either withdraw their children from the nursery and send them to unregistered, unqualified and ill-equipped childminders, or they will give up their jobs. The hardships

caused by the increases will obviously be immense. This has to be seen in the context of a wage freeze leading to another unacceptable cut in living standards.'

A call by Preston Trades Council for a campaign by all the Lancashire trades councils could mean that, at least in this area, the issue of women's rights is being taken up by the organised labour movement. Others involved include Lucas Aerospace shop stewards in Burnley.

The Preston-based Women's Action Committee has circulated a letter asking for support for the campaign and the Rally for Women's Rights to be held at Alexandra Palace on 26 February. The Rally will be one way in which campaigns like those in Lancashire can be discussed, supported and extended to other areas of the country.

Vera Stephens has already drawn her conclusion: 'At a time when women's rights are supposedly at the forefront of the Government's mind, we see the double-think of the Labour Government: on the one hand they introduce legislation to allow women partial financial and social independence in the form of the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts, and on the other the direct consequences of the Government's social spending cuts have meant that women cannot take advantage of the legislation'.

The next Rally Planning Meeting is taking place in Manchester on 22 January in Meeting Room 1, Manchester University Students Union, Oxford Road — starting at 12 noon. All interested people are urged to come.



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Doctors for a woman's choice

With the Benyon anti-abortion Bill going forward for its second reading next month, an important new development among the pro-abortion forces took place on Saturday at Friends Meeting House, Euston. Forty doctors from all over Britain and from many different specialities met for a conference entitled 'Doctors for a woman's choice on abortion'. The campaign enjoys the support of over 300 doctors.

Convened by Drs Judith Bury and Nadeen Harrison (Edinburgh), the conference called for a campaign organisation based exclusively on the medical profession and adopting as its main slogan 'a woman's right to choose'. Prof. Peter Huntingford opened the discussion, and in the debate on the aims of the organisation it was agreed that the professional role of doctors on the abortion issue should be merely to make their skills freely available to women. The actual decision about termination of pregnancy should be entirely that of the woman.

An outline programme of demands relating to this issue was drawn up. It was seen as vital that contraception and pregnancy testing should be available on the NHS. Non-directive counselling to pregnant women should be available in the health service but not as a mandatory prerequisite for a termination.

Dr Bury emphasised that 'conscientious objectors' under the 1967 Act should be obliged to state their views publicly in order to avoid the unnecessary delay and confusion caused to pregnant women seeking termination who consult doctors who have no inten-

tion to perform an abortion. However a note of unreality began to emerge in the discussion after a resolution was put forward by Dr Dave Widgery (London) calling for recognition of the need to oppose cuts in public expenditure to defend even the present level of abortion services. From the platform Dr Bury said that the question of public expenditure cuts was outside the frame of reference of the campaign, while Dr Gordon (London ASTMS) suggested from the floor that an alliance with any movement against the cuts might alienate many doctors who would otherwise support the campaign. The resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

In an earlier discussion the conference had already taken the position that it would confine itself to a single issue campaign on the question of abortion. The first priority was seen correctly as organising opposition to the Benyon Bill. However the form of this opposition as proposed by the organisers and accepted by a majority of those present was entirely confined to applying pressure on Parliament through letters to MPs, lobbies, appearances in the media, etc., placing great reliance on the social prestige of the medical profession as a lever in these quarters.

Despite these weaknesses, however, the establishment of Doctors for a Woman's Choice on Abortion is undoubtedly an important step forward for the abortion movement. Through its affiliation to the National Abortion Campaign and sponsorship of the

Miners TURN LEFT WORDS INTO ACTION

The executive of the National Union of Mineworkers was meeting again on 12 January to try to find a suitable formula which would permit them to sell out the decisions taken at last year's annual conference on retirement. The vote at conference, and the recent ballot of all the union members, showed that miners were prepared to take industrial action to win their demands.

The demand for retirement at 60 on full pay threatens to blast wide apart the whole fabric of the Social Contract. It is, however, the determination of the right wing to defend the Social Contract at all costs that is preventing the executive from carrying out the democratically agreed decisions of the membership.

The NUM leaders have made it clear that they intend to go cap in hand to ask the Government and its TUC watchdogs whether early retirement for surface workers and

the payment of a lump sum to miners who leave the industry before the age of 65 breaches the Social Contract. Even the Coal Board's offer of retirement at 62 for men with 20 years underground service is dependent on getting the nod from the Government and the TUC.

In an attempt not to come into collision with the Government, it has also been proposed that retirement at 62 will not now come into effect until next August — after the end of the present phase of incomes policy. All these shoddy compromises flagrantly contradict the decisions of their own members — but that is what Gormley and company mean by democratic socialism!

The right-wing leaders have no intention of fighting for the full claim — they have swallowed the reactionary policies of the Government hook, line and sinker. But their path is eased by the failure of

the left — particularly the CP-Scargill group — to take the initiative themselves.

Only an outright fight against the right wing can force through the claim. The left may have to suffer as a minority on the national executive, but they represent an overwhelming majority of the membership on this issue. Furthermore, they have the support of local executives in areas like Scotland, South Wales, Yorkshire and Kent.

A campaign for action in these areas would strike a blow at the planned sell-out by the leaders, and set an example to the majorities in other areas whose vote is being frustrated by their own leaderships. Such a campaign would have to be based on an open declaration of war against the Social Contract, and a preparedness to take all-out strike action. It would also mean going into the other areas for support.

A fight on these issues could transform the situation inside the NUM, and prepare the way for the removal of the right-wing leadership.

The votes by the CP and the left on the executive against the proposals are only the first steps; if they are not followed up by action, then they will go down as nothing more than futile gestures. What is more, they will reinforce the mood amongst miners and other workers that nothing can be done to change the situation of declining living standards.

Right now the miners stand at the forefront of the struggle. A resolute lead by the CP and the left can be decisive both in winning the miners' claim and in giving an impetus and example to the rest of the working class on the way to fight the pro-capitalist policies of Callaghan and Healey.

BOB PENNINGTON

Left slate for NUJ elections

A left-wing slate in the Magazine and Book branches of the National Union of Journalists is to contest the next annual elections to the union's National Executive in March.

The branches, who are entitled to three seats on the National Executive Committee, have nominated four candidates for the postal ballot. These include a three-person slate of Roger Protz, Jonathan Hammond and IMG

member Carl Gardner. They are opposing the fourth candidate, current NUJ President Rosaline Kelly, who fully supports TUC policy and the present right-wing line of the NUJ leadership.

Magazine branch took the unprecedented step at their December meeting of refusing a nomination to sitting member Eric Winter because he had abstained on the NEC over the question of the 4½ per cent pay limit in the summer. Opposition to the 4½ per cent is branch policy.

This triumph for workers democracy has opened the way up for a fighting united campaign by the left slate around the demands of the Journalists Charter [the NUJ rank-and-file group]. Central will be opposition to all wage policies and redundancies, support for the demands of the Working Women's Charter, yearly election of officials, and the implementation of the 'closed shop'.



Forty journalists from the central London area in Magazines and Books picketed Mercury House publishers in Waterloo last Monday to support their 25 colleagues there, who came out on strike last week for the closed shop and better sickness/redundancy pay. We apologise for mistakenly reporting last week that the journalists were not getting official NUJ backing — they are, because they have submitted the wages section of their claim to ACAS under the new Schedule 11 part of the Employment Protection Act. This loophole applies to workers who are well below the average for their sector. But this legal 'protection' will not apply to other workers in Magazines and Books submitting claims above the 4½ per cent limit. So the struggle goes on.

How not to fight pay laws

ROVER shop stewards, representing some 15,000 British Leyland workers at 11 factories, have passed a resolution calling for a trade union conference against incomes policy.

Reporting on the call, the Morning Star of 31 December quoted Peter Nicholas, a 'spokesman' for the stewards and member of the Communist Party, as saying: 'Our proposal is for a delegate conference of blue and white collar workers drawn from industry and the public services so that we can thrash out a common cause and avoid the fragmentation of struggle that is in danger of becoming a way of life.'

1977. Now Robinson works hand in glove with the management in policing the infamous Ryder proposals, and is dubbed as a 'moderate' by the local press.

* Finally there is the record of the CP's recent role in Rover itself. Two months ago the Rover Negotiating Committee voted to lodge a pay claim equal to the rise in the cost of living. This was not to the liking of the now 'militant' Peter Nicholas, who argued at the Tysely plant for the Shop Stew-

ards Committee to reject the claim.

Two weeks later the Negotiating Committee reversed its decision, but the reaction at Rover, Solihull was to reaffirm the original claim by a vote of 226 to 39 at a special meeting of the Joint Shop Stewards' Confederation. They also called on the Negotiating Committee to seek support from other Leyland plants for an immediate fight against the Social Contract.

When the Negotiating Committee reconvened, however, the

Solihull delegates for the most part cynically disregarded their members' demands: eleven voted against their own stewards' resolution, two didn't turn up, and only four voted in favour of it.

The outraged Solihull stewards then attempted to pass a motion of no confidence in their Negotiating Committee delegates — only to be ruled out of order by CP convenor Joe Harris.

Having ensured that there will be no fight in practice against the Social Contract, the CP are therefore happy to propose this further conference. Despite their recent history it should be supported. But it must not be allowed to become just another talking shop.

DEMAND

The demand for wage rises tied to the cost of living — a sliding scale of wages — has already been supported by many Leyland workers and should be the cornerstone of the fight back. Furthermore, recent events at Leyland have shown that there is a crying need for systematic organisation on the shop floor of those willing to fight the Social Contract policies and their CP backers.

What is wanted is not another vague committee to protest against the attacks of the Labour Government and their backers in the trade union bureaucracy, but the organisation of action. This would give great opportunities for linking up with other workers in struggle, particularly those in the



WELCOME

The call for the conference is welcome, but militants in the car industry must treat Communist Party enthusiasm for such a conference with a good deal of scepticism.

* There was the previous conference called by the British Leyland Shop Stewards Committee in April 1975. This was initiated by the CP in the persons of Derek Robinson, Longbridge, and Eddie McGarry, Triumph. There were stirring speeches, resolutions and a standing committee was established. But no action was proposed or taken.

* Then there is the record of Derek Robinson in Longbridge, where the CP-dominated Works Committee pushed through a pay

IN FOCUS

Healy's Slanders

ON FRIDAY a major rally in London will be addressed by leading figures of organisations on a world scale claiming to be Trotskyist.

They will be drawn together on the same platform for one reason: to repudiate the vile slanderous campaign launched by the Workers Revolutionary Party against leading figures of the Socialist Workers Party of America, Joseph Hansen and George Novack, and against the Fourth International. This meeting will be our reply to the WRP's call for a commission of enquiry to investigate the ridiculous charge that for forty years these two revolutionary militants have been accomplices of the KGB in the revolutionary Marxist movement. Such charges would not normally need this effort to refute — the record of Hansen and Novack as revolutionary militants is sufficient in itself. However, for too long the WRP and its leader Gerry Healy have been identified by some radicalising young workers as the authentic voice of Trotskyism. This must be brought to an end.

Healy and his party are totally isolated on this issue amongst all forces calling themselves Trotskyist. Despite the squandering of huge resources, the WRP's investigations have not been able to unearth one fact which could in any way prove or give credibility to their preposterous charges. One-time associates of Healy inside the 'International Committee' like the OCI in France, as well as British organisations like the Workers Socialist League and the International Communist League, and even prominent figures like Tamara Deutsch, have all added their condemnation of Healy's charges and methods.

POINT BY POINT

Healy's 'facts', based exclusively on the testimony of proven informers, FBI agents and renegades from Trotskyism, have been answered point by point by Joseph Hansen. The only response of the WRP to the huge support won from world Trotskyists by Hansen and Novack is that this is further proof of the correctness of their charges.

In this situation the only investigation required is not the 'International Commission' proposed by the WRP but one which explains how a group which started off dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism ends up using the methods of its one-time Stalinist enemies. If we can draw this out, the prodigious waste of time and effort of this diversion may not be totally without use.

Healyism and the WRP have not always been the repugnant, crumbling and isolated gangster sect that they are today. In the middle and late Fifties the WRP's predecessor, the Socialist Labour League, was the most dynamic on the British far left. Between then and now, however, Healyism has degenerated remarkably.

Cut off from the live forces of revolution after its refusal to unite with the bulk of the forces of world Trotskyism in 1963, Healyism was incapable of resisting the pressures of social democracy in the context of a working class in political retreat. This manifested itself in a refusal to fight in practice the spontaneous consciousness of the working class. All 'difficult' issues — 'racism', women's liberation, Ireland and so on — were relegated to speechifying in sectarian jamborees and propaganda articles in the press. Unable, because of their national isolation, to appreciate the emergence of a new vanguard on a world scale in the late Sixties, the Healyites were incapable of breaking out of this propagandism.

DISINTEGRATION

This inevitably led to the decline and ossification of the organisation. The disintegration first of the International Committee and then of the WRP itself stood in marked contrast to the dynamism and envelopment of the FI and its sections. Healy had to give answers to this, and to the increasing problems of the WRP. Vilification of others became the way he replied, a substitute for positive direction and perspectives. This method flowed inexorably from the initial reasons for Healy's split and refusal to re-unify with the Fourth International.

The maintenance of the separate existence of his organisation was justified by an attempt to transform what were only tactical differences into differences of principle. The split with the FI had to be presented as a class question — that the FI in practice was going over to the class enemy. When this didn't occur, ulterior motives had to be introduced for the stated positions of the FI. Thus, when the FI took the leadership of the radicalising youth — as in France in 1968 — the FI was deemed to have accommodated to the petty bourgeoisie. When it fought for united fronts and for the reformist leaders to come into united actions, it was deemed to have handed over leadership to the reformists. It was an easy step, from inventing 'real' motives behind the stated ones, to lies and slander.

We would be less than honest if we didn't see aspects of these deformations in some of those organisations which have come out in defence of Hansen — particularly the OCRFI, Michel Pablo, and to a lesser extent the Workers Socialist League in Britain. The results of Healyism are the results of an objective process. This must stand as a clear warning to all those calling themselves Trotskyists who have repudiated the final product of Healyism but still maintain that the merely tactical differences between us are principles, that the FI is marked through and through by a 'revision' of the Trotskyist programme. These organisations hang in limbo between the road of Healy and reunification with the Fourth International. The question is posed: which way?

The rally with speakers ERNEST MANDEL, GEORGE NOVACK, PIERRE LAMBERT, MICHEL PABLO and TIM WOHLFORTH, is on Friday, 14 January, Friends Meeting House, Foston Road,



HUMBER JOBS TAKE NOSE-DIVE

CALLAGHAN and Healey's argument that cuts in public spending are necessary to boost investment for private industry has received yet another kick in the pants. Hawker Siddeley have announced 450 redundancies at their Brough plant — North Humber-side's biggest single private employer.

Two years ago militant Brough workers occupied the factory in opposition to the Government's refusal to grant £40 million to develop the civil HS146 short take-off and landing airbus. This was an advanced model with no near rival, and represented an undeveloped area into which an expanding industry could have inserted itself. Healey said No.

At present overtime has been banned on the Hawk — a multi-role jet trainer replacement for the Provost which was used with such devastating effect by British mercenaries in the Oman/Dhofar war.

RHETORIC

For Brough workers, however, the meek acceptance of job cuts — as has happened at Hawker's other plants — would be the thin end of the wedge for further attacks later. According to Walt Joester (regional secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers) the redundancies are to be fought: 'They will keep on running down industry in this area until workers do something more

than pass resolutions and send delegations to Ministers. If there's going to be any action, it must come from the men themselves.'

But this left rhetoric and buck passing has a familiar ring for Hull militants. Last year Joester vehemently refused to launch a real fight or occupation of the Drypool Shipyard to save jobs. The ensuing demoralisation meant the men were sent to the dole queue like lambs to the slaughter.

According to a Red Weekly supporter who played a key role in the occupation at Brough two years ago, the redundancies were on the cards as soon as the HS146 project was shelved:

'This aircraft could have provided employment in the area for the

next ten years. It was an obvious money spinner if only the funding had been advanced. But neither the management nor the Government could see beyond their noses.

'During the occupation we confiscated the blueprints and the jigs to make sure that the plan could be resurrected. In retrospect the workers made a big mistake in not continuing the struggle to save the project. Now there's not one solitary civil aircraft design in the whole industry, and that spells 'Dole' for British workers.

'Unfortunately the self-organisation of aircraft workers isn't as advanced as in the car industry. The inter-plant combine shop stewards idea hasn't taken root here — that made it easier last time for the management to play off one sectoralised plant against another. But given this I think many workers realise the problem can't be resolved at the plant level.

'What's needed is for the shop stewards from all the plants to get together and draw up an action programme to save the jobs. That means fighting for a massive cash injection to refloat the civil production side. This must be linked to the nationalisation of the industry under workers control. The high level of technology and jiggling equipment would make the changeover to socially useful production — for need instead of profit — much easier than in other industries.

'One only has to look at the speed with which consumer production was transformed into military production in the USA in the Second World War to see that the same process in reverse could be done quite quickly. To achieve this, though, the first step for militant workers would be to wage a struggle against Joester and his Social Concrick mob.'

This contraction of the British aircraft industry is a product not just of the generalised recession of the world economy but also of the recognition by the American giants Lockheed and McDonnell of the necessity to restructure the industry in the West. No longer shall BAC and Hawker Siddeley be allowed the status of an 'autonomous' British aircraft industry that produces designs and models for competition on world markets.

DOLE

Already plans are afoot to reduce Britain to a sub-contractor of the US monopolies. The drive for the concentration and centralisation of capital is just too much for the under-capitalised British industry. Hence, rather than take risks on a world market in which political muscle (note the Lockheed-Tanaka scandal in Japan) counts for more than the viability of the product, the UK aircraft industry prefers to function as a junior partner of America.

Unfortunately the British workers will not find it so comfortable under the wing of the US multinationals. Profitability is the highest criterion for these giants of the industry. So, as at Brough, the design teams will be thrown on the dole.

NOEL HIBBERT

NALGO CONFERENCE:

SOCIAL CONTRACT IS THE ISSUE

THIS FRIDAY, delegates of the National and Local Government Officers Association, Britain's largest public sector union, meet in a special conference to discuss cuts in public services and their impact on jobs.

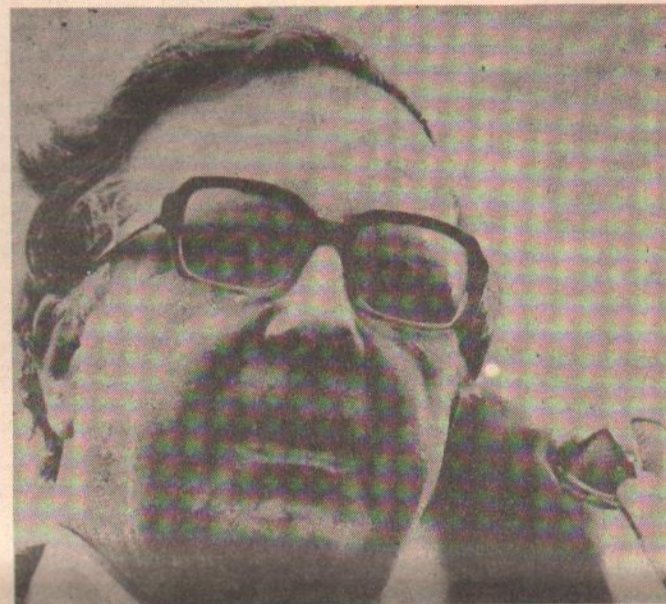
The motion proposed to the conference by NALGO's National Executive Council will do nothing to halt the tide of cuts spilling from Chancellor Healey's axe, despite the solemn NALGO declarations of opposition to cuts which tediously follow each of Healey's budgets, mini-budgets, 'packages' and the rest.

As we reported last week, most of the 64 amendments to the NEC resolution reflect disquiet at the leadership's weak position on the

NALGO's support for the Social Contract and its attacks on the living standards of the working class.

That is why effective opposition to the right wing must focus on the need to end NALGO's support for the current 'strategy' of the Labour Government — a point recognised by about 20 branches who are pressing for rejection of the Social Contract.

But NALGO members need more than a verbal withdrawal of



GLYN PHILLIPS senior NEC member of NALGO. His policy in South Wales of 'low profile' against the cuts is now meeting opposition from some branches in the area.

cuts. Many branches attempt to tighten up the NEC's policy by substituting such words as 'urges' and 'advises' in the resolution with the more definitive 'instructs'.

But it is the NEC's policy as a whole which is at fault. Their resolution embodies a clear aim. It is to ensure that no significant or effective action against the cuts can be launched by the branches of NALGO without the blessing of the NEC's right-wing dominated Emergency Committee.

NALGO's leaders are opposed to any national campaign of real action against the cuts because in practice it would mean an end to

support for the Government's policies. Escalation of national action against the cuts is the only remedy for the attacks on services and jobs, and it is the only policy which can hope to attract backing from members of other public sector unions.

That is why Red Weekly supporters have been arguing that Thursday's meeting of left-wing conference delegates organised by the Scottish District of NALGO should concentrate on ensuring that a composite amendment contains both opposition to the Social Contract and a proposal for escalating national action against the cuts.

The best way to initiate such action would be for NALGO to name the day for a one-day national stoppage, calling on the other public sector unions which supported the 17 November demonstration to join in. Such a call for action would also have scope for attracting support from workers in the nationalised industries, who are also feeling the sharp edge of the Government's cuts, and from others in the labour movement who depend on the public services.

CONFERENCE

But as well as calling for action, the left in NALGO desperately needs to organise itself nationally as a clear challenge to the leadership's policy of betrayal. At present the left is hopelessly divided, with the Scottish District, the Metropolitan District, and the NALGO Action Group all aspiring to give a national lead to the left.

The route out of this swamp of ineffective disunity is for left delegates to jointly sponsor an Open Conference for all NALGO members who oppose the cuts and the Social Contract. Such a national conference would allow a real debate to open up on the left on the nature of NALGO as a union, on the state of NALGO's left wing, and on the forthcoming 'orderly return to free collective bargaining', which in reality promises a third phase of wage restraint being

Challenge for student activists

TWO MONTHS AGO the National Union of Students owned five service companies. By the end of this month the largest and most successful of these, Endsleigh Insurance, will have been sold and only the small NUS Marketing operation will remain.

Gone with these services, however, is the carrot that the present leaders of the union have used to try to buy off dissatisfaction amongst the membership. According to the Broad Left leaders the services were a tool for the creation of a union consciousness amongst the membership.

That's why, although Endsleigh is having to be sold, National Treasurer Chris Morgan stated last week that arrangements have been made 'whereby NUS would have the opportunity, if finances permit, to re-acquire shares in Endsleigh Insurance'.

Meanwhile, the Union's record of action since the summer on cuts, unemployment and the defence of overseas

meaningful unity and a 'union consciousness' could really have been developed amongst masses of students in action to defend their interests, the leaders of the students have blithely chosen to ignore the possibilities.

Not surprisingly, the right wing has made big gains. Two years ago the Federation of Conservative Students were irrelevant in the student movement. They used to get ten delegates at most to the Union's annual conference. A month ago in Blackpool they had the support of 200 delegates and observers, almost a third of the conference.

SOP

With such a startling growth rate, the Tories are now talking quite confidently of winning the Union leadership within the next two years.

Instead of organising against the right wing's growing presence, the Broad Left have opted to try to ride out the

nst the Government's economic policies was nullified through an unprecedented manoeuvre by the Executive, fully supported by the Federation of Conservative Students.

As a sop to its right-wing critics the Executive also attempted to drop the Union's contentious 'no platform' policy for fascists and racists. The enthusiasm of the Tories for this move was dampened by the refusal of a large section of the Broad Left's own supporters, including an Executive member, to toe the line. The 'no platform' policy thus remained.

The Broad Left's strategy of subordinating the action of students to the building of links with the trade union leaderships leaves them not only unwilling but also unable to deal with the right-wing threat. Their refusal to break with the trade union leaders who are wholly implicated in the Labour Government's attacks is a recipe for inactivity.

However, in recent months

February to organise united action against the attacks being made on overseas students is an excellent step towards challenging the Broad Left's passivity.

WOMEN

Similarly, women militants, exasperated by the failure of the Union leadership to take up a fight for women's rights, are following up their success in winning five of the eight elected posts on the NUS National Women's Committee by calling a National Women's Left Caucus meeting on 30 January in London to plan the future of the campaign.

The Tories feed off the demoralisation caused by the attacks of the Labour Government and the failure of the NUS leaders to put up a fight. Militants have the responsibility over the next months to build and win mass support for a socialist opposition

For details of the Conference for Overseas Student Activists on 12 February, write to: Middlesex Polytechnic Students Union, Queensway, Enfield, Middlesex EN3 4SF.

STILL AVAILABLE



'PUBLISH AND BE DAMNED?'

JOE ROGALY, *Financial Times* columnist, informed his readers last week that the coverage of race issues by Fleet Street 'is an aspect of my trade of which I cannot feel anything except shame'.

He was commenting on a pamphlet by the home affairs correspondent of *The Times*, Peter Evans, who has surveyed the press's vicious reporting of the incidents which led up to the racist murders last summer with much the same sentiment as Rogaly's.

'The journalist', Evans observes, 'has a responsibility to create understanding. The journalist cannot escape part of the responsibility for justice and racial peace.'

Yet what we learn from *Publish and be damned?*, and the reviews of the pamphlet which have appeared in the *Financial Times* and the *Guardian*, is not so much their liberal concern over the excesses of their colleagues as their fear of the campaign that is now being mounted against the mass media's racism.

HYSTERICAL

Evans examines Fleet Street's scandalous coverage of the Malawi Asians at the '£600-a-week hotel'; the 'floods of immigrants' expected from East Africa; and Powell's amazing revelations about the Hawley report on would-be immigrants.

The pamphlet records the hysterical headlines, backed by racist stories and cartoons, which together played a major part in building the upsurge in racism that is now a lethal component of the capitalist crisis in Britain.

But Evans's explanation of the contribution made by his colleagues is utterly facile. Enoch Powell, he considers, is a deft manipulator of the press, and once the racist bandwagon began to roll, competition among the gutter press and the pressures of a journalist's work built up the hysteria.

That, of course, explains nothing. Of all the adjectives that can be applied to those who manage and work for the mass media, 'gullibility' is one that can be reliably excluded.

MISSING

As for the 'bandwagon' theory, one only has to try to imagine Fleet Street being feverishly carried away in a campaign to abolish the immigration laws, say, or the Social Contract, to reject out of

HOW THE PRESS DRUMS UP RACISM AND THEN WEEPS CROCODILE TEARS

POWELL'S WARNING

6 Race turmoil could be coming... I don't know whether it will be tomorrow, next year or five years, when, I will dare say it, the position is reached where neither might seem an available phrase.

Storm over disclosure of Whitehall official's secret report on 'the problem which has no end'

IMMIGRANTS—HOW BRITAIN IS DECEIVED

hand any notion of a driverless bandwagon.

Missing from the pamphlet is any examination of the nature of racism or the role that it serves. Neither is there any mention of the ideology that underpins it — an ideology which links directly with the chauvinism and nationalism that is the daily diet of Fleet Street, and which journalists must therefore confront if they are seriously to oppose racism.

It is the introduction to this pamphlet which informs us about the real reason for its publication by the Runnymede Trust. There we find an attack which is largely directed at anti-racists in the National Union of Journalists and elsewhere in the labour movement who have the audacity to challenge the control exerted over the press by its proprietors and editors.

This is plainly spelt out in the foreword by Jim Rose, director of Penguin Books and a former editorial director of Westminster Press.

Rose, who has a liberal position on race issues, states that the national press 'quite unwittingly' contributed to the upsurge in racism; and while he notes the

'tragic consequences', he reserves his main venom for NUJ members who are seeking to implement the union's Code of Conduct on race coverage. Clause 10 of this states: 'A journalist shall not originate material which encourages discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, creed, gender, or sexual orientation.'

'However idealistic the motives behind the campaign', Rose informs us, 'it is totally misguided, for this kind of censorship by journalists is quite inconsistent with freedom of the press; it is the thin end of a very dangerous wedge which could be driven between an editor and his reporting staff.'

Well, well. How very unfortunate for director Rose and the rest of the gauleiters of the mass media.

Peter Evans does at least imply that journalists should have some element of independence from the dictates of editors, and states that editorial staff cannot escape the responsibility for what they do and what results from it.

But he too rejects the idea that there should be any policy of dealing with racism in the media

ANOTHER RACE WAR WARNING BY ENOCH POWELL SHOCKER

Mr. Powell's warning... I don't know whether it will be tomorrow, next year or five years, when, I will dare say it, the position is reached where neither might seem an available phrase.

Storm over disclosure of Whitehall official's secret report on 'the problem which has no end'

POWELL LEAKS SECRET FOREIGN OFFICE REPORT THAT CAUSED SPLIT IN THE GOVERNMENT

IMMIGRANT RACKET ROW

POWELL IN RACE LEAK

'Guns soon new Powell race assault'

SCANDAL OF £600-A-WEEK IMMIGRANTS

Giant bill for two families who live in a 4-star hotel

TWO homeless Asian families are living in style at a four-star hotel—at a cost of £600 a week from rates and taxes.

Maggie gets her hair cut!

TORY leader Mrs Margaret Thatcher is looking up on the way—will she be seen with a new hair-do? She looked about it yesterday—the same day the Sun's Walter Terry called on her to get her hair done.

The new look Mrs Thatcher was opening a further, more modest style when she was presented with the Gold Medal of the Conservative Club of Great Britain at a ceremony in London.

She said: 'The very picture I see I have not seen before. I don't know what it's going to do next. I'll have to see what Mike Terry does.'

on the part of the NUJ or anyone else. For Evans it is all a matter of a journalist's individual conscience, and he asserts that the present campaign is one of 'negative censorship', which would allow 'falsehoods to fester'.

That is either a bad misunderstanding on Evans's part, or else an outright lie. As far as I am aware, no-one in the NUJ, and certainly no-one involved in the Campaign Against Racism in the Media, has argued for the suppression of facts, however uncomfortable they might be.

There is all the difference in the world between reporting that 14 penniless and bewildered Malawi Asian immigrants have been put up in an expensive hotel normally used by business executives because of the dire housing shortage, and banner headlines which accuse them of living it up in style.

The pamphlet itself records that the same local authority shortly

afterwards housed at least one white family in another local hotel without even a murmur from our wonderfully free press. Draw your own conclusions.

GEOFFREY SHERIDAN (Secretary, Campaign Against Racism in the Media).

* *Publish and be damned?*, by Peter Evans. Runnymede Trust, £1.30 (for 38 pages!).

FARE FIGHT

UP AGAINST THE LAW

A MASSIVE increase in fares of 15 per cent has been announced by London Transport on buses and tubes. Since the last round of 25 per cent increases in June 1976, over six thousand people have been resisting high fares by using deferred payment slips according to Fare Fight, the campaign to resist high tube fares, cuts in services, and loss of jobs.

Fare Fight is now predicting that, with six months to build the campaign, the new rises will never get off the ground. In this they are hoping to follow the example of passengers and transport workers in Turin, who successfully united in refusing either to pay or to charge higher fares in what was called 'self reduction' of prices.

An encouraging step in this direction is the number of London Transport workers who now support the campaign. Bus and tube workers are actively involved in promoting Fare Fight, and several union branches have given support — this includes the largest NUR branch in the country, Earls Court, who have supported the principle of non-collection of higher fares.

Fare Fight believes that the interests of both transport workers and passengers are threatened by a fare rise of 15 per cent at a time when wage increases are limited to 4½ per cent, and that a loss of essential services will result. They are demanding that London Transport make a full admission now of cuts in services that it is planning to compensate for loss of passengers after the fares go up.

Another sign of the headache the campaign is giving London Transport bosses is the first move, after seven months of the campaign, against the use of deferred payment slips on the underground. Two active Fare Fight campaigners, Alan Low and Piers Corbyn, have each received 46 summonses alleging that they 'travelled on the railway with intent to avoid payment'. Fare Fight is urging all its supporters to join a mass picket outside Marylebone Magistrates Court on 19 January at 1.30 pm. They say: 'Use a deferred payment slip to get there!'

LOCK-OUT THREAT TO CIVIL SERVANTS

'... if the CPSA industrial action continues, a formal warning will be given on a day to be fixed and notified to all CPSA members in the executive officer grade and below. This will require that they either undertake to perform the full normal duties appropriate to their grade, including statistical work, or be suspended without pay until they are prepared to do so.'

With these words, circular 42/OE 132/76 from the Department of Employment last week informed all their staff of an ultimatum — betray your union's policy of opposition to the cuts or be locked out.

The ban on the compilation of statistics by DE members of the Civil and Public Services Association has been a thorn in the flesh of the Government since its commencement in November. The statistics ban has made it impossible for the monthly unemployment and price index figures to be compiled.

POLITICAL

The action is part of the union's campaign against cuts. It centres on the plan to cut unemployment

leaders, the action remains a clear focus of opposition to the Government's austerity programme.

For this reason, the Unemployment Minister, Albert Booth, decided early on that the greatest efforts must be made to smash the dispute. There has been no shortage of helpers.

He has for a start had the willing aid of *The Times*, which devoted an editorial to denouncing the strike as 'illegal'. He has enlisted the aid of the TUC General Secretary, Len Murray, who has written to the CPSA expressing the hope that the dispute does not become 'political'. And to Booth's side too has rushed CPSA General Secretary Ken Thomas, only too willing to collaborate with the witch-hunters and issue comforting statements that things will soon be back to normal.



While CPSA leaders have blocked work for Gibraltar where CPSA members face a lockout (above), they open the door for similar methods in Britain. During the sit-in shown 187 were arrested and taken to court.

change Government policy. The elected Government and Parliament must be free to make decisions on policy in the interests of the electorate as a whole, and civil servants have a basic duty to carry them out. The current action is a direct challenge to these two important political principles.'

Of course the dispute is a political one. Ken Thomas himself recognised this point when he told his militant members at a cuts rally in Manchester in September

Party ministers can claim that the electorate or Labour Party Conference gave to their programme of savage cuts.

Despite this left talk from Thomas, CPSA officials have fought strenuously to overturn conference decisions in practice, to shelve any prospect of strike action, and to run down the union's already limited campaign — leaving the DE members to fight for themselves.

The CPSA leadership now seem

in the DE group went beyond the official national policy of the CPSA, thanks to Alistair Graham, CPSA Assistant General Secretary, who assured them in negotiations that the dispute was purely departmental!

The DE's intentions in the dispute are cloaked in the word 'suspension', but the method of forcing individuals to sign an agreement in contradiction to their union's policy is identical to that used by the Ministry of

But it has gained the compliance of the other main Civil Service union, the Society of Civil and Public Servants, whose members will have to enforce it. The SCPS leaders interpret this as being 'duty bound to transmit information about the Department's intention to their staff', and have instructed their members to obey.

CALL

The National Executive Committee of the CPSA was due to meet on 11 January after *Red Weekly* went to press. Union activists were planning to lobby the meeting with a call for an all-out defence of the DE members and escalation of action. *Red Weekly* supporters in the CPSA put forward the basis for a fight as follows:

- * Support continuation of DE action
- * Proposed CPSA action in the DHSS to be brought forward to commence with any DE suspensions
- * Official backing for any solidarity action taken by other CPSA sections or localities
- * CPSA town committees to call emergency all-member mass meetings to be addressed by DE section speakers
- * Voluntary levy of all members for dispute fighting fund
- * Call to all public sector unions involved in current discussions with CPSA for financial aid
- * All DE offices to be picketed from date of suspensions. All other sections urged to send delegations to support pickets.
- * For the CPSA Executive to regard management action as a

Could you explain the origins of ZANU?

ZANU's establishment followed the banning of a number of previous movements — such as the African National Congress in 1959, the National Democratic Party in 1961, and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) in 1962. But what was significant about it was the new aspect it introduced into our politics.

This new aspect was to try to define what Zimbabweans could do for themselves, because for so long our politics were centred on what the United Nations, Britain or the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conferences could do for us.

In defining what we could do for ourselves, what the Africans in Rhodesia could do for themselves, one conclusion was correctly arrived at by ZANU — that is, that we are our own liberators. We were trying for the first time in our politics to define that Africans in Rhodesia must take a deliberate decision to find a useful role in the political movement — we wanted to put these masses into something which was effectively going to change the system as a whole.

I think that the ideas that constitute the cornerstone of ZANU could be summed up in two slogans: 'We are our own liberators', and 'Through freedom, through confrontation'. It's a long time since that started, but I think that this has been the only road to liberation.

What do you consider to be the main political differences between ZANU and ZAPU?

Again, I can only refer you back to the origins of ZANU. Either we got stalemated in a situation where we continued to believe that the solution to our situation was through the United Nations or through other international forums, or we made the break that ZANU made and started preparing for war.

Later on, however, ZAPU also came to think that fighting was an absolute necessity. It might have been influenced by ZANU and the battles ZANU was winning; nevertheless, it narrowed the differences tremendously.

The other difference, of course, has been that ZAPU has been built around Nkomo. You cannot conceive of ZAPU without Nkomo. This is the sort of thing we rejected when we formed ZANU. We felt that the organisation must be more important than any individual.

There is a latitude of self-criticism that goes on inside ZANU, and we feel that this is something to be cherished and that this is the only way to improve upon our performance. This is the only way we have

been able to succeed.

ZAPU might have attracted many numbers earlier on, but these people have been drifting away as they realise that fighting for a country cannot just be done through an individual or giving support to an individual but through a movement which is prepared to criticise itself and improve upon its performance.

At present there is the Patriotic Front uniting ZANU and ZAPU in Geneva. Do you think that after Geneva we are likely to see a united ZANU and ZAPU?

Unity is something which we cherish. ZANU would be wrong to avoid unity or work against any unity, but ZANU has always insisted that unity must be on the basis of principles.

There are many things, from the ZANU point of view, which must be corrected before unity can be achieved. Already I have mentioned this hero worshiping of an individual, we don't think such unity could be based on individuals, otherwise it won't be successful.

But I think that the emphasis that we have stressed is that unity must be forged on the battlefield, that is why we are insisting that we should unify the army first. People who share comradeship, who fight together, die together, or escape the hazards of war together, cannot be disunited under any circumstances.

You have recently been in Geneva — could you give us your assessment of the discussions and how you see them developing?

I think the one thing the talks

have shown is Smith's intransigence. Whatever else one can say about the liberation movements or the African groupings, they have to some extent succeeded in not getting divided. Our detractors would have liked to have seen us at each other's throats. This we have managed to avoid, and as long as this exercise continues we will follow that path, showing a singleness of mind in so far as we are projecting the correct aspect of a useful solution that is likely to last.

On the other hand, I think everybody now realises in Geneva that the negotiations have been between the Africans and Mr Ivor Richard, the Chairman. Smith has not said anything.

When the sessions resume, one particularly important question is that of the transfer of power or the demobbing of Smith's soldiers. After all, Smith is on record admitting that the greater part of his army today is constituted by what he calls non-citizens. I think that this is just another name for mercenaries.

That is why we think that there should be no controversy over who must police the state of Zimbabwe. Our armed forces have already been fighting Smith. Smith has only come to the negotiating table because he has been on the receiving end of a very bitter fight in which he knows very well that he cannot succeed. If it can have that effect, we are also very confident that these are true people who can give Zimbabwe the protection it needs.

At the same time, we don't

want to be wasting time about who can get absorbed into the Zimbabwe army. We think that those who are true Zimbabweans can eventually, if they want to, after demobbing, apply for and be considered for any post, including in the army. But the first task will be to demob these people who have caused so many atrocities, and some of them might have to be brought to court for some of the atrocities they have done to our people.

Can you give some assessment of the role of the Labour Government in Zimbabwe and in the Geneva talks?

The Labour Government does not seem to us in ZANU in any way better than the Conservatives. We must remember that UDI was declared with the Labour Government in power, and that it was Wilson who assured Smith that he was not going to send in any army in the event of UDI.

That was the time when the Labour Party and the Labour Government should have played a positive role. They abdicated their right to do so at the time. The Tiger and Fearless talks were exercises where Smith and Wilson talked about the Africans without including them.

It was only after the Africans had taken up arms and started to fight, and were seen to be winning, that the Labour Government wanted to salvage some credit for playing what it has often called its 'decolonising role'. But we feel the dangers are there, in that their solution will not truly cover our interests.



We
our
libe

I think we want to continue to be vigilant and suspicious of whatever else the Labour Government might be up to. They have had the time to show if they were our friends, and they seem to be siding with our enemy far too often for us just to take things for granted.

So what do you see as Britain's role?

If in the process of the transfer of power we can work together with Britain to see if among those people there might have been some less involved in some of these things, then they have the choice of living either under Zimbabwe or going elsewhere.

But this is just the icing on the cake. The bulk of the work involved fighting and this we have done on our own. The protection of Zimbabwe is something that we can do on our own.

Things like a governor or whatever you want to call them are a matter for Britain to decide — they carry no more weight in the period towards Zimbabwe, but they may be convenient to make Britain carry out certain obligations she has over certain people who must be free to decide if they want to be a part of Zimbabwe.

So while you would be opposed to the presence of British troops, you would be favourable to a British governor or minister of defence for a transitional period?

I think whether such a person is a military person or not is something my colleagues will have to discuss in Geneva. But just expressing an opinion, it is

of no significance what power a single man carries: you could be a general, but you cannot fight a war without soldiers. If the British think that this can best carry out their task then it is entirely up to them whom they choose.

In a long term sense, do you think that the solution to Zimbabwe will come through Geneva or through the armed struggle currently being waged?

I am rather pessimistic. I cannot see Mr Smith accepting anything that comes near to the aspirations of our people in general, and to that extent would be foolish to think that the solution will come out of Geneva. Remember that ZANU only went into this on the understanding that it would not interfere with our war effort. As long as it does not interfere with the war, we are quite prepared to expose Smith.

What is the goal of ZANU? Is it a socialist society you want or just a national and democratic Zimbabwe?

ZANU is a nationalist organisation, there is no running away from that; but of all the organisations, ZANU is the one who has a cadre that has got socialist grooming. These people believe are the people who will continue to politicise the organisation from within, in order to enable it to carry out a socialist programme when Zimbabwe is won.

We are not going to make two phases of a democratic and socialist revolution, because we feel that if an occasion warrants that we should carry out the two simultaneously then

WHICH WAY FOR

Soft Shoe Shuffle

'We say welcome to the chairman of the conference; welcome to Great Britain. We hope you will find the solutions.' These words greeted British Zimbabwe negotiator Ivor Richard on his arrival in an African capital last week. But it was not Pretoria. And it was certainly not Salisbury. These sentiments were expressed by Samora Machel, president of 'revolutionary' Mozambique.

The Richard shuttle has provided few surprises. Vorster of South Africa is still reserving judgement on the British proposals for the transition to independence in Zimbabwe, and Smith is sticking to the letter of the supposed Kissinger plan. But no-one expected Machel, the man who called for war against the Smith regime, to prove so tractable.

It is clear to Richard that he has two tough nuts to crack if the Geneva constitutional conference is to have any hope of success: Ian Smith, and the Patriotic Front of ZAPU and ZANU nationalist factions. To do this he has attempted to put pressure on their closest allies, Vorster and Machel.

HALF

One half of the plan has already

Plan' for a single national security council equally divided between blacks and whites, with a British resident commissioner presiding.

Robert Mugabe, the ZANU leader, could hardly believe his ears: 'I am not aware that President Machel has approved a British scheme. At the moment my information is that he has been given a picture of the present British plan and all he did really was to listen to the proposals.'

CRUX

Mugabe is deceiving himself. The crux of the differences between the nationalist factions — and between the Patriotic Front and Richard — is whether the council should be majority black or divided half and half. That is a problem which can be easily resolved, because all the African factions have accepted in principle the presence of a British representative at the head of the transitional state.

The purpose of the Geneva constitutional conference — and Richard's present round of talks — is to establish the mechanism for an orderly transition to a neo-colonial state in Zimbabwe. This basic aim is supported by Vorster, who wants the stable northern flank which would be provided by the lowering of the

border of South Africa.

It is for this reason that Richard reckons he can count on Vorster's support, just as it was Vorster who persuaded Smith to accept the original Kissinger plan for a two-tier transitional government in September last year.

In practice the nationalists and the leaders of the 'front-line states' — Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Botswana — pose far less problems than Smith himself. The contradiction between the interests of the white settler capitalists of Rhodesia and international capitalism is long standing.

WAR

It was only the intensification of the guerilla war and the pressure of South Africa and the USA which forced Smith to make his famous statement of support for majority rule. His meeting with Richard in Salisbury was 'unproductive', as expected, despite the aura of friendliness which surrounded the tea and cakes discussion on the lawn of Smith's house.

Vorster, who fed Richard with an impala shot with his own fair hand, was altogether more cooperative, and the presence of William Edman, a senior US diplomat,

are own rators!

Red Weekly is pleased to print the accompanying interview with IGNATIUS CHIGWENDERE, a member of the Publicity Committee of the Zimbabwe African National Union who spent some time in Geneva towards the end of last year.

In printing it we recognise the important role that members of ZANU are playing within the armed struggle led by ZIPA. In their fight against the white racism of the Smith Government in Rhodesia and the presence of imperialism they have our unconditional support. Nevertheless, in extending our support we also reserve the right to make fraternal criticism. It is in this light that we make the following remarks.

The starting point for any socialist in any colonial situation has to be the right of the oppressed peoples to self-determination — that is, for the people themselves to determine their own future free from the shackles of imperialism. From that point of view comrade Chigwendere and ZANU are correct to stress that the Zimbabwean people are their own liberators, and that one cannot put faith in the United Nations or the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference.

In trying to achieve that goal ZANU also recognises the necessity of the armed struggle. It cannot be denied that it was the stepping up of

the armed activity of ZIPA and the dangers it held not only for Smith but also for British, South African and American imperialist interests that obliged the leader of the Rhodesian Front to go to the Geneva talks.

In the continuation of this armed struggle the need to unify all the armed organisations to overthrow the Smith regime is a correct objective — as comrade Chigwendere states, 'it would be foolish to think that the solution will come out of Geneva'. Red Weekly has also stressed that the solution to the oppression of the Zimbabwean people will not come from Geneva but from the armed struggle.

Having agreed with those points, we feel that they are in direct contradiction to ZANU's call for Britain via the Labour Government to assume its role as a 'decolonising power' — for example, by having a governor or ministers in an interim government. All these manoeuvres by the Labour Government in implementing the Kissinger-Callaghan proposals have one clear aim — to establish a stable neo-colonial regime in Zimbabwe, in which the economic interests of imperialism would be safeguarded even at the expense of those of the national bourgeoisie represented by the Smith Government.

To call for a British Governor to 'carry out certain obligations she has over certain people', as comrade Chigwendere does in the interview, not only gives credibility to the neo-colonial solution but also gives the impression that Britain has the right to interfere in Zimbabwe. Red Weekly has opposed all British intervention and demanded that all imperialist concerns should get out of Zimbabwe at once.

Red Weekly interviews IGNATIUS CHIGWENDERE of the ZANU publicity committee in London

there is no good reason why we should not seize the opportunity and carry out the two.

As an organisation, ZANU has had to raise the consciousness of the people, and it is

carrying that out now, wherever it is fighting, wherever it is in touch with the people. Thus by the time ZANU presents its programme to the people — because in the final analysis it is the people of Zimbabwe who

must decide — we feel that the people of Zimbabwe will have gone through enough suffering to make the right choice and adopt the ZANU socialist programme.

DEMONSTRATE against all collaboration with apartheid! Solidarity with the southern African liberation movements! **Sunday 6 March, London.** Called by Anti-Apartheid Movement.



'Down with Ian Smith' is the slogan of hundreds of thousands of African militants.

POSITIVE ROLE?

During the interview the point is also made in relation to the Labour Government that when UDI was declared in 1965 the Labour Government could have played a 'positive role' by sending in troops. Again such remarks give the impression that Britain has such a right and a positive role to play by its intervention.

Finally, we welcome the comrade's remarks that, 'we are not going to make the two phases of a democratic and a socialist revolution... there is no good reason why we should not seize the opportunity and carry out the two'. In the countries of southern Africa it is clear that the African workers and peasants can gain democratic rights only through their own action and the socialist transformation of society.

The white national bourgeoisie is not only tied to imperialism, even though it may have a sharp difference with it, but it also survives precisely because of the lack of democratic rights for the black masses. For example, low black wages and the high rate of exploitation are not opposed by black trade union organisations. The winning of such rights and the establishment of socialism in all the states of southern Africa is today on the agenda.

Unfortunately it is clear that ZANU does not have an adequate programme to realise such a possibility. Nevertheless, the basis for any defeat of imperialism's plans for southern Africa continues to be the armed struggle of the African people. Red Weekly extends its solidarity to all those who are mounting that fight against imperialism.

THE EDITORS

OR ZIMBABABWE?

of the new black party, ZUPO, to in sections of the black population. fact ZUPO is a transparent fraud, set up by two of the chiefs drafted to the Smith cabinet last year.

HOPE

Paradoxically, Smith was given some cause for hope by the statement of the front-line summit in Lusaka last weekend. The decision of the front-line presidents to drop the moderate Muzorewa and Sithole factions in favour of the Patriotic Front has reportedly encouraged Smith in the belief that ZUPO will now be able to win ground from the moderate Muzorewa African National Congress.

British officials in Lusaka gave the statement a 'qualified welcome', trumpeted in the press as an 'armed struggle' declaration, the Lusaka statement simply reiterated that 'peace and justice' would bring an end to the war in Zimbabwe.

The wholehearted support for the Patriotic Front may well help Richard in his attempt to get the Geneva show back on the road. It is clear that Joshua Nkomo, the ZAPU leader and long-time British favourite, and Mugabe, the supposed guerrilla representative, are the im-

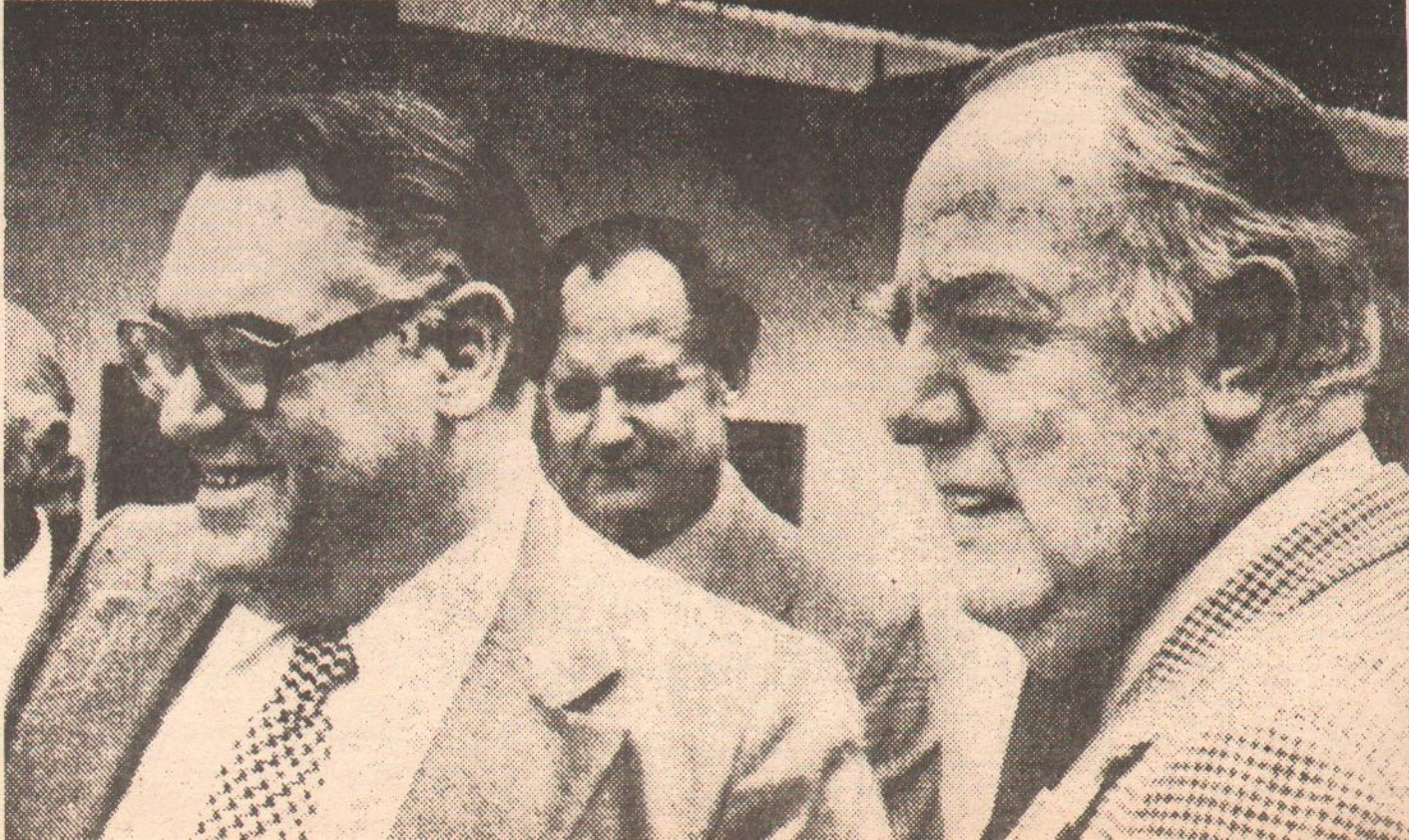
Richard's work for him by clearing Sithole and Muzorewa out of the way.

Richard's tour of the front line capitals has been successful. Not only Machel but also Nyerere, Kaunda and Khama of Botswana have indicated support for the British plan. Underlying the position of all these leaders is the assumption that the British Labour Government has a progressive role to play as the 'legitimate' colonial power.

SCHEME

The fight within the African movement must be a rejection of the imperialist scheme, which can only prove an obstacle in the struggle for self-determination and socialism in Africa. Likewise, the task of the workers movement in Britain must be to demand that the Labour Government act on its party's policy and break with neo-colonialism, recognising the right of the Zimbabwean people to independent majority rule now.

There are still considerable obstacles in the way of Richard's 'mission', not least the continuing struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against all colonial or neo-colonial



LETTERS

Problems with arts coverage

It is necessary to remark on your arts coverage. Over the last few months its quantity has increased dramatically. This development is positive, and has increased the quality of the paper.

Nevertheless, the content of the 'arts' articles gives great cause for concern. They reflect a point of view that is dubious in the extreme and, moreover, explicitly condemned by both Lenin and Trotsky. It is the notion that you can judge a book, film, play or whatever wholly or mainly by political criteria.

First of all, the view is wrong and unhelpful. It strengthens the tendency of left-wing artists — and theatre workers, in particular — to disparage technique and general cultural understanding in favour of political content.

As an example let me cite the theatre group CAST. Most of their productions are politically impeccable and clear. The mere existence of such material is, of course, an asset to the workers movement. Nevertheless, CAST apply absolutely needless limitations to themselves.

Most of their shows are uninteresting to all except the politically initiated. The reason is that their literary and acting techniques are kept at an extremely low level. Not only does this limit their audience to hardened Trots, but it makes it impossible to

develop. As a result the audience shrinks further, and their effectiveness is further blunted.

In the same way the views of your correspondent Carl Gardner are a positive hindrance to understanding the significance and role of non-socialist works. For instance, he comments in your 6 January issue on *The Exorcist* and *The Omen*: 'The tendency to turn to the "supernatural" or "dark forces" (beliefs which are themselves remnants of feudal and pre-feudal ideology) recurs at times of economic crisis.'

The general comment is quite true. Religion and magic flourish on despair. But it is only comment, and not analysis. *The Exorcist* (I have not seen *The Omen*) is extremely well made, well acted, and well written — in a purely technical sense.

Moreover, it draws on the technical tricks of the Gothic tradition of literature and theatre, which was itself part of romanticism. The romantic movement in the arts was a revolt against feudal and aristocratic influences. The Gothic — including *The Exorcist* — is an integral part of bourgeois culture, and not just a left-over from the Middle Ages.

Of course, films like *The Exorcist* peddle a reactionary message and have, in general, a reactionary effect. But that effect cannot be



CAST in action - needless limitations?

combated except by work of at least comparable technical excellence.

Moreover, it is necessary to recognise that the symbols and conventions of normal theatre and cinema are widely familiar and accepted. That familiarity and acceptance has to be subverted before a counter-attack can be launched. That requires a detailed understanding of the techniques and history of the genre. The views of comrade Gardner do not just ignore the need for that understanding — they obstruct the gaining of it.

Thus — referring to the differences between comrade Gardner's views and those of Lenin and Trotsky — it is unfortunate that these are by and large the only views to grace your columns. There is more to Marxist art

Against women's sections

Anne Cesek is very mistaken to support the idea of separate women's sections in the trade unions, as she appears to do [Red Weekly, 16 December] when she refers to the abolition of the AUEW Women's Section at the 1976 Rules Revision Conference. Far from spreading the myth that these separate sections in some way represent the right of women to organise, socialists should be campaigning actively for their abolition.

The women's sections were originally set up because male trade unionists considered that women should not have the same rights and benefits, and should therefore be shovelled in a separate section. Male trade unionists then 'rationalised' this situation to argue against the involvement of women — 'after all, they don't pay the same money as us, so why should they get the same benefits', ran the argument. In fact, the existence of the Women's Section was no more than the most open and blatant form of discrimination against women in the AUEW.

Anne Cesek is also wrong when she states: 'The AUEW has merely re-affirmed the rulings of the Sex Discrimination Act against the separate organisation of women within organisations.' The existence of the Women's Section has nothing to do with that at all. In fact the rule dealing with women's self-organisation in the AUEW, namely Rule 46 1a Paragraph 5, states:

'Women Shop Stewards shall be directly represented on the District Committees on the basis of one Shop Steward for every 3,000 members of this section, or part thereof [men get one per 5,000].

Executive Council shall convene annually a conference of Women Representatives on District Committees. Such Conferences to consist of not less than 26 or more than 52 delegates. The basis of such representation to be decided by the Executive Council in accordance with the powers vested in them by Clause 7 of this Rule. The Annual Conference shall elect representatives to attend the National Committee, the number to be determined by Executive Council.'

Socialists should support such organisation as embodied in the above Rule, however partial it may be at present, and seek to have it extended to the whole of the union organisation down to the shop floor. But such a fight for self-organisation of women within the unions must mean complete opposition to those trade unionists who wish to preserve the institutionalised discrimination against women as embodied in the old Women's Section of the AUEW, which has simply meant that women have been systematically deprived of the benefits they were rightly entitled to as full members of the union.

In confusing the two — women's sections, and the right of women to organise as women within a union — Anne Cesek ends up supporting one of the most reactionary Rules in the AUEW, which has always been an obstacle preventing women from enjoying the same rights and benefits as male members. Rather than trying to preserve such sexist institutions, socialists should fully support their abolition and the extension of those rights to organise that women do have inside the unions. — JOHN GRAHAM (Birmingham AUEW).

Opinion as 'truth'

I was interested in the small item in your 6 January issue with regard to so-called 'facts' presented by school books. The following gem is from *Chemistry for Junior Forms* by A.C. Cavell:

'It is surely essential for the health of our nation that no girl should be allowed to leave school until she has an adequate knowledge of what foods should be eaten and how they should be prepared in the kitchen; for after all, a very large proportion of our school girls sooner or later are responsible for the family meals.'

It is certainly a pity that there are no statistics to show how many unfortunate males have had their digestions ruined by the ignorance of the lady in the kitchen.'

To me the pity is that there are no statistics to show how many editions of this textbook — and other equally harmful books presenting reactionary opinion as absolute 'truth' and 'objective' fact — are still being used in schools. — JUNE WENTLAND (Manchester).

• More examples, please.

Behind the Triads - CIA

THE CHINESE 'TRIAD' societies have recently been in the news over their drug-smuggling activities.

Advertisement IMG NOTES

IMG Student Commission, Saturday 15 January, 10.30am. At National Centre.
IMG Trade Union Cadre School, for IMG comrades designated to attend by their fraction. Agenda includes: the Minority Movement; the National Left Wing Movement; organising the left in the unions, 1965-75; Labourism, industrial unionism and social democracy; the industrial strategy of the CP; a class struggle left wing — other parties and today. Saturday/Sunday 22/23 January, London.

IMG National Transport Fraction, for all comrades working in transport unions. Sunday 30 January, London.

National Engineering Fraction, Saturday 5 February, Birmingham.

IMG Trade Union Commission, Saturday 12 February, 11am. At National Centre.

IMG Women's Commission, Sunday 13 February, 11am. At National Centre.

IMG School on the Family for members and close contacts. Saturday 5 March, London. More details next week.

IMG members in the ASTMS or the AUT, in higher education, please contact M. Holbrook, Dept of Sociology, University of Durham, New Elvet, Elvet Riverside, Durham DH1 3JT. This is urgent.

IMG members wishing to get kits on 'History of First Three Internationals' Debates and Practice on Women's Oppression', please order through your branch organiser. Cost 90p excluding pamphlets. Limited numbers now being reprinted.

National Fund Raiser wanted by IMG. A really challenging job for someone with flair and organising ability. The IMG has no rich backers and relies on raising funds to finance its campaigns

They were originally established to fight the Manchu dynasty, and strictly speaking the name Triad only applied to an underground society formed in the Canton province of China; though other similar organisations were formed north of the Yangtse river — notably the 'Qing Bang' and the 'Hong Bang'. But for ease of reference here we use the name Triad to apply to all the 'Dark' societies that existed in China.

MASSACRE

In the 1920s the 'Qing Hong Bang', the most famous of the 'Dark' societies, began to play a growing part in politics. It was actively involved in the Shanghai massacre of 12 April 1927, when

its members, dressed as workers, joined the supporters of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang to attack the trade union organisations.

In the bitter fighting that followed at least 300 trade unionists were killed, 5,000 went missing, and the union headquarters at Chapei were occupied. Similar attacks took place elsewhere — for example, in Canton, where thousands of workers lost their lives. The contribution of the 'Qing Hong Bang' was most valuable to Chiang Kai-shek in crushing the trade union movement.

HONG KONG

After the liberation of China in 1949 the Triad was forced to move

to Hong Kong, where it became concentrated through its control of the prostitution, gambling and drug rackets. Hong Kong was a natural place for the Triad to grow, not only because of government corruption but also because many members of the police were Triad society members.

KUOMINTANG

These Triad societies had close connections with an old group of Kuomintang army members situated in the 'golden triangle' in Eastern Burma and Northern Thailand. They in turn controlled drug production in that area. These were the remnants of the Kuomintang army defeated by the People's Liberation Army during

the Chinese civil war, who managed to escape into neighbouring countries.

Having fled to the 'golden triangle', these members of the Kuomintang were hired by the CIA to launch actions against the People's Republic of China. Three times during 1951 they made attempts to capture the Yunnan province. These military expeditions all failed, but their drug trade was meanwhile booming. The Kuomintang army today control 90 per cent of the opium produced in Burma.

OPIUM

Clearly the CIA knew all along about this set-up, but they did nothing to discourage it in case that upset their anti-communist

crusade in South East Asia. The CIA has in fact helped to create the world's largest opium producers, which speaks volumes for the anti-narcotics policies of world capitalism.

In the past few months the Labour Government has started a propaganda campaign against drugs — but one which ties drugs to immigrants, and serves as a smokescreen for the Government's anti-immigrant policy. Why has the Labour Government never spoken of the role the CIA plays in the drugs business? Behind the Triad lurk, not only the CIA but also the remnants of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang.

THE REAWAKENING is a new journal produced by overseas Chinese with articles in both Chinese and English. 10p from Red Books.

Marxism and the mass media

It's a gross misrepresentation of Marxism to say that changes in technology alone lead to social revolution. However, it's an equally distorted Marxism which maintains that significant technological changes have no influence on the revolutionary process.

Yet enormous developments in mass communications — a not insignificant section of the 'ideology industry' — have gone largely ignored on the left. As a social factor having considerable tactical importance for revolutionaries, the mass media have largely been a

nised by NUJ and Equity members in the IMG, is designed to begin to fill that vacuum. Conceived as an attempt to bring together socialists of all currents working in or concerned with the various media, the series will be introduced by an impressive list of speakers, most of them not in the IMG but willing to contribute to such an overdue and non-sectarian project.

The series kicks off on Sunday 23 January at 7.00 pm, when Raymond Williams, well-known author of several books and essays on the subject, will speak on the development and role of the mass

author of the study of TV news coverage, Bad News; Leon Rosselson, socialist musician and songwriter; Chris Rawlings of Red Ladder Theatre Group; and Tariq Ali.

Topics to be tackled include Film, Rock Music, Agitprop Theatre, Sexism and Racism in the Media, the Mass Media and Workers Control, and the Role of the Media in a Socialist Society. The venue is the London Film-Makers Co-operative, 44 Fitzroy Road, London NW1 [Primrose Hill BR or Chalk Farm tube]. Ring Andrew on 223 2223 or Carl on 278



Wolf Biermann tells how STALINIST BIGWIGS LIVE IN FEAR



[The following interview with the expelled East German poet is taken from the 22 November issue of the West German paper Der Spiegel]

What made the German Democratic Republic expel you?

I am now certain that the whole tour was only permitted with the intention of not allowing me back in again.

I knew that the GDR leadership — or rather part of the leadership — entertained this understandable and reactionary desire. But I could not know and would not believe that those responsible for this decision were in such dire straits, that they were in such a desperate and terrified state that they were forced to adopt such a measure.

For some years your influence in the GDR has only been possible via the West. Did your appearance here not finally push you into the role of a Solzhenitsyn?

That comparison is false. It is so false that I do not want to explain it any further.

Solzhenitsyn criticises the Soviet Union and the attempt to construct socialism from a position which is generally labelled humanist. Everything that Solzhenitsyn has written is the truth and nothing but the truth; that is my own opinion, and that of my comrades in the Soviet Union who have languished in Stalinist concentration camps for twenty years.

The problem, however, is that with sad truths about the societies calling themselves 'socialist' you can spread dangerous lies about the only change mankind has got, namely socialism....

.... I do not praise the Stalinist bigwigs who tremble for their power, and with good reason. They know very well how threatened they are — they have the state security apparatus which tells them everything the people think. They are much worse off than I could ever imagine in my wildest nightmares. They know in black and white what I only suspect.

There are other communists who see the negative aspects of the GDR as you see them, but explain that they are unavoidable during the transition from capitalism to socialism. Do you share this opinion?

No. I'd be an enemy of humanity if I wished that upon all the other peoples, or offered it to them as a general social law. If only the left in the Federal Republic would have the grace to realise, to understand, to note what painful and valuable experiences are being made in the GDR in this respect.

Coming later, and therefore being wiser, they could perhaps take advantage of the fact that they live in a very rich country with a large working class. For them there would be less complications, less difficult conditions than in the GDR, with less necessary or unnecessary mistakes. In this sense my songs also have an immediate purpose in the Federal Republic.

Is it possible that what they call socialism in your state becomes more and more of an obstacle for socialist movements in Western Europe?

It is not just possible, it is already the case. What hinders the left, apart from its own stupidities, is

the off-putting example of a bureaucratically deformed society calling itself socialist right under everyone's nose.

The West German working class, the majority of the population, forms a judgement on the chances of a socialist change in their own society not from the study of some theoretical writings, but from observing reality, how reality presents itself to them and how it is presented in the mass media. They don't of course have some utopian socialist models in their minds but the very real model of GDR socialism.

Do you not overestimate the influence of the left opposition in the GDR, which you represent with your songs?

My despicable expulsion is a striking proof of the opposite. I have always suspected and known that one day I would either be locked up or locked out — when the political forces working towards a socialist democracy in the GDR became so strong in the GDR itself, and the ideas expressed in my songs became as much of a material force as I could wish for.

For the last ten years you have been less dangerous to the GDR officialdom?

As long as the ideas that my comrades and I in the GDR stand for were weak among the population, it was possible simply to let us live on the fringe of society — in God's name, in Honecker's name. As the situation is developing the rulers can no longer bear to let us live that way.

That is not wishful thinking on

my part, it is simply the law of political expediency in a society. In the past it would have been too costly to lock me up or out. Now, apparently, it would be too costly not to lock me up or out.

You have been expelled. Others who sing your songs and spread them can be jailed. Can you still expect your friends in the GDR to take that risk?

Everyone has to take the risk for himself, not for Herr Biermann but for the ideas he has and wants to realise inside the GDR, and not by escaping into the West. That is a new attitude and it is a valuable attitude. It will be more fruitful politically for the GDR the more it spreads.

As the Polish poet Jerzy Lec said, there is a difference between freedom and all other commodities under capitalism. Freedom is the only commodity whose price falls with rising demand.

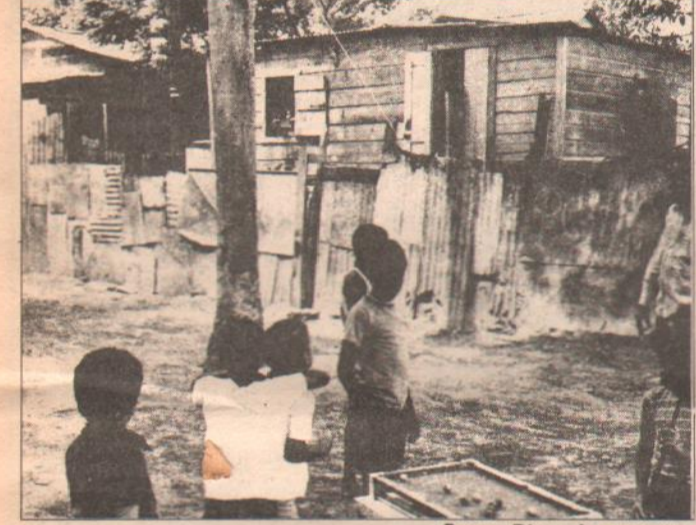
Biermann has since outlined more specifically the direction which he thinks the revolt against the bureaucracy should take, in an interview published in the West German leftist monthly Konkret. Accusing the leaders of the East German Communist Party of 'using brutal methods to prevent the development of socialist democracy', he concludes that 'a sort of new revolution is necessary in the German Democratic Republic in order to put an end to the Stalinist bureaucratic system'.

FRANCE

WHAT foolish games the capitalists play. Emilien Amaury, the boss of the Parisien Libéré newspaper, was killed on 2 January when he fell off his horse in the Forest of Chantilly. Amaury was a veteran right-winger, with a particularly infamous record of align-

ment with the extreme right during the Algerian war.

Recently his notoriety has been enhanced by his treatment of the Parisien Libéré workers. [see Red Weekly, 16 December 1976]. As Parisien Libéré was so fond of saying: 'The horse is man's best friend'.



Puerto Rican shanty town

PUERTO RICO

FOOLISH games, part two. Gerald Ford has been spending his last days as President on a skiing holiday in Vail, Colorado. Very pleasant, you may say, but unfortunately there was no snow.

Instead Gerry had to spend his holiday making provocative remarks about granting statehood to America's Caribbean colony of Puerto Rico. Why? Quite simply, Puerto Rico has considerable offshore gas and oil deposits which

Washington would like to federalise. Ford's statement was timed to coincide with the inauguration of a new governor, after the outgoing governor, the aptly named Hernandez Colon, had his application for an independent Puerto Rican presence at the Law of the Sea conference turned down by Kissinger.

The incoming Democratic administration is unlikely to stand for statehood. They are sure the Puerto Ricans will be happy to remain a colony.

PORTUGAL

THE beleaguered Socialist Party Government in Portugal found a measure of relief when its austerity plan and 1977 Budget were approved by the Assembly. The extension of loans from the USA and West Germany — and now the IMF — indicates the faith which international finance has in Soares. But his anti-working class measures were only approved because of the abstention of the Communist Party.

The economic and political crisis of the Portuguese regime is not over. Industrial and agricultural production has not been stabilised, and the country's foreign reserves are running out. The latest blow, following the resignation of the Agriculture Minister, Lopes Cardoso, is the resignation of the Industry Minister, Walter Rosa, after the arrest of his son for a bank robbery. That was 27-year-old Joao Rosa's small contribution to the financial crisis.

Michael Foot, long-time defender of the Indian dictatorship. Gandhi's 'departure from the political scene at this period would have been a tragedy for the Indian people' is his latest pearl of wisdom. Which Indian people, Michael?

CEYLON

ANOTHER South Asian CP with problems is Ceylon. After the start of the general strike against repression in December, initiated by the Trotskyist-led Ceylon Mercantile Union, increasing numbers of workers have been coming out on wage demands. The Government has threatened striking rail workers with imprisonment.

With many crucial sections of the working class, including the dockers, now out, the CP has been forced to support the action. Unfortunately for them, and for Prime Minister Bandaranaike, the CP forms part of the ruling coalition. The workers' action seems likely to provoke a new governmental crisis.

LEBANON

THE 'last free press' in the Arab world, the Lebanese, is to be subject to Government censorship. The main force behind the imposition seems to be the Syrian occupying army. The Syrians are reportedly worried about the subversive effect on their troops of reading newspapers. And this is not the working class press, which is already subject to severe repression, but the bourgeois papers!

'It is the Lebanese press or the Syrian army, one or the other must go', said the Syrian Foreign Minister. It is unlikely that the Leban-

Racism locks up 'Hurricane' again

In 1967 Rubin Carter and John Artis were convicted of shooting white patrons at the Lafayette Grill, New Jersey, USA.

Had 'Hurricane' Carter not been a well-known black boxer whose cause was subsequently taken up by Bob Dylan, that would probably have been the end of the matter. But once the case began to be examined, cracks began to appear.

The star witnesses against the two blacks themselves faced charges at the time for armed robbery. Another witness gave a death-bed description of the gunmen which was entirely at variance with Artis

and Carter.

The clothes Artis and Carter wore at the time of their arrest were not those worn by the gunmen. Yet even the policeman in charge of the investigation agreed that it was 'impossible' for the defendants to have changed clothes between the time of the shooting and the time they were stopped.

Another eye-witness was unable to identify Carter and Artis just one hour after the shooting.

But still the guilty verdict was returned. Then in 1974 the two witnesses whose testimonies had convicted the pair recanted. Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley said that the police had pressurised them into giving evidence against Carter and Artis. A re-trial was ordered and took place late last year.

At the new trial Bello took back his recantation; but Bradley, who was not called to testify, stands by his. Yet still Carter and Artis were re-convicted.

This time it was not so much the testimony of this or that witness that proved decisive. Rather it was the black defendants, the all-white jury and the manner in which the prosecuting council conducted his case.

Prosecutor Humphries, deprived of evidence, argued on motive instead, claiming that the killing was racial — revenge for the killing of a black bartender by a white man a few hours before. Summing up, Humphries told the jury: 'As much as you may want to look away, to say it didn't happen for that reason, it did happen for that reason.'

Indicating the accused, he continued, 'Evaluate these people in a real life setting'; and to the jury he said, 'Call upon your own backgrounds'.

That was the end of the matter. The prosecution had raised the spectre of black revenge before the white jury. It did not particularly matter whether the right blacks were convicted or not, the purpose



Spanish workers ROCA the boat

4,500 Catalan workers in the Barcelona region know only too well the repressive reality behind the facade of democracy promised by the recent referendum. Strikers at the Roca Radiadores factory have been sacked, beaten, shot at and jailed in their two months out.

The cause of the dispute was the arbitrary sacking of a worker by the management — a deliberate provocation to destroy the self-organisation of the workers, which is based on delegates elected and immediately recallable by a mass assembly.

What is at stake for the employers is who controls the factory.

For the workers what is at stake is their democratic self-organisation. From the experience of strikes in the last year they have learnt that this is the most effective form for united action, and they see it as the embryo of the new trade union structure in the Spanish state.

The bosses have to destroy this at all costs, and they are strongly backed up in this attempt by the 'democratic' Government.

BULLETS

The Roca workers' news sheet describes what has happened:

'The same day that the bosses sacked one of our leaders, the entire workforce came out on an indefinite strike. The following day we were locked out of the factory.'

'We were attacked by the Civil Guard and defended ourselves with barricades and stones. Later that day some of our houses were hit by machine gun bullets, and the

local school was attacked with smoke bombs. They were determined to destroy the Assemblies, the forge of our unity, with blows, bullets and deaths if necessary.

'We have continued holding Assemblies in the neighbourhood, in the countryside, wherever we can, protected by barricades and self-defence squads. These also guard our delegates, who have been attacked six times by fascist thugs.'

What has been the role of the Workers Commissions, dominated as they are by the Communist Party? The Roca workers continue:

'As for the majority tendency in the Workers Commissions, we have to say to them that the criticism they make of us is very typical. They call us "violent groups", "out of control", and make not one reference to the savage violence of the Civil Guard.'

'They have to realise that, when attacked, workers must defend themselves. It would be more useful if these comrades devoted themselves to extending the strike and fighting for a decent contract of employment for all the workers of the region.'

'We know well that these comrades deny that there exist the conditions for a general strike. How is it then that on 12 November [when 2½ million went on strike, backed by the CP] such conditions did exist, and now, in spite of sackings, arrests and victimisations, they don't? And when the current repression is the consequence of that day of strike action?'

DEFIANCE

The attitude of the other 'official' union organisations has been no better. When the Government refused to give permission for a demonstration by the Roca workers to take place on 4 January, the leadership of the UGT and the CNT union federations called it off without even informing the Roca workers' Assembly of their decision! In spite of this manoeuvre, 1,500 Roca workers demonstrated in their district in defiance of the guns of the Civil Guard.

The Roca workers have put out a call for the maximum solidarity action from other workers around the following demands:

- * free and reinstate all those workers arrested
- * lift all sanctions
- * amnesty for all workers
- * no police in the factories
- * no wage freeze: immediate £16 per week rise for all
- * an end to the bosses' right of dismissal
- * 40 hour week with no loss of pay
- * ban on overtime; create jobs for all the unemployed
- * freedom of assembly and recognition of delegates.

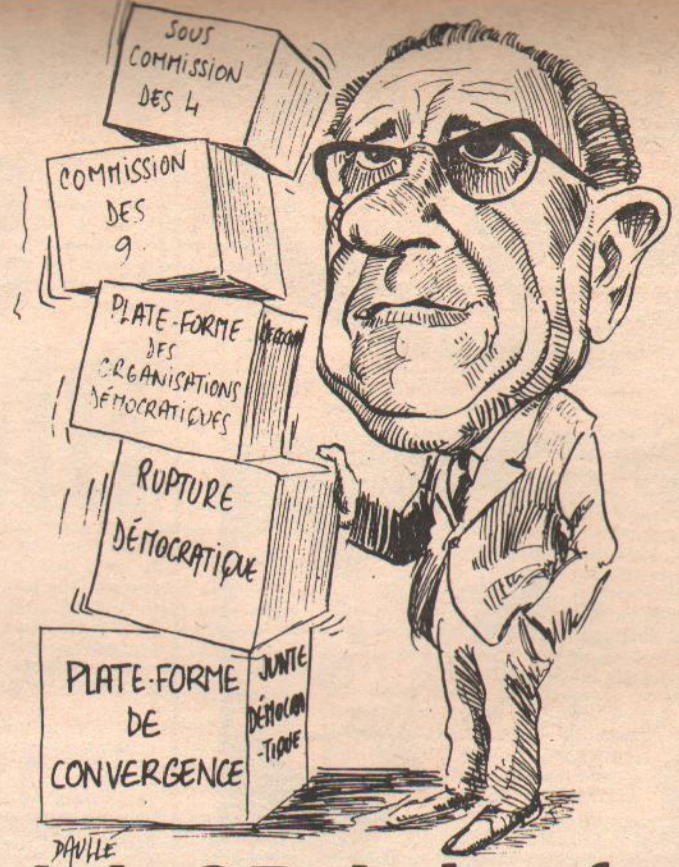
The Roca workers have also called for a campaign for a general strike to be organised through mass assemblies in all work-places and localities to win these demands.

ROLE

A leading role in the strike is being played by militants of the LCR (Spanish sympathising section of the Fourth International), who are calling for days of solidarity action in the next weeks throughout the province — in particular on 22 January, when the sacked workers face the bosses' Employment Tribunal. As the LCR says in its broadsheet on Roca:

'The struggle at Roca is a decisive test of strength for the next period of struggles. Victory will be seen by all workers as a victory for the whole working class. Defeat would open the door to sanctions and sackings aimed at decapitating the vanguard of the working class and demoralising the workers.'

More proof, if proof is still needed, that Franco's dictatorship lives on. As we go to press, there are reports from Spain of another name on the death roll of the murderous police. Juan Manuel Iglesias Sanchez, aged 15, was killed while running from the police as they fired on an amnesty demonstration in the Basque town of Sestao. It is likely that there will be industrial action in the Basque country against the murder.



Spanish CP take further right turn

THE RELEASE of Santiago Carrillo from Carabanchel has provided an opportunity for a further right turn on the part of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE).

If ever you wanted an illustration of the Trotskyist analysis of the Popular Front, this is it. The central argument of those like the PCE who defend the politics of class collaboration is that it is possible to draw the democratic sections of the capitalist class into a progressive alliance which will benefit the working class. Reality has shown again and again that such an alliance can only be on a programme which is acceptable to those bourgeois 'allies' — that is, a programme for the defence of capitalism.

The Democratic Coordination, set up in March 1976 as an alliance between the PCE, PSOE [social democrats] and some liberal capitalist fractions, had just such a programme. The only drawback from the point of view of the liberals [particularly the Izquierda Democratica — Democratic Left] was the participation of the mass trade union organisations and the centrist/Maoist parties.

In October last year, therefore, the crisis of the Democratic Coordination burst open like a blistering sore. The ID, backed by the major social democratic parties, wanted to set up direct negotiations with the Government at the expense of the left wing within the DC. The PCE, on the other hand, was not prepared to dissolve the DC, but acceded to the formation of the 'Platform of Democratic Organisations' to pacify the bourgeois parties.

An interesting by-product of this has been the crisis of the centrist organisations, who also placed their faith in class collaboration and have now been cruelly jilted.

The PCE, however, is unruffled by such infidelities. For a long time they continued to demand a place for Carrillo on the nine-person commission to negotiate with the Government. In the past week Carrillo, rejoicing in his supposed 'legalisation' by the Suarez Government, has quite happily surrendered his place on the sub-commission of four to negotiate with the Government about the basis for

negotiations with the commission of nine. Negotiations about negotiations about negotiations!

As they have built up this tottering pile of negotiating bodies, these exemplary democrats have managed to forget what, yesterday, was the 'principled' basis of their negotiations. The programme of the Democratic Coordination, itself a skilful exercise in class collaboration, was watered down to the 'seven conditions' without which no decent person could dream of talking to Suarez. Curiously, the number of conditions has been reduced in recent days from seven through three to two: legalisation of political parties and an amnesty — no mention of trade union rights, rights of assembly, national rights or a democratically elected assembly.

The only remaining speculation is whether they will make the pretence of reducing it to one condition or simply remove all conditions immediately.

Carrillo and the PCE, of course, are unperturbed by all this. In an interview with Agence France Presse, Carrillo happily announced that in addition to the remaining two conditions, the main objective is to gain 'an agreement between the reformist forces of the regime and the democratic forces.' Indeed, he added cryptically, there are already 'indirect' negotiations between the Government and the PCE.

The 'democratic rupture' — the strategy of the PCE until quite recently — seems to have been consigned to oblivion. The sum total of the PCE's policies now is an explicit acceptance of the democratic rhetoric of Franco's heirs. All that is needed is to tidy up the loose ends.

strikes in Iran, particularly in the oil and textile industries, prove that the high level of repression has not crushed the Iranian workers' will to fight.

Britain has considerable trade links with Iran — this country's exports to the Shah's regime include military hardware such as Chieftain tanks. In this context it is appropriate that the pamphlet ends with a section on what British workers can do on the Iranian question.

The proposals include pressing the TUC to investigate the treatment of Iranian workers, campaigning against the Labour

Government's close economic and political ties with the Shah's regime, and calling for trade union leaderships to collect information on their counterparts in Iran.

Trade union branches, trades councils, shop stewards committees and Constituency Labour Parties are also urged to pass resolutions on Iran and support the general aims of the Campaign for the Restoration of Trade Union Rights.

This pamphlet, and the others currently available on Iran, underline the need for a single mass campaign against the Shah's re-

gime. To be most effective, such a campaign should not be limited to the issue of trade union rights but take up all the different forms of repression which exist in the country.

Already the Committee Against Repression in Iran is attempting to do this, and has already attracted the support of the Confederation of Iranian Students, the International Socialists, the IMG, and important sections of the student movement. It is to be hoped that the publishers of this pamphlet will further contribute to the campaign against the Shah's regime by joining CARI.

WHAT'S ON

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

MANCHESTER Red Weekly Discussion Group: Tues 17 Jan, 7.15pm, on 'The National Question'. In the Red Weekly Centre, 14 Piccadilly, Manchester 1.

OUT NOW: December issue of *Workers Power* 3 with articles on the Labour Government and the Crisis, the Split in the I-CL, Ireland, China, Portugal. Available from WP, 1A Camberwell Grove, SE5.

CONFERENCE on Women's Rights: Norwich Labour Club, Sat 22 Jan, 10.30am-5pm. Called by Norwich Trades Council and WWC Group. Speakers: Maureen Colquhoun MP, representative from Trico equal pay dispute. Workshops.

ESPERANTO: inaugural meeting of Trade Union & Co-operative Esperanto Group, Tues 18 Jan, 6.30pm, House of Commons (Committee Room booked by Stan Newens).

CAT'S RIGHT to choose? John, please collect your potentially pregnant cat from East London.

NORTH LONDON social: Sat 15 Jan, 7.30pm, at the Roebuck, Tottenham Ct Rd. Meet Novack and Wohlforth. Bread and cheese, disco, raffles. Adm. 75p.

INTERNATIONAL Communist League public meeting: 'The Need to Build a Mass Working Class Women's Movement', Sun 16 Jan, 7.45pm, the Roebuck, Tottenham Ct Rd, London WC1.

ABORTION RIGHTS Under Attack: S.W. London NAC and Wandsworth & Merton CHC public meeting, Weds 19 Jan, 7.30pm, Clapham Manor Baths (off Clapham High St). Film, 'The Abortion Obstacle Game', music from Frankie Armstrong, and various speakers.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS: National meeting to launch *Left Action*, a campaigning bulletin to build a left opposition in the LPYS. Sat 15 Jan, 1pm, Council Chamber, University of Sheffield. Or write to: Linda Gregory, 7 Newman Road, Sheffield S9 1LP.

NATIONAL DAYSCHOOL on Marxist Education—its past and current potential in Britain. Speakers: Michael Barratt-Brown, Harry McShane, Ruth and Eddie Frow. 10.30-5. Saturday 22 Jan, at Swarthmore Centre, Woodhouse Sq, Leeds. Details from John Schwartzmantel (Leeds 716864). Organised by Centres for Marxist Education.

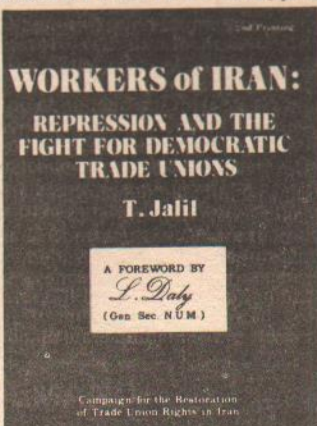
'TROTSKYISM and the Fourth International—an introduction'. Weekend conference 22/23 Jan in Brighton, open to all Red Weekly supporters. Speakers include Tim Wohlforth (SWP) and leading member of the IMG. Details from: Nick Robin, 44 Great College St, Brighton (or tel. Brighton 202780).

SUBSCRIBE to International Communist! 6 issues—England £1.50, overseas £2, libraries £3. 12 issues—England £2.75, overseas £3.75, libraries £5.75. Send money and order to: G. Lee, 98 Gifford St, London N1 0DF—make out cheques/POs to 'I-CL'. Rummage issue No 2/3 (75 pages) now

FIGHT FOR TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN IRAN

WORKERS OF IRAN: REPRESSION AND THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONS

Robin Black-Douglas concludes his review of new publications on Iran with an assessment of Workers of Iran and the Fight for Democratic Trade Unions, written by T. Jalil and published by the Campaign for the Restoration of Trade Union Rights in Iran [available from Red Books, price 75p].



This pamphlet concentrates on the living conditions and struggles of the industrial section of the proletariat in Iran during the last few years. In passing it mentions the situation of women, intellectuals and political prisoners, but it is mainly concerned with the economic and trade union conditions which affect an industrial proletariat representing 30 per cent of the population.

The preface stresses the need for a thorough investigation into the conditions of the working class in Iran, and the pamphlet does a useful job in initiating such an investigation.

Iran is six times the size of Britain. It has a population of 34 million and a working population of 9.4 million. In nine out of ten

Safety standards in mining and industry are extremely low, with the rate of industrial accidents and disease very high. Discipline is incredibly strict, with workers frequently being fined up to one day's wages for being as little as ten minutes late.

While the employment of women is increasing in Iran, women are discriminated against both at home and at work. They are not permitted to marry without their parents' consent, and can be forced to marry at the age of ten. A husband is allowed to have a second wife while the mother has no rights over her children. A man can even forbid his wife to work, and if he kills her 'in defence of dignity' it is not a major offence.

Children suffer as well, with 25 per cent never going to school and many forced to work on the land or in carpet workshops, where they endure abominable conditions. As a result many suffer from malnutrition and deformations.

The conditions of the rest of the population follow the same pattern. Up to 15 per cent are unemployed and receive no unemployment or social security benefits from the state.

While official trade unions do exist, they are much like those in Franco's Spain. Strikes are illegal, and strikers can get sacked, arrested and tortured. Strikers have even been machine-gunned and killed by troops.

But embryonic forms of workers' commissions do exist as an



7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

1976 - year of tug-of-war

1976 IN IRELAND might well be described as the year of the tug-of-war.

It was ushered in during the ill-fated truce between the British Army and the Provisional IRA. The pundits of the capitalist press predicted in their journalistic horoscopes that the end of the Irish war was in sight. By that they meant that the anti-imperialist resistance — and in particular the Provos — were in for a year of defeats in the Six Counties.

But there were no smirks on the faces of these press hacks when Old Father Time was hustled out at the end of the year under a hail of bombs, bullets, bricks and bottles, and in the face of large demonstrations demanding the re-introduction of political status.

Certainly, it was a year in which the nationalist workers of the North of Ireland had their fair share of defeats. Britain successfully removed political status from political prisoners in March; there was the emergence of the 'peace at any price' brigade with not inconsiderable support from within the war-weary Catholic ghettos.

There was the dramatic escalation in sectarian assassinations, primarily carried out by Loyalist extremists but with the SAS continuing to play their part. It is a matter for deep regret that some Republican activists also adopted this tactic on a few occasions during the past year.

On top of these there was rocketing unemployment and large-scale slashing of social services. Perhaps most important of all, there was the failure in the South to mobilise any mass opposition to the repressive collaboration of the ruling class with British imperialism.

However, 1976 was also a year which saw the Irish working class begin to fight back, North and South of the border. Demonstrations of up to 30,000 people took place on the streets of Belfast in defiance of the armed might of British imperialism. A similar number paraded through Dublin to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Easter Rising, in defiance of a government ban on the march.

Also South of the border, workers in Navan went on strike in protest against the State of Emergency imposed by the Cosgrave Government, while demonstrations in Ennis, Killala and Limerick confirmed that not everyone in the 26

Counties is prepared to turn a blind eye to the repression which is the cornerstone of the Coalition's policy.

It was a year in which British strategy was ever more exposed as little more than military repression. This despite British attempts to discredit and thereby isolate the anti-Unionist resistance as nothing but a motley collection of 'gangsters', 'thugs' and 'godfathers' — not to mention 'psychopaths' and 'madame guillotines'.

The collapse of the Constitutional Convention in May confirmed how impossible it is for imperialism to provide any solution to the political divisions which it itself has sown. It also marked the bringing into the open of the many divisions within the once solid and monolithic Loyalist bloc. The regroupment of Loyalist organisations which had been given impetus by the UWC stoppage began to crumble.



First of all, one-time Loyalist fuhrer Bill Craig saw his Vanguard Unionist Party split over his timid voluntary-coalition proposal, and then within weeks found himself driven out of the United Unionist Coalition (UUUC). Before long rumblings were also heard within the Official Unionist Party (OUP) against the alleged influence of Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) leader, the Rev. Dr Ian Kyle Paisley.

alone' and threatening to spill the beans about the involvement of Paisley, Baird, Taylor and Co. in illegal violent actions.

MILITARY

With the mass demonstrations in anti-Unionist districts, the continued military campaign of the Provisional IRA, and the increasing disarray of Loyalism, 1976 was clearly not a very good year for British imperialism. Indeed it could be said that there was only one bright star in the 1976 sky for British imperialism — the arrival of the 'peace' trio of Williams, Corrigan and McKeown.

These puppets of John Bull gathered thousands on the streets of Ireland to sing hymns and say prayers in praise of the British Army and RUC. At least that was the effect, if not the intent; but in the North of Ireland such a mission will not cross the sectarian divide, so different recruiting slogans were used in different areas.

On the Protestant Shankill the rallying cry was 'Smash the IRA'; on the Catholic Falls it was 'We can end all violence'. Such unity could not last, and the end of the year saw dwindling support for the 'peace' superstars, with less than 400 turning up for the final event — a carol service in Belfast.

In some ways, however, they had already served their purpose. They had slotted in with the

'Ulsterisation' policy which British imperialism has been following. Thus they talked of a 'Northern Irish identity', denounced the resistance fighters as 'criminals', and stated openly their support for the torturers of the RUC who simultaneously were being condemned by the Strasbourg Human Rights Court.

CRUCIAL

They had also pinpointed the crucial weakness of the anti-imperialist struggle: the falling away of the mass movement.

There is no doubting the capacity of the Provos to continue with their military campaign, nor is there any doubting the determination of the militant hard-core of Provo supporters and the revolutionary left to continue the fight until victory is won. That this hard-core is not limited to a few cranks but numbers tens of thousands was also demonstrated amply by the massive marches held during 1976.

But even this impressive hard-core will be whittled away unless it is given an active role in the struggle under its own leadership, and not that of an Army Council over which it has no control. The mass movement which reached its height in 1971-72 will not be rebuilt as a stage army wheeled onto the streets at the whim of the Provisional leadership.

A mass anti-imperialist movement capable of bringing the Irish revolution to triumph will only be built on the self-organisation of Irish workers. It will be a movement under the democratic control of the workers, mobilised around a programme which provides comprehensive answers to all their needs.

1976, the year of the tug-of-war, was a critical year for the Irish revolution. It showed that after seven years of resistance unparalleled in Western Europe, the anti-Unionist workers of the Six Counties have not been defeated.

The exemplary combativity of the anti-Unionist workers provides an excellent base on which to rebuild the mass movement, which through giving leadership to all Irish workers can place national independence and the Socialist Republic on the agenda. 1977 may well prove to be the turning-point, and it is to that task that the Movement for a Socialist Republic (Irish section of the Fourth International) dedicates itself in this new year of struggle.

JOHN MAGEE



RUMBLINGS

These rumblings quickly became shouts of 'Paisley must go!' when one Sunday night in May Paisley joined with Ernie Baird of the United Ulster Unionist Movement (UUUM) to announce that 10,000 armed members of the Ulster Service Corps would be taking to the roads and lanes of rural Ulster as part of a 'Save Ulster Campaign'. The Official Unionists were not ready to throw the gauntlet in the face of their imperial master.

FAILED

The Ulster Service Corps failed to provide a pole for Loyalist regroupment or to secure Britain's acceptance of the Convention Report. The splits continued, and Christmas approached with the paramilitaries talking of 'going it

Will Square be open to Irish rally?

THE Labour Government is still 'considering' whether to allow a rally to be held at Trafalgar Square to commemorate the murder of fourteen Irish civilians on 'Bloody Sunday' five years ago.

Permission to hold the rally has been applied for in the names of Joan Maynard MP, Maureen Colquhoun MP, Lord

Soper, and Pat Arrowsmith. But although the Labour Government allowed the 'Peace at any Price' brigade to rally in Trafalgar Square, and although the application has been in for nearly a month, although the application has from the Department of the Environment on its fate.

What has emerged is that

already the application has gone to the Northern Ireland Office. Sources in Westminster say that the Northern Ireland Office has raised no objection; but that the application was directed to it at all clearly shows that the decision on whether or not to allow the use of the Square will be a political one.

The Bloody Sunday Commemoration Committee have already made contingency plans if permission to rally in the Square on 30 January is refused. There would be a symbolic picket of Trafalgar Square starting at 12 noon, and a demonstration assembling at Shepherds Bush Green at 1.30.

There are also plans to hold a rally after the demonstration, but because this is in the specific name of the Socialist Workers Party, as well as the Troops Out Movement, it is unlikely to attract such a wide spectrum of support as a genuine united front meeting would. To date the only British political organisation which has been allowed speakers at this rally is the Socialist Workers Party.

Despite this sectarian attempt by the SWP to use the anniversary of Bloody Sunday as a 'party building' exercise, Red Weekly is supporting the demonstration and calling on all militants, especially in

No news is good news....

Last week the Daily Mail revealed that Roy Mason, the Northern Ireland Secretary and ex-Minister for Defence, had attempted to tighten up news censorship of events in the Six Counties.

At a private dinner Mason charged the BBC with supporting the IRA because it refused 'to accept the advice of the Northern Ireland Office on what news to carry'. Although television news reporter Jonathan Dimpleby revealed last August that both the BBC and ITV had agreed not to broadcast the views of 'the enemy', Mason accused BBC Chairperson Sir Michael Swann of being 'disloyal'.

He also went on to demand a complete rather than partial news blackout of all IRA activities for three months.

The Belfast branch of the National Union of Journalists has since responded to Mason's ravings by demanding an immediate meeting with him. It has also requested the national office of the NUJ to write to Mason asking

New from Red Books

182 Pentonville Road, London N.1 (01-278 9529)

Development and Underdevelopment by Geoffrey Kay (Macmillan, £3.95).

Geoffrey Kay studies underdevelopment as a process, challenging the conventional wisdom that underdevelopment is an original sin. Starting from a consideration of Marx's law of value, he draws the somewhat paradoxical conclusion that underdevelopment is not only the result of the exploitation of undeveloped countries by imperialism, but as a result of the fact that their resources have been exploited insufficiently. The book also examines the origins of the ideology of development, and draws some conclusions about its likely trajectory in the future.

The Regional Problem by Stuart Holland (Macmillan, £3.95).

A study of some of the regional problems and policies in both Western Europe and the United States. Topics covered include conventional economic theory of regional development, international integration, federalism, and strategies for regional development. The book is an attempt to set up a new category of economic analysis between the 'micro' and the 'macro'-economic levels which Holland calls the 'meso-economic' sector.

The Stalin Phenomenon by Jean Ellenstein (Lawrence & Wishart, £2).

Ellenstein is a leading theoretician and historian of the French Communist Party, which makes this book of

of the drift towards social democratisation by the West European CPs has been a systematic attempt to account for the consequences of bureaucratisation (Stalin) without reference to bureaucratisation! This book is an interesting example of this sort of analysis.

Value: **Studies by Karl Marx** (New Park, £1.75).

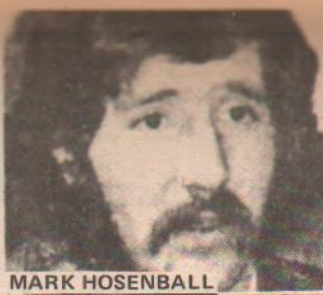
The book contains three texts previously unavailable in English, which are closely related to Vol. 1 of *Capital*. They are the previously untranslated first edition version of chapter 1, the appendix on 'The Form of Value', and notes for an unpublished chapter. The book also includes a new translation of the 'Notes on Wagner'. A useful contribution to the study of the commodity and the law of value.

Dependence and Transformation by Clive Y. Thomas (Monthly Review Press, £3.40).

An interesting study by a Guyanese economist of the conditions under which small Third World countries can be economically independent without being bound by staple production for export. Includes a chapter of some interest on the economics of the transition period, which also acts as a summary for most of the book.



TERMS: Under £2.50, add 25p postage and packing; £2.50 - £5



MARK HOSENBALL

£15,000 must be raised by May '77

THE CHOICE IS YOURS



JO-ANN LEWIS, organiser of the May '77 IMG Fund Drive, reports on the progress made towards the £15,000 target.

We are taking Jack Jones's advice to work like beavers this year — except that our work will be against the Social Concrick policies of the Labour Government and not to prop them up. But the more we step up our work in building campaigns against the cuts in the National Health Service, against the new restrictions on abortion, in supporting the Working Women's Charter Campaign and building solidarity with our brothers and sisters in South

Africa, victims of Labour's collaboration with racism, the more money we need.

Since we started our Fund Drive in mid-December we have received £1990.79 in donations and Bankers Orders. But we have to raise £2,500 per month to reach our target by the end of May.

Our 'roll of honour' this week lists all the branches who have recognised that 'to give is a militant act'.

North London supporters	£166.69	N. London reader	5.00	Nottingham IMG	20.00
Aberdeen readers	3.00	Bristol IMG	27.00	Scottish health shop steward	100.00
SW London reader	5.00	Spanish supporters	2.00	Tyneside reader	100.00
M. Roberts	5.00	Swiss supporter	80.00	Red Weekly supporter's	
Leicester IMG	1.00	C.R. Brighton	5.00	injury compensation	1,000.00
Birmingham IMG	1.80	Scottish reader	15.00	GW Platt, E. London	5.00

Thanks to two of the contributors from Scotland who were so flattering about **Red Weekly**: '£3 to your Fund Drive from Aberdeen Scottish Labour Party left-wing members in appreciation for your accurate and thorough coverage of the SLP Conference.'

and
"For the only paper that has taken up in any serious and consistent manner the changes in political life that face the Scots working class; also for the most open and democratic debate and discussion through correspondence in

your paper — £100.

Our thanks and solidarity also to the 'anti-racist and Pakistani post office workers' who sent in £9.30.

That's a grand total of cash donations of **£1,550.79**.

Our bankers order scheme is also picking up slowly but surely; but this excellent way of making sure that after the Fund Drive we have a regular flow of finance is still being ignored by some areas — as you can see!

NAME	AREA	AMOUNT (monthly)	CR	Brighton	1.00	NN	N. London	2.45
CL	Leeds	5.00	PH	York	2.00	RO	SW London	5.00
TM	Brighton	2.00	APS	Bristol	2.50	IW		2.50
RP	Coventry	1.00	HT	Bristol	1.00	VT	Preston	10.00
DA	Wolverhampton	5.00	AH	Sheffield	3.00	KG	Portsmouth	2.50
SB	Brighton	1.00	EAS	SW London	5.00	GRH	SW London	3.00
MS	Brighton	1.00	RG	London	5.00	BM	Darlington	1.00
PJK	Brighton	1.00	BR	Wakefield	1.00	MC	E. London	4.00
			GS	Bolton	1.00	AM	Cambridge	1.00
			AW	N. London	5.00	JT	N. London	4.00

These bankers orders will bring us in over £450 between now and the end of the Fund Drive. Get working on friends and sympathisers who have bank accounts to fill out one now! Send donations and bankers orders to Fund

Drive, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. We must make **£3,400** by the end of January to keep on target.

THE CHOICE IS YOURS!

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

ADDRESS

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.

Standing Order Authority

TO (name of your bank)(branch)

..... (address)

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

A/C to be debited Your Name Your A/C Number

Payee Name A/C Number

RED WEEKLY 71016000

At Williams & Glyn's Bank Limited, 286 Pentonville Rd., London N1.

Sorting Code No. 15 05 70

First Payment Due	Last Payment Due	Amount	Frequency

This order cancels all previous orders to the same payee and will continue until written notice to the contrary is received by you.

(Your signature)



A thousand people marched through London last Sunday in protest at the decision of Home Secretary Rees to deport Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball. Both have been active in exposing the activities of the CIA in Britain and world-wide.

There is little doubt who is behind Rees's decision to expel them. Agee's 'appeal' against the ruling began on 11 January, held behind closed doors before a panel of three worthies appointed by ... the

Home Secretary! And even if they were to decide to oppose Rees's decision, he would have the power to overrule their findings.

But Agee has refused to give in to the secrecy surrounding these proceedings. He was planning to report on the outcome of each session to a press conference in a nearby building. Rees must go, not Agee and Hosenball!

TARIQ ALI ALLOWED TO LEAVE PAKISTAN

TARIQ ALI, a member of the Editorial Board of **Red Weekly**, has finally been allowed to leave Pakistan. This follows attempts by the Bhutto regime to prevent Tariq from visiting India.

The campaign of harassment started on 20 December when Tariq attempted to leave Karachi airport for Lahore after a short personal visit to Pakistan. He was bundled off the plane by immigration officials and told that he could not leave by the Pakistani Federal Intelligence Agency. He was turned back again on 3 January when he attempted to

return to London.

Pakistani High Commission officials in London maintained that the reason for his detention was that 'his travel papers were not in order'. However at no time had these documents been queried or removed from him in Pakistan.

The lifting of the restriction came as an international campaign of protest mounted. Telegrams from a number of Labour MPs in Britain and leading intellectuals in Paris were sent to Bhutto.

The lifting of the ban was conditional on a pledge by Tariq not

to travel to New Delhi. This reveals that the original motive behind the Bhutto Government's action was to prevent him from visiting India.

Bhutto has many interests in common with Gandhi. He has not had to introduce a state of emergency simply because he has been able to use a law left behind by British colonialism, Section 144. This has been combined with massive show trials to intimidate the opposition.

It is not surprising that Bhutto should collaborate with Gandhi in an attempt to prevent revolutionaries from even visiting India.

MOSCOW HONOURS TROTSKY'S ASSASSIN

WHILE the Gerry Healy clique scandalously attempts to pin responsibility for Trotsky's murder on leaders of the Fourth International, the real criminal has been honoured in the Soviet Union. Ramon Mercader, the GPU agent who killed Trotsky in Mexico in 1940, has been made a Hero of the Soviet Union, Gold Star, one of the highest awards available to Brezhnev's cronies.

Once more this underlines the responsibility of Stalin for Trotsky's murder and shows that Stalin's heirs are the staunchest defenders of his filthy work.

Mercader returned to Eastern Europe after his release from a Mexican jail in 1960. He arrived in Moscow in 1968, where he was an aide to that arch-democrat Dolores Ibarruri, a leader of the Spanish Communist Party.

Mercader certainly did a great service to the counter-revolution. Counter-revolutionaries the world over will continue to honour him.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

'Healyism or Trotskyism — the collapse of the International Committee.'
Speaker: TIM WOHL-FORTH (ex-Nat. Sec. of Healy's US co-thinkers).
Venues: Leeds, Tues. 18 Jan; Birmingham, Wed. 19 Jan; Oxford, Fri. 21 Jan.
For details, phone IMG National Office, 01-278 9526.



Next week's issue will contain the January edition of **Battle of Ideas**. OLIVER MACDONALD writes on the disastrous consequences of the 'state capitalist' theory of the International Socialists (now Socialist Workers Party) if applied to the problems of the Eastern European revolution. We also reprint sections of the documents

New CIA operations exposed

THE CIA has recently been forced to hand over thousands of documents on its secret operations around the world to two organisations in the United States — the Socialist Workers Party [SWP] and Young Socialist Alliance [YSA].

The CIA documents have been obtained and their contents will be made public as a result of a suit initiated by the SWP and YSA against the US Government's illegal surveillance and harassment of dissident individuals and organisations.

The SWP and YSA are demanding an injunction against further government abuses and \$37 million in damages. Further information has been obtained through the sworn statements of CIA officials, including CIA Director George Bush.

The documents and statements show that the CIA has:

- ★ maintained a twenty year mail cover on correspondence to and from American Trotskyists;
- ★ carried out illegal break-ins and electronic surveillance against SWP and YSA members travelling abroad;
- ★ carried out a vast campaign to disrupt and destroy the Fourth International;
- ★ obtained the collaboration of about 20 governments throughout the world to spy on and disrupt the work of dissident individuals and organisations.

George Novack, author, prominent civil rights fighter and veteran leader of the SWP will be talking to **Red Weekly** next week on the CIA campaign. We will be reprinting key extracts from the documents. Don't miss this issue!



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