

RED **WEEKLY**

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THE SPANISH
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DEMONSTRATION - Saturday, 15th
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NOW SMASH



FRANCOISM !

KEY ISSUES FACING SPANISH WORKERS

General Franco is dead. But it is equally clear that his reactionary regime will live on. His successor as head of the the Spanish state will be Prince Juan Carlos who, in accordance with plans drawn up by Franco personally, will take over as king.

However, Juan Carlos has not got the political skills, personal prestige, and historic connection with the regime that allowed Franco to hold it together for so long. So Juan Carlos, in order to survive, will have to make certain concessions to those forces — both inside the regime and within the capitalist class as a whole — who are urging a limited process of 'democratisation' of the dictatorship.

What these forces want is not a real granting of democratic rights to the working class, but a phoney 'democratic' face-lift for the dictatorship. But we should remember that this was also the plan of the Portuguese capitalists after the 25 April coup brought down Caetano.

If anything Juan Carlos has an even poorer chance of pulling off this manoeuvre than did Portugal's General Spínola. For Spínola was at least associated with opposition to the Caetano regime, and able to rest on the Armed Forces Movement, which had great prestige because it had physically overthrown the hated dictatorship.

IMPLACATED

Juan Carlos, on the other hand, has been openly linked with the Franco regime up until his last moments. When the regime was threatened with a grave crisis during the recent international protests against its execution of anti-fascist militants, Juan Carlos meekly trotted alongside Franco in public appearances designed to bolster the regime's image, thus underwriting its most bloody and repressive acts.

Under these circumstances there is little hope that the Spanish masses will accept Juan Carlos and his gang as 'democratic' champions. Rather they will see through their manoeuvres and become even more determined to fight for the complete destruction of the Francoist regime and conquer real democratic rights through their own struggle.

It is possible already to foresee what will be the major issues of conflict in the coming months — issues around which the fight between the heirs of Franco and the opponents of Francoism will become locked in a life-or-death battle. These include:

A Political prisoners: One of the main legacies of Francoism are the thousands of political prisoners, in jail for nothing more than opposition to the regime. Juan Carlos will undoubtedly 'celebrate' his coronation by freeing some political prisoners, but the Spanish masses have already made clear their determination that all fighters against the fascist order must be freed.

B Free trade unions: the Spanish working class does not have even the most basic trade union rights. The main job of the state-controlled *sindicatos* is to police the working class and stamp out any independent militancy.

Juan Carlos may continue the moves that have already been made to allow free elections of representatives at the lowest level. But the working class has already declared its support for the principle of free trade unions by building the independent workers commissions and voting massively for opposition candidates in *sindicato* elections whenever they have the chance. They will insist on the purging of all reactionary *sindicato* officials, the holding of free and democratic elections for union officials at all levels, and the thoroughgoing re-organisation of the *sindicatos* so that they can become genuine fighting bodies for the interests of the working class.

C Dissolution of the repressive bodies: Juan Carlos may try to pull back on the leash of the paramilitary Civil Guards and the political police of the BPS a bit. But he and the Spanish ruling class will insist on keeping intact these bodies, so valuable in the past for defending the class interests of the capitalists. But the Spanish masses will not have any faith in a 'democratic' regime that openly bases itself on the butchers and torturers of Francoism, and will launch big struggles to ensure the total liquidation of these bodies.

D Right of association: Juan Carlos will probably grant legal status to a number of capitalist opposition groups as part of efforts to give the regime a 'democratic' image. But he will try to withhold such rights from workers' organisations like the Communist and Socialist Parties unless they first agree to underwrite his regime.

Revolutionary socialist groups and propaganda will almost certainly remain illegal. A big fight will be mounted for the full and unconditional right of association and propaganda by all organisations and tendencies of the workers' movement.

E Elections and the Government: Juan Carlos will put together a government of 'liberal' supporters of Franco, and might even draw up plans for future elections to the Cortes, the virtually powerless 'parliament'. The reformists of the Communist and Socialist Parties will insist that they be admitted to such a government and allowed to take part in the elections.

F Franco dictatorship. Only they will campaign for the independent struggle and class organisation of the workers.

In this struggle, the revolutionary press — as the central instrument of propaganda and agitation — will play a decisive role. Our comrades of the LCR-ETA (VI) already produce and distribute clandestinely in Spain a monthly paper, *Combate* (Struggle). Now they have launched an urgent appeal for funds to improve *Combate* and produce it fortnightly.

We particularly appeal for donations to our Iberian Fund this week to aid this development of the Trotskyist press in Spain. The total collected so far for our comrades in Portugal and Spain stands at £206.53. Please give generously — the address is: Red Weekly (Iberia), 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

TOWARDS THE INEVITABLE STRUGGLE



Demonstration of the Workers' Commissions in the Basque country.

But the Spanish working class will have little faith in institutions created by Francoism and staffed by his veteran supporters. They will back demands for immediate free elections to a Constituent Assembly with full powers to determine the future political set-up of the country, and for the immediate formation of a *workers' government* based on those organisations which hold the allegiance of the mass of the working class.

F National self-determination: One of the major factors in the recent crisis of Francoism has been the

high level of struggle in the militant Basque country, born of the fusing of the aspirations of the Basque people for their national rights with the class consciousness of the working class in the Basque country.

Juan Carlos and his supporters are staunch defenders of the 'unity of the Spanish state' and will not give anything but the most miserable sop to the Basque people. But the crisis of the dictatorship will stimulate the Basque struggle for national self-determination, and this will spread to the other regions of Spain where the people feel them-

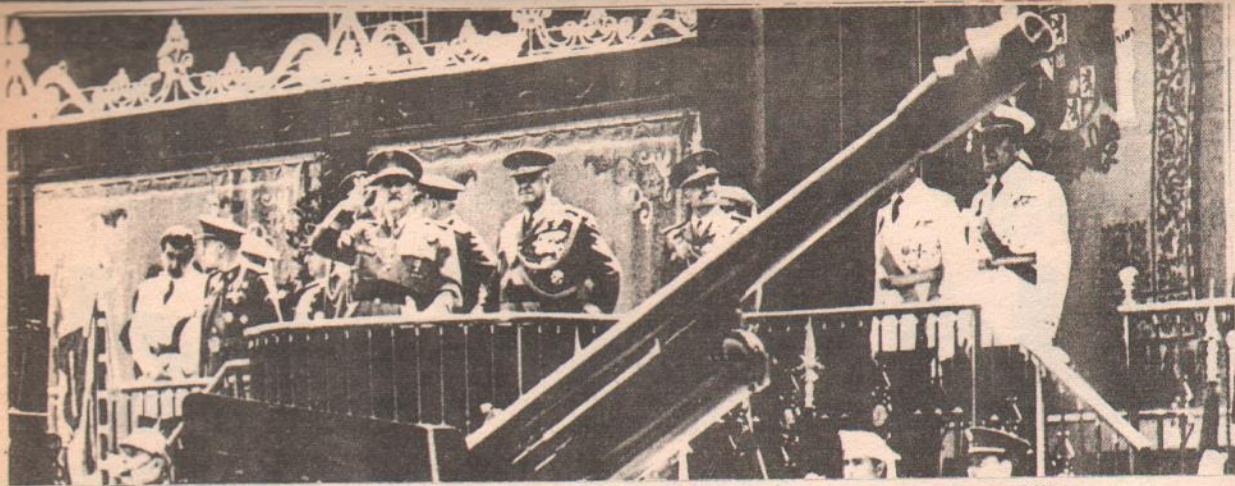
selves to be nationally oppressed: Galicia in the north-west, and the key industrial area of Catalonia.

In short, the road ahead is not one of quiet 'democratisation' of the Spanish dictatorship, but of even bigger and more heroic struggles by the Spanish working class than we have yet seen to ensure that the death of Franco is also the death of Francoism. The need for international solidarity with the Spanish struggle is in no way lessened — on the contrary, it is today more urgent than ever.



Madrid, May Day 1936. Civil war is approaching. Hundreds of thousands of socialist militants demonstrate. How soon will we see scenes like this again in Spain? — and this time, will the revolutionary organisation exist that can lead the Spanish masses to the victorious socialist revolution?

The responsibilities that lie on the shoulders of the Trotskyists in Spain and Portugal today are heavy. In Spain only they can combat the reformist illusions that a 'democratic' alliance with sections of the capitalist class can destroy the heirs of the



Something old... (Above) Franco takes the salute at the 1960 parade celebrating the fascist victory in the Civil War
Something blue?... (Below) Greeting Carrero Blanco in December 1973 just before the latter flew over a church.... in his car

CRISIS INSIDE THE ARMY

As Portugal has already shown, a key factor in determining how events will unfold in Spain during the present crisis will be the political situation inside the armed forces. While dissent inside the Spanish Army does not approach that which existed inside the Portuguese armed forces on 25 April, the recent mass struggles in Spain have nevertheless had a definite impact on it, as this article reprinted from *Combate*, the underground paper of the LCR-ETA(VI) (Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International), points out.

The break-up of the Franco regime under the blows of the rising mass movement is today undermining one of its most solid pillars — the Army. Born out of the massacre of the best proletarian fighters during the years of the Civil War and the terror that followed it, led by an ultra-reactionary band of generals, watchdogs of the dictatorship, and kept together by a tough discipline that represses all acts of insubordination or protest, the Army is the institution in which the fissures have taken longest to appear.

But today the crevices which are opening up inside it are clearly visible, and prove just how deep is the crisis of the regime. On the one hand, the differences within the officer corps are continuously becoming greater. The concrete signs of this process are the arrest of Busquets and Julve [two army officers] in March, the arrest of eight captains and one major in August, the public appearance of the 'Military Democratic Union', the publication of clandestine bulletins: all these add up to the appearance of an organised opposition — even if a very heterogeneous one — within the Army.

SAME PROBLEM

Questions like that of the Sahara, the American bases, the modernisation of equipment, etc. make up the main points of dissent. But the principal problem which divides the Army at the present moment is the same as that which divides the ruling class: what attitude to adopt towards the agonising crisis of the dictatorship and its inability to check the rise of the workers' movement.

For the 'enlightened' sections of the ruling class — that is, those who opt for evolution towards democracy — to compromise the Army in the defence of the dictatorship is to make it run the same risk of inevitable downfall. The best guarantee for safeguarding capitalist order is to preserve at all times the unity of the Army — that is, its capacity to intervene and to intimidate the mass movement. It is for this reason that the opposition groups which are springing up among the officers — above all, among the younger generation who have not experienced the Civil War — linked in part to various fractions of the ruling class and even the traditional left, are demanding the 'neutrality' of the Army, its strict 'professionalism' and evolution towards a democratic regime. To utilise the Army today as a direct force of repression — as is desired by the 'ultras' of the regime — would only disrupt this unity.

COMBATIVITY

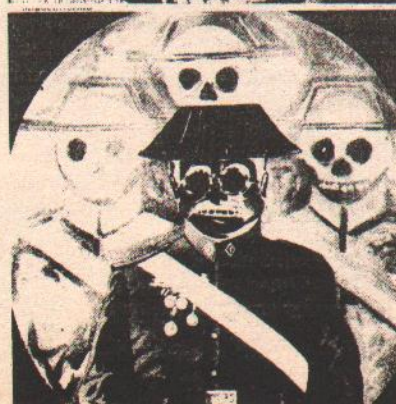
The second aspect of the crisis in the Francoist Army, and the most important, is the growing combat-

ivity of the ranks. In the face of inhuman conditions imposed in the military camps and barracks, personal humiliation and degradation, irrational discipline, anti-working class and fascist ideology, the soldiers — workers, students and peasants in uniform — are beginning to protest. The young people who have learned how to struggle against the Francoist order in the factories, neighbourhoods, and educational centres, are bringing this struggle into the Army. The most conscious are organising themselves in Soldiers Committees, which, as recently in Euzkadi [the Basque country], are facing up to the task of coordination with the united struggle bodies of the mass movement.

'NEUTRALITY'

If the dictatorship tries to use the Army for its defence, launching direct repression against the mass movement, these first signs of organisation and mobilisation of the ranks against Francoism will spread and deepen. It is this which the 'enlightened' sectors of the ruling class fear the most. For their plans of evolution towards a democratic system can only succeed if they are assured a military force that is both disciplined and obedient, capable of intervening against the mass movement and in the face of a massive upsurge by the working class.

It is this, nothing else, that the 'professionalism' and 'neutrality' defended by the bourgeois officers consists of. And they are supported in this by the reformists (for example the Spanish Communist Party and its front group, the Junta Democrática) who also speak of 'neutrality' — the same 'neutrality' which



they admired so greatly in the Chilean army, no doubt.

What are the implications of these ruling class plans? They imply above all the maintenance of the discipline and loyalty of the Army, and the elimination of all possibilities of insubordination by the ranks. And what does this mean for the soldiers? The maintenance of irrational discipline and the denial of democratic freedom within the army, reactionary indoctrination, blind subjection to the orders of their superiors, and isolation from the social milieu in which they learned how to struggle against exploitation and oppression. Neither the soldiers nor the workers' movement have any interest in the maintenance of this bourgeois unity of the Army.

In order to prevent the ruling class from using the Army to preserve its domination and crush the workers' movement it is necessary to:

- 1 Support the fight for elementary soldiers' rights: the maintenance of salaries (salaries for conscripts equal to what they earned before entering the Army); military service to be carried out in the area where conscripts live and work; unlimited right to spend their nights outside the barracks; suppression of irrational and humiliating discipline; reduction of military service to the time required to learn the use of arms; full rights of assembly, free expression and association in the barracks; freedom of religion and conscientious objection.

- 2 Encourage the purging of all fascist officers and those compromised with the crimes of Francoism; the dissolution of the mercenary military units (for example, the legion).

- 3 Encourage the self-organisation of the ranks and of revolutionary officers, and their coordination with the bodies of the working class, with close collaboration, above all, in the self-defence of the mass movement.

- 4 Develop among the working class and youth total distrust of the bourgeois army and its officers, however 'democratic' or 'neutral' they claim to be.

These tasks demand that today the revolutionary vanguard organises itself in a united way in the army camps and barracks, and form Soldiers Committees which, in conjunction with the Workers' Commissions and other united bodies of the workers' movement, can push forward the mobilisation inside the army against the Francoist military hierarchy, against this anti-working class army, which is what the Spanish army is.

THE LONG NIGHT

The advent of the Second Republic in 1931, following the downfall of General Rivera's monarchist dictatorship, put on the agenda the reforms characteristic of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The Spanish bourgeoisie, because of its political and economic backwardness, had not managed to carry these reforms out. In 1931, under the pressure of the popular movement spurred on by the world slump, the dictatorship disintegrated. The ruling class quickly dropped both Rivera and King Alfonso XIII (the grandfather of Prince Juan Carlos) and opted for a republic. The Republic was supposed to incorporate the interests of all the toiling masses and carry out the much needed reforms — an improved standard of living, agrarian reform, separation of Church and State, reform of the Army, and rights for national minorities — in an orderly manner (i.e. one which didn't disturb capitalism).

But to these demands a strongly anti-capitalist element was soon added. 1934 saw the heroic Asturian Commune, which rose to the slogan of 'unite proletarian brothers' and marked the beginning of an offensive of the working class against capital. The Commune was brutally crushed by the Republican Army, headed by none other than General Franco.

The first Left Republican Government was followed by two years of a 'strong' government. This 'Black Biennium' marked the beginning of a general assault against the working class. Under the pressure of mass action, however — especially strikes — the 'Black Biennium' fell, and the ruling class now decided to play the card of reforms through the Popular Front.

The ruling class hoped to arrest the growing tide of revolution with empty promises of democracy and socialism. But certain sections of the ruling class — the landed aristocracy, the big industrialists, and army officers aspiring to be 'caudillos' — were not content to sit and watch the outcome of the experiment.

On 18 July 1936, they rebelled under the leadership of General Franco. outcome of the experiment.

Though demoralised by the Republic, and betrayed and disoriented by the working class parties (Communist Party, Socialist Party, and Anarchists) the response of the Spanish working class was rapid and effective. Raiding barracks and armouries to organise anti-fascist militias, they turned what was to be a swift coup d'état into a long-drawn three year Civil War. But in 1939 the war ended, Franco became the Generalissimo of a country whose people had lost more than one million dead, 500,000 exiled, and 250,000 imprisoned.

As in Chile after the coup, the civil war was followed by the systematic annihilation of working class organisations. These were the years of absolute immunity for the police, the *paseos* (walks) at dawn of men to executed, the use of bestial tortures.

CLOSER LINKS WITH IMPERIALISM

The 1950s open a new era for both the bourgeoisie and the working class. The dictatorship moved from its previous isolationist outlook, realising that its future lay in industrialisation, and it was helped along this road by the end of the international boycott imposed on Spain after the Second World War. The investment for this industrialisation had to come from foreign sources — principally US imperialism — and from the capital generated through extreme exploitation of the working class. During this period the only organisations the working class had to defend itself were the Catholic and fascist trade unions. By the end of the 1950s the need for independent working class organisations was evident, and from the strike committees of this period there began to emerge semi-permanent Workers' Commissions.

After a temporary lull, the world economic crisis in the late 1960s and the manifest inability of the dictatorship to deal with it led to a regeneration of the workers' movement. In 1970 the Workers' Commissions played a leading role in building the massive struggle to save seven members of the Basque nationalist organisation ETA (V) who had been condemned to death by the Burgos military tribunal. The dictatorship was forced to retreat and commute the death sentences. This tremendous victory took the labour movement out of its traditional localism and raised its political level. The Workers' Commissions were faced with the need for a permanent structure, co-ordinated on a national basis.

The same events also forced the ruling class to consider whether a military dictatorship was really the best way to manage its political affairs — a dilemma it has yet to solve. The dictatorship is a real barrier to capitalist plans for industrial development, which would require closer links with the EEC and the development of a political structure more akin to those of the European 'democracies'. On the other hand, any moves in this direction would be sure to spark off struggles by the workers' movement whose demands would go further than the rigid concessions the bourgeoisie is willing to grant. The apparatus of a dictatorship would be vital to smash this rising tide of revolution.

On 20 December 1973, Carrero Blanco — Franco's chosen successor — was justly executed by militants of ETA (V) in retaliation for the murder of nine of its members. Carrero Blanco was the only figure in the dictatorship who could play the role of strong man and mediator within the regime, and his death accelerated the crisis of both the regime and the succession to Franco.

'LIBERALISATION' IN RUINS

Following Carrero Blanco's death, the regime appointed Arias Navarro to head a government whose specific aim was to crush the organisations and parties of the working class, thus opening the road for an unobstructed transition from a dictatorial form of government to a modern democracy. But apart from the fact that the general trend throughout the capitalist world is in the other direction, attempts by the Arias Navarro administration to 'liberalise' the structure of the regime were quickly responded to by the working class, which sought to take these rigid and meagre concessions much further than the regime had envisaged. The dictatorship then had to use its traditional violence. Today, after the State of Emergency in the Basque country, the mass detentions, the execution of Salvador Puig last year and five other anti-fascists this year, along with all the other murders in broad daylight, the regime's proposed 'liberalisation' lies in ruins.

Franco is on his deathbed as we go to press. But the dictatorship is still alive. This poses vital tasks for revolutionaries. The most important of these is the formation of a United Workers Front, incorporating all the parties and organisations of the working class, which can set in motion a Revolutionary General Strike to bring down the dictatorship.

London group, LCR-ETA (VI)

PORTUGAL

the struggle for land

An uneasy stalemate exists in Portugal today. The capitalist Government is unable to smash the militant self-organisation of the workers and soldiers, as has been shown by the defiant re-opening of the worker-controlled Radio Renascença. But at the same time the vanguard has been unable to transform its campaign into a broad political offensive aimed at the very roots of capitalist power. As a result it is beginning to suffer some serious setbacks — an example last week was the inability of left-wing soldiers to go ahead with a plenary assembly of unit delegates in Oporto after intimidation by the top brass.

The nature of the contending forces in Portugal was sharply highlighted when agricultural labourers occupied a 1,200 acre farm in the southern Alentejo owned by a British couple. There were predictable cries of outrage from the British press and the Labour Government — although no-one attempted to deny the workers' claim that the owner had been paying them only £2.20 a day while extracting £5.50 more in profit

from them. So far the Portuguese Government has deliberately avoided nationalising foreign interests; but now the agricultural workers in the Alentejo are saying that their interests come first, and too bad if the owners exploiting them happen to be foreign.

The interview below — with a Communist Party member of the workers' commission on the occupied 3,500 acre farm of Chafariz, in the Alentejo village of Benavilla — illustrates the problems posed by the agrarian reform campaign. For instance, a meeting in August of delegates from 69 occupied properties in the Beja district, held at the initiative of CP members, called for the cessation of State aid to the big landowners, the creation of a national fund for agrarian reform using the wealth expropriated from the big landowners, the 'debureaucratisation' of the system for providing credit, the establishment of collective depots of agricultural machinery, etc.

The problem is that such policies are thwarted by the policies of the Government, of which the self-

same Communist Party is a member. The reform is being consistently sabotaged by functionaries in the bourgeois state apparatus — but the CP doesn't fight for a government based on the organisations of the working people. Nor, for instance, does it demand the expropriation of the foreign landowners, who are now arming openly to prevent any further extension of the agrarian reform.

Above all, against the havoc being created by the anarchy of the capitalist market and the deliberate sabotage of the international firms, the CP refuses to fight for the democratic elaboration of a national economic plan containing socialist policies to tackle the problems of credit, distribution, foreign trade, etc. Yet only within such a framework can the agrarian reform be successfully carried through, drawing the workers on the land into the struggle being waged by their brothers and sisters in the cities for a State based on their own independent organs of class power.

Q How did you carry out the occupation?

A It was 28 June. There had been a meeting at Benavilla where we had picked out the properties it was necessary to take over. Chafariz was one of them.

The boss learnt of it via his manager. He asked us if we were going to occupy. We told him yes. Two days later we occupied. At first the boss stayed. Then he told us: 'It's all up to you — I'm off.' But he succeeded in moving out a combine harvester...and he left his manager behind.

The manager said: 'I'm on the side of the workers.' In fact, he was keeping an eye on the situation for the boss. Despite his protests the workers threw him out, because under Caetano he was always against them. After two days he returned, but we threw him out again.

Next we telephoned the agrarian reform centre at Elvas. They came and made an inventory. All the boss's effects — his house, his furniture — we left untouched. We look after everything very carefully. These are his personal belongings. But the land, the animals, the machines, — they are the property of the people.

Q Work continues on the occupied farm. How have you got on without the boss and his manager?

A The boss has been replaced by the workers' commission. This is elected by the 38 agricultural workers on the farm. It's made up of 10 workers — eight men and two women. The workers' commission consists of those in whom the workers have the most confidence, because they are the most capable and committed. At first there was a move to elect them by secret ballot. But as the majority do not know how to write, we vote by raised hands.

Q Are they elected according to their political line?

A On the farm we don't talk politics — because there are two parties. In the village we discuss politics, but not on the farm. Here the majority of the workers favour the Communist Party. Twenty-three voted for the CP, and 15 for the Socialist Party. But the workers' commission was elected on the basis of those who were the most capable.

Q So what do you discuss on the farm?

A Everything to do with work. There is a problem: some workers want to establish a big cooperative with all the collective farms around the village. It would be one big farm of 12,000 hectares....But the



others do not want that. They want a cooperative on every farm.

Those who want the big cooperative say that it would be more profitable. If instead of three tractors we had 20 or 30, we could finish the work in a single day. And

Q What are the pros and cons?

Protest Against Media Distortions

As the Portuguese workers and soldiers were preparing to resume broadcasts from the worker-controlled Radio Renascença in Lisbon, previously closed down by the Government, a different kind of 'press freedom' was manifesting itself in London. Two members of the BBC's Portuguese service were sacked for 'lapses of professional performance' — believed to refer to a reluctance to swallow the BBC's pro-imperialist line whole.

A picket of Bush House, the BBC centre for external broadcasting, is be-

ing organised on 20 November at 5.30 pm to protest against these sackings and draw attention to the consistent distortion of events in Portugal by the whole British press. This will be followed by an indoor rally with films and speakers. Open meetings of the ad-hoc coordinating committee building this campaign, which already has the support of the Magazine Branch of the National Union of Journalists, are being held every Friday, at 7pm, at St. Brides Institute, Bride Lane (off Fleet Street).

then we could leave, every year, one property fallow for grazing....Those who want things to stay as they are say that it will be easier if we go it alone. If we join the others, they fear it will become a mess. They claim that in the big cooperatives there are many people sitting in offices who do nothing.

Q And what do you reckon?

A I say that you can't work with just a spade. Those in the offices work just like the others. Before I was on a tractor. Now I do the accounts. I work harder than ever.

Q Where did the idea of the big cooperative come from?

A When we had the meeting which decided to occupy the various properties, members of the CP said that we should join them together. They said it would make a cooperative for five miles around the village. But the Socialists disagreed. We were going to discuss this plan on 18 August. The commissions from all the farms had convened the workers. But the Socialist workers said they

weren't going, and so the meeting couldn't take place.

Q Has anyone suggested dividing up the land between the workers?

A No. Nobody has proposed that. That would be like splitting up a big ship into little barges.

Q Has the standard of living of the workers improved since the occupation?

A There has not been a wage increase, nor a reduction in the number of working hours. On the contrary, now we have to mount a guard at night. We used to work eight hours, and we still do. It was here, at Chafariz, that the big struggle by agricultural workers for the eight-hour day began in 1962.

But there are no more supervisors. We are free. That's enough for us.

Q How does the workers commission function?

A Every morning the workers arrive half or a quarter of an hour early. The workers' commission proposes a plan of work for the day. The members of the workers' commission work like the rest. I am the only administrator. The workers commission meets every Saturday afternoon to assess progress. Apart from that it also meets whenever there is a problem. There aren't many of us, so it's easy enough.

Q Do you have difficulties in selling your produce?

A Yes, there have been some, with middlemen.

Q And financial problems?

A No, that's all right. We sold the straw, calves and pigs. With that we opened a bank account and paid the workers.

Q Can you draw on your bank account as you want — for example, to increase wages or to obtain new machinery?

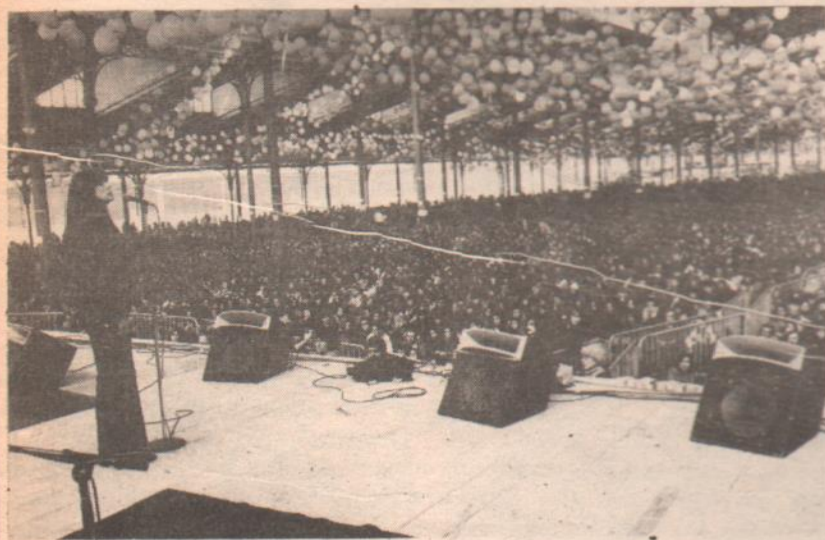
A We can buy machinery, but not increase wages. Wage rates are laid down by the unions. It is not up to each farm assembly to decide. Anyway, the money we put into the bank can be used by the State to help other farms which have problems. For the moment, what matters is to develop the agrarian reform — to transform every farm into a cooperative. After that we will see.

Q Aren't you afraid that the boss will come back? Do militias exist to defend the collective farms against reactionaries?

A There are no militias, but here everybody has a gun...

THE DAILY ROUGE

- A GIANT STEP



Mass rally of 25,000 to salute the daily Rouge and in solidarity with the Portuguese and Spanish revolutions.

Rouge, at present the weekly paper of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (the French section of the Fourth International), will go daily in the New Year. Last weekend in Paris, 60,000 militants attended the giant 'Fete Rouge'. They came from all over Europe and even further afield, as well as from France, to support the biggest and most successful weekend of political debate, display of political work and entertainment ever mounted by a far left organisation in France.

ROUGE

Financially the festival was a huge success. For the last few months the LCR has been running a Fund Drive to raise £200,000 to launch the daily. Most of the money already raised was sunk into mounting the 'Fete Rouge'.

By Saturday evening, less than one third of the way through the programme of the weekend, this cash had been recouped. By the end of the weekend, over £150,000 had been gained. Already there is enough to buy the complete press and production facilities for the daily.

ROUGE

But the festival was more than a moneyspinner. It was a giant celebration of another huge step along the road to the establishment of Trotskyism as a powerful current in the international workers' movement.

A daily Rouge will not only be proof of the growth and influence of the Fourth International in France itself, particularly since 1968. A Trotskyist daily in France

would be impossible if it did not draw on the experience and work of the International all over the world.

The comrades of the LCR were well aware of this. The most striking feature of the weekend was its internationalism. Almost every sig-



Ernest Mandel addresses mass rally at the Fete. On his right, soldiers from the SUV in Portugal, who later spoke to the gathering of 25,000.

nificant revolutionary organisation in Europe, inside and out of the Fourth International, was represented - including the Socialist Workers' Party (prevented by reactionary legislation from affiliating to the International) from the United States, and comrades from India, Sri Lanka and Africa - alongside stands from all regions and aspects of the work of the LCR itself.

ROUGE

Each section of the vaste Halle des Villettes was given over to clusters of stands marking a political theme. The sections of the Interna-

tional mounted displays of their work, sold literature and discussed constantly with the thousands of militants confronted with the opportunity of experiencing the reality of the Fourth International's work as a whole for the first time.

ROUGE

Other areas were given over to the international women's movement, the Red Mole factory groups of the LCR, the branches of the LCR throughout France, the international left press, a children's area, five separate restaurants, and areas for the main debates of the weekend.

Like the display stands, the debates excluded no significant tendency on the revolutionary left. The debate on perspectives in Portugal notably included representatives from almost all the far left groups there, including the LCI (Portuguese sympathising section of the FI).

ROUGE

The high point of the weekend was a mass rally of over 25,000 militants. Ernest Mandel, from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, spoke of the significance of the festival and the progress towards a daily Rouge.



Different LCR branches brought their own regional foods and wines to feed the 60,000 militants at the Fete. The comrades from the South of France even brought a giant road tanker full of wine.

'The revolution beginning in Portugal and about to begin in Spain will act as the greatest threat to the ruling classes of Europe since the defeat of the workers' movement at the hands of fascism in the 1930s', he told his audience. The revolution is now happening on our own doorstep.

ROUGE

'Every step to take the tasks and perspectives of the FI deeper into the workers' movement of every country is a step in real solidarity, real concrete assistance to the struggle today in the Iberian peninsula. The daily Rouge can help to turn the hammer blows at present being prepared against capitalism in Spain and Portugal into the explosions which will break out tomorrow throughout capitalist Europe.'

Following Mandel's speech, Portuguese soldiers from the artil-

had been one of the most popular of the whole festival) addressed the meeting and were joined by a militant from the French Air Force.

The French bourgeoisie may

well shiver at the prospect of a daily Rouge. Long live Rouge! Long live the Fourth International!

Sam Boyd



Singers, entertainers and rock groups played all weekend to massive audiences.

TO GIVE IS A MILITANT ACT

£15,000

Why we need a 16-page RED WEEKLY

In a situation marked by the rise of workers' and revolutionary struggles since 1968 - victory of the Indochinese revolution, rise of the revolution in Portugal, intensification of struggles against the dictatorship in Spain, development of workers' struggles in Italy, France and Britain - a newspaper capable of offering up-to-date reports and analysis of these struggles, of developing militant solidarity, and of stimulating debate inside the workers' movement becomes an urgent necessity in Britain today.

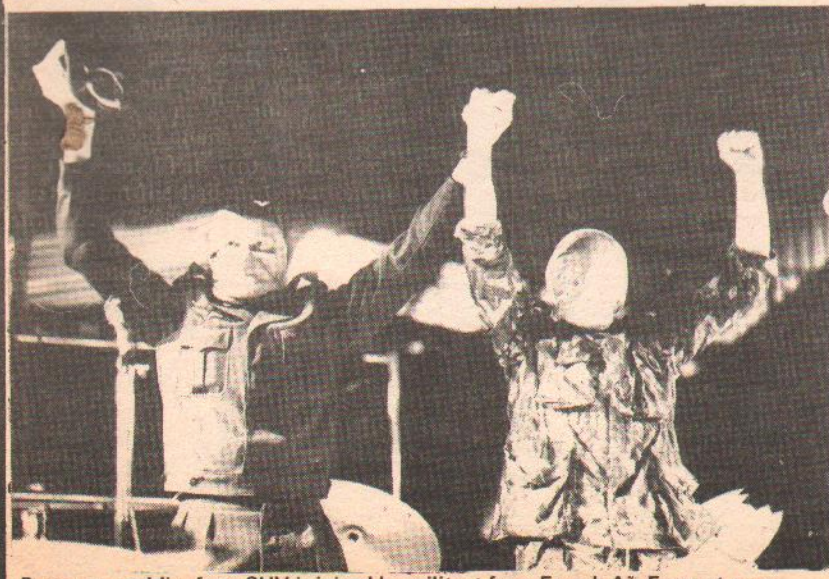
To go from a 12-page paper to a 16-page paper will mean an increase not only in personnel, but also in equipment and resources. We are not afraid to say that Red Weekly is the best newspaper on the left in Britain today; nor are we afraid to say that it could be enormously improved - both technically and politically. To improve the paper costs money. If you support our paper and its political ideas - then support it financially. We need a minimum of £5,000 to improve the resources of the paper.

The money is now beginning to come in, if rather slowly. A Birmingham teacher has sent £50, and last week a supporter walked into our offices to hand over £30. The hard work of comrades on the IMG stall at the Rouge festival raised a further £700 towards our £15,000 target.

By the end of October we need to raise £1,500 of this sum. Rush your money (postal orders and cheques made out to 'The Week!') to Jo-Ann, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

The response of some of the IMG branches to the Fund Drive has been very good. Scotland are organising a big social/rally, sending a letter to all their sympathisers, and are approaching individuals for large donations. Manchester and Brighton are both organising big public meetings and socials as well as producing posters to sell. Now let's hear what the rest of you are planning.

A final point. Because we live in a capitalist society, and capitalism believes in 'keeping money in the family', people inherit money every so often. Of course, only a very few people will be in such a position, but the IMG is hoping that at least ten people will be able to donate £250 each. This would really give a big



Portuguese soldier from SUV is joined by militant from French Air Force at mass

On Saturday 18 October, 280 workers occupied the US-owned Personna razor blade factory in Glasgow after three and a half weeks on strike against 40 redundancies. These workers have joined the 360 militants at Balfour Darwin, Sheffield — on strike and in occupation for the last eight weeks — in the front line of the fight for jobs.

It will be in solidarity with these workers — and others on strike and occupying against redundancies — that the International Marxist Group will be marching on the giant jobs lobby planned for 26 November. It is these workers, who are showing in practice how to fight for jobs, who should be heading the demonstration and the platform at the lobby.

Meanwhile support for the lobby is snowballing. With last week's unemployment figures showing one in twenty adults registered as wholly unemployed, trades councils in East Anglia, Hampshire, Nottingham and Wigan have added their support to the call for the lobby. Seven hundred stewards at a conference organised by the Clyde district of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, Glasgow Trades Council and the UCS Co-ordinating Committee voted to support the lobby. UCS stewards and Scottish miners will be paying the cost of two trains down from Glasgow. The general purposes committee of the 70,000 strong London district of NALGO is recommending that the district committee support the lobby.

ON THE MARCH

Elsewhere workers have been on the march for jobs. Last Wednesday 2,000 workers at Plessey's Sunderland plant downed tools and marched through the city in protest against 400 redundancies. In London, 800 chanting workers from the British Leyland AEC Southall plant marched against sackings. While hundreds of London buses are lying idle for lack of parts and repairs, many AEC workers are threatened with layoffs.

More building workers in London have also decided to strike on 26 November, joining the 2,000 who voted to come out last week. After returning from a three week strike over pay on 20 October, building workers on the Sindell's site in Lambeth voted to come out. In Camden, workers in the direct labour force will be striking and marching to Euston station at 1.30pm to greet demonstrators arriving from the provinces for the lobby.

SERVILITY

But despite this massive and continuing response, the main forces behind the demonstration — sections of the Labour left and the Communist Party — have failed to put the TUC General Council in its place for trying to sabotage the lobby with its circular telling trades councils not to support it. It was with abject servility towards the traitors of the TUC that the *Morning Star* of 26 October reported a weekend meeting of the North-West regional council of the TUC, which initiated the lobby: 'Several delegates pointed out that arrangements had progressed too far for any reversal of the decision, with coaches and trains booked and many delegates having already been elected.'

Presumably the *Morning Star* would have supported the cancellation of the lobby if the TUC General Council had intervened against it earlier. Why doesn't the *Star* demand that its old TUC 'left' friends, Jones and Scanlon, publicly announce their support for the lobby? 'There was some resentment over the suggestion by the TUC that the lobby would be anti-Labour Government in character and against TUC policy', the report continues. Well comrades, if the lobby isn't against the policies and leadership of the Labour Government, supported by the TUC — which has no intention of waging a fight against unemployment — then the mobilisation for 26 November will serve no purpose whatsoever.

'Delegates pointed out that the demands to be put to the

Government included the need for selective import controls and for an investment programme, both in line with TUC policy', says the *Star*. Unfortunately, of all the demands put forward by the TUC to fight unemployment, that of selective import controls is both the most useless and the most dangerous, as we explain in detail below.

Supporters of the IMG on the lobby on 26 November will be fighting against the idea that unemployment can be fought in collaboration with the bosses and the Wilson/Healey clique. The 100,000 rubber workers in Britain, France and Italy who struck and protested last Wednesday against redundancies caused by the policies of the multi-national firms — and also expressed their solidarity with rubber workers in Spain — are showing the way forward to an international working class fight against unemployment.

PROGRAMME

Red Weekly campaigns against the policies of the Wilson Government and for a real fight for measures which are capable of guaranteeing the right to work:

- Immediate reduction of the basic work week to 35 hours with no loss of pay;
- No to redundancies — work-sharing with no loss of pay — nationalise without compensation all firms declaring redundancies, and place them under workers control with all jobs guaranteed;
- Stop the cuts in public spending — for a major programme of socially useful public works and the nationalisation of major construction firms;
- Stop employers' sabotage of jobs — open the books and prepare a workers' plan for production that defends jobs;
- Smash the £6 limit;
- Full pay for the unemployed.

Mick Gosling

IMPORT CONTROLS REACTIONARY AND USELESS

Of all the reformist schemes put forward for dealing with the economic crisis, there is no doubt that the call for selective import controls has won the greatest support. The TUC, the Tribune left, the Communist Party, and many rank and file trade union bodies are now committed to this policy. Labour Party secretary Ron Hayward last week claimed that such controls would save at least 300,000 jobs.

It is easy to see why the idea of import controls is gaining support inside the trade union bureaucracy. Rather than involving a fight against the employers, as struggles against the £6 limit or for more nationalisation would mean, import controls appear to offer the possibility of an alliance with the bosses. In the textile trade, one of the industries worst hit by unemployment, bosses and unions have campaigned together for import restrictions. All wrapped up in nationalist rhetoric and waving union jacks, the bureaucrats can forget nasty words such as 'class' and 'struggle' in favour of the so called 'national interest'.

The reason why many trade unionists support import controls, is, however, not so simple. Firstly, any socialist government would have to take measures to control foreign trade. Secondly, and most importantly, it is not just a question of nationalist rhetoric — although unfortunately that plays a role; rather, it appears that import controls would in the short term

save jobs — and if they work in the short term, then why not in the long term?

After all, what could seem simpler than the argument that if Japanese motorbikes or Pakistan textiles are not imported, then British ones will be bought — creating jobs for British workers? It is certainly necessary for revolutionary socialists to show the whole reactionary basis of this argument, which suggests that British workers should save their jobs at the expense of workers overseas; but in fact even British workers would not gain from such a policy — internationalism on this issue, as on everything else, is not merely a moral gesture but is in the material interests of the working class.

The first effect of import controls would be a massive boost to inflation. The reason why goods are imported is simply because they are more competitive — cheaper — than the same goods produced in Britain. Eliminating imports eliminates the cheaper goods and for-

ces up prices. So if there were a temporary increase in British production, creating more jobs, it would be paid for entirely by consumers — which is only another word for the working class. Import controls are just another capitalist method of making workers pay for the crisis — in this case by putting up prices and thus pushing down real wages.

The increase in prices also has another effect — and one which rapidly cancels out any jobs 'saved' through import controls. Increasing prices, in a situation where wages are held down, simply mean that the working class is able to buy less. If workers are forced to pay more for buying British motorbikes instead of Japanese ones, and clothes made with British textiles instead of Pakistan ones, then this means that they will have less money to buy food or transport or televisions or any other goods, and workers will be laid off in these industries instead.

JOB NOT SAVED

Jobs 'saved' in one industry are lost in another — which is another reason why the trade union bureaucrats favour import controls. They would much rather have motorbike workers save their jobs at the expense of food workers, or textile workers at the expense of electronics workers, than have them all saving their jobs at the expense of the employers! Import controls therefore do not directly 'save' jobs at all — at 'best' they merely determine that workers in one industry rather than another lose their jobs.

The sophisticated argument for import controls, beyond the simple and completely false one that they directly save jobs, is that they create conditions in which the Government can 'reflate' the economy — that is, pump in huge quantities of money which increase demand for goods and therefore increase production, investment and employment. It is argued that without import controls such reflation is impossible, as it would suck in huge quantities of imports and make

the balance of payments collapse. With import controls, however, the crisis of the balance of payments would be avoided, reflation could be carried out, and unemployment would be reduced. Import controls, it is argued, would therefore indirectly save jobs. This argument, however, is just as full of holes as the one about import controls directly saving jobs.

UNEMPLOYMENT

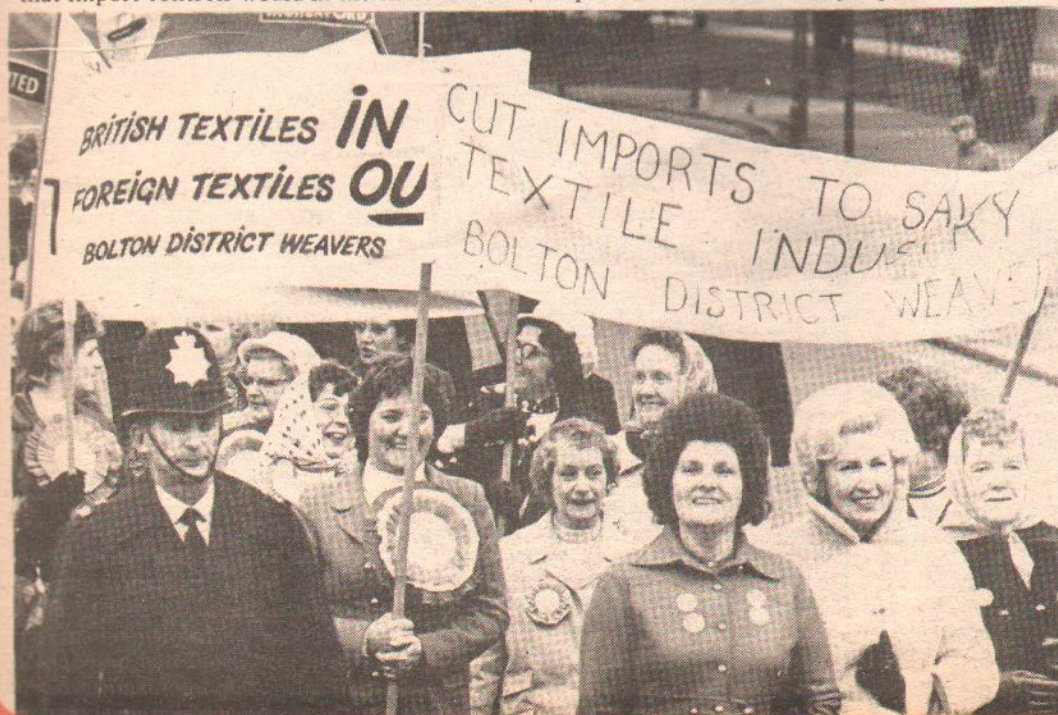
Firstly, what is reflation of the economy anyway? It is simply stoking up the rate of inflation still further in order to cut unemployment a bit. Not merely is this a policy which is in no way adequate to the needs of the working class — a 25 per cent rate of inflation is bad enough without cranking it up even further — but raging inflation leads anyway to an economic collapse and mass unemployment.

Secondly, serious reflation of the British economy today is impossible anyway. The crisis of capitalist profits, and financing of industry, is now so great that virtually no amount of pumping money into the economy could bring about an increase in investment and therefore a serious expansion in production and employment.

Thirdly, the 'reflation' argument for import controls totally leaves out of account the question of retaliation by other capitalist states. If 'Britain' is going to keep out Japanese goods, then why won't they return the compliment and exclude British goods?

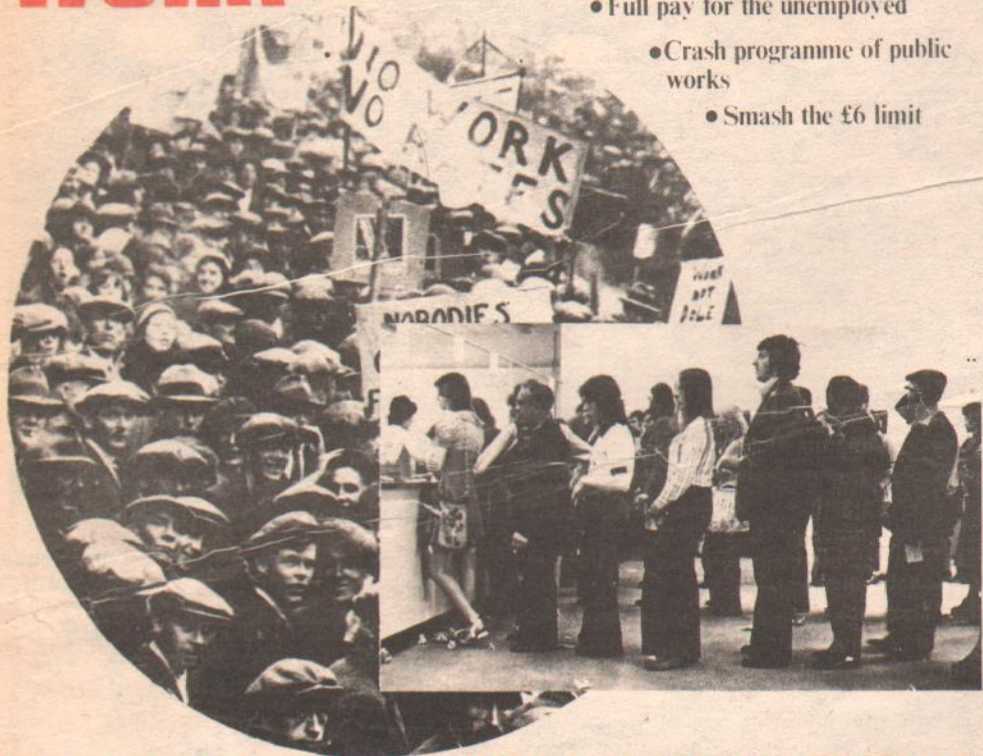
FALSE ARGUMENTS

It is argued by the supporters of import controls that this would not occur. They point to the fact that no retaliation has taken place against small controls, such as that on Italian wine imposed by France, and that the last Labour Government got away with imposing a 15 per cent import surcharge.



INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP SAYS DEFEND THE RIGHT TO WORK

- 35 HOUR WEEK - NO LOSS OF PAY
- Nationalise all firms creating redundancies
- Full pay for the unemployed
- Crash programme of public works
- Smash the £6 limit



AGAINST THE WILSON GOVERNMENT

ALL OUT NOV. 26

These arguments are quite false. It is ridiculous to compare the attitude of other capitalist countries to restrictions on Italian wine to their views on items such as steel, cars, textiles and other major industries. Already pressures are mounting for import controls in virtually every other major country - in the United States alone, for example, measures are currently being proposed for import restrictions on steel, cars, aircraft, electronics and other industries which play a major role in the British economy.

NEAR THING

Even the last Labour Government only just avoided retaliation. Wilson recalls in his memoirs how: 'On the night of Thursday 19 November, I had an emergency, almost panic, call from Patrick Gordon Walker in Geneva. He needed my clearance for a firm assurance that the 15 per cent import surcharge would be reduced in a matter of months. Otherwise the (trade) discussions would break down and country after country would be likely to retaliate against our trade.' Any serious move towards import controls would be simply the prelude to a protection-

ist trade war - and the loss of markets and jobs which would result from the inevitable international deflation would be many times greater than the effects of any reflation of the economy behind import barriers.

Import controls are not only utterly useless in saving jobs, but they are a most dangerous threat to the working class struggle. The demand for import controls is a reactionary campaign which diverts the working class away from the struggle against the real enemy, which confronts it: the capitalist class and its State. When workers occupying Imperial Typewriters spent their time discussing how to obtain import controls, instead of how to popularise and spread their struggle, when the T&GWU at Norton Villiers Triumph discusses how to carry out a joint campaign with the owners to restrict the import of Japanese motorbikes, then those workers are being persuaded to collaborate with the very people who are putting them out of work. The employers can sit back, laugh, and rake in the rewards.

Instead of fighting for socialist alternatives and taking up the struggle for a planned economy, the 'left' propose protective measures

The strike and occupation by 360 workers in the tools packing department of the private Sheffield steel firm of Balfour Darwin is entering its eighth week. And at last the District Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers is getting off its backside to develop some solidarity action with the workers who are occupying against 28 redundancies - the second batch this year.

Following a recent Sheffield meeting of all AUEW stewards a rally was called for 24 October outside Balfour Darwin. But the level of mobilisation was pathetic. Many factories didn't know about the rally; one steward from Laycock's engineering plant

Balfour Darwin Occupation: Eight Weeks and Going Strong!

told *Red Weekly* that he had only found out about it the day before through the local paper! No more than 100 people turned up.

The rally was addressed by Balfour Darwin convenor Derek Simpson, AUEW district president Albert Knight, and Tony Hope, convenor of BSC River Don steel works. All the speakers blamed the Wilson Government for the present level of unemployment. Furthermore, they pointed out that it is the betrayals of the Wilson leadership which have disorientated the working class and created a situation where we have yet to see the kind of mass fight back against unemployment which took place under the Tories.

Tony Hope told *Red Weekly* afterwards that the Balfour Darwin struggle 'could provide the focus for a fight against unemploy-

ment throughout the Sheffield labour movement.... The women are as efficient and as adamant as the men about the occupation, which is pretty solid and can be built on.'

ment throughout the Sheffield labour movement.... The women are as efficient and as adamant as the men about the occupation, which is pretty solid and can be built on.'

The strike committee has now called for a one-day stoppage on 5 November in all the Sheffield plants of the Edgar Allan group. Edgar Allan took over Balfour Darwin seven months ago, and its aim seems to be to transfer engineering operations to its Manchester works. But instead of calling for the outright nationalisation of the special steels industry to protect jobs - a wave of redundancies is sweeping the private steels sector in Sheffield at the present time - the stewards are only calling for talks with management around future investment.

DAY OF ACTION

The International Marxist Group in Sheffield is campaigning for 5 November to be turned into a real day of action against unemployment, through a speaking and leafletting campaign round the factories culminating in a giant jobs rally in the city centre. At the same time the call by Tony Hope for a demonstration in Sheffield against unemployment must be taken up. The AUEW is calling another special shop stewards meeting to discuss the demo and how to take the fight against unemployment forward, but so far no date has been set for this.

The date must be set now, and mass leafletting and speaking tours of all the local engineering factories arranged so that the demo can be built and all-out strike action launched on 26 November - the day of the big jobs lobby in London. The Trades Council has voted to support the lobby, but as yet it has done nothing except lay on coaches. A massive contingent of striking Sheffield workers marching in solidarity with the Balfour Darwin occupation on 26 November would be an important step towards organising the fight for jobs.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

The real way to save jobs lies not in helping the bosses but in fighting them. A socialist government would take control by imposing not merely selective import controls but a total monopoly of foreign trade - not as a substitute for measures to attack the British capitalists, but as part of the campaign to expropriate them. The struggle for jobs and the struggle for socialism has to do with the fight for the shorter working week, for work-sharing with no loss of pay, for opening the books, for nationalisation of all firms creating redundancy, for taking over the capitalist monopolies which dominate the economy. It has nothing to do with the reactionary and diversionary campaign for import controls.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)



SMASH THIS ACT!

in the first place to prove responsibility for the bombings. The core of the prosecution's evidence in all four cases was based on 'confessions' which — according to the defendants, and tacitly admitted by the judge in his summary to the jury — were extracted through police torture and threats against the lives of the defendants' families or friends.

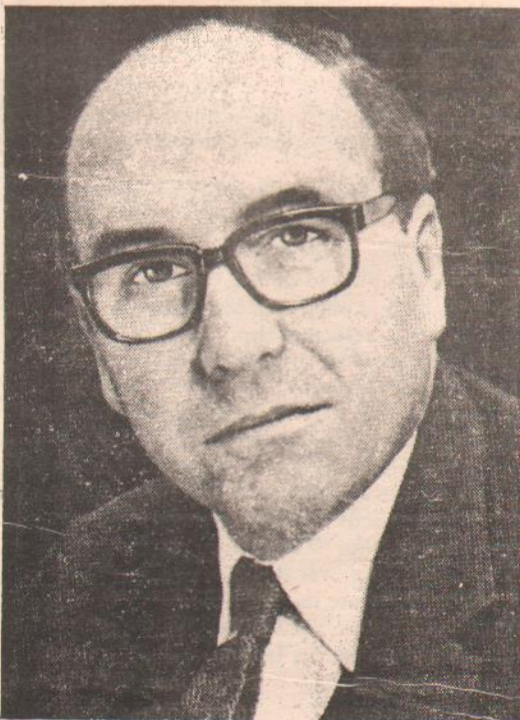
In other case studies where Irish people have been arrested under the Act, documented by the National Council for Civil Liberties, the same police methods have been recorded. This shows the real danger of the 7-day period of detention without charge, trial or access to a lawyer. It is a licence to the police to arrest, torture and imprison people for life on the flimsiest of evidence.

Furthermore, it seems clear that the prosecution of the four defendants at Guildford was being used as a show-trial for strengthening the anti-Irish witch-hunt in general, and for maintaining the PTA in particular.

Also, an apparent pattern has emerged showing timely bombings in Britain either before, during or immediately after the trials. These create a climate in which victims are tried, found guilty and sentenced before the prosecution has said a word. The car bombing which killed Prof. Fairley on the day after the end of the Guildford trial, for instance, clearly made the verdict and sentencing more palatable.

ANTI-IRISH HYSTERIA

In this situation, critical examination of evidence and the use of police terror are drowned in a sea of anti-Irish reaction which can only strengthen the case for maintaining the PTA — possibly as permanent legislation, and with the addition of more repressive provisions. A pamphlet on Ireland distributed at the Tory Party conference, for example, called for the introduction of identity cards for



Roy Jenkins — his Prevention of Terrorism Act has been a green light for repression.

all Irish people living in Britain. It also proposed that every Irish person should be forced to register at a local police station, and that landlords in particular should be forced by law to notify the police of any Irish tenants.

These proposals were not adopted by the conference, but they show the dangers inherent in the existing Act and the trials which are stage-managed under it.

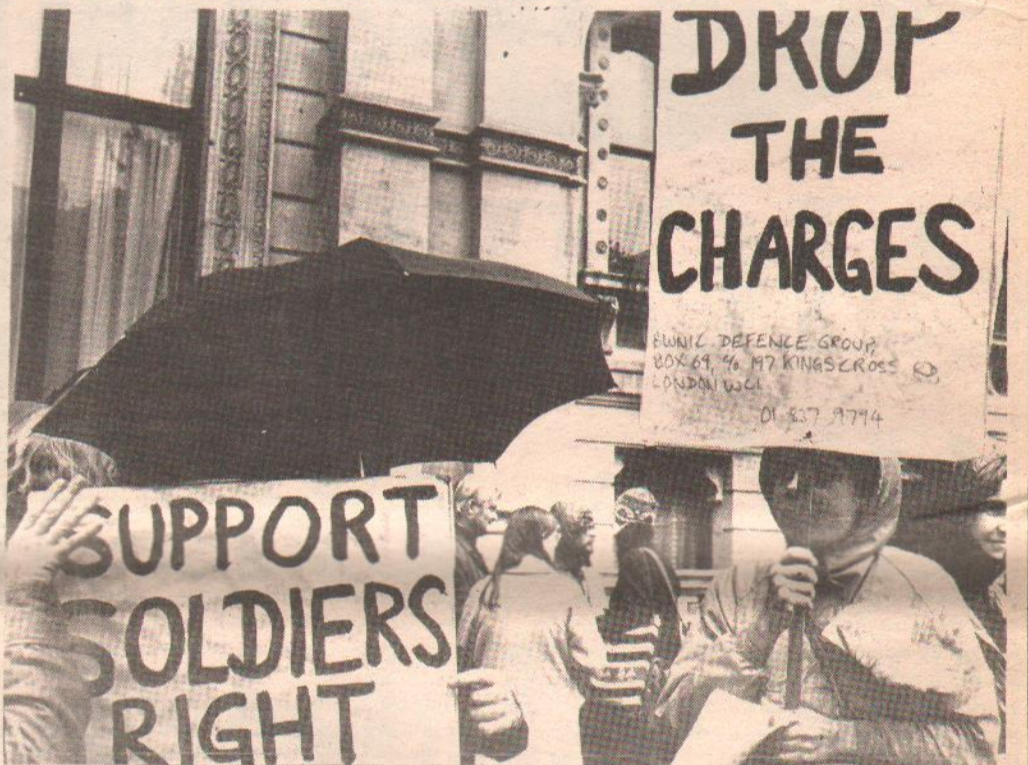
The case of Pat Arrowsmith also demonstrated that the Labour Government will not stop at the Irish community — under this Act anyone who speaks the truth on Ireland is fair game for the imperialist witch-hunt.

CONSPIRACY

The PTA is probably the most serious legalised violation of democratic rights in this country today. However, it has also been supplemented with the use of conspiracy laws to make it easier for Westminster to trample on any opposition to its policy in Ireland. Over the past two months 22 supporters of the BWNIC campaign have been indicted for conspiracy, but it is not clear what



Two aspects of Labour's witch-hunt: (above) Pat Arrowsmith speaking at an anti-fascist rally while on the run from a prison sentence for leafleting soldiers; (below) picket in support of the BWNIC 14



to Disaffection Act. Decoded, this means that they distributed a leaflet to British soldiers giving them information on what they can do if they are dissatisfied with their role in Ireland.

The arrest of the BWNIC supporters was not only an attack on their rights, it was also an attack on the rights of soldiers and their relatives to discuss and organise on this issue. As far as the Labour leaders are concerned, the soldiers and their relatives have no rights. They should simply act like robots who blindly follow the orders of the army brass and the bureaucrats at Westminster.

However, the soldiers are the ones who have to do the fighting, who have to sacrifice their lives or lose their limbs. Why shouldn't they have the right to ask why? Why should they not have the right to say yes or no, to support or oppose the orders given to them?

SIMPLE ANSWER

The answer is simple. Both Wilson and Rees are fully conscious that if the truth is told and discussed by soldiers and their relatives, there is every possibility that the soldiers would choose to leave Ireland. This has already happened in many countries throughout the world such as Portugal, France and the USA where soldiers have begun to stand up for their rights and have refused to remain as an unthinking instrument of repression for society's exploiters.

It is these very same rights which the Labour bureaucrats are seeking to deny to the majority of British people — and for the same reason. They want us to become like the soldiers, unthinking robots who blindly follow their dictates. For this reason they have conspired to deny the right of free speech to the BWNIC and to the Troops Out Movement, who are unable to use Trafalgar Square for Irish demonstrations. This is why they have introduced the PTA — to intimidate, harass, and silence opposition to their policies. Fundamentally, they are scared that the British working class will find out the truth about Ireland.

out about Ireland, that they are not content to rely solely on repression. Both the Labour and Tory parties are even afraid to have a discussion in their own ranks about Ireland. The first sign of this was in the October General Election when Ireland figured nowhere in either of their election manifestos. The Labour Party then banned their own youth organisation from having a conference on Ireland. Finally, at their annual conferences at Blackpool, both the Tory and Labour leaders deliberately squashed any motions coming to the conference floor which even mentioned Ireland.

These facts establish that there does exist a real and significant conspiracy — a conspiracy of silence to prevent the slightest protest against British rule in Ireland. The conspirators are not the BWNIC 22, the Troops Out Movement or Pat Arrowsmith, all of whom publicly state their aims and policies. They are the Labour bureaucrats and their imperialist backers, who try to place a wall of silence around Ireland and who use vicious legislation against anyone who tries to break through that wall.

FIGHT RENEWAL!

The PTA is due to be renewed at the end of November, and it is already being rumoured that it will become permanent legislation. If this is carried through it would make it that much harder to repeal the Act, since there would be no provision for it to be reviewed. This would represent a major setback for the 'Troops Out' movement and a serious inroad into democratic rights as a whole.

It is necessary for all organisations concerned with civil and democratic liberties in Britain to put aside their differences on other questions in building a united campaign for the immediate and unconditional repeal of this Act. The lobby of Parliament on 4 November called by the Connolly Association and the NCCL can be a first step in this process.

Brian Lyons

The arrest of Pat Arrowsmith on 18 October under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) highlights the increased assault by the Labour Government on the right to free speech on Ireland. The only 'crime' committed by Pat was the distribution of a political leaflet to civilians, which specifically dissociated itself from a bombing campaign of any type. Yet the PTA is purportedly aimed solely at those involved in the 'commission, preparation and instigation of terrorism'.

The original pretext for the introduction of the PTA in November 1974 was the unsubstantiated claim that the Provisional IRA were responsible for the wave of explosions which culminated in the Guildford and Birmingham pub bombings. But the Government had been considering legislation of this sort at least 18 months earlier. All the evidence which has accumulated over recent months reveals the true purpose of the Act as an instrument for terrorising the Irish community and anyone who dares to oppose British military rule in Ireland.

The PTA has been in operation for almost a year now. As of 13 October, 946 people had been detained under the Act without warrant, charge or trial. Nearly 70 people have been served with 'exclusion orders' deporting them from Britain. All those arrested have had their fingerprints taken, and virtually all have been photographed — despite the fact that they have mostly been released later without any charges being preferred against them.

This shows that the police have no evidence in the first place, and that the waves of searches and arrests are being used primarily as a means of terrorising the Irish community. The police are also using the Act to amass a file of confidential information, photographs and fingerprints for future police operations — information which they would otherwise be unable to extract.

MASSIVE RAIDS

Once the PTA became law the police immediately began sweeping raids on the Irish community right across Britain. Scores of innocent Irish men and women were arrested and 'interrogated' allegedly in connection with bombings such as those in Guildford and Birmingham.

In the case of the Guildford bombings the police first arrested only ten people under the Act, but those detained were then forced to give names and addresses of their friends and relatives. The only possible connection with the bombings was that they were Irish. Eventually, over 50 Irish people were arrested under the Act in connection with Guildford before the four current victims — Armstrong, Conlon, Hill and Richardson — were pinned with murder and conspiracy charges and put on trial for the Guildford bombings.

The course of the trial itself revealed several aspects of the Act in practice. Apart from the innocence of the defendants themselves, it became clear that the police had no evidence

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

The Constitutional Convention, once heralded as a means of promoting reconciliation and agreement between Protestants and Catholics in the North of Ireland, would like to be used by the Loyalists as the funeral of 'power sharing and the Irish dimension'. The Loyalists are in fact intent on holding the funeral service for the Convention in the Convention Chamber on 7 November.

That is the date when the Convention will adopt its final report, which will then be submitted to Westminster. From the beginning it was clear that the Loyalists had no other objective but to secure the Convention's stamp of approval for restoring the Protestant ascendancy in government; and this is the plan they will present to the British Parliament as the Convention's final report. The only mention power-sharing or an Irish dimension gets in the report is by way of a clear statement of total rejection.

Despite the recent dispute between Craig and Paisley there can be no doubt that the UUUC proposals have the support of sections of the Protestant working class. Craig and his supporters, have not been able to win support amongst the Loyalists in the Convention for even a watered down version of their proposals — for despite his 'discovery' by the capitalist press as some sort of moderate Craig only differs on how to recreate the ascendancy, not on whether this should be done. But the Loyalists are in a frenzy. A number of factions in the Loyalist camp have in turn denounced Craig fiercely — the latest amongst them being the UWC, which organised last years Loyalist stoppage.

So the Loyalist hardliners have prevailed both in their own camp and in the Convention. This can come as no surprise to anyone, not even the British Government — except, that is, for the Social Democratic & Labour Party, which had staked its political life on the success of the Convention. For the SDLP the Convention must now seem to have been a totally profitless venture. Fitt and his colleagues have always insisted that Britain would not allow power to return into Loyalist hands alone, they always believed they would be given a piece of the action, a few ministerial jobs for the boys. Such hopes are now being shattered.

More than that, the SDLP now finds itself in almost its weakest position ever as far as the nationalist pop-

ulation is concerned. Their participation in the Convention, which has allowed the Loyalists to attempt to cover a take-over with a democratic mask, has produced a wide scepticism amongst the anti-Unionists that the SDLP is capable of securing even the customary dog's crumbs from the master's table. The people in the ghettos have witnessed an intensification of Loyalist assassinations and British Army harassment; meanwhile in the Convention chamber Fitt, Devlin and Co. exchange pleasantries with the political heavyweights of the Loyalist camp who condone such actions.

INDICTMENT

The final indictment of the SDLP came when the UUUC revealed that the SDLP was willing to take the chair of a security committee; that is, the SDLP was not — as in the past — simply limiting itself to finding excuses for the repression of the Catholics, it was now prepared to help plan this repression. Some members of the SDLP are taking this policy to its logical conclusion, and are now appealing for support for the infamous Royal Ulster Constabulary.

The plight of the SDLP and the failure of the Convention highlight once more the fact that British imperialism cannot impose any stability on the Six Counties based on a compromise between Loyalism and the Catholic population, except over the broken bones of the minority.

Those who think that Britain is simply going to withdraw, like the Provisional leadership, are displaying an ignorance of the lessons of the last seven years' struggle. Can they really believe that after such a long campaign to maintain its presence, Britain will simply abandon its hold on the North? Instead of these day dreams initiatives should be being taken to prepare the minority for the development of Loyalist strength and for the inevitable renewed onslaught by the troops on the minority. The refusal of the Provisional leadership and that of the Official Republican Movement to unite in common protest with other anti-imperialist organisations is the major obstacle to organising the necessary resistance to the Loyalist offensive. To be in such a position is a terrible responsibility.

large percentage or flat rate increases than they could from a sliding scale. Instead, borrowing from the repertoire of the bureaucracy, they reasoned that such a demand was 'unrealistic' and would not be supported by the rank and file.

Refusal

Why this change in argument? The truth of the matter is that it is simple 'militant' demands which have been exposed as unrealistic by the rising rate of inflation. In the past anyone supporting a two figure claim might have staked their claim as a 'militant'. But inflation had turned this year's 25 per cent settlement into a defeat. Thus both the bureaucracy — who betrayed the rank and file in June in the name of Wilson's economic policy — and the IS — who base their demands on the mood of that defeat instead of on the objective interests of the membership — fall back onto arguments about 'realism' and the unwillingness of the membership to fight.

The conference thus ended up with a pay policy which offers no solution. While opposing the £6 limit, the conference called only for 'realistic pay claims... outside the Government's limit'. It refused to name any figure — although £15 was argued against as also being 'unrealistic' — and will not fight for an interim claim, though inflation has already taken £3 in real terms off the average local government wage since the summer settlement.

Unrealistic

The refusal of IS to learn the lessons of the pay claim defeat — among them the need for a national political strategy by the left in the union — is already holding back the NAG from a decisive campaign on social expenditure cuts. So far there have been some successful local actions against the non-filling of vacant posts, such as in Tower Hamlets. But there is a crying need to build nationwide action out of these local struggles.

Customary

As has become customary, the IS argued against a sliding scale. But this time they did not use their time-worn 'militant' motivation of past debates — that workers could do better out of

NALGO MILITANTS REJECT FIGHTING POLICY

Members of the National and Local Government Officers Association, like other workers, are today facing a worsening situation — with continuing inflation, social spending cuts, the non-filling of vacant posts and redundancy threats. The 1975 local government pay claim was defeated by the propaganda of the Labour leaders coupled with the manoeuvrings of the NALGO bureaucracy, aided by the left's failure to organise any national campaign within the membership for the claim.

Only by campaigning for a joint struggle by NALGO members with other workers to defeat the Wilson leadership and its policies can the problems facing public service workers be tackled. Policies for such a campaign were contained in many of the resolutions put forward to the NALGO Action Group conference on 18/19 October, as well as in the printed election manifesto of IMG candidates for the NAG Steering Committee — the only candidates who bothered to present a manifesto. But the conference, dominated by the International Socialists, rejected these policies and instead voted for militant variations of the policies of the bureaucracy.

This rejection was very clear in the debate around pay and inflation. A number of militants, including IMG



An IMG call for a national demonstration by NALGO with other unions against cuts, redundancies and unfilled jobs was amended away and counterposed to local action and the building of shop stewards committees. But the potential of such grassroots activity will be frittered away unless it is centralised through working class action on a national scale against the Wilson leadership, which is orchestrating the present attacks and remains free to continue the cuts as long as local struggles, albeit successful ones, remain isolated.

The conference's IS majority demonstrated its forlorn refusal to go beyond a simple perspective of local trade unionism when it referred back to the Steering Committee an IMG motion calling for workers to fight for the right to observe and scrutinise all management papers and activity in local government, as a first step towards a veto of unacceptable decisions of management and the running of services in the interests of the working class.

It also refused to wage a campaign in the union for NALGO affiliation to the Labour Party in order to fight the Wilson leadership in every possible way.

Instead the IS, for the first time, allowed a motion supporting the principle of affiliation while declaring it to be 'not one of high priority'.

Unpleasant

Finally an unpleasant and sectarian stance was adopted by the conference against the rest of the left in the union when it empty proclaimed: 'Only the NALGO Action Group, committed to mobilising the rank and file, is consistently fighting for a militant programme in NALGO.' This sectarianism displayed itself in open foolishness when the only Communist Party candidate for the NAG Steering Committee, a member of NALGO's National Executive, was displaced in the election by unknown IS supporters.

As the IMG manifesto said: 'We think a programme with these policies does not offer a socialist solution and we will vote against it.' IMG NALGO members decided however not to abstain from being in NALGO Action Group to initiate activities on which there is agreement, while continuing to argue in NAG and NALGO for all our policies.

—WHAT'S ON—

LONDON SOCIALIST FORUM: 'The Spanish Civil War—its lessons for today'. Tues 4 Nov, 7.30pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (Holborn tube).

CELEBRATE FRANCO'S DEATH with two bands, disco, cheap booze, and Piers Corbyn—all at the Bank, Tolmers Sq, London (Warren St/Euston Sq tubes) on Saturday 1 November, starting 7.30pm. All proceeds to IMG £15,000 Fund Drive. Entrance 50p.

ACCOMMODATION in London urgently needed by IMG full-timer. Phone Robin, 278 9526.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUP. Scottish Regional Day School: Saturday 8 Nov in Glasgow—Partick Burgh Hall, 11am—5pm. Sessions on inflation, the crisis and the post-war boom, and the tasks and methods of revolutionaries.

CRITIQUE SEMINAR: A Kurdish militant will speak on 'Kurdistan and Soviet Foreign Policy'. Thurs 30 Oct, 7.30pm in Room S117, St Clements Building, London School of Economics. All welcome.

CAMPAIGN To Repeal Immigration Act: national conference, including plenary sessions and workshops, on Sat 1 Nov at NUFTO Hall, Jockey Fields, Holborn from 10—6. Creche Available. Contact Franco Caprino (727 2993) or Pat Brain (674 5775) for details.

EVENT in support of the broad-based anti-fascist movement. Recreation Ground Theatre and Peoples Liberation Music at Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington St, London NW1. 3.4.5.6 November, 7.30pm. Adm. 50p.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION anniversary social, Friday 7 November, 8pm—2am at the West Indian Centre, Manchester. Films/Group/Disco. Proceeds to Red Weekly and LCI in Portugal. 40p admission.

HULL SOCIALIST FORUM: 'Portugal — What Next?' Friday 31 Oct., 7.30pm at the White Hart, Alfred Gelder Street.

WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER: General Meeting, Saturday 1 Nov., 2pm in University of London Union (Room 3B), Malet Street, WC1.

FILM SHOW/DISCUSSION on fascism in Spain and Britain, organised by Manchester Anti-Fascist Committee and Manchester Spanish Solidarity Committee. Films: 'Dreams and Nightmares' about Spain, and a film about the extreme right in Britain. Speakers will include B. Bunsee and a speaker from Spain. Sunday 2 Nov., 2pm, at Students Union, UMIST, Sackville St., Manchester 1. Admission 40p.

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

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

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

DO THEY HATE CHILDREN?

Does Avon County Council hate children? That's what Bristol parents must be wondering as Avon's Education Committee discusses a £2.5 million cut in educational expenditure for 1976.

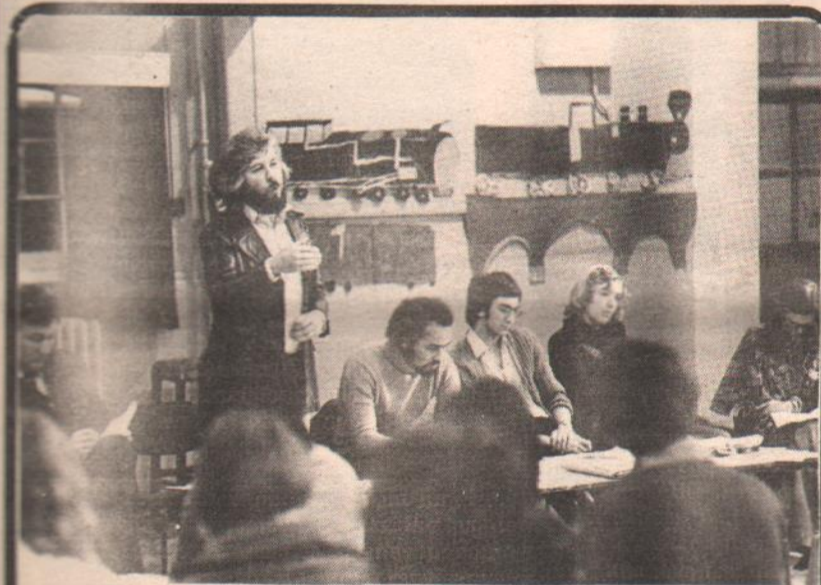
The cuts will mean the total abolition of 26 already existing nursery classes; 1,700 more pupils in secondary schools without a single extra teacher — at a time when Avon Council already employs 300 teachers less than it should do according to government standards; and further cuts all round in schools, Further Education colleges, Colleges of Education, and the Polytechnic.

OCCUPATION

There has already been an occupation this term at Bristol Poly in opposition to the cuts. Now the campaign is spreading throughout the Bristol area. On 16 October an emergency meeting of the Educa-

tion Committee was picketed by students from every college in the area and the Poly branch of the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions.

The next focus is a mass picket and rally of the full Avon Council meeting on 6 November. Initiated by the local branch of the International Marxist Group, the rally has drawn wide support from Bristol Teachers Association, ATTI Poly Branch, ASTMS Bath University and the student unions at Bristol and Bath Universities, the Polytechnic and Redland College of Education. The General Management Committee of Bristol West Constituency Labour Party has agreed to circulate all Labour Party branches and wards, trade unions and



Over 100 teachers attended the second Socialist Teachers Conference in London last weekend. The central concern of the conference was to develop the campaign against the education cuts. The main points were taken up in an action resolution which gave a class-wide orientation to the coming struggles against the cuts. The suggested affiliation of the NUT to the Labour Party, and the role of Rank and File were also discussed.

A co-ordinating committee covering the whole country was elected from the conference and it was urged that local action committees against the cuts be set up wherever possible. A full report on the developing campaign against the cuts will be carried in next week's *Red Weekly*. Anyone who would like a copy of the document passed by the conference should write to B. Regan c/o 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

ALL IN A DAY'S LOBBYING

Just what does happen when you lobby your MP? Last week 12,000 teachers, students and trade unionists marched through the centre of London to Parliament to protest against the Government's education cuts. For the several hundred who bothered to stay there the most common reception was a sympathetic 'but I'm afraid there's nothing I can do about it' from their local MP.

Not so with Tony Benn, the 'man of the people' left in the Wilson Cabinet — fossilised in stone, some would say. Brushing his way past security officials and police he welcomed in a delegation of 14 lobbyists from Bristol and took them to the canteen for a cup of tea. An hour later, he probably wished he hadn't. The conversation went something like this...

Benn: All right, enough of the discussion. I need to know the facts. Give me the facts so that I can present them to the Cabinet.

Chorus: The facts are in that document you have there [detailing the proposed £2.5 million cuts in education spending in the Bristol area]. We want to discuss the issues. What is the position of the Labour Government on the cuts? We thought that the manifesto and motions at the Labour Party Conference called for no cuts and the extension of all public services.

Benn: That is correct.

Lobbier: Well, what is the position of the Labour Government? It is saying the cuts must go ahead.

Benn (humming and haing): Well we have to look at the economic situa-

tion. We have to make the railways and the steel industry more efficient, then we could expand the education system.

Lobbier: But the railways are already overpriced — nobody can afford them. And by the way, there's thirty Shotton steelworkers the other side of this canteen lobbying for their jobs.

A process of beating around the bush begins. After some time, Benn finally agrees that it is the Cabinet that is carrying out the cuts.

Benn: Yes, I agree that all public services must be saved and extended. There must be no cuts! We have to develop a climate within the working class so that the working class will resist any cuts in the social wage.

Lobbier: Well, as a start, will you support the picket and rally of Avon



12,000 people marched through London last week to protest against the cuts in education spending. The task now is to build action committees against the cuts in every area.

trades councils in the area with details of the rally.

Last week, at a conference against the cuts called by the ATTI and attended by delegates from all the unions in the education sector, a mobilising committee for the rally was set up. Unfortunately the committee has been limited to union representatives only, when what is needed is a broad campaign throughout the labour movement involving the Labour Party, socialist groups, and tenants' and parents' associations. The community association on the overwhelmingly working class Hartcliffe estate, for example, is sending coaches to the rally.

At the education lobby in London on 21 October, leading Tribune MP Ron Thomas (Bristol North-West) declared his full support for the campaign and picket. He told constituents: 'This is a class issue. What is necessary is a campaign of the whole labour movement against all cuts.'

ENQUIRY

In order to turn these words into action the picket and rally on 6 November must be the first step in a campaign for a workers' enquiry into the educational policy of the local authority. This will mean setting up an action committee of local trade unionists, teachers, students and parents, to fight for the opening of the accounts of the education authority — to reveal the full extent of the cuts and the actual state of finance, investigate the educational supply industries, and establish the real educational needs of working people and their families.

The fight for the control and resources of education to be taken out of the hands of the capitalists will require the building of links with all bodies fighting the cuts in



other areas of the social services. In this struggle the working class can expect to face the bitter opposition not only of the capitalists, but also of the Wilson/Healey clique at the head of the Labour Party.

Bristol IMG

No apology

The great news about Franco, and the need to devote space to this, has forced us to hold over the second instalment of our series on Social Democracy. This is one time that we feel our readers won't worry too much — as Lenin wrote in *State and Revolution*, it's much more interesting and satisfactory to be seeing a real revolution now than merely to read about past ones.

WHY THESE 'DEATH TRAPS'?

Why is it that invalid people have been given tricycles which are nothing more than 'death traps'? Despite all the screams of righteous indignation that have come forth about this scandal — ranging from the Tories to the Labour Party and even the full-page exposure carried by *Socialist Worker* — solutions have been scarce. Yet the scandal of the tricycles reveals in a stark way the relationship that exists between the capitalist state and the National Health Service.

The sick and infirm are not profitable for capitalism — in fact they are financial liabilities. So if a disabled person can walk a hundred yards or get on a bus, then they are ruled out from having an invalid car. The exhaustion that they might suffer in such a walk, or the fact that they cannot afford the bus fares — after all, the disabled are invariably on low earnings — is hardly ever considered.

DEFAULT

Cuts are therefore made by cynical default. Cars are turned out on the cheap. No attention is paid towards providing a car that the disabled can use to take out their family. Horror of horrors, if that happened all the disabled might start clamouring for one.

The cheap assembly means that the soft bodies simply crumble whenever the cars get in an accident. But what is one dead cripple, after all? They do not produce profit for the capitalists! Capitalism has a clear ethos on this matter, and Maggie Thatcher made no bones about this in her diatribe about equality. Mrs Castle starts from supposedly different motives, but the results are the same. She wants to split up a smaller cake between more people.

The Labour Minister has told the disabled that less cars will be issued to those who can drive so that those that cannot drive will be given £5 a week. What a sick, miserable society — that consigns its disabled to junks that fall apart on the road, and callously denies them better facilities.

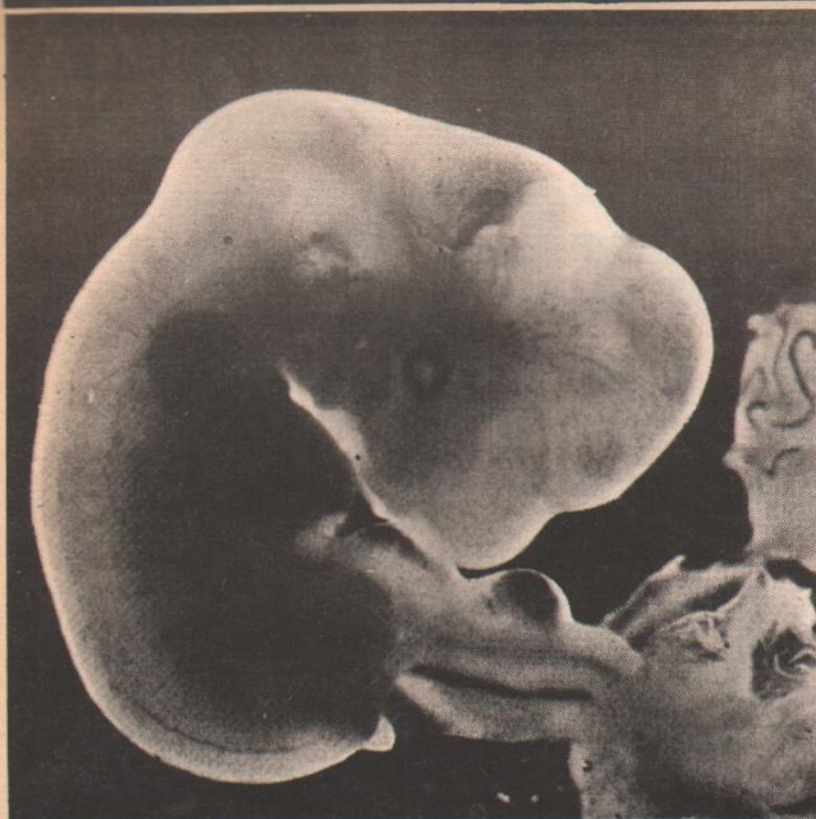
MANUFACTURE

The manufacturers, of course, are not doing so badly. Their profits mount up. Workers who could make better, safer and bigger cars are meanwhile made redundant.

Let us have less of the horror stories and rather begin to fight for the production of useful goods that can improve the quality of life. Workers should start demanding an enquiry into the use of these resources, and start insisting that production is planned for social gain not for profit.

BOB FINDLAY

GOVERNMENT LAUNCHES ATTACK ON ABORTION RIGHTS



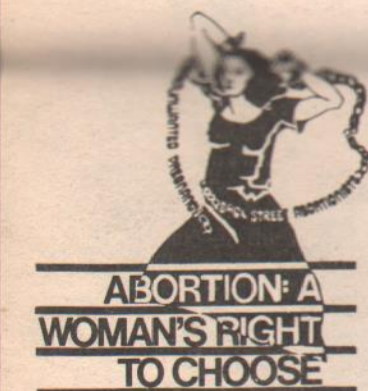
The Labour Government has now made clear where it stands on abortion. It is in favour of restricting women's access to abortion. Barbara Castle, Minister of State for the Department of Health and Social Security, reported to the House of Commons on 21 October that the Government supports the restrictive proposals of the Parliamentary Select Committee. The Labour Government is now on the attack, hitting viciously at the right of women to abortion.

Hiding behind the cover of 'preventing abuses in the private sector', the Labour Government has agreed to implement the proposals engineered by bigots like SPUC spokesman Leo Abse. The capitalist press naturally supports the policies of the Government. 'Strengthening safeguards for women' and 'cutting down on malpractice at the expense of women' are the watchwords of the day.

What is the reality behind Castle's statement? It means that within 42 days the following restrictions will be introduced:

- * Women requiring abortions will be refused unless they have been referred by an advisory bureau registered with the Secretary of State. Informal sources of referral, often most accessible to working class women, will not be acceptable. It is highly doubtful, for example, if women's centres would qualify for the Secretary of State's registration procedures.

- * Women over 20 weeks pregnant requiring abortions will be unable to get them unless the clinic or hospital has 'proper' equipment. In light of the swingeing cuts in the NHS budget made by the Labour Government, long waiting lists have increasingly forced women to the private sector in the late stages of pregnancy. Now even this unpreferable option will be closed. Only the large hospitals and clinics are equipped with the 'resuscitation'



equipment now required.

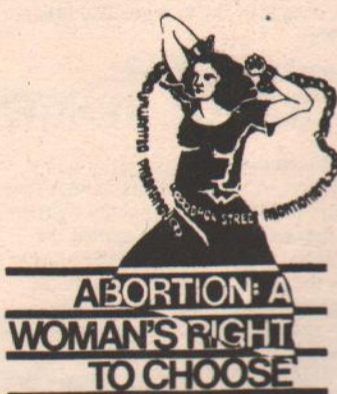
- * The DHSS has the go-ahead to impose quotas on 'foreign' women requiring abortions in this country. Full financial and medical records will now be kept on these women - unlike any other 'foreign' patients requiring emergency operations in this country. Every year 2,000 women in Italy die as a result of laws introduced under Mussolini's fascist dictatorship denying women the right to abortion. Now the Labour Government is effectively condoning this death toll and yet again is refusing to make any real international commitments.

- * A so-called 'white list' of

by Dodie Wepler

acceptable referral agencies will be published. This will not distinguish between agencies genuinely attempting to help women obtain abortions and those like 'Lifeline' whose sole purpose is to convince women they should continue their pregnancy. Lifeline's 'service' is guaranteed to make sure that by the time 'advice' has been given, it will be too late for most women to get an abortion. Of course, these proposals are

(which begins on 19 November) on the re-constitution of the Select Committee. The International Marxist Group has consistently



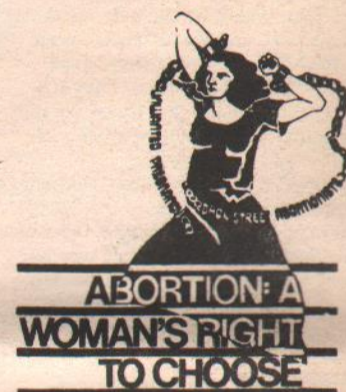
opposed the Select Committee. It was first set up to investigate the reactionary James White Abortion (Amendment) Bill. This Bill

The Government uses the issue of 'private abuse' and all its disgusting rackets as an excuse to attack women's right to abortion. Yet there is a simple solution to the cynical rackets of the well-heeled consultants. Any Government which had the interests of the working class at heart would extend the NHS and make free abortion on demand available to any woman who wanted it.

But the Wilson leadership, with its deliberate policy of bailing out capitalism by implementing cuts in the public sector, has no intention of doing that - instead, it not only uses the 'excesses in private practice' to cut down on abortion in the NHS.

As the capitalist crisis deepens, it is the working class family, and especially the women in the family, which is having to take on the bur-

The Labour Government has played right into these attempts to see abortion as an issue which is above 'party and class' - Castle repeated her well-worn phrases that the vote on the re-constitution of the Select Committee should be a free vote in the House, as it is an issue for 'individual conscience' to decide. The women Labour MPs who have given their support to the pro-abortion campaign in the past remained meekly silent, refusing to fight the Labour leaders. Renee Short pluck-



150 AT SCOTTISH NAC CONFERENCE

Over 150 people from all over Scotland met in Glasgow last Saturday for the Scottish National Abortion Campaign regional conference. Organisations represented included branches of eleven trade unions, several trades councils, Scottish NAC groups, women's liberation groups, IMG, IS, Revolutionary Communist Group, etc.

The main speakers at the conference were Dr Berry Beaumont, from the NAC Steering Committee in London, Dr Elizabeth Wilson, from the Family Planning Association, and Angela McHugh, an AUEW shop steward and member of IS. Cathy Clark, an IMG member who played an important part in organising the conference, explained why it was so necessary:

ISOLATION

'We felt there was a need for a regional conference because of our isolation from the activities of the national campaign, and the existence of very strong anti-abortion forces in Scotland - James White's constituency is right on our doorstep. On top of this there is the strength of the Church, and the failure to get the 1967 Abortion Act properly operated in the West of Scotland. Many people do not know that every year over a thousand women are forced to travel to English clinics to pay for private abortions.'

In the debate around the slogan 'A Woman's Right to Choose', the conference was confused about how to interpret this in the context of the tasks of the abortion campaign. The IMG suc-

cessfully argued against proposals to extend the basis of NAC to include immediate activity around the expansion of nursery and day-care facilities.

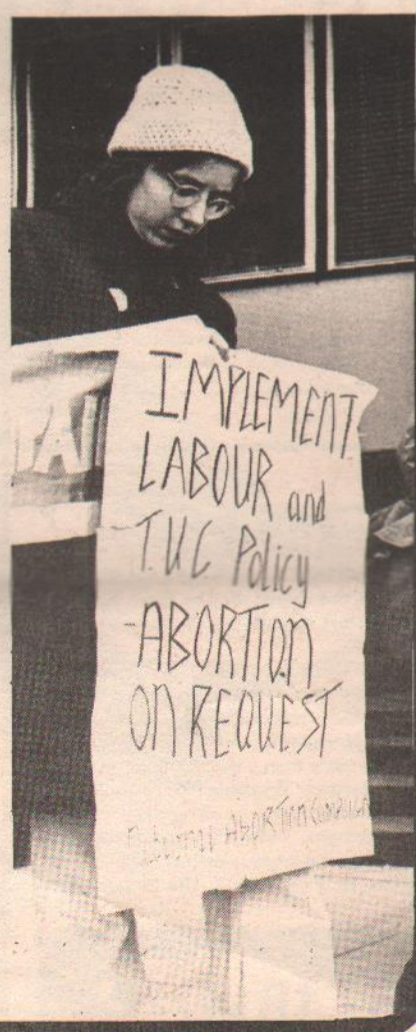
Obviously we are not opposed to these demands. However, we see that the most immediate threat to 'a woman's right to choose' arises from the Labour Government's manoeuvres to implement immediate restrictions on abortion through the Select Committee's proposals. Unless we succeed in defeating the current legal restrictions, our ability to fight for the extension of the availability of abortion, and for all the facilities and social changes which will enable women to have a 'real' choice, will be considerably weakened.

Conference did not fully understand the dangers of Labour's proposals. On the one hand, it voted for an offensive campaign incorporating the demand for positive legislation to establish abortion on request. On the other hand, the proposals of the London conference calling for a week of action to coincide with the new session of Parliament in mid-November were overwhelmingly endorsed by all those present.

A BATTLE

The discussions in the workshops and plenary sessions showed the need to campaign throughout the working class movement and the Labour Party for the implementation of the TUC and Labour Party resolutions calling for women's right to abortion on demand. This must start with a battle opposing the reconvening of the Select Committee.

Geraldine Smith



'dressed up' with 'niceties' designed to paper over the restrictions they impose. Barbara Castle made 'sympathetic' noises about arrangements for 'counselling, advice and after-care', and about the 'preventative' action taken by the Labour Government, such as the establishment of family planning schemes on the NHS. She failed to mention that the cuts in the NHS budget mean a six months waiting list before these great advances can be used!

Barbara Castle's statement also hinted that a vote would be taken in the next parliamentary session

has now virtually disappeared. The only reason for resurrecting the Select Committee is so that it can continue its sordid task of finding further ways to restrict women's right to abortion. The real abuses of the 1967 Act have been the sabotage carried out by reactionary doctors refusing to implement even the limited gains it represented; and the Labour Government's consistent policy of cutting back on NHS facilities, which has further restricted the availability of abortion to working women.

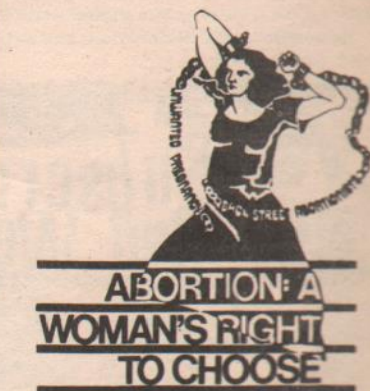
den of increasing cuts in social expenditure, and lower living standards. Attacks on abortion are part of the move to drive women back into the home. This also helps further to divide the working class, weakening their ability to fight back against the capitalist offensive.

Naturally Leo Abse and his ilk have been absolutely delighted by the Castle statement. Norman Fowler, Tory spokesman, said there was a strong feeling 'on both sides of the House' that the Select Committee should continue with its work.

ed up courage to make the bold statement that the numbers of foreign women obtaining abortions in Britain was falling with more progressive laws in such countries as France - and Barbara Castle could only agree!

Preparations for the National Week of Action called by the NAC Conference are now underway. The fight against the Wilson Government's attacks on women's right to abortion has been given a big boost with the decisions by the TUC and Labour Party Conferences to support 'Freely available abortion on request on the NHS'. Every women's group, trade union branch, tenant's association, and Labour Party must now come out against the Government's restrictions and begin to organise the fight against the re-constitution of the Select Committee.

Local meetings where Labour MPs and trade unionists are invited to speak about how they plan to implement their policies will be organised up and down the country. The fight against attacks on abortion is part of the general fight against the attacks on the working class by the right-wing leaders of



the Wilson Government. Where these so-called leaders of the working class refuse to take up the fight against the DHSS regulations and against the Select Committee, a struggle must be waged to remove them from their positions of leadership.

RED WEEKLY

CHILE CONFERENCE -

Turn words into actions!

'We are now at the stage where we can work for a simultaneous international boycott of the Chilean junta.' These were the closing remarks addressed by Luis Figueroa, President of the Chilean TUC, to 455 delegates at the Chile Solidarity Campaign Trade Union Conference on 25 October.

The conference was in fact dominated by the necessity to establish a workers' boycott of the generals' Chile. The need for this to be a central part of the solidarity campaign has been consistently fought for by the IMG over the last two years, and the conference was undoubtedly a step forward in this direction.

Joe Kenny, from the Executive of the National Union of Seamen, announced to the conference that a ship due to sail from Liverpool in the next few days to Chile would not now be going because of the NUS boycott. He stressed that our slogan should be 'No help for the fascists', and said that after two years the time for talking had come to an end. He believed economic boycotts were effective, and that it was the duty of the trade union leaders to take up the fight for the boycott.

It was good fighting talk - but hardly squared with the NUS Executive decision to leave it up to the conscience of individual members to decide whether or not to sail to Chile. Unfortunately not all the delegates approached the matter with even the same spirit as Joe Kenny. Merseyside dockers' leader Jimmy Symes, speaking from the platform, managed only to stress the difficulties of getting rank and file enthusiasm and the uselessness of boycotts that lasted only one or two days.

BOYCOTTS

It was left to Luis Figueroa to point out that it was only because of the numerous short term boycotts throughout the world that it was now possible to put on the agenda an international boycott. He stressed that 'however small the action, it is still of vital importance'.

The other major issue which ran through the conference was the need to step up pressure on the Labour Government to break all links with the junta. And pressure is certainly necessary! A

letter from Madame Allende was read out, calling on the Labour Government not to send the two submarines being overhauled at Scott Lithgow's shipyards back to the junta. At the moment the Labour Government evidently intends to 'honour' its contract and hand over the subs to the notoriously brutal Chilean navy!

But that is not all. As IMG member Steve Potter (NALGO) pointed out, the Labour Government appears to be tacitly accepting money from the junta on the basis of the renegotiated debt which it initially refused to discuss. He went on to note the report that the Labour Government also intends to take a soft line on the junta when the United Nations debates a resolution calling for economic sanctions against Chile. Clearly only a massive response from the labour movement will put a stop to these betrayals.

'ADOPTION'

The conference also heard from many delegates of successful campaigns that had been waged by trade union branches to adopt political prisoners in Chile. It was emphasised that not only does this aid our Chile brothers and sisters, but that it is also an excellent way of raising the political issues of Chile in every trade union branch.

At the end of the day the conference adopted a resolution which called amongst other things for an economic boycott, for no renegotiation of the debt, for the release of all political prisoners, and for the Labour Government to withdraw all forms of support for the Chilean regime.

But the weakest aspect of the conference was that *the measures we should take over the next few months to win these demands* were not spelt out. The conference was one of the largest and most broadly based the labour movement has seen in recent months, and certainly with this sort of support the demands can be won in action. Clearly the task now is to turn the fine words, supported by the executives of so many unions at the conference, into fine actions.

Gerry Hedley

MORE SALES, MORE MONEY

Last week we appealed for £196.50 to complete our £500 October Red Weekly Fund Drive. We only got £76.50. Our thanks to North London IMG £10.05, Newcastle IMG £5, West London IMG £4.30, Portsmouth IMG £6, Hull IMG £3.75, C. Tod £3, and many other individual donations. But this means that by the end of this week we need another £120, and then a good start towards our November target. So please rush in every penny you can afford.

With a massive political explosion about to rock Spain, and the campaign against unemployment developing inside the British working class, it is also necessary to boost the readership and influence of the Red Weekly - the only paper on the left that provides the analysis necessary to carry those struggles forward.

Over the last few weeks sales have increased by more than a thousand following the summer lull. Now we need to boost sales further. Branches should be increasing orders for extra factory gate sales before 26 November and to cover the many local conferences and demonstrations on unemployment. Individual readers interested in taking extra copies should write for terms to the address below.

Remember, rush all donations and extra orders to: Red Weekly, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

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FIGHT CASTLE - BUT DEFEND THE N.H.S.

Dr. Dominic Costa, elected at the recent MCAPP Conference to the National Co-ordinating Committee against the cuts in the NHS, writes on the Junior Hospital Doctors' claim.

The attempts by Barbara Castle and the ruling class to solve the crisis in the NHS are receiving a terrible buffeting. Looming on the horizon is the first ever national strike (only partial at the moment) by the NHS's 20,000 junior hospital doctors (JHDs).

Like other workers they are fighting to get a decent rate for any time they work after 40 hours. This Barbara Castle promised them in January 1975. At the time this helped to separate them from the consultants, who were fighting at the same time for the right to increase their private practice.

But the economic crisis of capitalism waits for nobody, and the junior doctors were caught in the trap just like other workers.



Dominic Costa, himself a junior doctor

STRANGE RESULT

The strange result is that in terms of the central attack of the Labour leadership, the JHDs are willy-nilly fighting the first national struggle against the pay laws. However, to win their demands the JHDs will have to smash the Wilson/Healey incomes policy and to do this they will need the support of big sections of the working class.

Meanwhile the British Medical Association simply ignores the £6 limit. The doctor's union - ASTMS/MPU Junior Doctors Section - even denies that the claim breaks the pay laws, despite statements to the contrary by David Owen, Barbara Castle and Michael Foot. It denies that to increase the premiums of overtime rates from zero to a higher figure cuts across the Healey measures. This, however, is written down in the White Paper.

The most important factor in the situation still remains vague and unclear. What do the thousands of JHDs taking action think about the issue?

UNDERMINING

A significant number of JHDs support the principle of the NHS. But there are also a large number who support the consultants and the BMA in their fight to maintain private practice and undermine the NHS. Barbara Castle's stand, rather than fighting to win the JHDs to the side of the working class, is forcing them into the waiting arms of the reactionary consultants and those forces opposed to the defence and extension of the NHS.

In one teaching hospital in London a very militant right-wing senior surgical registrar told a meeting: 'We are all here to destroy the NHS and build something better from the rubble that we create.' At the Middlesex Hospital, traditional conservatism turned into outright reaction when doctors took total strike action against the NHS and in favour of private practice. They demanded that their overtime pay should be financed by charging NHS patients £10 per night for being in hospital!

'FREEDOM'

At St Bartholomew's Teaching Hospital in London, the senior registrar bluntly stated that they were not taking strike action for better pay. They would only do this for the fight to maintain their 'freedom' to practise 'privately'.

All over the country these ideas are being raised. The 'unity' of the JHDs and the consultants masks two opposite points of view, however. The reactionary, anti-working class doctors are saying that fighting Barbara Castle means attacking the whole idea of the NHS, rather than defending the NHS against the cutbacks imposed by the Labour Government. But the doctors who support the principle of a free health service are totally confused as to what

to do about the already inadequate facilities, disorganised postgraduate training, and the drastic cutbacks and closures.

The Castle pay offer for overtime (less than 30 per cent of the normal hourly rate) is seen by local Area Health Authorities as a chance to employ fewer JHDs for longer hours. They think this can help to save money and help to introduce cut-backs. Unless the JHDs can be won to the side of the working class against Castle's proposals, in fighting the cutbacks and defending the health service, they will be swallowed up by the reactionary anti-working class senior doctors; and the whole national fight will turn against the interests of working people.

CONDITIONAL

Working class militants cannot therefore give unconditional support to the national action of junior hospital doctors. Only those doctors fighting for adequate overtime pay in the context of defending the NHS against the attacks of private practice merit the support of workers inside and outside the NHS.

This support is important. If these doctors can see that they can only win their strike with the mobilisation of broader sections of the trade union and labour movement, then not only might they win their demands, but a national struggle could be launched against Labour's attacks meriting the active support of the entire workers' movement.

RIGHT TURN

Unless these very basic points are cleared up, thrashed out and carried through, then it is quite possible that the JHDs' strike action will take a right-wing turn via an anti-working class alliance with the consultants. If this is the basis for action, then militants must not only refuse to give support, but must start a campaign against it in the local labour movement - in defence of the NHS, but against Castle's cut-backs.



Pickets outside South Africa House in London on Monday protest at further incursions by South African troops inside Angola. There is evidence that the South Africans are co-ordinating their movements with attacks launched by the two pro-imperialist 'liberation' movements, FNLA and UNITA, and the Portuguese fascists of the Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP).

MPLA VISIT TO BRITAIN: meetings for Joao Felipe Martins - Mon 3 Nov, lunchtime Bristol (Eileen Prescott 0272 35035), evening Cardiff (John Sauren 0222 396421); Tues 4 Nov, lunchtime York University, evening Newcastle (Phil Dexter 0632 28402); Weds 5 Nov, lunchtime Durham University (Paul Perkins 0385 3404), evening Manchester (Barry Munslow 061 224 3554); Thurs 6 Nov, lunchtime Oxford, evening LSE, London. Phone contacts or ASC (01-734 9541) for details.