

# RED WEEKLY

27 MARCH 1975

No 94

PRICE 8p.

## Struggle hots up - but money trickles in

What should have been a torrent has dried up to an ominous trickle. As the class struggle hots up—troops in Glasgow, now happenings in Portugal—the need for the *Red Weekly* becomes more urgent.

With three months still to go to the referendum, the debate on the Common Market has hit the Labour Party like a bombshell. It is an issue being debated in factories, on the sites, in the union branches and in working class pubs.

The *Red Weekly* stands alone in its coverage of that issue. It has analysed the effects of the EEC on capitalist Europe, it has explained why British workers should oppose staying in Europe—not using the mealy-mouthed and dangerous nationalist arguments of the Labour left and the Communist Party—and advocated a fighting opposition based on working class internationalism.

Our paper has a vital, nay indispensable role to play in the development of a genuine revolutionary and internationalist movement in Britain. It will always need money to carry out its task. And that money can only come from you, our readers. Please make sure that the £180 that we still need to reach our minimum target for March reaches us by the weekend. Our need is desperate. We are confident you will not let us down.

Special thanks this week to R. Darby, J. Elizade, Ching Lai Na and J.S. Swinburne for individual donations.

## EEC: Workers' voice ignored as

# WILSON WRIGGLES TO SAVE BOSSES' BACON

NOW THAT WILSON AND HIS CABINET COHORTS HAVE completed the farce of 'renegotiation' over the Common Market, they have begun the frantic manoeuvres necessary to make sure that the interests of British capitalism are duly upheld.

The much-vaunted referendum was never, for Wilson & co. anything more than a cheap trick to keep Britain in the Common Market without splitting the Labour Party and thoroughly discrediting its 'leaders'.

There was never any doubt that the Labour cabinet would accept the results of 'renegotiation' whatever they were—and recommend a 'yes' vote in the referendum.

But not satisfied with imposing this travesty of democracy on the labour movement, which is solidly against the Common Market, the Government is now trying to do everything possible to tie the hands of their opponents and deny the labour movement the right to fight for its viewpoint. Their aim is simple: to sabotage the democratic expression of the view of the labour movement which could undermine the Government's scheme to manipulate the referen-

dum in the interests of British capitalism.

by  
**Chris Balfour**

There is talk of moving the date of the referendum as far forward as possible to limit the amount of time for campaigning. Anti-market ministers have been warned under the phony excuse that too vigorous involvement in the referendum campaign could lead to them 'neglecting their responsibilities', that they will get the chop if they don't knuckle under to Wilson's

orders. Of course nothing is said in all this about the responsibility of the Labour Government to the movement who put them where they are.

But the most scandalous violation of labour movement democracy by the Government is Wilson's threat to sack the ministers who have signed the anti-Market motion being presented to the next Labour Party NEC unless they withdraw their signatures. This not only denies anti-Market ministers the right to publicly express the view of the majority of the labour movement, but even denies them the right to put forward their position *inside* the movement.

### PERVERSY

Wilson has not done this from simple perversity. He understands that while speeches by Benn and Foot may give him a headache, the result of the labour movement actually organising a massive campaign against the Common Market would be a positive nightmare.

This serves as a useful pointer to the sort of reply that Wilson and the cabinet deserve. In reply to their manoeuvres on behalf of their capitalist masters, we should organise the massive power of the entire labour movement to unite the working class of this country to say 'No' to the capitalist Common Market.

This means supporting the moves to bring the Labour Party conference forward to get the campaign off the ground as soon as possible, and fighting for an emergency TUC to place the full political weight of the trade union movement into the balance.

### UNITED CONFERENCES

It also means organising local united conferences of the entire labour movement to launch in every local area a united workers' campaign against the Common Market.

If we can get this sort of response moving we can turn Wilson's nightmare into a reality. And the sort of united workers' movement that can smash the plans of the British and European capitalists can also get down to the job of working out and implementing the socialist alternative to the capitalist Common Market.

I RECOGNISE THAT THE TUC, THE LABOUR PARTY, AND EVEN A MAJORITY OF LABOUR M.P.s ARE ALL IN FAVOUR OF WITHDRAWAL FROM THE COMMON MARKET.



BUT ROY JENKINS, JIM CALLAGHAN, AND I THINK THAT WE SHOULD SAY IN.



THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT HAS THEREFORE DECIDED TO RECOMMEND A 'YES' VOTE IN THIS GREAT TEST FOR DEMOCRACY.

©1975

## T.U. LEADERS BACK OFF AS TROOPS GO IN

AT THE COMMAND of the scabs of the Labour Government and Glasgow Corporation, hundreds of troops set to work on Monday 17 March to break the Glasgow dustcart drivers' strike.

After making their token comments about 'health hazards', the Commanding Officers soon made clear the real purpose of their 'visit': they intended to use the Corporation's incinerators, thus breaking the strike of the Corporation's electricians as well.

Two things made this decision possible: the retreat of the drivers' leaders in face of the troop threat, insisting that they would not join the electricians in their approaches to the troops on the picket lines; and the scabby collaboration of the right wing General and Municipal Workers Union, who secured the agreement of the binmen's stewards to work with the troops. But despite the threats and denunciations of the bureaucracy, GMWU labourers at the incinerator plants later walked out in solidarity.

On Wednesday morning, when the army finally dipped its toes in the murky waters it had stirred up, it found that other workers had no intention of letting the troops' strike-breaking go unhindered. At the main incinerator at Dawsholm, Maryhill, electricians' pickets formed a human barrier across the gates, stopped every army lorry, and insisted on talking to the soldiers. And as solidarity delegations of stewards arrived

from the massive Rolls Royce plant at Hillington and from Yarrow's shipyard, a longer and longer queue of army lorries built up.

Top army brass could see that every hour that they used the incinerators brought them closer to 'another Salfley', when 10,000 engineers joined the miners in closing down the Birmingham coal-depot during the 1972 miners' strike. A perfect opportunity to organise a Salfley came on that same evening when the Glasgow Trades Council met.

But as last week's *Red Weekly* had already argued, unless the bombast of the trade union bureaucrats about 'sympathy crystallised into direct action' and 'the legend of Red Clydeside' was turned into action, it would be so much empty wind. The latter proved to be the case. Faced with a fast developing movement to clinch victory for the electricians and drivers and kick the army out, they placed themselves at the head of the movement in order to *disorganise* it and divert it into *inaction*.

Only two weeks before, the Trades Council bosses had hailed their 'historic links with the Corporation' on the occasion of their first meeting, in the City Chambers. Now they defended their cosy links with the corrupt Labour Corporation by trying to stop the development of a mass movement to get the troops out and win the strikes.

At the emergency Trades Council meeting the Secretary, John Reidford, announced a demonstration on Friday (Cont. on page 6).



Some 2,500 militants marched in London on Sunday to demonstrate their opposition to the Labour Government's complicity with white racism in southern Africa, and their support for the liberation struggle of the oppressed black majority. This big turn-out—combined with an important degree of labour movement participation—shows that real possibilities exist for building a united solidarity movement with the struggle in southern Africa. The almost inevitable breakdown of the phony 'detente' in Rhodesia makes this more urgent than ever. 23 March must be just the beginning!

The iron heel of the social contract - centre pages

# ANTI-EEC NATIONALISM

## Police chief calls for more state control

'EXCESSIVE TOLERANCE' is not how the many demonstrators and pickets who have been thumped in the guts by a 'zealous' policeman or had their arms twisted in the most vicious and painful way possible, would describe the attitude of the police.

Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir Robert Mark, however, insists that his men 'have been inclined to show excessive tolerance of demonstrators' and now wants to 'meet force with force'.

Not only does this titled copper want to belt demonstrators harder physically, he wants the judges and magistrates to stop handing out 'derisory sentences' and send the 'offenders' down instead of just fining them.

In his lecture to the Bramshill Police Training College, he even denounced our tame press for its 'exploitation and misrepresentation' of the police. After all, it was a bit unkind to print that picture of the

Policeman being tripped up by the cunningly placed body of a demonstrator



police dragging the unconscious body of Kevin Gately across the road on 15 June. Top brass

like Mark do not make such 'cont-

entious' statements without getting approval from on high, and there is little doubt that Home Secretary Roy Jenkins gave a pre-nod of app-

Sir Robert Mark said: "Time after time they have remained passive in the face of missiles and physical assault."



Police officer waving back a vicious crowd in a restrained manner

royal to Mark's lecture.

The economic and social crisis of British capitalism is causing a whole series of confrontations between police and workers. For such actions to be successful they inevitably involve at some stage a mass disregard for capitalist law.

For the ruling class this is a dreadful prospect. After all, that law has been designed to protect their property and to uphold their system. So, to strengthen its state in preparation for a future head-on offensive, the ruling class has been taking a swing at those struggles on the margins of the workers movement.

Thus, Lord Scarman and Robert Mark tried to use the Red Lion Square events as a pretext for attacking all workers. Soon after Scarman hypocritically laid the blame for Kevin Gately's death on the IMG, the Appeal Court Judges dismissed an appeal against sentence by Ian Coleman, jailed for 18 months for alleged violence against police officers on a Leeds anti-fascist demonstration. Lord Justice Lawton said that people convicted of 'political violence' against the police must expect *custodial sentences* every time.

Similarly, last autumn, the struggle of the homeless people of Islington against Prebbles estate agents was used as a means of outlawing all non-industrial picketing. And the Birmingham bombings were used as a pretext for passing laws which suspend a wide range of civil liber-

ties. Their use is not to be limited to Irish republicans in Britain.

### 'MUDSLINGING'

Mr Justice Melford Stevenson has also been throwing his weight around. Last week he accused three defence QC's of conducting a 'mudslinging defence' during a bombing trial because they had suggested that dishonesty by the police witnesses could not be ruled out.

The barristers attacked by Melford Stevenson are members of the Haldane Society. One of them, John Platts-Mills, led the defence of the Shrewsbury 24. Another, Mr Turner-Samuels, represented Liberation at the Scarman Inquiry, and other members of the Haldane represented NUS and IMG. Haldane members have also been prominent in the defence of the many Irish people accused of bombings. The ruling class are getting these lawyers in their sights.

In fact, the attack on them is already under way, for Stevenson went on to recommend that the three accused should not get legal aid. As it is certain that they do not have the money to pay their legal fees, it is the lawyers who would have to pay—a bill estimated to be in the region of £30,000.

All these moves are part and parcel of the ruling class's attempts to strengthen the power of the state apparatus against the workers' movement. Unless it builds a united resistance it will pay a heavy price in the future.

Jeff King

## Fascists have a field day

THE ANTI-COMMON MARKET campaigns of the Labour left and the Communist Party, based as they are on nationalistic slogans and on class collaboration, have proved a shot in the arm to the forces of the extreme Right.

The National Front, for example, in a new leaflet specifically addressed to 'the independent businessman...all those who value personal independence and private enterprise', argues: 'The Common Market set up, which is a multi-national monopolists' paradise, intends to "rationalise" small businesses out of existence. The introduction of VAT was directly responsible for the closure of thousands of small firms'. It links this with 'the ever increasing numbers of businesses being opened up by immigrants'.

Such careful propaganda is given a new credibility and respect-

ability by the current nationalist tone of the CP and Labour left.

In general the NF have been kept off the local organising committees of the Get Britain Out Campaign (GBOC) - but not always, according to some worrying reports. It is unfortunate that the instructions given to CP members on this point are ambiguous: They are told to seek to exclude the NF - but if this fails, to remain on the same anti-EEC committees to 'counter' the fascists' influence!

The creation of a coalition of all the anti-Common Market groups has allowed others of the extreme Right to attain powerful positions. The joint chairman of the Get Britain Out Campaign is the Monday Club MP Richard Body. A full-time worker for this campaign is Peter Clarke, previously personal secretary to Powell.

### ODD BEDFELLOWS

The vice-chairman of the GBOC is Sir Ian Mactaggart. Mactaggart is a member of the rightist Society for Individual Freedom, and was also one of the major financial backers of the Monday Club during its most right-wing period. He is a former associate of ex-MP George Young, banker and ex-M.I.6., whose Brent constituency was a haven for 'neo-Tories', i.e. NF members doing entry work in the Tory Party.

Mactaggart is also a vice-president of the anti-EEC Anti-Deer Food Campaign, along with two other very odd bedfellows: right wing journalist Ross McWhirter - who plans to launch a scab national daily in the event of strikes on Fleet Street - and none other than Lord Briginshaw, general secretary of the NATSOPA print union. It is believed that the Anti-Deer Food Campaign gets at least part of its money from Air Vice Marshall Bennett's one million pound fund, via Don Martin of the British Chapter of the World Anti-Communist League.

Recently the Anti-Common Market League (ACML) and the Common Market Safeguards Campaign fused. This brought together figures like Tory MP Neil Marten and Labour MP Douglas Jay. It also brought in Commander Michael Hart, RN, author of ACML leaflets on the contradiction between the Treaty of Rome and the coronation oath.

Commander Hart is an associate of Mrs Joyce Page of the Immigrants Control Association, whose meetings have been attended by officers of the NF, the British Movement, the National Democratic Party, and the Monday Club.

As well as infiltrating into the more 'respectable' class collaborationist anti-EEC groups, the fascists have also set up their own front organisations.

One such body is the Campaign For British Freedom. This trumpets the fact that it is 'non-party', but its propaganda pushes a rather familiar far-Right line. The Common Market is seen as part of the plot to impose communism. The plot also involves other 'communist' institutions such as the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. 'Finance' is, of course, portrayed as the ally of communism.

Another front organisation for the fascists has arisen out of the crisis that wracked the NF at the end of last year, when some rival fascist splinters attempted to set up a new group to act as a counter pole of attraction to the Front on the far Right.

At the end of November 1974, the Nationalist Coalition was set up. This included the Immigrants Control Association, the British National Party, the Radical Preservation Society, TRU-AIM (Trade Unionists Against Immigration), the Anti-Immigration Standing Committee and the English Nationalist Party. The last named group is a recent split-off from the Front denounced by the NF as 'extremists' and 'men of violence'.

### ANTI-MARKET BASIS

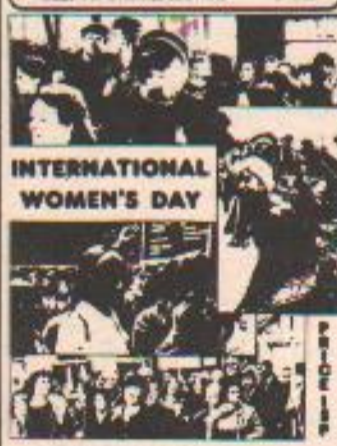
The Coalition was formed on the basis of opposition to the Common Market, immigration and the I.M.F., and has now set up the National Assembly of Anti-Market Groups. The Assembly appears to have access to GBOC and ACML address lists, and has been sending out packages of anti-Market material.

One such packet contained the text of Mr. Benn's new year message to his constituents in defence of national sovereignty, a racist cartoon, an ACML leaflet by Commander Hart, and an off-print on the Market from *Candour*, which was once the journal of NF founder, A.K. Chesterton.

The failure to run a socialist campaign against the EEC is thus allowing the extreme Right to rebuild themselves in a very real way after the defeats they suffered last year. For labour movement figures to work with Tories is a betrayal of basic class principles, and when nationalist politics are employed, it is the fascists and extreme right who will make the gains.

Andrew Jenkins

### Socialist Woman



## Subscribe to SOCIALIST WOMAN

SEND £1.20 (US \$3) FOR 6 ISSUES TO:

Socialist Woman (Subscriptions),  
21 High View Court,  
College Road,  
Harrow Weald,  
Middlesex.

Name .....

Address .....

# BOOSTS FAR RIGHT

## Labour left have no answer

THE ANTI-COMMON MARKET MINISTERS of the Labour left have opened their campaign around the EEC referendum not with a bang but a whimper. In face of Wilson's not-so-veiled threats to sack Ministers pushing the anti-Market position on the Labour Party National Executive Committee, or taking too active a part in the anti-EEC campaign, Benn, Foot and company have mustered their reply.

The 'statement by dissenting ministers' is just the old rag-bag of utopian economics and nationalist politics. Unable to propose a socialist alternative to the anarchy of capitalism on both a British and European scale, the 'left' is left waiting for the gushing of North Sea oil to 'turn the tide in our favour' and wash away the deepening capitalist crisis.

This ignores the existence of an oil glut at the moment. The big companies have told their ships to move more slowly across the oceans and the Middle East producers have pegged their prices. A significant fall in world prices would put North Sea oil back in the ocean bed and destroy the plans of the Labour left at a stroke.

Furthermore, the lefts ignore the fact that British entry into the Common Market was not dictated for the capitalist class by the effect on the price of their after dinner cheese of the Common Agricultural Policy. It was determined by the recognition that British capitalism, with its archaic industrial structure and chronic under-investment, could only re-equip and survive through the general unification of European capital in the face of American and Japanese competition.

### MULTINATIONALS

Both the United States and the so-called 'Third World' countries, with which the lefts are so keen to increase trade, are already dominated by American and Common Market multinationals. The Common Market is the only way open for British capitalism. If British capitalist bosses believed they could on their own squeeze more plunder out of the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia they would have done it long ago, without waiting for the advice of friendly Labour lefts. Thus the capitalist architects of Britain's fallen Empire have become the keenest supporters of the Common Market.

What do the 'left' ministers propose as an alternative to the Common Market? A clarion call for a United Socialist States of Europe which would inspire workers to struggle against their oppressors not only in Britain but in the other Common Market countries as well? Hardly! Instead we are told that Britain will keep and develop her links with all the other imperialist bodies that oppress the workers and peasants of the world, including the International Monetary Fund, which virtually dictated economic policy to the 1964-70 Labour Government, and NATO, the most important military tool of imperialism.



the 'mother of Parliaments' as opposed to some foreign body.

The policies of the Labour left, if adopted, would lead to continued subservience to the imperialist world economy as much as continued membership of the Common Market. And the basis of the left's opposition to the Common Market leads towards an equal subservience of the labour movement to British

capitalism and its institutions.

At Sunday's press conference Mr. Benn stated that if Britain stayed in the Market he would be unable to intervene in industry to the extent necessary to re-equip it because 'decisions about investment will have to be cleared by the Commission in Brussels.' Does Benn seriously believe that the capitalist class in Britain would bother one

This brings us to the most serious

criticism of the type of anti-Market campaign the Labour left is waging. The economics may be a joke, but the politics are a positive danger to the working class. The defence of an apparently classless 'democracy', and earlier extolling of the virtues of 'national sovereignty' all appeal to the most backward instincts which bind British workers to their own ruling class. The days of such an 'independent Britain' were the product of Britain's imperial heyday, of which it has been truly said that Britain had 'an Empire on which the sun never set and the blood never dried'.

Blinded by the wealth and seeming omnipotence of British imperialism the leaders of British labour were infected by the deadly virus of white supremacy and national chauvinism, and mesmerised by the prospects of seats in the capitalist parliament. The sort of campaign against the Common Market that the lefts now propose, the dreams of a 'sovereign Britain' in which the real interests of the working class are buried in a mythical 'national unity', is firmly in this rotten tradition of class collaboration.

Already the most right wing and virulently racist elements in British politics—Enoch Powell, Monday Club Tories and the fascist National Front—are able to jump on the chauvinist bandwagon of the 'lefts' to carry their poison into the labour movement.

The International Marxist Group is prepared to fight with the Labour lefts against the Common Market—on the principled basis of excluding all capitalist forces from the anti-EEC campaign. But we will fight just as hard to smash the influence of their chauvinist politics over the working class. The only way to fight the international anarchy of capitalism of which the Common Market is just one more expression, is to campaign for a planned economy on a world scale. The power of the multinationals and the capitalist class will not be threatened by appeals to Parliament, but only through the mobilisation of the working class to fight for its rights against Parliament and all the institutions of the capitalist state. James Drake

## STATEMENT BY DISSENTING MINISTERS

In two general elections last year the Labour Party pledged itself to achieve a fundamental renegotiation of the terms of entry to the Common Market. In spite of the exertions of our negotiators, the results have fallen far short of our minimum aims.

### THE BALANCE SHEET

The material effects of Britain's membership of the Common Market remain markedly unfavourable. The protective system of the Common Agricultural Policy, which will ensure dear food for our people when it is cheaper elsewhere, remains unchanged. The contribution we have to make to the Community budget is intrinsically unfair, and will be only in part corrected by the system of refunds recently agreed.

Nor will the pattern of Common Market expenditure be changed significantly to offset our disproportionate contribution. On top of this we face the consequences of an appalling trade deficit with the countries of the Common Market, a deficit now in excess of £2,000m a year. Little has been achieved in aid or trade for the Asian Commonwealth countries although we gladly acknowledge the benefits to African and other countries that the Lomé Convention will bring.

### THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

But the gravest disadvantages are political. The rights of our own people and the power of Parliament remain, at the end of the negotiations, subordinate to the non-elected Commission and Council of Ministers in Brussels. The Treaty of Rome, in whose provisions Britain had no hand and which was designed to meet the needs of countries with very different political and social traditions, continues to be the Written Constitution of the UK. The right to decide policies and to make laws over a wide and rapidly growing area of our affairs, which Mr Heath and Mr Rippon handed over to the Common Market three years ago, has not been restored to the British people.

Nor have we taken back the Common Market's powers to levy taxes on our people. The power of future British Governments to influence the economy in the interest of the British people has been gravely weakened. The strengthening of our industry, the struggle against poverty, the progress towards equality and the maintenance of employment in the United Kingdom as a whole and in the hard pressed regions, will all be made much more difficult by the Common Market's rules on free movement of capital and of firms.

Democracy in Britain is thus threatened, and will remain so as long as we stay in the Common Market. Twenty-five years

ago Britain dismantled a vast empire in the belief that no country has the right—or the wisdom—to govern another. Now we demand for ourselves what we freely conceded to the 32 members of the Commonwealth: the right of democratic self-government.

### BRITAIN AND THE WORLD

We do not believe that this principle conflicts with the international cooperation that we seek. On the contrary: our ability to co-operate and to work with the 2,700 million people who live in the six continents of the world will be hindered not helped by absorption of Britain into a regional bloc in Western Europe.

To Western Europe we offer continued co-operation and alliance—as we do to our friends in other continents. What we deny is both the benefit and the reality of a special and exclusive relationship with the Common Market, and what we reject is the underlying purpose to create a new single state in Western Europe.

### BRITAIN'S FUTURE

Timid voices and vested interest will now combine in seeking to persuade us that we have no choice; that Britain outside the Common Market would suffer great damage.

Do not believe them! On the contrary, a far greater danger to our legitimate economic interest, to the continued unity of the United Kingdom and to the practice of democracy in this country arises from our continued membership of the EEC.

We know, whether in or out of the Common Market, that Britain faces immense problems, particularly in the next two years while the world economy is depressed and before the welcome flow of our vast North Sea oil turns the tide in our favour.

But we have no cause to fear the future. We shall continue our substantial trade with the Common Market as we did before we joined. We shall resume our trade links with other countries both inside and outside Europe. We shall remain an active member of all the organisations—United Nations, the Commonwealth, NATO, the IMF, GATT, the OECD—that are important in the world today. As democrats and socialists we believe that Britain, freed from the restraints of the Common Market, can better serve the world community of which we are part and the aims of our own people for a better and fuller life.

Peter Shore  
Michael Foot  
Tony Benn

Barbara Castle  
John Silkin  
Judith Hart

## NO FREE PRESS FOR FASCISTS

SIX JOURNALISTS in North London have struck a forceful blow in the 'freedom of the press' debate whipped up by newspaper editors and proprietors.

The journalists refused to work on the current issues of the *Camden Journal* and *Hornsey Journal* when the management rejected their request to remove a paid advertisement for Tuesday's National Front rally in Islington.

The six journalists, who make up almost half the editorial staff of the two papers, received the backing of

the National Union of Journalists' chapel for their action, and the management has been forced to back down on its threat to sack them. The journalists' action has been endorsed by the union's North London branch, which last week approved a set of guidelines for combatting racism in the media.

Meanwhile the NF has reacted its head in the union's Magazine branch, which has refused to accept into membership an NF member who works on *Britain First*. Last weekend the NUJ executive instructed the branch to reverse its decision, by 19

votes to two.

This shameful retreat logically follows on from the executive's capitulation before the charges of 'censorship' made by the editors in the freedom of the press debate. Despite the union's policy of nationalisation of the media under workers' control, the executive has refused to challenge the proprietors' and editors' stranglehold over the content of the media and access to it. This is likely to provoke a vigorous battle at the annual conference of the NUJ next month. Dick Brinsley.

\*\*\*\*\*  
**RED BOOKS New Opening**  
 Hours Monday-Thursday: 10-6  
 Friday: 10-8 Saturday: 10.30 to 5.30.  
**EASTER CLOSING**—Red Books will be closed from Friday 28 to Monday 31 March (inclusive).  
 \*\*\*\*\*

# PORTUGAL

CHRIS BALFOUR explains the need to defend the two left-wing groups banned by the Government last week, and pinpoints the crucial role of the Trotskyists in developing the influence of revolutionary ideas in the country today

## Repression against the left-

SUPPOSEDLY as a response to the thwarted coup, the Portuguese Government recently announced a ban on three political groups — one from the far-right...and two from the far left!

The hypocrisy of this move is only too blatant. One of the groups — the Christian Democrats (PDC) — is a regroupment of reactionaries, led by a former close friend and associate of General Spinoza, and probably connected, either directly or indirectly, with the abortive coup.

The other two groups, the 'Reorganising Movement for the Party of the Proletariat' (MRPP) and the 'Workers' and Peasants' Alliance' (AOC), are sections of the workers' vanguard who, whatever their failings, played a part in the mass mobilisations against the coup, as they have in previous struggles against reaction,

### IN PRACTICE

Formally the ban knocks all these groups off the ballot for the upcoming elections, and prevents them engaging in any political activity until after the elections. In practice, they will mean very different things. For the PDC the ban legitimises all the mass actions that have already been taken against this right-wing mob and will make it impossible for it to raise its head. It is unlikely that the PDC will be heard of again as such.

For the AOC and the MRPP, the main effect will be to deny them a place on the ballot. It is not yet clear if the army will attempt to prevent them engaging in other political activities, but in any event they will certainly be back in business after 25 April.

The reasons behind the ban are various. The Armed Forces Movement is obviously worried by the international propaganda campaign being mounted to defend the capitalist parties, and hopes to keep the imperialist press happy by banning only one of the two right-wing parties (the even more influential Centre Democrats are left untouched — by the military, although not by the masses) and by balancing this by hitting out at two far-left groups.

For the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), the ban may well be just the thin edge of the wedge for plans to try and tackle the problem of the growing influence of groups on their left. For a while before 11 March the PCP was engaged in a 'left turn', issuing a lot of rhetoric about the 'Portuguese proletariat being ready for socialism', and organising limited mobilisations of the working class. But now that the political situation has settled down in their favour and their position in the Government is assured, they are more concerned with gradually consolidating their grip on the existing machinery of the capitalist state. Indeed, a real mass upsurge that led to the emergence of workers' power and laid the basis for a workers' state would cut across all the schemes of the Communist Party, because it would leave them holding on to the *wrong state*.

### RIGHT MARCH'

'Right march' is thus likely to become the order of the day from the PCP leadership to its militants, and already talk of socialism has been dropped by the wayside as 'consolidation of democracy' is put on the order of the day.

The past policy required a tactic of unity towards at least sections of the revolutionary left, who had started to gain a degree of support among the masses. But the present situation makes it both possible and necessary for the PCP to take a tough stand against forces on its left.

Of course it can't do the job all at once. Many currents of the revolutionary left have great respect, even with the base of the Communist Party, and are seen to be genuine fighters for the interests of the working class. Moreover the PCP's members are likely to be confused by a sudden attack on groups who just a few weeks ago they were being told to treat as allies.

The PCP therefore has to start with the weak links — those sections of the revolutionary left whose sectarian and ultra-left policies have discredited and isolated them politically. Both the AOC and the MRPP certainly qualify on these two counts, although even they continue to have



Revolutionary soldiers greet defeat of attempted coup on 12 March

## or workers' democracy?

a certain political influence.

The MRPP is still remembered as the group which has most consistently and vigorously opposed Portuguese colonialism, and supported the resistance of draftees. The MRPP was also the first group to go into the streets against the 11 March coup, and is quite vigorous in pointing out several obvious failings of the Armed Forces Movement — such as the fact that the Movement is made up of various different currents, most of which are not capable of mounting a consistent fight against capitalist reaction, and the complete failure of the AFM to permit any degree of organisation among the mass of ordinary soldiers. For this reason the MRPP

certainly retains a certain degree of sympathy within the ranks of the army.

### SECTARIAN

The AOC, on the other hand, has equally sectarian and ultra-left policies (both groups, for example, describe the Communist Party as 'social fascists'; the AOC is therefore prepared to cooperate with the Socialist Party against the CP, and the MRPP raises the lunatic slogan 'drive the social fascists out of the unions'). But it has a major foothold in the workers' movement through its leadership of the important Chemical Workers' Union. This is another reason why the AOC is a particular target for the Communist Party, who want to wrest control of the Chemical Workers from them.

At the urging of the PCP the Government has recently arrested seven members of the AOC who are on the executive of the Chemical Workers Union and charged them in connection with a variety of alleged irregularities in internal union affairs. Despite the protests of the state Electoral Commission (five of those arrested were AOC candidates in the election), the Government refused to release them. While the policies of the AOC have damaged their reputation in the union and allowed PCP supporters to gain certain victories recently, the PCP's recourse to state repression to sort out the problems of the workers' movement has hit their following even more seriously.

### PLANS

If the Government and the Communist Party are able to get away with these blows against the left

they undoubtedly have plans to make other heads roll. The aim of such moves would be to block the development of a mass movement committed to pushing the struggle forward to socialism. It is to be hoped that the Portuguese revolutionary left will at least be able to unite in this situation to fight the threat of this repression.

The Socialist Party has cynically come out against the bannings (as part of its campaign against Communist Party 'dictatorship') but this undoubtedly reflects the view of many working class militants. Even more importantly a recent general assembly of the militant workers of the state airline, TAP, adopted a motion denouncing the arrest of the Chemical Workers' leaders and opposing state interference in the unions.

No matter what may be the errors and failings of the MRPP and the AOC, the left must insist that they be dealt with *within* the workers' movement, through the methods of *workers' democracy* — and not by the capitalist methods of state repression. The watchword must be, in the words of the Lisbon Shipyard workers: 'Repression for the reactionaries — democracy for the workers'.

No bans on the left!  
Free the jailed union leaders!  
Workers' democracy — not state repression!  
No state interference in the workers movement!

\*\*\*\*\*





# TROTSKYISTS MARCH WITH THE MASSES

IN ALL THE MAJOR EVENTS that have taken place in Portugal since the 25 April an important part has been played by the Trotskyist group, the International Communist League (LCI), Portuguese sympathising organisation of the Fourth International.

Formed shortly before the downfall of the fascist regime, the LCI was involved in all the mass mobilisations which then swept the country, placing in the forefront the demand for immediate independence for all the Portuguese colonies. In the massive May Day demonstration which was held in Lisbon the week after the April coup the LCI managed to draw more than ten thousand workers, students and soldiers behind its banners raising anti-colonialist slogans.

In the ensuing months LCI militants were in the front ranks of the anti-colonial movement, the struggles of the workers for decent living conditions, and the fight against the class collaborationist policies of the Socialist and Communist Parties. They organised broad solidarity with the most important workers' struggles, like the occupation of the Timex factory and the postal workers' strike. They continued to push for the most thoroughgoing purge of reactionaries from all levels of Portuguese society, and they supported the formation of workers' committees in the factories, and argued for the establishment of workers' control over production through these democratic bodies.

## 'SILENT MAJORITY'

When the right-wing attempted to tip the balance back in their favour through the 'silent majority' demonstration in September, militants of the LCI took part in the erection of barricades by workers to block the reactionaries' plot, and in the massive demonstrations which followed the downfall of President Spínola.

In the ensuing months they warned that the fight against reaction was far from over, and called for the creation of mass anti-fascist committees in the workers' movement and in the armed forces to carry through the job of purging the reactionaries. When the reactionaries tried to regroup under new labels ('Center Democrats', 'Christian Democrats') to take advantage of the forthcoming elections, militants of the LCI were involved in the movement to crush their manoeuvres.

The LCI is very far from being the biggest group on the revolutionary left, but it has distinguished itself by its clear-cut commitment to developing the struggles and organisation of the Portuguese workers into a fight for socialism, by working for the broadest unity of the workers' movement in the class struggle, and by its fight to unite the forces of the revolutionary left within the framework

of this broad unity.

These are very rare and important qualities in a political situation where the revolutionary left is dominated by Maoist groups who, taking their cue from the thoughts of 'comrade' Stalin and chairman Mao, accept the view that Portugal must first pass through a 'democratic stage' before there can be any thought of fighting for socialism, and carry out their pol-



LCI has taken leading role in organising demonstrations such as this

icies in the most sectarian and divisive way.

Thus, while the Maoist groups were denouncing what they call the 'social fascists' of the Communist Party, preaching 'trade union unity under Marxist-Leninist leadership', and in some cases even collaborating with the reactionary policies of the Socialist Party and the capitalist Popular Democrats, the LCI (along with other groups not influenced by Maoist and Stalinist ideas) took part in the massive demonstration of 300,000 workers called by the 'Intersindical' trade union federation to back the demand for a united trade union movement.

At the same time, the involvement of the LCI in this genuine mass movement, expressing the real aspiration of the majority of Portuguese workers for a united labour movement, did not for one moment prevent their making tough criticisms of the Communist Party for its policy of trying to solve these problems through the bourgeois state and its 'law' rather than through workers' democracy.

This concern of the LCI with the unity of the working class, and its active involvement at the centre of the mass movement, has given it a reputation and respect that goes far beyond its limited size. This, more than anything else, allowed it to play a leading part in the most recent events.

When they received news of the coup, militants of the LCI in Lisbon promptly expropriated a large unoccupied house and used it as a base for their operations. In the course of the day they produced and distributed some 60,000 leaflets throughout the city, while taking part in the various mobilisations in progress. Even some rank-and-file militants of the Communist Party and their supporters in the Portuguese Democratic Movement agreed to take and distribute the LCI's leaflet themselves.

In the northern city of Porto LCI militants were carrying out similar work.

## RESPONSIBILITY

In the evening mass demonstrations took place across the country to celebrate the defeat of the coup. In Lisbon, two of the most important Maoist groups—the MRPP ('Reorganising Movement for the Part of the Proletariat') and the UDP ('Workers'

Democratic Union')—were unable to get together even with *one another* for this occasion, the first organising a 'private' demonstration of 2000, the latter one of 700. Meanwhile between 60,000 and 100,000 workers and militants were gathering in the city centre at the call of the main working class organisations. The militants of the LCI understood that their responsibility was to be *here*, raising revolutionary ideas among the most politically advanced sect-

ions of the mass movement.

In Porto the main demonstration against the coup was publicly billed as a united front between the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the MES (Left Socialist movement: the most important group to the left of the Communist Party), and the LCI. A militant of the Porto LCI addressed the demonstration, and his speech was broadcast on national radio and widely reported in the national press.

At the present time the most important activity of the LCI centres around their participation in the forthcoming elections. In order to stand in these elections it has been necessary for each party to produce evidence that it has 5000 'members'. This means getting at least 5000 people to sign a declaration that they 'adhere' to the party in question: clearly this implies considerable commitment to the programme of a particular group. Despite their limited forces, the LCI managed to get a total of 6000 'adherents' to sign such declarations on their behalf (an even more difficult feat, considering that until the banning of the MRPP and the AOC there were eight far left groups on the ballot).

## CANDIDATES

The LCI is not yet able to present candidates throughout the country, but will be standing in four of the most important working class areas. They will be presenting a full slate in Lisbon, Porto, Setubal and Leiria, with a total of more than 100 candi-

dates in all.

The make-up of the LCI slate gives some indication of their success in gaining a significant degree of influence inside some of the most important sections of the working class. In the key working class district of Setubal, for example, the LCI is presenting 16 candidates of whom six are manual workers (including a trade union delegate from the Plessey factory, a worker from the important EFACEC-INEL factory, a postal worker, and the president of the central region of the electrician's union), four white collar workers, two health workers, three teachers, and one student.

The elections give the LCI an unprecedented opportunity to spread their ideas—central among which is the call for the creation of a workers' government based on the united mass organisations of the working class—and to consolidate and extend their influence among the most politically conscious sections of the Portuguese working class. Undoubtedly they will make the fullest use of this opportunity.

Red Weekly is opening a public appeal for funds to assist the LCI in their election campaign. They are a small group with big responsibilities to bear in the fight for a socialist Portugal, and will need every form of international assistance they can get. Please send contributions immediately to: LCI, c/o Red Weekly, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. (cheques payable to Red Weekly).

# What's On?

\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

**IMG GAY GROUP:** contact J. Mills, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds.

**FOR CHEAP,** reliable IBM Typesetting with fast turn-around phone Carl or Martin on 01-837 9987.

**BIRMINGHAM RALLY—**'Against the Common Market, For a United Socialist States of Europe!' Speakers include Ernest Mandel. Thursday 1 May at 7.30pm in Digbeth Civic Hall Assembly Halls. Organised by Birmingham IMG.

**'THE STATE, the Law and Ireland':** new pamphlet by Steve Cohen produced for Manchester NCCL—available price 20p (plus 5p p&p) from Red Books, 87 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

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

**SHEFFIELD RED CIRCLES:** Every Wednesday at 7.30pm in the Lion Hotel (corner of the Wicker and Nursery St).

**100 MEN WANTED** for organising and running creche for women's liberation conference in Manchester, 4/5/6 April 1975. Please contact John at 061-794 1389.

**DEFEND THE 14:** Public meeting in defence of the 14 pacifists charged with conspiracy to contravene the Incitement to Disaffection Act. Speakers include: Joan Maynard MP, Maureen Colquhoun MP, Ernie Roberts (Asst. Gen. Sec. AUEW), Bill Hetherington (defendant). Saturday 3 May at 2 pm in NUFTO Hall, Jockey's Fields, Holborn, WC1.

**WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER:** Cardiff public meeting with speakers Sylvia Jones (Wales TUC), Ingrid Falconer (NUJ), Brent WWC, and member of Cardiff Women's Action Group. Wednesday 2 April, 7.30 pm in Friends Meeting House, Charles Street.

**MR OLIGARCHY** says don't miss 'Muggins no longer—Socialism or barbarism'. A play—a weapon. Confront the gorillas and smash cultural oppression. Unity Theatre, 4/5/6 April at 7.45 pm. 50p. Then looking for bookings at 734 9083.

**WANTED** by Up Against the Law: names and numbers of policemen involved in prosecutions over Red Lion Square. Call, write or ring UPAL at 68 York Way, London, N.1. 101-837 41941.

**'IRELAND—THE ACID TEST':** Stirling Marxist Discussion Group meeting, Tues 8 April at 7.30pm in the Cowane Centre, Cowane Street.

**PAMPHLET** on the struggle at Kent University. Excellent value at 6p. Orders to Joanna Haynes, Keynes College, University of Kent, Canterbury.

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY**

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY** poster—available from Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1., price 20p (inc p&p)

\*\*\*\*\*

# IRON HEEL OF THE

BACKING UP THE LABOUR SCABS as they sent in their strike-breaking troops has been an hysterical press campaign about the 'health hazard' caused by the dustcart drivers' strike.

Every newspaper has carried its front-page photo of rats among the rubbish. The papers do not point out that the same rats are a constant feature of tenement life in many parts of Glasgow, due to Corporation negligence.

The gutter press, eagerly spreading the scandal of the wicked dustcart drivers, has no space to spare for the inside story on the nest of corruption that festers in the City Chambers. Nor is there any mention of the Labour Government's slashing of social expenditure, which caused the strike in the first place.

The troops are not in Glasgow to clear up the garbage—their commanding officer has stated that, even at full complement, working their present 13 hour day, they could only clear the present backlog by August. The troops are in Glasgow to break the strike as quickly as possible in order to defend the social contract at its last ditch. That means knocking out the weakest section—corporation workers—while creating confusion and playing on some workers' backwardness over the 'health hazard'.

## GRAFT

The pious Labour 'representatives' of the workers of Glasgow have little to learn in the department of graft, corruption and dirty tricks. As this article was being written, one of their number, John McInnespie, was being deposited in the cells of the City Police A Division to await trial on charges of fiddling expenses for meetings never attended to the tune of £2,000!

Last year, in the city with the worst housing in Western Europe, the Direct Labour Department built 347 houses—the figure caused such an uproar that a semi-public investigation had to be carried out. Councillor Dick Dynes, the head of the Department, blamed firstly incompetent management, and then drunkenness and absenteeism among the workforce!

Dynes knew damn well what the real problem was. Most housebuilding is given to private contractors. A good example of what results is the Knightswood conversions site. There the standards of the contractors, Laidlaw's, were so atrocious that after a nine-month unionisation struggle in which every steward had been sacked at least six times and the convenor 23 times, the Corporation fired Laidlaw's and promptly engaged—another private contractor. The result?—houses built in January 1975-8; houses built in February 0!

Only last month, Dynes and Labour Senior Magistrate Gordon Kane were the centre of another graft scandal which was promptly hushed up by a Labour Party investigation—chaired by Dick Dynes!

The conversion of 2,500 houses in a working class part of Glasgow recently cost £8,000 per house from a contractor who was hired for the job without so much as putting in a tender. And, of course, if you're looking for a pub licence or planning permission in Glasgow, it's just one of the facts of life that you'd better befriend a Labour councillor, and the higher up the better.

## Bureaucrats retreat (cont. from p.1)

21 March to the Dawsholm incinerator. This gave only two days notice for a demonstration which was 'for shop stewards only', specifically excluding all political groups! Reidford allowed no other motions and no discussion, and then cleared off 'to talk to the press'.

Given a single day in which to turn the demonstration from a token protest into a mass demonstration, the drivers and electricians did their level best. The drivers distributed 50,000 leaflets and toured factories

The city's education system has been reduced to a complete shambles. Schools are closed down because they are falling apart and can't possibly get the finance needed for repairs. Lanarkshire Education Committee stated last November that they needed to spend in maintaining existing standards as much as has been allocated to education expenditure for the whole of Scotland.

Yet Dynes can still survey this catalogue of disasters and his own contemptible record and orchestrate a panic campaign about the 'health hazard' he and his cronies have created.

## CORRUPTION

The combination of the Housing Finance Act and local government reorganisation means that local authorities' room for manoeuvre is cut right down and new housing must be financed from the rent account. In Glasgow, where cheap rented housing can no longer be subsidised, and where the problems of housing are completely tied into the network of corruption, the result is a massive threat to Labour's electoral dominance from the Scottish National Party.

The shock loss of Labour's 15,000 majority in Govan to the SNP in the 1973 by-election was reversed only by the allocation made by the trade unions of eighteen fully manned cars to the campaign in February 1974. Labour was therefore only just bailed out by the bureaucracy. When Councillor James Cannell, head of the Establishment Committee (which is responsible for negotiations with the striking drivers) stood for the Strathclyde Regional Council in the rock-solid Labour ward of Calton/Dalmarnock in a by-election held during the strike, the SNP slashed Labour's majority from 3,500 to 79.

## PROTECT PRIVILEGES

The Labour Party is prepared to take some knocks at the ballot box as long as it can maintain its grip and its privileges. That involves outright defence of the social contract because it cannot afford major breaches of the contract which the Government can no longer finance. The Labour Corporation can only explain away the chaos and decay of Glasgow's social services—essentially created by its own corruption and Government cuts in social expenditure—by slandering the city's 20,000 corporation workers.

The trade union bureaucracy has thrown all its efforts into diverting the workers' movement from a confrontation with these vicious and corrupt defenders of the social contract. Ironically February's Trades Council meeting was held in the City Chambers for the first time. This was hailed as a great step forward in relations with the Corporation! The fawning of the Trades Council leaders in February has become an only too apt expression of their failure in March.

calling for the immediate withdrawal of troops. It was these efforts that mobilised over a thousand trade unionists on the Friday morning.

Meanwhile the army had very clearly got the message from the dirty work of the bureaucracy. On Friday they returned to the incinerators as Reidford and company switched the destination of the demonstration to the City Chambers.

Most marchers set off unaware that the army was once again using the incinerators. Meanwhile, Reid-

ford showed his comrades in the Communist Party what sort of demonstration he wanted: he set the police on placard carriers and ordered the arrest of an IS Trades Council delegate.

In the City centre, the demo was brought to a halt up a side street 200 yards from the City Chambers. Various right wing and Communist Party bureaucrats were heckled in disgust before the crowd drifted off. During Friday the troops took 1,000 tons of rubbish through the incinerator gates.

Despite the bureaucracy's sabotage, however, the electricians and dustcart drivers can still win. At the time of writing the Labour hacks of the Corporation have come out very hard against a 'Liverpool type settlement'. Councillor Dick Dynes, head of the Labour Group on the Corporation, has declared that they 'will not be blackmailed into a position that opens the floodgates for more than 20,000 other manual workers employed by the Corporation of Glasgow'.

The demand of the electricians and drivers for a West of Scotland

## Troops impartial? - 'a load of old rubbish'

to beat up civilians, how to tear-gas crowds, how to impose curfews, how to spy on workers' communities. It has carried out mass internment, assassination campaigns, and even tried out Brigadier Frank Kitson's favourite tactic, the 'limited mass-acre'.

These methods have failed to defeat the Irish people in their struggle to determine their own future, but they have prepared the Army for the repression of the British working class. Kitson and his ilk—the 'counter-insurgency' merchants—not only understand that, they planned it. When Labour organises scabbing with strike-breaking troops, it plays right into Kitson's hands.

The failure of the British working class to oppose their rulers' war on Ireland has in turn encouraged the most reactionary elements in British politics. The fascists of the National Front have seized on the Irish issue in their attempts to divide the working class, and the racist demagogue Powell has moved into the Loyalist camp in his attempt to build a working class base.

## CONFERENCE

However, for more and more militant workers the Irish war can no longer be ignored. The presence of troops on the streets of Glasgow drives that point home as sharply as anything could. The Glasgow IMG's call for a conference of the labour movement on Ireland, already sponsored by seven Labour councillors and by shop stewards in three of the city's major plants, has been spread in the last week by the distribution of hundreds of copies of the bulletin of the Preparatory Committee, *Ireland Now*.

The conference, whose speakers include Labour MP for Govan, Harry Selby, takes place on Saturday 19 April. Further details and copies of the Bulletin and Preparatory Committee appeal are available from the Committee's Secretary, veteran Clydeside revolutionary, Harry McShane, at the following address: Harry McShane, T.U. Conference Preparatory Committee, 31 Balbeg Street, Glasgow G.51.

to beat up civilians, how to tear-gas crowds, how to impose curfews, how to spy on workers' communities. It has carried out mass internment, assassination campaigns, and even tried out Brigadier Frank Kitson's favourite tactic, the 'limited mass-acre'.

These methods have failed to defeat the Irish people in their struggle to determine their own future, but they have prepared the Army for the repression of the British working class. Kitson and his ilk—the 'counter-insurgency' merchants—not only understand that, they planned it. When Labour organises scabbing with strike-breaking troops, it plays right into Kitson's hands.

The failure of the British working class to oppose their rulers' war on Ireland has in turn encouraged the most reactionary elements in British politics. The fascists of the National Front have seized on the Irish issue in their attempts to divide the working class, and the racist demagogue Powell has moved into the Loyalist camp in his attempt to build a working class base.

to beat up civilians, how to tear-gas crowds, how to impose curfews, how to spy on workers' communities. It has carried out mass internment, assassination campaigns, and even tried out Brigadier Frank Kitson's favourite tactic, the 'limited mass-acre'.

These methods have failed to defeat the Irish people in their struggle to determine their own future, but they have prepared the Army for the repression of the British working class. Kitson and his ilk—the 'counter-insurgency' merchants—not only understand that, they planned it. When Labour organises scabbing with strike-breaking troops, it plays right into Kitson's hands.

The failure of the British working class to oppose their rulers' war on Ireland has in turn encouraged the most reactionary elements in British politics. The fascists of the National Front have seized on the Irish issue in their attempts to divide the working class, and the racist demagogue Powell has moved into the Loyalist camp in his attempt to build a working class base.

## CONFERENCE

However, for more and more militant workers the Irish war can no longer be ignored. The presence of troops on the streets of Glasgow drives that point home as sharply as anything could. The Glasgow IMG's call for a conference of the labour movement on Ireland, already sponsored by seven Labour councillors and by shop stewards in three of the city's major plants, has been spread in the last week by the distribution of hundreds of copies of the bulletin of the Preparatory Committee, *Ireland Now*.

The conference, whose speakers include Labour MP for Govan, Harry Selby, takes place on Saturday 19 April. Further details and copies of the Bulletin and Preparatory Committee appeal are available from the Committee's Secretary, veteran Clydeside revolutionary, Harry McShane, at the following address: Harry McShane, T.U. Conference Preparatory Committee, 31 Balbeg Street, Glasgow G.51.



Wilderness Tip at Bishopbriggs, one of the three commercial tips used by the army after the incinerators were closed to them. The next day they were banned from using this as well—except for the dumping of burnt rubbish. Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

to beat up civilians, how to tear-gas crowds, how to impose curfews, how to spy on workers' communities. It has carried out mass internment, assassination campaigns, and even tried out Brigadier Frank Kitson's favourite tactic, the 'limited mass-acre'.

These methods have failed to defeat the Irish people in their struggle to determine their own future, but they have prepared the Army for the repression of the British working class. Kitson and his ilk—the 'counter-insurgency' merchants—not only understand that, they planned it. When Labour organises scabbing with strike-breaking troops, it plays right into Kitson's hands.

The failure of the British working class to oppose their rulers' war on Ireland has in turn encouraged the most reactionary elements in British politics. The fascists of the National Front have seized on the Irish issue in their attempts to divide the working class, and the racist demagogue Powell has moved into the Loyalist camp in his attempt to build a working class base.

## Labour ser



## GLASGOW GET TH

## COMMUNI GLASGOW OF BUR

The Communist Party has over 3,000 members in the Glasgow area—an eighth of its entire membership. What that means in terms of its industrial base can be seen by scanning the delegate lists of the LCDTU, where it is represented by delegates from factories, ship yards and building sites showing a strong Party base and solid grip on leadership.

However one thing undermines this impressive facade. The line of the party these militants belong to is one which subordinates itself to the interests of the left bureaucrats and aims to be in there among them in order to seal the alliance. And that means that the work and activities of CP members are tied to the realisation of these goals.

The stronger the base becomes, the more the real fruits of that line become evident. The Glasgow City CP has within its ranks some 40 trade union bureaucrats who exercise a weight and control in the Party out of all proportion to their numbers. Indeed, such is their strength that it is possible for men like Tommy McTurk, one of the sell-out merchants of the 1972 builders' strike, to move over to alliance with them as he sees the sand slip from under the feet of the incompetent right-wing hacks of UCATT in Glasgow.

## ERRAND BOY

This layer of the bureaucracy extends from heavyweights like James Milne, assistant General Secretary of

meeting of all shop stewards is now more vital than ever. This is the only way that the support of the local working class movement will be won, against the scabbing of their bureaucratic misleaders in their last-ditch defence of the remnants of the social contract.

It is urgent that mass meetings take place in all workplaces to build such a meeting and win support for united strike action to get the troops out and win the strikes. At the same time we must build mass pickets at the incinerators and dumps to defend the strikes and break Labour's scabbing.

s troops to:

HEATHROW

NOW....

EM OUT!

T PARTY IN  
THE FRUITS  
AUCRACY

the Scottish Trade Union Congress, and Hugh Wyper, District Secretary of the TGWU, right down to John Reidford, Secretary of Glasgow Trades Council, whose historic mission is to act as general errand-boy for the big lads.

It was 'comrade' Reidford's unrelenting efforts to mobilise the mass of the Glasgow working class in support of the strikers and against the troops that produced last week's shambles of a demonstration. But the shambles was no accident: nor were the following sterling acts of working class solidarity recently carried out by 'comrade' Reidford:

\*On the winter 1973 STUC demon-

# SOCIAL CONTRACT

stration, Reidford instructed and supervised the breaking up of the contingents of the revolutionary left by the police.

\*On the 1974 May Day Rally, Reidford allowed the police free rein to move throughout the crowd. The upshot was a provocation launched against Republican paper sellers and the arrest, under Special Branch supervision, of two IMG militants.

\*Earlier this month, Reidford volunteered to organise the necessary police notification after the CP-dominated 'Scottish Chile Defence Committee' was forced to support a picket called to demand the release of Chilean sailors held by the junta. When the 100 pickets assembled, no notification had been given and they were forced to disperse rather than risk the possible arrest of Chileans. (The CP, at least, seemed to know the situation. There was precisely one Party member present!)

\*On last week's demonstration, Reidford ordered the arrest of IS militant Mick Napier, an NUJ Trades Council delegate. Napier was later released, but not before Reidford had fingered another IS Trades Council delegate who sits with him on the 'Scottish Chile Defence Committee'.

Quite apart from the fact that it is rather disgusting to see a leader of the Glasgow workers' movement acting as an unpaid grass for the cops, it is surely also a source of wonderment that he has not been pulled up by his comrades in the Communist Party for his scandalous conduct before now.

## DAMOCLEAN SWORD

The reason why he has not is, very simply, that he holds the Damoclean sword of the bureaucracy, which is his only base, over any who move against him in the CP. His actions merely express the real motives of the men he serves and who defend him.

The IS comrades who walked out of the Edinburgh Trades Council conference in protest against Reidford's brazen slanders used the right instinct for the wrong action. The way to root out the 'rotten elements' (a term a cynical Stalinist hatchetman like Reidford can doubtless identify with from his past) is not to walk out on them in indignation, but to walk right in to the overdue and urgent task of calling them to account before the whole labour movement.

Until that is done, the Reidfords of this world will remain minions with three masters—Stalinism, the bureaucracy and the state—with no intention of submitting to the master who pays the hire—the working class.

\*\*\*\*\*

## 40 miles is a long, long way . . . for solidarity

\*\*\*\*\*

If the Executive of Edinburgh Trades Council had had their way, the activities of strike-breaking troops 40 miles away would probably not have been mentioned at the Trades Council meeting on Tuesday 18 March. However, they found it within them to give a little of their precious time to an emergency motion from left Labour Councillor and AUEW delegate Ron Brown.

Brown's motion called on the Trades Council to condemn the use of troops and to call upon the STUC to urge the Labour Government to make an immediate settlement. For the Executive, that was fine—as long as it went no further. When an IMG militant and ASTMS delegate put an amendment instructing the Trades Council to organise a conference of workplace and trade union representatives to build a mass campaign for the withdrawal of troops, they used every procedural trick in the book to cut off the debate.

However, Chairwoman Gertie MacManus's steamroller tactics did not prevent the amendment being carried by 31 votes to 30, as the CP's base split down the middle. As the week progressed, IMG Trades Council delegates got on with the job of building Saturday's emergency conference. For the Executive, the need to get in line with the headlong retreat of their fellow bureaucrats in Glasgow became more and more urgent.

## SOLIDARITY FIASCO

Therefore, who better to address the conference than the stage manager of Glasgow's fiasco of 'solidarity'. Glasgow Trades Council Secretary John Reidford. Ignoring the question of troops, ignoring the struggles of the electricians and drivers (a representative of whom sat beside him), he instead launched his personal party piece, an illiterate and hyst-

erical tirade against 'infantile fringe groups'.

To those delegates who complained that they had come to discuss how to get the troops out and support the strikers, not to hear Trades Council activists subjected to ignorant abuse, Chairwoman MacManus was equally intransigent. Brother Reidford's views, though 'personal', had 'a lot of bearing on the present situation'. (Although when the mover of Tuesday's amendment referred to the social contract, he was ruled out of order by MacManus and cut off in mid-speech as his remarks were 'not relevant'.) The 50 delegates were then treated to an encore, during which several IS delegates walked out in disgust, before being invited to support the Executive's resolut-

ion—the only one permitted.

According to Edinburgh Trades Council Secretary, John Henry, the composition of the resolution 'took hours'. The 'hours' must have been spent in collecting the 120 odd words that went into the verbose end product.

As George Keravan, Trades Council delegate from the Educational Institute of Scotland and a member of the IMG, remarked afterwards: 'It would have been much easier for the Executive to say what they meant—that the bureaucracy was to be applauded, that more of the same was on the order of the day, and that a settlement would be a Good Thing. But maybe that would have made things a bit too clear.'



Over a thousand trade unionists turned out for a march against the troops last Friday in Glasgow despite the sabotaging actions of the bureaucrats

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

## \*\*\*\* Meanwhile in Liverpool . . . partial defeat \*\*\*\*

The Liverpool dustcart drivers' unofficial strike is over after nine weeks. On Saturday they accepted an interim offer of £2.63 and returned to work that afternoon. This settlement represents a partial defeat after tremendous pressure had been put on the 250 strikers. The settlement is seen as a temporary measure until a national pay deal is made.

Three of the emergency dumps set up by the Council during the strike had been declared health hazards. In the early part of the week the Council tried to get a private contractor to move the three emergency dumps. On Thursday morning, when the contractor finally turned up, the lorry drivers refused to cross the 40-strong picket-line. The Council then set their sights on calling in the troops, and decided to convene special meetings of the city's Highways and Environment Committee.

Last Thursday evening about 150 residents who live next to the worst pile of rotting garbage spread the stuff across several main roads. The roads remained blocked for

about 18 hours in this protest against the Council's inability to move the dump.

This demonstration was probably the turning point. The Council had cancelled a meeting with the strikers on Thursday and looked set to make the call for troops on Friday. But after the protest the Council hurriedly arranged a meeting with the strikers for Friday. It was this meeting which agreed to the £2.63 offer, leaving it up to the full-time official to get the men back.

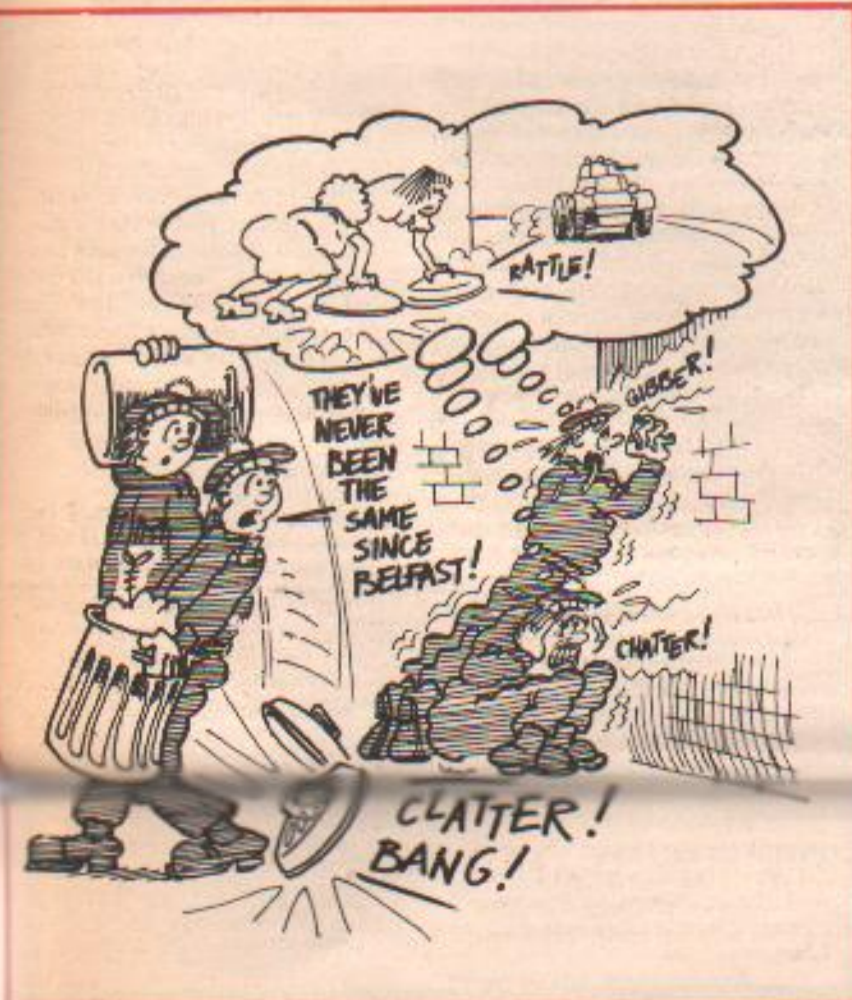
But the strike could have gone in a very different situation. On Thursday evening, while residents were strewing their rubbish on the streets, Liverpool Trades Council was giving its full support to the strike. The Trades Council sent a message to Glasgow Trades Council supporting its stand against the use of troops. Further, the Trades Council declared its total opposition to the use of troops in Liverpool and called for a policy of non-cooperation and large scale strike action in the event of troops being moved in.

This resolution however remained a dead letter with the strikers almost as isolated at the end as they were

when the strike began.

Although the press portrayed the residents' action as being against the strike, this was not necessarily true. They were demanding that the Council do something about moving the dump. The drivers should have attempted to explain to the residents that it was the Council's refusal to pay the drivers which was creating the alleged health hazard. Furthermore, the Liberal-controlled Council was refusing to pay because of the cut-backs in local government expenditure—this situation being made worse by the extra cuts made by the Council so they could effect a 1p cut in the domestic rate—a cheap election gimmick.

Already new housing estates have become slums because of the poor standard of building. Netherby estate has had a number of protests against the Council. Here the residents demanded to be rehoused in decent accommodation and on one occasion picketed a building site demanding that no further houses be built on the design of those already standing. The bus service is inadequate and fares are to go up by 15%.



# IMG PRE-CONFERENCE

The deepening of the crisis of social relations brings unprecedented opportunities for revolutionaries to help advance the struggle for the liberation of women and gay people. The time is ripe for a comprehensive offensive against sexism – the ideology and practice based on the sexual division of labour within the family.

The existence of sexist structures and ideas in the working class helps to maintain and justify sexual oppression, creating a fundamental division which weakens the ability of the working class to fight for socialism and sexual liberation. If we fail to seize the time, the working class will be vulnerable to the forces of reaction represented by Sir Keith Joseph, SPUC, etc. who seek to bind it more firmly to the bourgeois order by strengthening the family.

## THE FAMILY

The family is the motor of oppression for women and gay people within capitalist society. Within the family, women's labour is privatised and the division of labour is structured along sex lines: the wife bears responsibility for ensuring that the husband is adequately fed, clothed, etc. so that he can go out to earn a wage, and that her children are reared to take their place among the future generation of workers. Even when the wife works outside the home as well, the care of the family still remains her primary responsibility. For these reasons, we may say that women experience a common oppression arising out of the sexual division of labour within the family, and that the position of the woman in the workplace is *dialectically* linked with her position in the family.

As the social, economic and political crisis takes on new dimensions,

we have to go beyond our basic analysis of the oppression of women under capitalism in order to develop a strategy and tactics which meet the needs of the working class and pose a revolutionary anti-sexist alternative. Starting from an analysis of the political significance of sexism at the present time, examining factors such as the emergence and consolidation of reactionary forces, the crisis in the Welfare State, inflation, unemployment etc., we consider the effect of each of these in generating contradictions between the bourgeois commitment to the family and the needs of the working class. This framework provides a global and comprehensive view which can be integrated into our overall perspective – and in which gay oppression can be properly situated.

Our analysis throws into sharp relief the contradictory positions of the reformist and stalinist organisations on the question of the family. The Labour Government's pro-

posed anti-discrimination legislation promises 'equality for women', yet contains no provision for social facilities such as nurseries. The Communist Party claims to support women's liberation, but calls for defence of the 'working class' family. By developing struggles against sexism in a revolutionary direction we will intensify these contradictions and so deepen the crisis within these organisations.

## TENDENCY A

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The debate on the nature of women's and gay oppressions and our strategy and tactics for the struggle against sexism has played a major part in the IMG pre-conference discussion. This is largely due to

the impact of an autonomous Women's Liberation Movement upon the revolutionary left.

In the past, the IMG has maintained an ambiguous attitude towards the WLM: we have recognised its importance in initiating and developing struggles against sexism, but the majority of the outgoing IMG leadership (grouped in Tendency B) has failed to grasp its potential because of an empirical analysis of its origins and social composition. The WLM cannot be analysed simply in this way because its theories, demands and campaigns have influenced much wider layers than that from which it originally sprung. The overwhelming vote at the TUC Women's Conference earlier this month for 'free

abortion on demand', which has been a demand of the WLM since its first national conference in 1970, illustrates this.

Tendency A places work inside the WLM among IMG priorities in the coming period. Our strategy should be to help arm the militants in the WLM with a revolutionary perspective and assist in the development of tactics which link their struggle against sexism with other working class struggles. We should also participate in movements against the penetration of sexist ideology, such as the 'Anti-Sexist Code' in the media unions, relating them to the demand for workers control in our Action Programme.

## PRIORITIES AND DEMANDS

The key objective needs of the struggle against sexism and for women's and gay liberation fall into two inter-related categories:

1. Crisis in the Welfare State and Family. Our campaigns must combine demands against the erosion of existing social facilities with demands for the extension of these facilities and for qualitative changes in the way they are organised. A major priority

1. Revolutionary socialists work out their *political line* from an analysis of the deepening capitalist crisis, its impact on the development of the class struggle and the objective needs which flow from this. On the basis of this analysis, we construct a programme of demands that defend both the immediate interests of the working class and direct its struggle towards the overthrow of the capitalist system – a *transitional programme*.

At any particular phase of the class struggle certain of these demands are most central. The most crucial aspects of our transitional programme, our action programme, around which we try to build united action at the present time, are:

\*No to any form of incomes policy under capitalism; smash the social contract.

\*For automatic compensation against inflation of wages and all forms of social expenditure, including pensions, student grants and unemployment and social security benefits.

\*For the right to work; nationalisation without compensation to save jobs; work-sharing with no loss of pay in firms creating short-time working and redundancies.

\*For the defence of democratic rights: abolition of Jenkins' so-called 'Prevention of Terrorism' Act; defence of the right to picket and abolition of the crime of conspiracy; an end to joint police-army manoeuvres and the use of troops to break strikes, and the disbandment of the police Special Patrol Group; for workers' self-defence.

\*For the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland – self-determination for the whole of the Irish people.

\*For withdrawal from the Common Market and NATO; for the United Socialist States of Europe.

\*For equal pay for women; free abortion and contraception on demand; free 24-hour community-controlled state nurseries.

\*Against all forms of racism; for the abolition of all immigration laws; no platform for fascists.

2. The task of revolutionary *tactics* is to unite the maximum social forces in struggle around these demands – concretely centred at present against the attacks and betrayals of the Labour Government. The fight for such united action is dictated by the need to advance the class struggle and is something for which the IMG has to fight even where the present weakness of revolutionary socialists, in relation to the bureaucracy of the workers' movement, means that on many issues we will not succeed in creating united action. But it is through the struggle for united action of the mass organisations of the working class around such a political line that the IMG will succeed in propelling into action and winning the most politically advanced sections of the working class, against the political line of their bureaucratic leaders.

3. There already exists inside the working class a vanguard which is breaking with the idea that the Labour Party can be turned into a force to fight for socialism and that social-

ism can be achieved through Parliament and the capitalist state. However, this vanguard consists only of some tens of thousands, whereas millions of workers will be engaged in various struggles against the Wilson Government. While taking up all issues of the class struggle, including those on which at present the masses will not wage a struggle, the central problem for this vanguard, the problem we must give the answers to, is how to influence the course of these far larger struggles which will determine the relation of forces under this Government.

Propaganda for a socialist solution to the crisis and the spreading of the lessons of politically advanced struggles is very important, but will only have a limited impact in the vanguard itself. The vast majority of the working class remains under the political domination of the Labour Party, that is of social democratic ideas. More specifically, left social democracy controls politically the most militant sections of the working class.

## Fighting the politics of left social democracy

Even the Communist Party can only lead actions of a significant weight if it succeeds in gaining an alliance with left social democracy. In this relation of forces, therefore, in order to play a role in influencing the course of the decisive clashes between the classes, revolutionaries must aim to achieve *unity in action* with sections of left social democracy, particularly at the base of the trade union organisations.

Furthermore, at the present time it is increasingly possible to gain such united action. For while only a small section of the working class has broken *politically* from the Labour Party, far larger numbers have broken *organisationally* from the hold of Labour and are prepared to act outside and against the policies of the Labour leadership. This has given rise to large left social democratic currents.

## CRISIS IN BUREAUCRACY

4. For the IMG the main problem confronting us in politically developing the workers in these left social democratic currents towards revolutionary politics is the way these currents interact with a crisis within the bureaucracy of the workers' movement itself.

Caught between the upsurge of the working class which is deepening the crisis of capitalism, and the resultant necessity for the ruling class to implement a decisive defeat and a 'strong state' on the working class, sections of the bureaucracy take a 'left turn' in order to maintain their base. This is the significance of figures like Arthur Scargill within the trade union bureaucracy, and Tony Benn in the Labour Party.

While the manoeuvres undertaken by the bureaucrats have the effect of raising a number of political questions within the working class, never-

theless their development makes the problem of breaking the working class from reformism far more complex than under the last Labour Government.

In 1964-70, except during the struggle against the anti-union legislation (*Ja Place of Strife*), left social democracy was a retreating force with declining credibility in the workers' movement. Between the policies of the Wilson Government and the policies of the revolutionary left there was no clear alternative pole of attraction to workers disillusioned with the experience of the Labour Government.

Under the present Government, however, forces moving to the left under the impact of the treacherous policies of Wilson find a potential pole of attraction in left social democracy. The problem for revolutionaries is *how to break up the bloc* between the base of these left social democratic currents, which are genuinely looking for socialist answers to the crisis, and their bureaucratic leaderships.

## UNITY IN ACTION

5. To do this two interlinked tasks are posed. Firstly, a policy of unity in action with left social democratic

currents on any issues in which they come into conflict with the immediate interests of the ruling class. For example, when workers under the influence of left social democracy take up the campaign against the Common Market, we consciously seek united action with them on this basis. When workers faced with redundancy demand that Benn nationalises their firm, or workers under the influence of left social democracy

in the future fight against statutory incomes policy, even when their original position may be based on politically wrong conceptions like 'defend the social contract' – we are in favour of united action with them.

It is only by ruthlessly pursuing a policy of unity in action that we can hope to begin to break these workers from their bureaucratic misleaders. Thus the counterpart of unity in action is, for the IMG, the clearest possible political differentiation of our positions on these issues. This second task is fulfilled by our transitional demands.

These demands start from the need to defend the interests of the working class, and are not a manoeuvre designed to create a differentiation with the bureaucracy. Never-



# DISCUSSION

## The struggle against sexism - a priority for the IMG

for the IMG must be to help to build the National Abortion Campaign for defence and extension of the 1967 Act, and to develop it into a campaign for free abortion on demand.

The Working Women's Charter, through its links with trades councils and trade union branches, will play an important role in taking all the questions relating to the crisis in the Welfare State and family into the labour movement. Experience has shown that the demands of women in struggle often go beyond those of the Charter: we should therefore press for amendment of the Charter at a national Charter conference to bring it closer into line with the demands of the WLM and our Action Programme.

### 2. Equal Pay, Low Pay and Red-

theless, the fact that the bureaucracy will in most cases refuse to defend the interests of the working class by fighting for these demands means that in practice our transitional demands will also create the line of divide between revolutionaries and the bureaucracy, and provide a pole of attraction for the mass vanguard workers.

6. The fight for the central demands of a transitional programme is all the more crucial at a time when we see the gradual emergence inside the labour movement of an alternative programme to that of the Wilson leadership of the Labour Party. On issues such as opposition to the Common Market, no arms for the Chilean military dictatorship, defence of the Clay Cross councillors, and relaxation of the present laws on picketing, the main elements of this alternative programme are already clear. But other crucial demands - automatic compensation of wages against the effects of inflation, work-sharing with no loss of pay against redundancies - only have tiny support.

### TRADE UNION TENDENCY

The relative lack of influence of revolutionary socialists compared with left social democracy at the moment means that united action will take place mainly on a partial and short-term basis. Nevertheless, we must continually project in our propaganda the need for a more permanent united grouping of the vanguard within the trade unions - that is, for the creation of a trade union tendency around a number of central demands. It is also in alliance with left social democracy that the most important steps in this direction can be taken.

The Communist Party-controlled Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions remains politically subordinated to the bureaucracy, hence its refusal to launch an independent fight to free the Shrewsbury pickets. On the other hand the International Socialists' 'Rank and File' organisations are politically sectarian, refusing to distinguish between periphery organisations of the IS and organisations of the broad workers' vanguard. It is developments such as the Medical Committee Against Priv-

undancies. We must couple demands for immediate implementation of the Equal Pay Act with the demand for a national minimum wage on a sliding scale, so as to unify all struggles against low pay. We should stimulate the formation of women's caucuses in every union and workplace as a means of developing consciousness of the nature of women's oppression and women's confidence to fight for their demands and against sexism inside the unions.

In the context of rising unemployment and the growth of reactionary ideology, it becomes a major task to prepare the whole class politically against the ideology which justifies 'women out first'. The Charter is a crucial vehicle for our intervention in these struggles: we should continue our work in building campaigns around all its demands, assisting in setting up local Charter groups, and working towards the establishment of a national Charter co-ordinating committee.

ate Practice, the Working Women's Charter, the various local campaigns of workers' organisations against the Common Market and so on - all of which are essentially alliances of revolutionaries and left social democrats - which provide the links towards the creation of a trade union tendency.

8. The positions of Tendency A on how to fight for our transitional programme in the present period of the class struggle are wrong in terms of both method and tactics. From the point of view of method, they state in their document on trade union work: 'The decisive axis of the IMG over the whole of the next period is to extend, organise and politically clarify this minority (the vanguard).'

But the political clarification of the vanguard is not a solution but a problem. The vanguard can only be clarified by winning it to what is necessary to advance the class struggle.

From a tactical point of view, the error of Tendency A is that they do not differentiate between the bureaucratic leadership of the left social democratic developments and their base. For example, Benn opposes the Common Market because he is a chauvinist bureaucrat attempting to preserve his base of support inside the working class. But the workers who are mobilised by 'Bennite' forces on the Common Market, despite the fact that they are initially brought into action on chauvinist demands, are moving not to reformism, but to a struggle against the capitalist class.

Our task is to gain united action with these workers not in order to 'cuddle up' to Benn but in order to be better able to carry on the struggle against his politics. It is because Tendency A fails to see the dynamic of the development of left social democratic currents - looking instead for 'pure' developments involving regroupment of the revolutionary left and supposed 'centrist currents' untainted by the bureaucracy - that they are led into a position which is objectively propagandist and sectarian in the political sense, in that it is divorced from the most important processes taking place inside the working class.

# LETTERS

## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

As a woman present on the International Women's Day march I object very strongly to your report of it.

Firstly, you talk about 'this impressive solidarity of male and female militants'. The *Morning Star* report said that '4,000 men and women' were on the march. Surely as this was a march for women's liberation, composed mainly of women, it should have been phrased as 'female and male militants', thus reversing the normal sexist assumptions, by which women are always mentioned last.

Secondly, you say that the march was only marred by a small group of feminists who tried to expel sympathetic men from the demo'. As far as I was concerned, the march was marred by the extreme sexism of the men present. For example, one dismissed women who did not want men present on the march as 'neurotic lesbians'. Another arrogantly shouted to women standing in the street to 'get off their arses' and join the march.

It was also marred by women who wanted men on the march justifying this by shouting the slogan 'men are human too'. Is one's existence as a human being a reason for being on a demonstration?



For what it's worth, the National Front are 'human too'. - GILL IRVIN, London N.7.

A section of the 8 March International Women's Day demonstration

Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

# WANTED

## 100 MEN TO ORGANISE CRECHE

The right and need for women to be able to meet and organise separately is one that flows off the lips of many males who consider themselves socialists. But too often they forget this when it comes to looking after the kids, or doing the washing, assuming that it's 'women's work'.

At the National Women's Liberation Conference being held in Manchester (4,5,6 April), there will be about 250 kids. That means 250 mothers who will have to think twice about going to that conference. How can they join in a political discussion, when they have to worry about a child? To worry, because this class society says: it doesn't matter what the circumstances are, once you've had it, it's your responsibility - yours because you're a woman.

So that women with children can fully participate in this conference we've set up a group to organise a creche. Not

a creche where kids can be left during the day, but the mother has to forget about anything organised in the evening. A creche that sets out to give the kids a good time for the whole weekend.

A creche that doesn't fall into the trap of saying: the boys can play football, but the girls must stay here and quietly skip. A creche which, like the women at the conference, shows that there is an alternative to the sexual roles we have rammed down our throats from an early age - where there should be a 'father' that works, and a mother who is 'just a housewife'.

In order to do this we need about a hundred men - a hundred men who are able to see that women's liberation is something to practice as well as to preach. Please send offers of help or money to John (061-794-1389), c/o 218 Upper Brook St, Manchester 13. - MART COLLINS, Manchester.

# LIVING STANDARDS - UP OR DOWN?

With regard to the present economic crisis, inflation, and wages, I have just looked at a few figures from the *Economist*. These give: annual increase in retail prices (until December): 19.1 per cent; annual increase in average earnings (till December): 29.1 per cent.

Now taking standard rate income tax at 30%, this would appear to show that average buying power is up 1.26% over the year, and hence that living standards last year did rise. If this is correct then certain articles in the *Weekly* have been wrong. Am I correct? - MIKE POLLEY, Bath.

Chris Balfour replies:

The calculation of the real value of wage increases is a complex business. The result varies considerably according to individual circumstances (e.g. current tax position, amount being received from income-related social benefits, National Insurance rates).

Cde. Polley makes a common mistake which actually tends to underestimate the degree of real increase: he is wrong to deduct a flat 30% from the rate of cash increase to get the post-tax rate. The amount to be deducted to allow for tax depends on the difference between the average rate being paid on total wages before the rise and the average rate payable on the increase.

For example, if I was earning £50 and paying 30% tax on it (obviously not possible under the present tax system) I would have an after-tax pay of £35; if I then received a 20% wage increase (£10) on which I also had to pay 30% tax that would give me an after-tax rise of £7. So I would get

the full 20% rise in my after-tax pay. However if I was right on the tax threshold before the rise (paying no tax before, but 30% on all the rise), then it would be necessary to top 30% off the rate of increase: my £7 after-tax rise would only be worth 14% of my previous after-tax wage of £50.

A recent calculation in the March 1975 *Labour Research* suggests that a single man on £40 a week would need a 22 per cent rise to break even in real terms, allowing for tax, while a married man with two kids would need 24 per cent. However they make no allowance for factors other than taxes and prices mentioned above.

What all this adds up to is that despite his mistake cde. Polley's conclusion is substantially correct: the working class over the past year has, on average, been able to keep pace with inflation and even win a small real increase in wages. Of course, this is an average - some sectors have done better, others worse. Ironically, under the laws of a capitalist society it is the most needy (the low paid, those with big families) who have probably done the worst.

I do not think there is any contradiction between these facts and what the *Weekly* has been saying. Our argument has been that the Government wants to produce, because the capitalists must have, a cut in workers' real wages. But what they want and need and what they can get, given the power of the working class, are very different things. This is why we have been warning ever since the Labour Government came to office that the crisis of British capitalism is bound to drive them to adopt a compulsory incomes policy, despite all the speech-making to the contrary.

# 'WOMEN TAKE THE CUTS' - a doctor writes

Colin Spencer's article 'Women Take The Cuts' (*Red Weekly*, 13 March) did not fully analyse the issue of induction of births in hospitals. As he says, 'these shortages of staff are of course due to the miserable low pay and conditions of work of hospital workers'. Thus it would be impossible for all births occurring naturally between 5 p.m. and 9 a.m. to be properly dealt with by the scanty and inexperienced junior nursing and midwifery staff on duty at night.

However, nurses at least work a shift system and basic 40-hour week. Doctors are rightly attacked for defending reactionary privileges, mystifying medical knowledge, and forcing procedures on patients for their own convenience. But one must clearly distinguish between senior medical and administrative staff, who propagate these attitudes and policies, and the junior hospital doctors (JHDs) who actually do the work.

An average junior obstetric rota involves working at least an 80-hour week, and because of the nature of the work most of these hours are spent working rather than 'on call', i.e. resting or asleep. Therefore anything which confines work to daylight hours is welcomed by JHDs, who thus improve their own state of health and their service to patients by getting adequate rest periods. If doctors did not have to follow up a 9-5 working day with an all-night session, they would have no objection to delivering babies at any hour.

JHDs tend to accept their poor conditions because of the lure of eventual consultant appointments if they keep quiet and don't cause trouble while they are on the lower rungs of the ladder. When they reach the top, they have incorporated the elitist ideologies of their seniors.

What doctors fail to realise is that they are being forced into actions against their patients' interests, such as excessive induction of births, because of the undemocratic and hierarchical structure of their own profession. This leads to their seeing the interests of themselves as doctors as being opposed to those of their patients - a catastrophic situation. The way to identification of doctors' and patients' interests is through the trade union movement.

Doctors in ASTMS will be able to bring about great improvements in their own pay and conditions and thus in the health service. This would involve forcing the Government to train large numbers of new doctors to allow a reduction of working hours. They can also join with other unionised health workers to smash the uniquely privileged position and power of senior members of the medical profession. - GEOFF SUMMERFIELD (JHD), London E.8.

THIS SATURDAY, 29 March, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has called for a day of action against the imprisonment and brutal ill-treatment of a leading Soviet dissident, Vladimir Bukovsky, and a Ukrainian nationalist, Valentyn Moroz. Both are now held by the Soviet authorities in the extremely harsh Vladimir prison, and both are seriously, possibly fatally, ill.

Bukovsky has been one of the most persistent fighters for democratic liberties in the USSR. In 1960 he was thrown out of school for putting out a satirical magazine called *Martyr*, and since then has been imprisoned four times. Two of his terms in prison have been in

## Day of action for jailed Soviet dissidents

'Special Psychiatric Hospitals', and he has played a major role in getting the facts about these 'hospitals' out to the west.

### TREATMENT

'There were about 1,000 men in the asylum, political prisoners and insane murderers', wrote Bukovsky about his first spell of psychiatric care. 'The sick raved, the healthy suffered.' He also described some of the methods used to treat the 'patients', including the injection of a drug (sulfazine) that produces stomach cramps, fever, intense pain, and temperature of 104, and the tying up of patients in swathes of wet canvas bandage that shrink as they dry out.

He was released in 1965, but almost immediately re-arrested for taking part in a demonstration in defence of the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel. In 1966, he was let out again, but then arrested for a third time the following year for organising a demonstration in support of another group of dissidents. After his third release in 1970, however, he enjoyed 15 months of freedom, during which time he compiled and sent to the west material about the psychiatric prisons.

In 1971, he was re-arrested on account of this activity. After serving two years in prison, he was transferred to a labour camp. However he was soon returned to Vladimir prison as a reprisal for his participation in a hunger strike at the camp.

Bukovsky is known to be extremely ill. He has, at the age of 36, rheumatism, chronic tonsillitis, a bad heart, and a liver ailment, but he is getting no proper treatment. According to a letter written by his mother to Mrs. Mary Wilson, wife of the prime minister: 'He is not even given the special diet, which he is entitled to receive by law... I am certain that he will not live to the end of his sentence.'

### NATIONAL OPPRESSION

Valentyn Moroz, on the other hand, has been persecuted for his part in the struggle against national oppression in the Ukraine. According to Soviet law: 'The Ukraine, like

each (Union) Republic, has at all times the right to secede at its own wish from the USSR'.

However, when Ukrainians agitate with the aim, as another prominent oppositionist put it, of seeing 'the socialist Ukraine as truly existing and genuinely equal among the socialist family of nations', then they get the treatment given to Moroz.

He was first arrested in 1965, when a wave of arrests of alleged 'bourgeois nationalists' swept the Ukraine. Although lies were put about accusing the arrested of 'massive anti-soviet agitation and propaganda', there was widespread and sometimes active sympathy for the victims in the Ukraine.

Moroz was a defendant in the first trial to be held. 'In his defence he spoke of russification and of the unequal status of the sovereign Ukraine... he declared that he was no bourgeois nationalist... (but) wanted the same rights for the Ukraine as her socialist sisters.' But the 'socialist' court was not impressed, and Moroz was sentenced to four years in a labour camp.

While in the camp prison 'for writing protests', he completed his *Report from the Beria Reservation*, a devastating indictment of the KGB and the camp regime which was smuggled out and circulated.

### WRITINGS CONFISCATED

Moroz was released in 1969, but re-arrested in 1970, when all his more recent writings were confiscated. At his trial, the *Report from the Beria Reservation* and another work were brought as evidence against him, and he got six years in prison to be followed by three years in a labour camp and then five in exile, although witnesses at the trial refused to testify against him.

In prison he has been brutally treated, and it is clear that the KGB are trying to get him to renounce his views publicly. Another former prisoner at Vladimir gives this description in the striped uniform reminds one surviving inmates of Auschwitz. 'The prison uniform hung on the body of the tall man as if on a wire skeleton.'

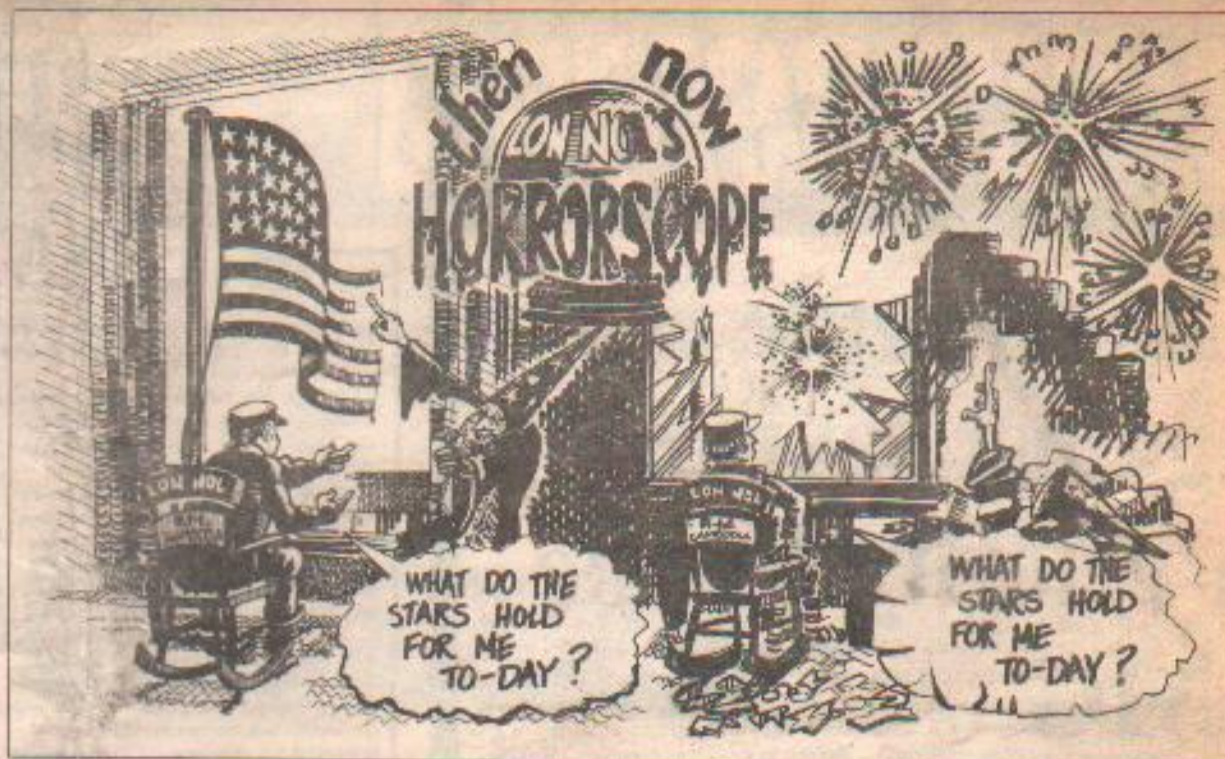
On 1 July, 1974, Moroz began a hunger strike 'to the death', demanding to be transferred to a labour camp. In November, still on hunger strike, he announced that he would kill himself on 1 January if his demands were not met. After massive protest both from inside and outside the USSR, the authorities gave in and he is no longer in solitary confinement, although still at Vladimir. But continued action is needed in order to ensure that the torture is not resumed, and to save both his life and his sanity.

Supporting the day of action this Saturday will not just be a humanitarian gesture. The brutal response of the Kremlin bureaucrats to the just demands of people like Bukovsky and Moroz is an important weapon of propaganda in the hands of the ruling classes of the imperialist countries.

The identification of the USSR with socialism plays a big role in confusing the working class in the west about the desirability of socialism in their own countries. But taking up the question of the repression of dissidents in the USSR it will be possible to explain to the working class the real nature of socialism, and the anti-socialist nature of the Soviet bureaucracy and its policies.

The current number of the revolutionary Mauritian magazine *Morice Diboute!* is a special issue on Africa, containing articles on current developments on that continent, including some important translations from the French language publication of the Fourth International, *Afrique en Lutte*. Articles include 'Smash the Neo-colonial State', 'Imperialist Manoeuvres and the Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa', 'China's Foreign Policy', and 'Guinea-Bissau - The Revolution: how far along?'

For copies write to: Morice Diboute, 97 Caledonian Rd., London N1, enclosing 20p per copy, plus 8p p & p.



Cambodian puppet president Lon Nol never does anything without first consulting the stars—but the forecast can't be too good now

# THIEU ROCKED ON HIS HEELS

ONLY WEEKS after the reactionaries in Cambodia began to suffer a series of crushing defeats, the puppet regime in Vietnam has received its greatest setback for many years—the timing of the events in the two countries demonstrating once again the unity of the Indochinese revolution.

In the weeks since 9 March, the National Liberation Front have liberated completely the provinces of Quang Tri, Darlac, Pleiku, Kontum, and Phu Boi, as well as the city of Hae. The zone of the Central Highlands region is now in the hands of the Provisional Revolutionary Government; thousands of refugees have been freed from puppet control, and a large part of the puppet army (ARVN) has been destroyed.

A key victory was the liberation of the city of Ban Me Thuot on 17 March, after a fortnight of heavy fighting during which almost the whole weight of the puppet airforce was used against the insurgents and then against the city. Once Ban Me Thuot had been captured, the rest of the region folded rapidly. The NLF are now concentrating on the districts nearer to the capital of Saigon, particularly the province of Tay Ninh.

### DUAL POWER

The present situation has developed out of that following the Paris Accords of January 1973—a situation of dual power existing in Vietnam between the revolutionary PRG zones and those controlled by the Thieu regime. The latter areas have suffered from a continuous social, economic and military crisis, and as Thieu's overall grip has steadily weakened, the liberation forces have gradually intensified their activity.

They first concentrated on consolidating their base areas, and then began a process of regaining territory that had been nibbled away by the ARVN. This was then extended to attacks on ARVN bases, liberation of ARVN-controlled areas, and the geographical isolation of the main towns and cities controlled by the regime. The rapid fall of the Central Highlands this month, following that of Phuoc Binh last month and whole districts in the Mekong Delta since last year, represents the successful culmination of this gradual tendency.

However, the change is not just in the amount of territory controlled but also in how the struggle has been developed. Most of the fighting is now being carried out by local insurgent units, with the North Vietnamese

divisions playing mainly a supportive role. More importantly, many of the areas have been liberated by co-ordinated insurrections, particularly in the Mekong Delta. The fact that the liberation of Ban Me Thuot was blamed by Thieu on the action of local hill-tribesmen 'who opened the gates' testifies to the political bases rebuilt by the PRG, at least in certain areas.

by  
**David Johnson**

The key to victory in Vietnam now lies in the urban centres. However there is a huge gap between the level of revolutionary struggle in the cities and that in the countryside. Although the urban opposition, particularly in Saigon, is making huge strides forward in developing clear class positions (important because of the close relationship between the class and national struggles in Indochina), there is still a long way to go—and it is above all the pace of development of the class struggle in the cities that dictates the speed of development of the Vietnamese revolution.

This means that the process will of necessity be a slow one, moving forward in steps and jumps. The present situation is one stage in this strategy, and not at all a generalised offensive. It is important to be clear on this fact, because over the last few years the spectre of a 'generalised communist offensive' has been raised several times, always coinciding with attempts to push through massive increases in aid to the Thieu regime.

It is no accident that it is being projected again now, just when Ford's attempts to force Congress to step up aid to Indochina have been defeated. Indeed, it is not inconceivable that part of the reason for Thieu's decision to surrender the Central Highlands was a move to panic Congress, since their decision to cut off aid to Cambodia boded ill for Thieu (a fact noted by the PRG in the timing of their push).

### REAL DEFEAT

However, the loss of the Central Highlands was not just a manoeuvre by Thieu, but a real defeat—politically as well as militarily. Not only territory and resources have been lost. Thousands of refugees who fled from Kontum and Pleiku managed to escape their 'escorts' and reach the liberated zones. Whole companies of troops have also disappeared en route. In Saigon, the victories of the PRG have intensified the efforts of the opposition

to remove the Thieu clique, forcing Thieu to step up the repression and thus further eroding his limited social base and losing him support internationally.

Although, paradoxically, Thieu's military situation is now probably strengthened temporarily due to the regroupment of elite units of the army nearer to Saigon, the balance of forces is increasingly shifting against the puppet regime and shortening the time of its eventual overthrow and the victory of the Indochinese revolution.

## TROTTER - DEATH SENTENCE CONFIRMED



Black freedom fighter, Desmond Trotter, framed on a murder charge in the West Indian island of Dominica, has had his appeal against the death sentence rejected. The only legal channel now open to him is an appeal to the Privy Council in Britain. It is urgent that the widest possible solidarity be mounted throughout the world, in order to prevent this brutal and ruthless sentence being carried out.

## MORICE DIBOUTE!

(Struggle for a socialist Mauritius)



No. 3 SPECIAL ISSUE AFRICA 20p



Groupement  
Revolutionnaire de l'île  
Maurice (GRIM)

# A PLAN FOR ENERGY & ONE BIG UNION!

ARTHUR SCARGILL, president of the 65,000 strong Yorkshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers has called for the formation of a single power workers' union.

The union would include the entire workforce of the British power industry and would have about one million members. Workers in mining, gas, oil, electricity and nuclear power would then be organised under one banner.

Scargill has not restricted his proposals simply to the level of union organisation but urges the formation of a National Energy Authority which would be in charge of all energy resources.

## SUPPORT

Such proposals merit both the serious consideration and the support of the workers' movement. The anarchy of capitalist production is not simply restricted to the private sector. In capitalist Britain the state subordinates the nationalised enterprises to serving the needs of private capital. If the different types of fuel are to be integrated in a complimentary manner—rather than competing with each other as at present—the power of the capitalist state has to be broken and a planned economy introduced.

Scargill's proposals offer the basis for mobilising the most powerful and decisive sections of the working class—the *Daily Telegraph* 19 March, writes 'that such a union could paralyse the country instantly'—around an issue which raises the issues of nationalisation and planning.

Furthermore such a struggle would find an enormous response in every other section of the working class movement and could detonate a series of struggles over the control of the economy.

To make such proposals is a first step, but the real task is to organise to put them into practice. Attempts to nationalise the oil companies would provoke furious resistance, not only from the oil companies themselves but from the entire capitalist class.

Nor are such proposals likely to receive much support from the Labour leaders who only recently capitulated to the oil companies by levying a Petroleum Revenue Tax at the absurdly low rate of 45 per cent.

The Labour Government is interested in increasing the confidence of the capitalist investors and will resist any proposals that attack capitalism, hence its prostration in front of the oil monopolies.

## ORGANISED

What Scargill is proposing can only be carried out providing that a campaign is organised right throughout the rank-and-file of all the power workers' unions. Such a campaign will have to explain the need for nationalisation and workers' control. Scargill's suggestion of a new 'National Energy Authority' is inadequate because it would leave the power in the hands of the representatives of the capitalist state. The need is for the workers in the energy industries to break the power of the ruling class representatives who control the boards of the nationalised companies, not create some super-board for them to control.

Scargill claimed that if such a union had existed before it would have prevented industrial strife in Britain in 1972 and 1974 (the years of the two NUM national strikes). Actually the presence of such a union committed to fighting for an integrated energy plan under the control of the workers would let all hell loose in ruling class circles.

What is important is not that it would prevent industrial strife, but that it would so shift the relationship of forces in favour of the working class that it would help to make sure that the workers came out on top in any political battles it fights with capitalism on the industrial field.

By winning over the powerful NUM to support for his proposals and to the idea of producing and fighting for an integrated energy plan, the basis of a successful anti-capitalist campaign could not only be laid but could be given real substance and credibility.

Bob Pennington

These victories were won because of the campaign built by the London Teachers' Defence Committee and the work of teachers in local NUT branches. When the Phoenix Governors were meeting, over 200 teachers from all over London were lobbying outside. As the Phoenix teachers said in a statement: 'The disciplinary charges brought against us are an attempt to intimidate all London teachers.'

This fight is not just an issue for teachers. Many councils are cutting back on education spending. Richmond authorities aim to chop the education budget by £1 million by sacking 80 teachers. Faced with strike action the authorities have now agreed to discuss with teachers not *if* but *where* the cuts should be made. They are trying to co-opt teachers into cutting their own throats.

At nearby Sutton the Council is threatening to sack 44 teachers. This will probably first hit schools which employ teachers to handle small reading groups. Sutton NUT is asking for a national NUT deputation to be sent to the Council. These teachers are concerned that Tory councils should not penalise working class children by savaging the limited advances that have been made through the education system. But teachers must beware of attempts by councils to get them to co-operate in implementing the cuts—the trap

of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul'.

The five teachers at Phoenix had the right idea when they said: 'The NUT Executive should launch a national campaign against the cuts seeking the support of the whole labour and trade union movement.'

## DEFEND MILITANTS

The victories at South Hackney and Phoenix show that teachers in London have begun to pick up the pieces in the aftermath of the Houghton psy award.

One battle remains to be fought in London. At Garratt Green school three teachers are due to appear before their Governors on 21 April. The Phoenix teachers will be going to a lobby in their support which is already being built by the London Defence Committee.

The Garratt Green case is extremely important because it may well herald an attempt to destroy the union organisation in the school. If militant teachers can prevent this happening it will leave them well placed to fight the forthcoming cuts in education spending.

Messages of support should be sent to Garratt Green School, Burntwood Lane, London SW17.

Hilda Keen (Westminster NUT)  
Kath Young (Hackney NUT)

# Liaison Committee declares phoney war

The Liaison Committee for the Defence of the Trade Unions met in London on Saturday for the first time since Labour was elected.

The LCDTU has never been more than a 'front' for the politics of the Communist Party in the trade unions. Nevertheless, since it was formed in 1966, it has won widespread support from militants and is still the organisation which has the potential to unite hundreds of thousands of workers on a class-wide basis.

On Saturday, only 300 delegates attended. Only eight of these were women workers. This must rank as the worst supported LCDTU since the heady days of the battle against *In Place of Strife* and the *Industrial Relations Act*.

## READY SUPPORT

On these, the CP could win ready support from the trade union 'left' leaders like Jones and Scanlon. In defence of the Labour Government Scanlon withdrew opposition to the social contract at the TUC and Jones is not only a staunch defender of the social contract, but is one of its principal architects. These darlings of the CP are now well-established in their unions and can be less sensitive to the demands of the shop floor on which they based their rise to power.

The CP are unable to rely on support from these leaders. That's why the LCDTU did not meet for so



A delegate speaks at LCDTU

Islay Fullerton (Wandsworth NUT) said we must go all-out from this LCDTU and work to make 1 May a massive demonstration to force the release of the jailed pickets. But we had to realise the policy followed up to now of limiting action to winning the favour and support of the trade union leaders instead of building a movement committed to releasing the pickets by mass action whatever the eventual wish of the 'officials' had resulted in cynicism and demoralisation in the movement over Shrewsbury. We must revitalise the movement by taking up the case of the 10 scaffolders faced with criminal charges for picketing in Newcastle.

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

long and also why the Shrewsbury movement has been crushed by the CP insistence it could only move forward with the official support of the whole of the TUC and left Labour MPs.

## 'DECLARATION'

Delegates overwhelmingly passed a 'Declaration' which called on the TUC 'to make 1 May a day of national

action to free the Shrewsbury Two.' The resolution also said: 'If the TUC fails to do this, then from this conference we call on the whole movement to take industrial action on 1 May.'

It is possible that this week's TUC will back a day of national action on Shrewsbury. If it doesn't many militants will readily take up the call for independent action from the LCDTU. But the demoralisation in the working class on the Shrewsbury question will make the work for a big action that much harder. Many militants just don't believe any more in the ineffective protest politics of the CP which still hasn't sprung the pickets from jail.

Now, the employers and courts have been encouraged to hammer scaffolders from Eldon Square in Newcastle with criminal charges for picketing. As IMG delegates said at the LCDTU, the best way to get all-out action on 1 May is to include the defence of this new 'Shrewsbury' at Eldon Square in the campaign.

Sam Boyd

The events at this week's LCDTU raise important questions about the role and politics of the Communist Party in the trade unions. Next week we are publishing a special feature article on the Communist Party and the Trade Unions.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Obeying the letter if not the spirit of the law. To satisfy police requirements limiting the number of pickets, these two dockers stand by themselves in the middle of the road outside the Dagenham Cold Storage Depot—but a few of their friends are nearby on the pavement if needed. On Monday the dockers voted to stay out in their fight for jobs. Read the next issue of *Red Weekly* for a full report on their struggle.

## International Marxist Group



I would like more information about the IMG and its activities

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

(British section of the Fourth International)

97 Caledonian Rd., London N.1.

## ELDON SQUARE STRUGGLES ON

Although the rest of the scaffolders in Newcastle have returned to work, the strike at McAlpine's Eldon Square site remains solid. The return to work was the result of the disgraceful role played by Transport and General Workers Union officials in the region, who have given full support to McAlpine's throughout the four month old dispute.

However McAlpine's, the Labour Council and the trade union officials have failed in their efforts to rail-road the strikers into accepting a so-called independent enquiry into the dispute. Though the inquiry, organised by the Conciliation and Arbitration Service (CAS—the body set up to police the social contract) is still going ahead, the strikers have refused to accept its findings unless it calls for the reinstatement of the 14 scaffolders sacked by McAlpine's.

But the Eldon Square strikers are now isolated. Support from other workers up and down the country is more vital than ever. It isn't just a case of 'tea and sympathy' for a few lads who have been on strike for a long time. The Eldon Square strike has revealed every feature of the situation emerging under the strin-

king class collaborationist policies of the present Labour Government.

We have seen here an unholy alliance between the trade union officials and the employers, McAlpine's. The local Labour Council then decided to get in on the act—on the side of McAlpine's of course. The police had their 'bit of fun', arresting ten pickets after harassing the picket line every day. Scabs were brought into break the strike—and given T&G cards to make their job easier. The press and media have consistently attacked the strikers.

The Tories may have jailed the Shrewsbury 2, but the Labour Government is equally determined to hold onto the jail keys. Now ten more pickets are under attack in Newcastle. It is vital that all trade unionists take up the fight inside their union branches for a mass picket at the court on the day (not yet fixed) that the trial begins. A victory in Newcastle will not only help these lads, but it will be a great step forward in the campaign to free the Shrewsbury 2 and to defend all pickets.

Messages of support and donations to: Strike Committee, c/o Eddie Brady, 86 Benwell Lane, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

# TEACHERS MEET AS EDUCATION CRISIS GROWS

The annual conference of the National Union of Teachers takes place in Blackpool over Easter. At a time of deepening economic crisis, both central and local government are cutting back on education spending, undermining the interests of both workers and children in the education system. How the NUT faces up to this threat is therefore the concern of the whole labour and trade union movement. In the following article, two teacher members of the International Marxist Group — BERNARD REGAN (East London delegate) and SUE KENYON (Sheffield delegate) — put forward the IMG's proposals for dealing with the crisis.

IN DECEMBER 1973 Tory Chancellor Anthony Barber lopped £182 million off the education budget. It was just the latest in a series of cuts that continue to undermine the gains made by the working class in the social services as a whole after the Second World War.

Not only has the Labour Government refused to replace the cuts, but it has implemented more. Furthermore, vast gaps remain in the field of nursery facilities, the continued existence of selection procedures for secondary education, split-site schools, oversized classes and dilapidated buildings — not to mention the anti-working class content of much 'educational' material.

The present leadership of the NUT has failed to lead a fight against these attacks. The Labour and

Communist Party members of the Executive have contented themselves with parliamentary lobbies, ritual denunciations and paper protests to Government and council departments. Despite signing joint statements with other unions, they have not launched a national campaign either to defend their own members from the effects of the cutbacks or awaken the rest of the working class to the plight of the education system.

## SOCIAL CONTRACT

To maintain its position, the NUT leadership has always relied on its role as a go-between for teachers and the state, and as a body offering 'professional advice' to successive governments on legislation and policy. The cutbacks are destroying the basis of this cosy relationship.

A resolution on the size of classes tops the conference agenda, and another calling for an end to education cuts is fourth. Both resolutions demand improvement in staffing conditions. However, at the very moment that teachers are demanding this, future teaching numbers have been cut from a projected 510,000 to 470,000.

Even the Executive has produced a memorandum calling for improved working conditions, guaranteed 'free time', extra staff to cover for absent teachers, and a number of other proposals. Another Executive circular calls for full support for primary teachers faced with oversized classes.

But whilst many of these demands are good, what is totally absent is any plan to fight for them. Furthermore, the Union Executive recently recommended acceptance of the Houghton report on teachers' pay, which gave big rises to the administrator-teachers and virtually nothing to those on the bottom rungs of the ladder.

By reinforcing the ideology of 'professionalism' — the idea that teachers can defend their living standards now by promotion later on — the Executive helps create the worst possible situation for fighting

# RED WEEKLY

the cuts. The professionalist ethic, the idea that 'teacher knows best', represents a positive barrier to launching united action with other workers in the education system.

Elsewhere we report the likelihood of teacher redundancies. At the same time 150,000 construction workers are jobless. The NUT Executive should be approaching the building workers' union and other unions concerned with education to decide on the resources necessary for the maintenance and expansion of the education system, and to work out a united campaign at all levels to implement this plan. This is the only effective way to deal with the present crisis.

## MILITANT ACTION

That the basis for such a campaign exists has been shown in the last two years by the militant mass action taken by teachers under the leadership of democratically elected Action Committees. Teachers will be prepared to fight if they are given a clear policy and a clear lead.

Militants of the IMG have been at the forefront of struggles over pay both in London and Scotland. Unlike 'Rank and File', which simply prattles on endlessly about the Executive's sell-outs, the IMG has organised and led united actions

against the policy of the Executive which show a way forward for the mass of teachers.

The resolution calling for support for the Working Women's Charter, which is sixth on the conference agenda, shows the sort of integrated approach necessary to fight all the attacks being made on the education system. It recognises that the fight for equal opportunity for women teachers, the bulk of the Union's membership, must go hand in hand with the struggle of other women workers, and that the fight against inequality cannot be reduced to the problems of pay and maternity leave but is bound up with the availability of nurseries and free contraception and abortion on demand.

The adoption of the Working Women's Charter would both educate the Union membership about the integrated nature of all aspects of the oppression of women, and prepare them for a united campaign with other sections of the working class movement.

**IMG Teachers' Public Meeting.**  
Speakers: Tim Hall (IMG Political Committee); Bernard Regan (NUT), 'The Labour Party and the Social Crisis', Tuesday, 1 April, 7.30 p.m., Blackpool Trades Club, Chadwick Street.

## Working Women's Charter Meeting at NUT Conference

Speakers (in a personal capacity):  
Tina Pampin (Nottingham NUT)  
Kath Young (Hackney NUT and Hackney Trades Council)  
Chair person: Val Graham (Hackney NUT)  
7.30pm, Monday 31 March, Christ Church Memorial Hall, Queen Street, Blackpool.

## 'The University will take all steps necessary — however difficult and unpleasant — to maintain the rule of law' — Lancaster Vice-Chancellor

THE LAST TEN DAYS have witnessed a savage attack on the National Union of Students grants campaign, with the college authorities in Lancaster, Surrey and Essex putting the boot in.

It is not just the rent strikes that are in danger, but the whole grants campaign, since the rent strikes are the only national grant actions going on at present.

The Vice-Chancellor at Surrey University told students that unless they paid up, and tipped him £5 for being late, then they would face 'legal action'. To make his point he told the press that a victory for the authorities at Surrey would be something of a watershed. If other

universities adopt the same procedure for dealing with non-payment of debts it could mean the end of rent strikes as a political weapon. This court action against 280 Surrey rent strikers is a national test case.

At Lancaster, the Vice-Chancellor, Charles Carter, took tough action to end the occupation by Lancaster students in protest at the victimisation of rent strikers. Over one hundred police paid the occupation a visit at 2.30 a.m. and threw the students out.

Meanwhile at Essex, the scene of similar police action this time last year, the authorities refused to allow first year rent strikers to take examinations. Failure in these exams stops students entering their second year. In other

words they were saying 'pay up or get out'.

The response of the Broad Left, an organisation which is dominated by the Communist Party and which controls the NUS Executive, has been predictable virtually non-existent. Having failed to call national rent strike action in the first place, they failed to coordinate the 28 rent strikes that did occur, and have now only just got around to calling a conference to organise defence. The only problem is that the conference is not until the end of April. But better late than never.

These moves by the authorities show that the mask of liberalism has been torn away by the severity of the education cutbacks.

However these attacks have a wider significance. They are part and parcel of the growing use of the state in disputes, such as the troops in Glasgow, the army-police manoeuvres, and the charges against the Eldon Square pickets. The use of large number of police against a section of society, weak economically and made 'unpopular' by the capitalist press, accustoms people to such repressive moves.

The coming NUS Conference at Llandudno has a responsibility to build a real national campaign around the defence of the rent strikes. Nationally, and locally, direct action has to be taken against the Vice Chancellors; pickets need to be organised around the Lancaster disciplinary tribunals and the Surrey court cases; support has to be won from the workers' movement. But that means that students have to help over such issues as the defence of the Eldon Square pickets.

The Vice Chancellors have thrown down a gauntlet, which the Broad Left have failed to pick up, but militants cannot allow this attack on the grants campaign go by unanswered.

Rick Sissons



Teachers from all over London picket Phoenix school against victimisations

## London teachers show way to win

LONDON TEACHERS have won an important victory against attempts by the Inner London Education Authority to 'discipline' teachers for taking part in unofficial strikes.

Teachers at South Hackney school, who went on strike on 14 January to join the TUC lobby of Parliament in support of the Shrewsbury pickets, did not even have to answer the charges. Their Board of Governors decided that there was no case to answer.

At Phoenix special school in East

London, teachers joined the 23 January lobby of the Burnham Committee discussing teachers' pay. Eric Briault, ILEA's Chief Education Officer and the moving force behind the victimisation campaign, again encouraged the Board of Governors to take disciplinary action. In the end the Board decided that no disciplinary action should be taken, and one governor even moved that the teachers should be congratulated for joining the strikes!

cont. page 11



## SUBSCRIBE

**The Red Weekly is an offensive weapon. 8p**

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES:**  
DOMESTIC: £5 per year  
£2.50p for 6 months  
FOREIGN: £9 per year surface mail  
£12 per year airmail

Write to RED WEEKLY (distribution),  
182 Pentonville Road,  
London N.1. ENGLAND.

NAME.....  
ADDRESS.....  
AMOUNT ENCLOSED.....

