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60 NAMES AND ADDRESSES

WE NAME CIA IN BRITAIN

RECENT NAMING of CIA and other espionage experts in the American Embassy appears to have encouraged Washington to shake up their British operations.

According to sources from within the Embassy, the Americans have now:

- * Replaced the chief of a super secret office of the US National Security Agency and at least four of the top officers of the CIA;

- * Moved out half of the top-secret communications staff;

- * And tried to mask the existence of a special intelligence team, one of whom continues to have an office and secretary inside the British Ministry of Defence at Whitehall.

According to veteran intelligence officers, this rapid turnover must certainly have disrupted the efficiency of American espionage in Britain.

Nonetheless, the CIA and their sister services still have over 60 employees at the Embassy; and despite the tightening of the Embassy's security system, *Red Weekly* has managed to uncover their names — and addresses.

As far as we know, this is the largest list of American operatives ever published at a single go.

See pages 6, 7 and 8.



Recently arrived top CIA agent John F Pereira caught leaving his house at 3 Wilton Street, London SW1 earlier this week. Inside we print the names and addresses of nearly 60 other agents.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PORTUGUESE WORKING CLASS

National conference—13 March

Details from: SCPWC, 12 Little Newport Street, London W.C.2.



25,000 students joined by delegations of trade unionists protested against the slashing cuts in education proposed in the Labour Government's White Paper last Friday in London. The demonstration could mark the start of a fight back against the implementation of the proposals. A leading shop steward from the successful strike struggle at Commonwealth Smelting Ltd was arrested when police tried to provoke the demonstration. Rush money and resolutions of support to defend him and others arrested to Defence Committee, c/o 119a City Road, Bristol.

CUTS FIGHT HOTS UP

Railworkers on the Southern Region of British Rail have shown that the fight against the cuts means a fight not only against the Labour Government but also against the 'left' leaders.

The driver members of ASLEF are appealing to booking office staff to refuse to accept the increase in fares and take the old price. In this they are taking a leaf from the book of the Italian metro workers, who successfully resisted a fare increase by such tactics and won the support of passengers for their struggle.

But the move has met with opposition from Ray Buckton, 'left' General Secretary of ASLEF, who also opposed earlier threats of industrial action by Southern Rail drivers.

The railworkers, however, have shown the type of rank and file action that has to be the basis for defending working class living standards. The struggle also

took a step forward last week with the decision by the Scottish Trades Union Congress to call a special conference to discuss the fight back against the cuts, unemployment and devolution. This must be only the first step to bringing Jones, Murray and Co to account.

In a situation where Jones is selling the 'son of £6' to the T&GWU, this fight is all the more vital. Already Jones is preparing this through his call for a £5 limit — and even this figure must be taken with a pinch of salt, when you remember that he ushered in the £6 limit with an opening bid of £15.

If he whittles it down by the same proportion again, British workers will be getting only £2 from Chancellor Healey — which by a 'strange coincidence' represents the 3 per cent which Healey hinted he would be going for last week.

The railworkers are showing the way. The next step is to demand the recall of the labour movement conferences to fight the cuts, unemployment and the wage controls.

RECALL THE TUC

Labour leaders give blank cheque to racists

Photo: DAVE EVANS (IFL)



The past few weeks have seen some very dangerous moves on the issue of immigration.

Harry Urwin from the TUC Hotel and Catering Committee urged the Government to stop foreign workers entering the country to work in the hotel and catering industry. The Government responded by lowering the quota for immigrant workers in this industry by 2,500.

Then came the Hackney scandal. Michael Foot's Department of Employment instructed the Hackney Hospital Management Committee to regard those jobs covered by work permits as vacancies when the permit expired. The DoE would then provide suitable British applicants and the immigrant workers would not be allowed to appeal against unfair dismissal.

DIVISIVE

The TUC and the Labour Government are trying to export unemployment. Rather than waging a fight to defend all workers, the bureaucrats are dividing the workforce along racialist and chauvinist lines. This is the same logic that is the basis of the import controls campaign. Instead of making the bosses pay for the crisis, the TUC and the Labour Government are trying to establish an alliance between British workers and British bosses against foreign workers.

Unfortunately the TUC can legitimately claim that they are doing no more than the unions in Switzerland, Germany and France, who have been so successful in getting foreign workers sent back home. But there is a difference between Britain and the continental countries that makes the situation even more appalling here.

Only a small proportion of the 'immigrant' workers in Britain are involved in the contract system. Most came before the 1971 Immigration Act was in operation. They have come to stay.

NATIONALISM

Let us suppose that the TUC gets the relatively small number of immigrant workers who are here on a work permit sent back home. There will still be unemployment. Does the TUC, in line with Powell, appeal to the majority of black workers, who are not on a contract, to go back 'home'? And if voluntary repatriation fails, what next?

It is easy to see who gains from this nationalist policy of the TUC. The bosses can divide the workers on the basis of colour and nationality while the fascists draw out the logical conclusions from the TUC policy - send them back.

The Labour and trade union leaders' concessions to nationalism allow the fascists a chance to gain a foothold amongst the workers. They are past masters at exploiting the opportunities that the labour bureaucracy give them on issues such as immigration laws, import controls and now on the issue of withdrawing work permits.

The ability of the fascists to take advantage of this nationalist mood is lessened by their present state of disorder, but the impact of the split in the National Front should not be overestimated. The National Party only succeeded in getting any influence at all in 22 out of the 123 NF branches, and

these were geographically limited to the Home Counties and Lancashire. The overwhelming majority of the NF remains loyal to the Tyndall/Webster leadership.

The split has caused a certain amount of embarrassment as a lot of mutual recrimination has taken place in public. NP leader Kingsley Read has announced that Tyndall and Webster took part in a neo-Nazi celebration of Hitler's birthday in 1972, while Webster has quoted Kingsley Read and his fellow NP leader Painter as proclaiming their allegiance to the principles of National Socialism.

The effect of the split will be to make the NF a little more hard line

The Coventry North-West by-election features two fascist candidates. The National Front are standing on a platform of 'British Jobs for British Workers', while the supposedly more liberal National Party have the slogan of 'Hang the Murderers - Flog Muggers and Rapists.' As part of their campaign the National Front organised a march and rally in Coventry last Saturday.

A counter-demonstration was quickly called on the basis of 'The Right to Work for All - Black and White', sponsored by Coventry Trades Council, the Indian Workers Association, and Warwick University Students Union. Fifteen hundred workers and students assembled,

completely outnumbering the 3-400 gathered by the NF.

Groups of anti-fascists followed the National Front along the route of their demonstration, exposing the thoroughly racist and fascist nature of their policies. Later on, the NF headquarters were surrounded and some indignant anti-fascists stoned the building. NF leaders, including candidate Fountaine, sustained slight injuries.

The success of the counter-demonstration will ensure that further open attempts by the fascists to stir up race hatred in Coventry will meet a hot reception.

and more willing to work with overtly neo-Nazi organisations such as the British Movement, and will also make both the NF and NP engage in a competition of violence against the left - particularly on issues where the fascists see the left as politically isolated, such as Ireland. But the central focus of both groups will be racism and chauvinism, which is clear from their intervention in the Coventry by-election.

Both groups have shown an ability to discuss unemployment, bad housing, and the collapse of the welfare state in a pseudo-radical manner and then to link all the issues together by blaming the blacks. Richard Lawson of the NP is a past master of this technique: 'The survival of the British people faces a greater threat today than it has ever done in our nation's history. The threat is international capitalism - a system that has imported foreigners to undercut the wages of British workers and forced us into the Common Market.'

The policy of the NF over import controls shows the same approach. Their programme for textile workers includes: a ban on all textile imports; the sacking of all black workers and their repatriation so that British (white) workers could be given their jobs; the breaking up of the multi-nationals and

their placing under British control with worker participation. Finally there should be a drive to kick out the existing trade union leadership, who only support token import controls and thus once again scab on British workers because of their internationalism.

Michael Foot and the TUC are playing with fire. Labour leaders who make concessions to nationalism and racism are presenting a blank cheque to the bosses and the extreme right, who will cash it and extract a far heavier price than the bureaucrats imagine possible.

REACTIONARY

The 1907 Stuttgart Congress of the Second International realised that 'all attempts to stop immigration by restrictive laws will be useless and reactionary'. Such legislation 'lowers the class consciousness of the workers, alienates them from class struggle, sows discord between workers, and creates a favourable soil for the development of racial and national conflict'.

We must fight to ensure that it is the bosses who pay for this crisis and not a section of the workers. And part of that fight is the struggle to remove all restrictive immigration legislation.

Andrew Jenkins

After 17 weeks - they've won!

After seventeen weeks on strike, victory is in sight for the 600 Transport Union workers at Commonwealth Smelting Ltd in Avonmouth.

The management of this subsidiary of RTZ precipitated the strike by refusing to take a dispute over manning levels, threatened redundancies, and shift payments through the normal negotiating procedures. But the effectiveness of the strike brought pressure from the national chemical employers' organisation (the Chemical Industries Association), which forced CSL to relent a fortnight ago and agree to accept a return-to-work formula to be decided by an enquiry held by the Joint Industry Council (a national union-management body).

Reluctance

CSL management's reluctance to go through procedure had obviously been well-founded, for the enquiry last Friday basically accepted the union's terms for a return to work: including the minimum safe manning level acceptable to the union, and also the right for all workers made redundant - whether voluntarily or compulsorily - to be re-engaged as new employees keeping their redundancy payment, or to be re-instated with benefits from their previous service on repayment of their redundancy money.

What forced the management to capitulate after it had clearly set out to destroy the union? The effect of the blacking of the movement of zinc by the strike committee and the T&G nationally was an important factor, threatening production throughout the chemicals industry, and so involving the employers' organisation nationally. But the most crucial development was the strikers' decision a month ago to close down through picketing the Imperial Smelting



CSL strikers managed to close down the whole site

Chemicals factory, on the same site as CSL and also a subsidiary of RTZ.

ISC was rapidly forced to lay off over half its workforce of 460, most of them members of the same T&G branch as the strikers. This led to a desperate campaign by the press and TV, ISC management, and a few anti-union ISC workers to turn the anger of those laid off against their striking brothers. But an attempt by the regional T&G secretary to get the Regional Committee to call off the picket behind the strikers' backs was foiled when some of the stewards made a dramatic uninvited

intervention into the meeting where this sell-out was being planned.

When the strikers return to work this week they will be in a strong position to negotiate the defence of manning levels, which they consider necessary not only to prevent redundancy but to eliminate the danger of lead poisoning. They will also be fighting for compensation for loss of earnings as a result of the strike.

This strike has had a big impact on the local labour movement, not only because of its duration and the massive publicity, but also because a central issue of the dis-

pute is over redundancies. And with the first batch of 600 sackings at the British Aircraft Corporation due to take place in May, many aircraft workers will be drawing the lesson from CSL that given a factory leadership who refuse to accept the inevitability of redundancies, a successful fight can be mounted.

But what is still sorely missing in the Bristol area is a body which can really hammer home the lessons of CSL to the Bristol working class and organise a campaign of mass support for the impending struggle at BAC.

Bristol IMG

IN FOCUS

How to recall the Labour Conference

The weeks following the failure of the Tribunites' resolution for the recall of the Labour Party conference are really going to sort out those in the labour movement who are prepared to act from those who are merely prepared to talk. The easy ways to fight are now blocked.

The parliamentary left believed that with its so-called majority on the NEC it could waltz into the NEC and get a recall conference with no trouble — although what they intended to do at such a conference God only knows, given Mikardo's TV statement that he didn't even want a resolution at it. Now the parliamentary lefts have learnt a few political facts of life — not that they're likely to learn much from them. They learnt that any time the chips are down, at the present moment, Harold Wilson has the union leaderships nicely lined up behind him.

OVERTURN THE LEADERSHIP

From now on the going gets tough. Skulking and manoeuvring around the 'corridors of power' and relying on friendly union bureaucrats have got nowhere. The only place to turn now, and the place the Tribunites would have turned in the first place if they had any real stomach for a fight, is the rank and file of the labour movement in a mass campaign to overturn the decisions and policies of the leadership. This means a campaign — mass meetings, demonstrations, industrial action against the employers, and open organisation of forces in the labour movement — of the type for which the parliamentary lefts have no taste whatever.

The real ways to force the recall of the labour movement conferences are steadily opening up, however. Slowly but surely the industrial struggle is turning up after the demoralising defeats of the summer. The steel strikes, the struggle at Linwood, the fight at Commonwealth Smelting in Avonmouth, all begin to show the way forward. Massive solidarity with all such struggles, coupled with the demand for the recall of the labour movement conferences, is the first step in the way forward.

ORGANISE CAMPAIGNS

The second need is to organise and extend all the campaigns which are already developing against unemployment, against the cuts, and against every other reactionary policy of this Government, and take up here the demands for recall conferences. Some of these campaigns are undoubtedly going forward at the moment. Committees against the cuts and unemployment are springing up in many areas. On unemployment the recent demonstrations in Liverpool and Birmingham, not to mention the 25,000 in London on 26 November, show what can be achieved and what is necessary. The next stage is to take this beyond demonstrations to real industrial action — not sitting in Parliament in London but stumping the country building support for these actions is the way to get recall conferences.

On cuts also the fight back is beginning. The 30,000 on the NUS demonstration against education cuts was a real display of power supported by important sections of the labour movement. The call for a mass demonstration against health service cuts on 25 April by the National Coordinating Committee Against the Cuts in the Health Service and NALGO is another step forward. The task here is to make the Labour Party conference decisions on the health service a reality and to extend a similar policy to other parts of the public sector. These working class struggles and actions are the only way to fight for the recall of the TUC and the Labour Party conferences.

MISERABLE MANOEUVRES

What has ever dealt a real blow to the employers and Wilson and forced them to retreat? Certainly not the miserable manoeuvres of the Tribunites in their method of recalling the Labour conference. Certainly not those like Benn who protest their opposition to unemployment but sit in the Government which imposed the Chrysler deal, and puts 1,300,000 on the dole. The actions which have forced the Government back were precisely those of the steelworkers when they came out on strike and the Chrysler workers who struck to defend basic trade union rights in Linwood.

It was only when 25,000 people marched on 26 November that the TUC began to make even its present tame noises about the ever lengthening dole queues. The only way recall TUC and Labour Party conferences are going to be gained is through massive mobilisations of the working class against the employers, with every single struggle taking up the demand to recall the labour movement conferences. When the bureaucrats feel the real weight of the working class, and are scared that they are going to be outflanked and replaced, that is when there will be some movement to overturn last year's reactionary decisions. Stand up and fight or be overwhelmed and by-passed by rising working class struggles. That must be the message which gets through to the left leaders.

The clear aim of all these struggles must be a real organisation of the left within the labour movement — not the tame parliamentary groups of the Tribunites, but a fighting class struggle left wing based on a clear programme and open and democratic organisation. There must be organisation of caucuses and movements in every union, trades council and Labour Party on a programme of struggle against the policies of this Government. A conference and national organisation of all those fighting for the recall of the TUC and Labour conferences can be a step to this. These are the policies which must be fought for in the Labour Movement Assembly and all the struggles of the coming weeks.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



'Right to Work' marchers leave Manchester on the long road to London. Three hundred people joined the contingent as it left. Manchester IMG were on the march, which they supported while criticising the sectarian organisation of the march, its inadequate slogans and policy and the failure to link in with those struggles of the class going on.

TRIBUNE PLAYS "SELL-OUT"

The vote of the Labour Party National Executive Committee on the motion for a recall Labour Conference was the first well publicised move of the Labour left towards challenging the right-wing policies of the Government. But the 16-10 vote against recall has apparently thrown the Tribunite left back into even greater inactivity and despondency than they were suffering from already.

In reality the outcome of this vote is no refutation whatsoever of the need for recall TUC and Labour Party conferences to free the labour movement from the shackles of the Wilson Government's policies. What it demonstrates is that these conferences cannot be gained by the means proposed by the Tribunite left.

No serious preparations were made by the Tribunites for this vote. There were no calls for the NEC to be flooded with resolutions, no raising of the demand for a recall conference at meetings addressed by the MPs up and down the country, no raising of this slogan at all the demonstrations and struggles which have taken place in recent weeks.

SURPRISED

Instead of mass campaigning in the labour movement, the Tribunites relied on a bit of lobbying in the Labour left's so-called inbuilt majority on the Labour NEC. Then they were surprised when so-called 'lefts' like Alex Kitson of the Transport Workers voted against the recall. Yet if anything can be learned from the debacle since last summer, it is that so-called 'lefts' like Jones and Foot turn out to be the main props of Wilson, and that absolutely nothing is achieved against the Government by mere manoeuvres in the corridors of power.

Look at the pathetic role of Benn, for example. Here is someone with mass support inside the working class. A serious campaign by him would have tens of thousands of union and Labour Party militants organised against the Government's policies. He may have got up enough courage to vote for the recall conference, but you can be sure that this furtive little break with Wilson doesn't compensate one thousandth in the class struggle for the clear left cover he gives to this Government by remaining a member of it.

And what a pathetic display the Tribunites make. The cover of this week's *Tribune* states: 'At stake is nothing less than the socialist character of the Labour Party itself.' And what have the parliamentary lefts produced to save the 'socialist character of the Labour Party'? Around 30 of them may get up the courage to abstain on the public expenditure cuts.

The biggest attack on the welfare state ever, the 'socialist character' of the Labour Party supposedly at stake, and the most they can do is abstain!

No wonder these people can't get a recall Labour conference. They couldn't fight their way out of a paper bag or frighten a tame tabby cat — let alone defeat the anti-working class policies of this Government. They make no serious attempt to organise the struggle where it really counts, *outside* Parliament, and even if they did their complete cowardice even within the Parliamentary Labour Party would prevent them from achieving anything serious.

The rapidly right-moving editor of *Tribune*, Richard Clements, has been amusing himself in recent weeks by running little games and book reviews headed 'Sectarianism', which are supposedly aimed against the revolutionary left. He would do better to invent one big game called 'Sell-Out' which could fill the entire pages of his paper.

Given the choice between the undoubted oddities which sections of the revolutionary left sometimes get up to and *Tribune's* fawning on Foot and Jones, abstention on expenditure cuts, support for the Chrysler deal and refusal to wage any serious fight against unemployment, we have no doubt which 'errors' increasing numbers of class conscious workers will see as more important. The Tribunites will only enter the battle when they are dragged there in the wake of the working class.

But the lefts mustn't be allowed to let themselves sink carefully back into

the parliamentary twilight they love. They want nothing better than to withdraw from sight so that workers can forget their actions in the last months. Then, when the labour movement later moves forward again, the Tribunites could emerge from the shadows and kindly offer to place themselves at its head — just so that at the crucial moment they could display the same cowardice they have in the last months.

The working class has no interest in allowing these reformists to retreat quietly into their asylums. Many workers still have illusions in them. The spotlight must be kept firmly fixed on these lefts. They must either be forced to take a step forward in the needs of the class struggle or stand further exposed for their refusal to fight.

The decisive question now is to organise those forces who supported the demand for a recall Labour conference. Hundreds of labour movement bodies are or can be pledged to this demand. The Tribunites should use their position and support to call a national conference of all those demanding recall to discuss how to carry forward this fight and the struggle against the Government's policies.

But the crucial lesson is to understand that nothing can be gained by manoeuvres or merely relying on supposed majorities in NECs. Only the mass action of the working class and the fight for open organisation of the left within the labour movement can force the recall of the Labour and TUC conferences.



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

The massive cuts demonstration last Friday was given no perspective by its organisers, the Broad Left leadership of the National Union of Students. The clearest evidence of this was their cover up for the TUC leaders. Charles Clarke, President of the NUS denounced the IMG initiative of a 200 strong lobby of TUC headquarters, saying that the militant students were attacking the wrong people.

health housing education social services transport consumer hygiene libraries

NO CUTS

NEW UNITY AGAINST LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S CUTS

Healey's savage cuts package could shortly find itself facing the most united resistance by the labour movement to date, following the setting up on 24 February of a London Regional Committee of the National Co-ordinating Committee Against Cuts in the National Health Service (NCC).

The fifty-strong meeting, chaired by Steve Johnson of the NCC (who is also a health service officer of NALGO) unanimously passed a resolution proposed by Dr. Dominic Costa, also of the NCC and a registrar in chemical pathology at Hammersmith Hospital. This called for the establishment of a region-wide committee which could help to unite all struggles against the cuts in the London area by projecting and supporting all-London actions against the strangulation of welfare services.

While the starting point of the NCC was the fight to defend the National Health Service and implement the resolution passed at last October's MCAPP conference, Costa pointed out that it was necessary for the labour movement to oppose all cuts in the social services. Not to do so would invite the off-loading of cuts from one service to another whenever a successful fight was waged against cutbacks in one sector. No section

of working people nor any sector of public services should be made to pay for the bankruptcy of capitalism in Britain.

The new London Regional Committee of the NCC decided to work for the broadest possible labour movement support for the following major London-wide activities:

- Lobby of London Labour Party Conference from 9 a.m. on 6 March at Camden Town Hall, Euston Road, NW1. The lobby will support resolutions inside the conference opposing public service cuts and has been called by the NCC.
- National demonstration against cuts in the NHS and against private practice on 25 April, called by the NCC and sponsored by NALGO's National Executive Committee and the Socialist Medical Association.
- A London region delegate conference against the cuts in the autumn.
- The publication of a London region bulletin against the cuts.

CUTS

● To call for an emergency Labour Party conference to implement the last Labour conference's resolution on the health service - composite resolution 30, which opposed all cuts and private practice.

These first steps to unify the fight against cuts in the London region have not come a moment too early. The last year has seen a steady growth of activity against different aspects of the cuts, and not a week has passed since January without a report of a new local campaign, council chamber lobby, hospital picket or other local attempt to halt the flood of welfare cuts in London.

Only if these varied local responses are welded together in a united drive against the cuts package as a whole and the Labour leaders who are responsible for them can there be any chance of turning back the Government's centralised offensive.

Housing cuts spell massive rise in homelessness and slums

£365 million slashed from direct spending programmes by 1978/9 as compared with last year's plans - that is the Wilson Government's answer to rising rents, homelessness, empty houses, and unemployment in the building industry.

Successful implementation of these cuts would deliver a mighty blow to the right of decent housing for all the working class in two main ways: it would mean more rent rises, and increasing decay and dereliction of sub-standard housing. The contribution council rents make to the housing budget will be increased from 43 per cent to 50 per cent to provide £310 million more by 1978/9 - money taken from the pockets of the working class to finance massive loan interest repayments.

Ninety per cent of the Greater London Council's rents already go straight to the finance houses as interest repayments. The Government's soft-soap claim that they aren't cutting housing 'as much as they could have' is just a cover to hide the real purpose of their 'updated housing budget in keeping with the national interest' - to speed up repayments to the City money-lenders, who have more interest in housing than most other social spending.

TRANSPORT

On top of this, council cash for improvement of older property will be slashed from £374 million (1976) to £275m (1979/80), although improvement grants for private owners will stay at £122m.

The slashing of bus and London underground subsidies from £135m (1976) to £60m (1979) will also make the urban housing crisis even worse.

The cost of travelling and hence the pressure for rents to rise in the inner cities will increase. The increased rent gradient will mean more depopulation, homelessness and empty housing in the cities. The Government's urban policy is about as close to a coherent socialist plan as Moss-side is to Buckingham Palace.

In a pathetic attempt to try to paper over the sickeningly bad housing crisis, the Government is now turning to the Tory solution - housing associations. By this method of council loans for housing programmes, the Government hopes to get 'something' built but avoid the responsibilities for rehousing and maintenance which go with the greater pressure the working class can bring to bear on council housing. So grants for housing associations will rise more than a hundredfold from £2.7m (1974/5) to £365.4m (1977/8).

These schemes - like the whole Government perspective for housing, which is to force the council housing programmes to run at an increased profit to satisfy the moneylenders - are no

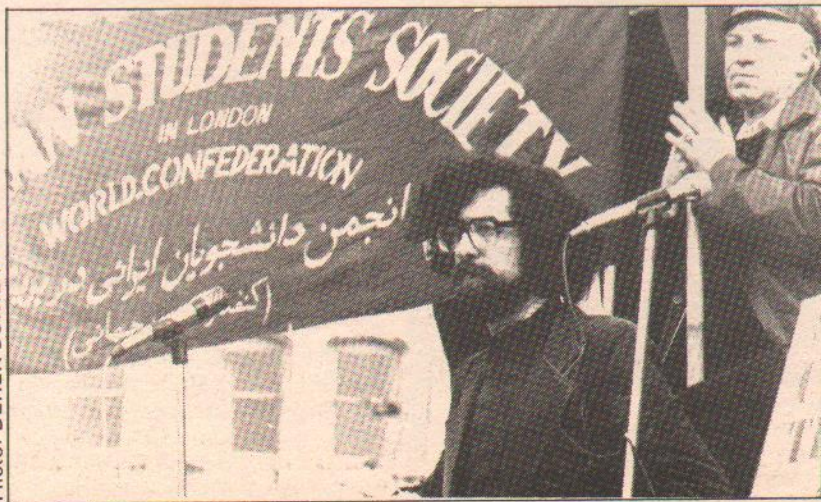
answer to the housing crisis. Militants must fight through united actions of tenants, squatters, trade unions, and students at every level for a programme of demands which can lead to a workers' solution.

Housing and cuts struggle committees must be set up in areas, to prevent the implementation of the cuts and organise against particular evictions, lay-offs and so on, through occupations, squatting, barricades against eviction etc. These bodies must have a clear perspective of seeking support for their actions from trade unions, Labour Parties and all organisations of the labour movement to draw together the widest possible forces in action.

A programme of demands to unite these struggles would include:

- For a crash programme of Government-funded repairs and building to end homelessness and unemployment in the building industry - nationalise the building industry to do it.
- Reverse the cuts in housing and all social spending.
- Stop the Criminal Trespass Law proposals and all other moves against the right to picket, squat and occupy.
- Requisition all empty housing for the homeless.
- Nationalise the banks and finance houses under workers control - end interest repayments on money borrowed for housing and the social services.

PIERS CORBYN



Piers Corbyn speaking on behalf of the London Squatters Action Council at last Saturday's demonstration against the Criminal Trespass Law proposals



One of the many actions against the cuts in London - picket of Hammersmith Hospital last Friday against the diversion of resources into private practice

DEFEND THE NHS - CAMPAIGN GAINING STRENGTH

The TUC's collaboration with the Labour Government's cuts in spending on the NHS is not going unchallenged. Resistance to the attacks on the NHS and the threat of the growth of private practice is growing around the country. Below we report on some of the activities of local action committees. These point the way forward in building a campaign against the health cuts which can force the TUC to break with the policies of the Labour Government, and secure a recall of the TUC to organise a united response to these attacks.

SHEFFIELD

In Sheffield the Trades Council has agreed to organise a local conference to discuss how to fight the cuts. As part of the build-up to this, the local Action Committee together with the Socialist Medical Association locally is organising a public meeting on 1 April. It is hoped that the local Labour MP will agree to speak. The Red Ladder Theatre Group are also being invited to give a performance of their play on the NHS in Sheffield, particularly aimed at the local hospital workers.

In the long term the Action Committee hopes to mount a local campaign against the lack of casualty departments in the area - in Sheffield there is only one casualty department open at night, which the hospitals take it in turn to provide.

HULL

In Hull the local Action Committee is campaigning for the Trades Council to support the holding of a regional conference on the cuts. This would involve not just hospital workers but also unions in the social services and education, with the aim of planning a common response to the effects of the cuts in the area. They are also hoping to produce a local bulletin.

The Humber-side Committee is also engaged in building support for psychiatric nurses facing forced early retirement, which is being fought by COHSE members locally.

SOUTHAMPTON

In Southampton the local Action Committee is supported by the local NUPE branch, and is hoping to involve both

ASTMS and several Labour Party wards in its activities. It is producing a monthly bulletin which is distributed widely in the local labour movement, and asking for reports on the effects of the cuts locally from the rest of the labour movement to include in the bulletin.

The main activity of the Committee so far has been to mount a campaign against the building of a private hospital just outside Southampton. As part of this a joint demonstration was organised with Portsmouth Action Committee outside the County Council building to oppose the granting of planning permission. They are planning a regional conference in the south to continue the campaign against the building of the private hospital and to build for the 25 April NCC demonstration.

WALES

A big delegation from the South Wales Miners, Swansea Trades Council and hundreds of NUPE health workers joined a NUPE-sponsored demonstration against the cuts last Saturday. Well over a thousand demonstrators, boosted by students from nearly every college in South and West Wales, marched through Cardiff and then sent a call to the TUC to launch opposition to the Government's cuts in the welfare state.

The demonstration rounded off an excellent couple of weeks in the Swansea area, where health workers at the Morris Hospital, scene of several strikes against pay beds in the last two years, have set up a committee to defend the NHS. Already a conference sponsored by Swansea Trades Council has been organised for mid-March. Full details next week.

"Women and the Cuts"

A STEP FORWARD

Last Saturday over 200 delegates from more than a dozen trade unions, trades councils, Labour Parties, student unions, women's groups, socialist organisations etc. crammed into Friends Meeting House for the London conference on 'Women and the Cuts'. The first initiative of its kind, the conference showed the increasing need for the labour movement to begin to centralise the fight against cuts in social expenditure and unemployment, and the importance of taking up the needs of women within that fight.

— 'Women have always done badly out of the health service. As health workers, they have been used as a supply of cheap labour. As patients, along with the old and the "mentally ill", they have been regarded as a low priority, since they are economically unproductive and often socially isolated.'

— 'In 1949 there were 903 borough nurseries in Britain. There were 453 in 1970....In London a recent survey showed that boroughs provided day nursery places for only 1 1/2 per cent of under fives.'

— 'Women's unemployment is rising at twice the rate of men's. Since 1974 it has risen at the rate of 106 per cent compared to 50 per cent amongst men.'

— 'Some local authorities are considering paying relatives to care for the needy at home. In practice this "return to community care" forces women back into the isolation of the home to take on the "community's" responsibilities.'

These were some of the points made by delegates, and the resolution passed by the conference outlines a vigorous programme of action needed to take up the fight against these attacks. Some of the initiatives delegates pledged themselves to support were the NCC/NALGO demonstration against cuts in the NHS, the Right to Work March and Rally in London, and the Labour Movement Assembly on unemployment on 27 March. An important amendment also called for an 'immediate recall of the TUC and Labour Party conferences' to demand a break with the Government's right-wing policies.

Last weekend's conference was living proof of the need to link up the pres-



Celia Pugh proposes main resolution ent initiatives against cuts and make sure the needs of women are adequately represented within them. The call made by the conference for a national 'Women and the Cuts' conference should be taken up by trade union, Labour and women's organisations throughout the country.

Photo: ANGELA PHILLIPS (FL)

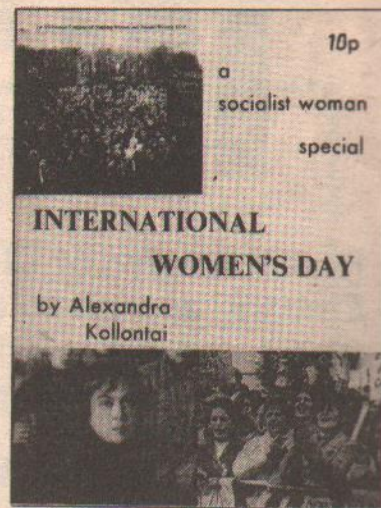
Women's Day - to mark the living struggle

In 1910 the Second International Conference for Working Women called for an annual day — 'International Working Women's Day' — to be set aside under the slogan, 'Votes for women will unite our strength in the struggle for socialism'. When this day came round the following year, Kollontai recalls that Austria and Germany were a 'seething trembling sea of women — in every town and village women put out pamphlets and held meetings as men stayed home with the kids'.

In 1917 Russian women in Petrograd chose this day to demonstrate for the return of men from the war and a supply of bread — and in doing so sparked off the events which led to the overthrow of the Czar and the eventual seizure of power by the workers.

This is the tradition in which we continue to celebrate International Women's Day on 8 March. In Britain, the fight for women's rights is raging daily in the face of the attacks carried out by the Labour Government. The living struggles of women — notably those for free abortion on demand, for equal pay, and against all cuts in the welfare state — should be in the forefront of any celebrations this year.

The International Women's Year called for 1975 by the United Nations has proved to be a farce — we must now continue in the past tradition of International Women's Day and see these struggles as an integral part of the struggle for socialism.



Available again, 10p (plus 8p p&p) from: Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Rd, N1.

Welsh women strike over equal pay

Women at the GEC factory on the Treforest Trading Estate at Pontypridd have been on strike for four weeks over equal pay after all the male workers were regraded by management. They are asking for the minimum semi-skilled male wage, which would mean an increase of £3.45 a week. The latest offer was £2.50 and the women are determined to stay out until they get the full amount. Morale is high, although they have received no strike pay, despite official union (AUEW) backing. Some of the women on the picket line talked to Red Weekly last week about what's at stake.

“The management didn't take us seriously at first, but after the third or fourth day they realised we were here to stay. Most people have been good about not crossing the picket line, though I don't know what it would be like if we were not here to make sure.

‘But this strike pay business is getting some of the girls down. The young single ones who live on their own and can't pay the rent are going to be the first to break. They are already talking about accepting the latest offer, but most of us are determined to stay out.

‘It's ridiculous when you think about it. There's supposed to be a law now making it illegal not to pay women equal

wages, and here we are out on strike and the management thinking they can get away with it. We shouldn't have to be on strike for what's ours by right.

‘Everybody though that with the Equal Pay Act women would have total equality. They must have been dreaming. Our employers hadn't even started talking about it until a few months ago. They took all the men away from our section so that we wouldn't have any men to compare with.’”

Red Weekly has been saying for some time that there was going to be a spate of struggles around equal pay. This particular crisis makes the employers highly reluctant to pay out the money necessary to give women equal pay, so they have been thinking of ways to get around it — and the Labour Government certainly gave them enough time to do so, with a five year lapse before implementation of the Equal Pay Act. The women workers at Pontypridd are among many who are beginning to realise that perhaps the Act is not everything it is made out to be.



NAC Steering Committee members (l to r) Berry Beaumont, Angela Phillips, Leonora Lloyd and Sabena Roberts at Monday's press conference

NAC to boycott Select Committee

A campaign to boycott the Parliamentary Select Committee on abortion was announced by the National Abortion Campaign at a press conference on Monday. NAC said that it would refuse to give evidence as 'we believe it will serve no purpose to talk to MPs who are poised to restrict the existing abortion legislation'. They made it clear, however, that 'we will not withhold our evidence from the public', and that the mass campaign for a woman's right to choose/free abortion on demand would continue.

Hugh Scanlon, President of the AUEW engineering union, has publicly wished NAC 'every success to the campaign for a woman's right to choose'. Unfortunately these fine words are not enough — he should take a look at the number of AUEW-sponsored MPs who have consistently voted in support of the Select Committee.

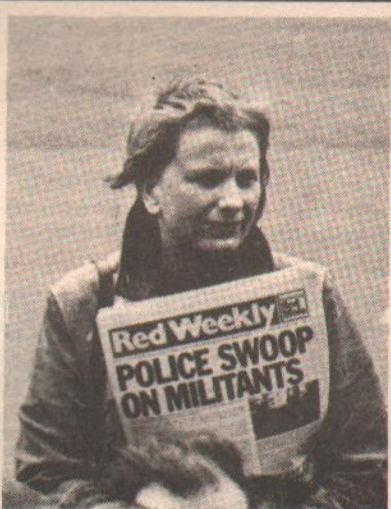
Susan Kenyon

The workers movement has suffered a tragic loss with the death of Susan Kenyon, in hospital after a short illness, on Saturday 21 February in Sheffield. Her death, from pneumonia following 'flu, was sudden and unexpected at the age of 29. All those who knew her — comrades, friends and her family — will never forget her qualities as a militant in the IMG, the National Union of Teachers, the Labour Party and Sheffield Trades Council.

After joining the IMG in 1972, Susan established herself in the Sheffield labour movement as a militant who understood the importance for revolutionaries of being able to demonstrate politics in practice — of being able to operate amongst other tendencies and traditions, which as yet carry far greater political weight than the revolutionary currents.

Without ever conceding one iota of her politics, she won the respect of militants from all tendencies by her ability to fight relentlessly for her ideas without ever adopting sectarian or propagandist stances. One of the largest ever funerals given to a worker militant in Sheffield was attended by members of all workers organisations who responded to these abilities with affection and respect.

Both as a revolutionary feminist and as a woman, Susan suffered and maintained an unceasing political battle against the oppression of women. Eventually the pressures of her work as a teacher, added to her political activity and the burdens she shouldered in bringing up her daughter Justine, brought her to break her formal membership of the IMG last year. She never had political differences with the IMG, but her pos-



SUSAN KENYON

ition and responsibilities made it impossible for her to participate in the life of the organisation to the limits she always demanded of herself and so amply demonstrated.

She never reduced her level of political activity right up to the last week of her life. This year she was delegated once more from Sheffield to the NUT's national conference, and as secretary of the Sheffield Working Women's Charter Committee was involved at the end of her life in organising a delegation to the national Charter Conference.

The teacher comrades of the IMG, with whom she did so much of her work, will remember especially her speech to 2,000 delegates last year at the Black-pool conference of the NUT. 'I stand before conference and register my disgust that the leadership of this union, predominantly women, can pay such scant regard to the particular problems of working women in this society.'

Unfortunately it is not only the union leaders who scab in this way. Susan's life was an example and a lesson to all militants. Her best memorial is a renewed determination to continue the struggle.

Canadian pro-abortionist released on bail

Dr Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal surgeon hounded to jail by the Canadian Government for performing illegal abortions, was released from jail on 26 January. In spite of poor health following many months of imprisonment, he is once again actively involved in the struggle to repeal the Canadian laws under which abortion is a criminal offence.

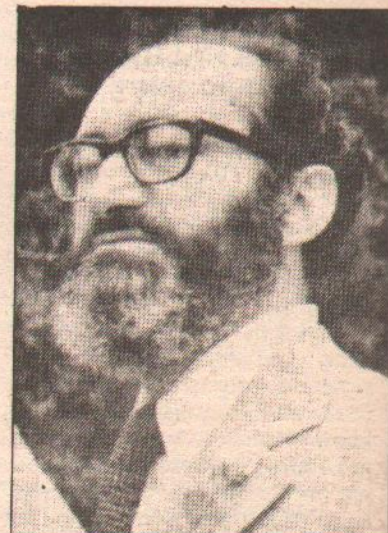
Morgentaler was twice acquitted by juries on charges of performing illegal abortions. However, these decisions were reversed by the Canadian Supreme Court, which sentenced him to eighteen months imprisonment in March 1975. The judge said that he was imposing an unusually severe penalty in view of Morgentaler's acknowledgement that he had performed between 5,000 and 6,000 abortions, based on his opposition to any legal restrictions on a woman's right to abortion.

In an interview given to a Quebec socialist monthly, *Liberation*, following his release, Morgentaler stated: 'My

view is that abortion should not be something which is regulated by the state, that it should be a woman's individual decision If she has decided she does not want an abortion, the state should not interfere in any way. She should be allowed to have a safe medical abortion. It's just as simple as that.'

The persecution of Morgentaler has aroused great public protest. Such was the public reaction that the Government was forced to concede an important guarantee of civil rights in the form of an amendment to the criminal code, known as the Morgentaler Amendment. It has also introduced and accepted an amendment that a jury trial cannot be overturned.

The Appeals Court's recent decision to uphold the jury verdict of 'not guilty' and release Dr Morgentaler does not mean his battle is finished. The Federal Justice Minister has ordered a new trial on a charge for which Morgentaler had already been found not guilty by a jury. This continued persecution against Morgentaler is an attack



DR HENRY MORGENTALER

against the right of Canadian women to control their own bodies and their own destiny.

Telegrams and letters demanding that all the charges against Dr Morgentaler be dropped should be addressed to: Fernand Lalonde, Solicitor-General, Province of Quebec, Canada.

WHO'S WHO IN THE CIA

Recent naming of CIA and other espionage experts in the American Embassy appears to have encouraged the Americans to shake up their London operation. According to sources from within the Embassy, the Americans have

- * Replaced the chief of the top secret office of the US National Security Agency along with four of the CIA's top London officers.

- * Shifted out half of the top secret communications staff operating in the Embassy's 'Area Telecommunications Office' — the CIA's London Communications Centre.

- * Tried to mask the existence of a special intelligence team — the Joint Reports and Research Unit — one of whom continues to have an office and secretary inside the British Ministry of Defence.

Despite these many changes, the CIA and its sister organisations still have over 60 employees at the Embassy. And despite the tightening of the Embassy's security system, *Red Weekly* has managed to uncover their names — and addresses.

As far as we know, this is the largest list of American intelligence operatives published at a single go anywhere in the world. All the information is accurate as of a few weeks ago — some of it was unearthed as recently as last week. It has been exhaustively checked.

Why we publish

On 17 January the Washington Post reported under the headline 'CIA Morale Overseas Plummet' that the year-long investigation of the US Congress and the widespread naming of CIA employees was causing 'a dramatic drop in morale in recent weeks that is not only affecting the agency's ability to gather intelligence but.....causing severe personal strain as well.'

Such news, if true, is welcome. In Britain we know that Forum World Features Limited, a news agency secretly run by the CIA, beat a very hasty retreat last May after the leaking of a top secret CIA report. Forum closed down a matter of days after a copy of the incriminating report arrived in Britain.

Started in the early 1950s, it was for a long time an offshoot of the CIA-run Congress for Cultural Freedom. In 1965 it apparently changed its basis to that of a commercial firm — a change marked by the emergence of Brian Crozier as Forum's top man in London — selling

stories far and wide, including to the Sunday Times.

Unfortunately its closure didn't put Crozier out of work. Forum had been instrumental in establishing the 'we counter insurgency anytime, anywhere' Institute for the Study of Conflict in 1970. Crozier is its boss.

Nevertheless, the closure of Forum World Features was a small but important part of the continuing disruption of the CIA's black propaganda activities.

It is to further disrupt the work of its British base that *Red Weekly* is publishing this list of CIA employees at the American Embassy. We do this as a service to the labour movement both here and internationally, and in particular in solidarity with those who have suffered most as a result of the CIA's activities: the people of Cuba, Iran, Guatemala, Indonesia, Indochina, Chile, Angola and many other countries.

State Department records yield no information on Pereira, but Blackshear — who is listed as an accredited diplomat by the October 1975 London Diplomatic List published by the Foreign Office — has been at it for years.

According to the State Department's 1974 *Biographic Register*, Blackshear served as an unspecified economic 'analyst' with the US Army from 1952–59. From there he went to the State Department as a so-called 'economic officer' shifting rapidly from Frankfurt to Berlin to Sofia, where he stayed from 1961 to the summer of 1966. In all these places Blackshear is listed as a Foreign Service Reserve Officer — a sure sign of CIA activity. Genuine diplomats are listed as Foreign Service Officers.

But Blackshear's travels were far from over. In 1966 he surfaced in New Delhi as a 'political officer' just as Mrs Gandhi was assuming office in the wake of the Indo-Pakistan war and when rural revolt

was simmering. Back to the State Department in 1969, promotion, a brief spell at the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and then Blackshear disappears. Nothing is officially recorded of his activities between the middle of 1970 and the time that he surfaced on the London Diplomatic List

George T Walsh, who was CIA station chief in Bangladesh in 1972 before coming to Britain, has gone home. Walsh was named last April by *Time Out* as a CIA man attending the Royal College of Defence Studies in Belgrave Square on an 'educational' exchange programme.

Although Embassy sources inform us he was here until late last year, he left us his forwarding address: 22 Fresh Holes Road, Hyannis, Massachusetts, USA.

last October as an accredited 'attache'.

He is now working alongside John T Kirby, the only one of the three senior political liaison officers remaining from last May. In 25 or more years with the CIA Kirby has

travelled the familiar Manila (Philippines)—Saigon (Vietnam)—Bangkok circuit. More often than not listed as an 'attache', he surfaced in Nicosia, Cyprus in 1966 before a further spell back at the State Department.

Amongst the political liaison staff A Spencer Braham has gone and Edward P Dunn arrived. According to State Department records, Mr Dunn appears not to have existed between the late 1950s and his arrival in London last year. He is last

listed in a *Biographic Register* in 1959.

He'll be working alongside some familiar faces. Amongst others, George W Ford II, a Middle East operative for a decade prior to coming to London; and Joseph L Then, who spent years in Bogota, Colombia and is remembered by Philip Agee as a CIA employee.

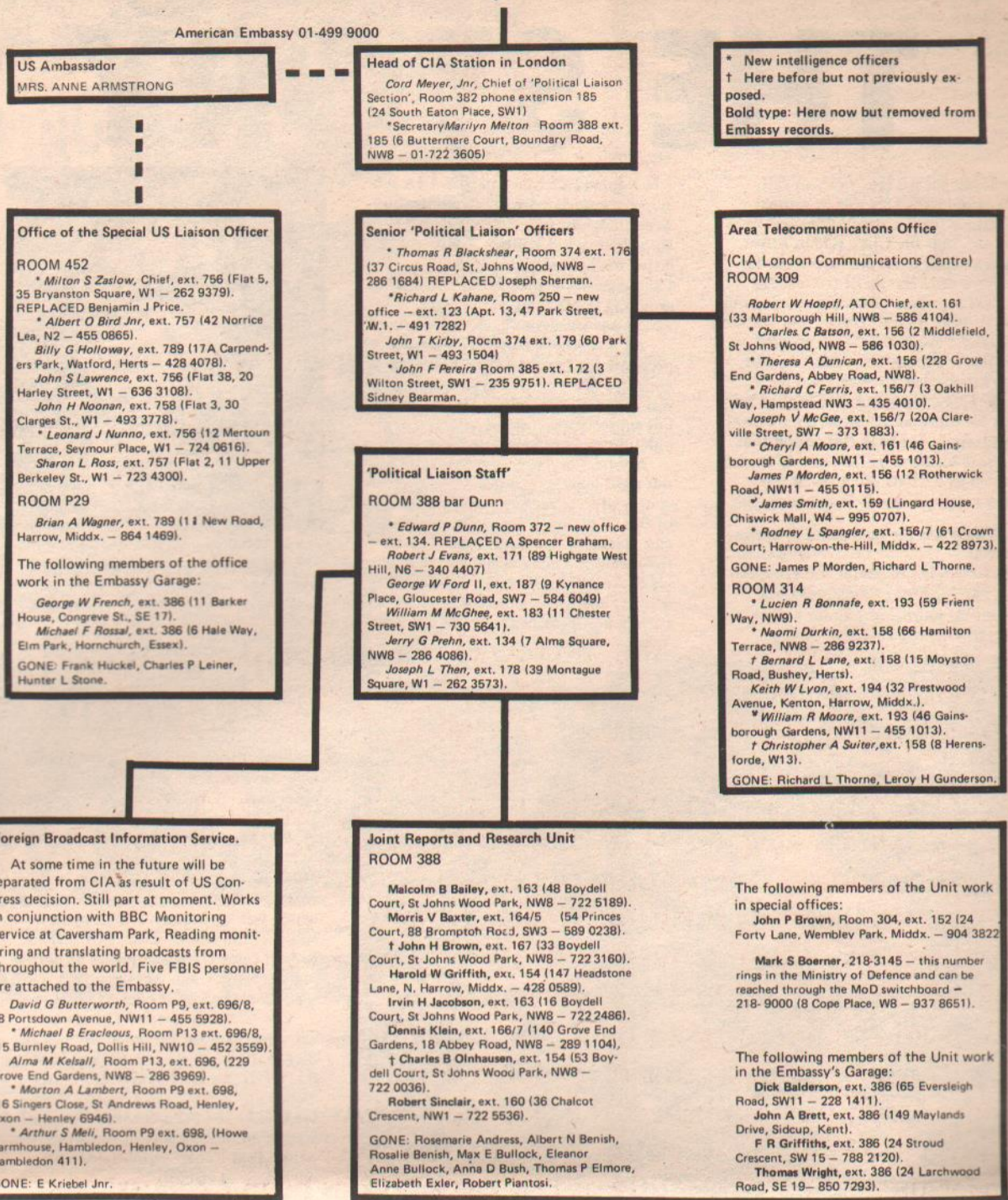
Another new top man in the Political Liaison Section with a new office is Richard A Kahane. He



A SPECIAL REPORT



CIA HEADQUARTERS, LANGLEY, VIRGINIA



BY MICK GOSLING

arrived in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) in the Congo (now Zaire) in July 1964 at precisely the same time as the US-backed Tshombe was recalled from exile to become Prime Minister.

Supporters of the assassinated Patrice Lumumba (an admitted CIA target) were then busy establishing the 'People's Republic of the Congo' in opposition to Tshombe, but the US backed an intervention by Belgian troops and the rebels were def-

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

More recently he underwent special training with the Foreign Service Institute before going to Prague. He was there from July 1972 until he arrived in London a matter of weeks ago.

swiftly in the last eight months. We can also name Bernard Lane and Christopher Suiter, who previously escaped detection.

CIA telecommunications employees are fairly easy to identify, as they tend to be listed by the State Department as 'telecoms tech', 'telecoms offs' and so on. Diplomatic service technicians are called 'comms-rec offs'. The expansion of this already large department bears testimony to the importance of the CIA's London operation for gathering intelligence on an all-European scale.

The nine new faces include Charles C Batson, whose experience stretches through East Africa in the late 1950s, to Cyprus then Greece in 1964, and down to Manila. He too disappeared back to the State Department in 1970 before resurfacing in Britain last year.

It looks as if Batson will be linking up with an old friend in Room 314. The only trace we could find on new boy Lucien R Bonnaffe was from 1961 to 1963, when he was what was then termed a 'communications specialist' in Manila. Quite possibly he continued his stay under deeper cover, and met Batson there.

Up top in the Communications Office, things are changing as well. Robert W Hoepfl, previously the senior officer in the department, seems to have shifted previous chief John W Coffey out of office and home. Certainly he occupies Coffey's previous address and his telephone number in the Embassy.

Hoepfl is a key figure in the London communications set-up. Despite being listed as an 'attache' on the Diplomatic List, the only reference made to him in State Department records is as a Telecoms Officer appointed to the London post in July 1974. However he's been around much longer. When

previous checks were made he was remembered by ex-CIA agents Agee and Marchetti.

3) UNDERCOVER RESEARCH

There has been a massive attempt to cover up the operations of the Joint Reports and Research Unit, a unit housed within the CIA centre of operations but possibly including officers from other intelligence units.

It shares Embassy Room 388 alongside six members of the Political Liaison staff. When this was first revealed and Embassy spokesmen described the JRRU as 'a Defence Department thing'. Given CIA autonomy and the stringent security procedures it operates even against other US

as Wright are still here.

Red Weekly can also verify that one Mark S Boerner not only has a phone number which rings in the Ministry of Defence, but that he has acquired himself an office and secretary there. The close working relation of the CIA with the British secret service is well known - for example, a handwritten note on the top secret CIA report on Forum World Features notes that Forum was 'run with the knowledge and co-operation of British intelligence' - and part of the JRRU's work appears to be an aspect of that collaboration.

4) ZASLOW IS SUSLO!

Milton S. Zaslav is the new Special US Liaison Officer, replacing Benjamin J Price. No records are available on his activities as yet, but he is now heading the top secret SUSLO office earlier described by an Embassy spokesman as 'a Defence Department thing specialising in communications and communications facilities'. It has now been confirmed that this is actually a unit of the super-scientific US National Security Agency.

The NSA is even more secret than the CIA, and was described as the CIA's 'big brother' in the February issue of the French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*. One of its responsibilities is to trade information with British intelligence.

'In case you have any lingering doubts about the pervasiveness of the CIA's influence overseas, consider the little noticed testimony of David Phillips, a recently retired CIA agent who is now president of the Association of Retired Intelligence Officers (ARIO). Phillips, who retired during a wave of criticism of the CIA, was testifying before Senator Abraham Ribicoff's Government Operations Committee. What, asked a senator, was Phillips doing for the CIA at the time of his retirement? Replied Phillips, in what we hope was a slip, "I was running 20 countries of the world".' (New Times, 5 March 1976).

THE 'DIRTY TRICKS' MAN

Cord Meyer Jr is perhaps the most well known CIA station chief of our times - a 'distinction' gained by his particularly nasty role within a nasty trade. By now it is well known that before coming to London Meyer was assistant deputy director of the CIA's dirty tricks department - the Planning Department - (*Guardian*, 22/3/73). He was in charge among other things of covert financing of *Encounter* magazine and the International Student Congress.

Also well known is the demand he made on the publishers Harper and Row in the summer of 1972 to show the CIA proofs of a book since published called *The Politics of Heroin in South-East Asia*. The book linked the CIA with this drug trafficking.

Less well known is what would appear to be a commensurate nastiness in his 'personal' life. In its Fall issue of 1974, *Counterspy* magazine concluded a profile on Meyer as follows: 'Meyer's machismo is also extreme. Meyer became notorious at the CIA's Langley complex for sexually assaulting his secretaries during office hours. At the first available excuse - the min-workers strike in Britain - today's CIA leaders removed him from the decision-making process and sent him to be Station Chief in London.'



Photo: WORKERS PRESS
'Political liaison officer' William McGhee outside his Chester St home last year

2) COMMUNICATIONS

Changes are proceeding even faster in the Area Telecommunications Office, which is also located on the Third Floor of the American Embassy and is the London Communications Centre of the CIA. No less than nine new officers have been brought into this department and five have disappeared equally

The CIA in Britain

THE STORY SO FAR

It was not till the late '60s and early '70s, when the CIA's role in setting up various front organisations had been revealed, that the CIA's role in British politics began to be uncovered. So far we know only the tip of the iceberg

Two members of the present Labour Government, Dennis Healey and Anthony Crosland, have in fact been assisted by the CIA — though doubtless without their knowledge. Crosland was for a whole period a paid adviser to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a CIA front organisation. It was in this period that he wrote his book *The Future of Socialism*, which became the bible of the Labour right in the '50s and early '60s.

Healey was the paid London correspondent of the *New Leader*, a virulent anti-communist magazine financed by the CIA. *Socialist Commentary*, the theoretical journal of Labour's right wing, was heavily financed by the

J M Kaplan Fund, yet another CIA subsidiary. Associated with its publication were Dick Taverne, Hugh Gaitskell, Rita Hinden and William Rodgers. The latter was the main organiser of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism grouping inside the Labour Party, which was known to have 'rich backers'.

All this was revealed in an article prepared for the *Sunday Times* magazine in 1972 by Richard Fletcher. It was suppressed by editor Harold Evans but subsequently reproduced as a pamphlet by Radical Research Services.

Nobody has suggested that the Labour right-wingers actually knew the source of their money — but the effects of this CIA money were not unimportant: Healey, Crosland and the Labour right were the most vociferous defenders of America's military pacts, NATO, SEATO and CENTO, and American foreign policy throughout the '50s and '60s.



Hugh Gaitskell —vowed to 'fight, fight and fight again', but the money came from the CIA.

FORUM WORLD FEATURES

With Forum World Features things went further — the CIA 'righting' the news itself. 'The FWF has provided the United States with a significant means to counter Communist prop(agenda)', wrote the 1968 top secret report. And at the time that Brian Crozier was switching from *The Economist* to FWF, which was apparently being put on a straight commercial basis, CIA official Robert Gene Gately served as its corporate treasurer and vice president. This was established by *Time Out* last June.

The CIA's known links continue with the Institute for the Study of Conflict set up in 1970. Till 1972 at least this received a £2,100 annual subsidy from Kern House, a CIA front. Despite the small size of this contribution, ISC insisted in its annual budget that its withdrawal would 'seriously damage our financial viability'.

A Mr Quentin B Salzman of the Public Affairs Research Group in Washington was also taking 100 annual subscriptions a year to ISC's monthly journal *Conflict Studies* (worth £1,500), although extensive checks last year failed to find a Mr Salzman. The Group did have a phone number in Washington

which turned out to be an answering service.

ISC is also filled out with its share of British Intelligence old boys and it is known that the British police use a secret ISC 'Manual on Counter Insurgency', ISC's library and *Conflict Studies*. Hands across the water

GOVERNMENT

It is the Labour Government that allows the CIA to continue its operations in Britain, according to some of its top operatives diplomatic status while allowing others to function behind the doors of the American Embassy. Louis Heren, deputy editor of *The Times*, wrote on 22 March 1975: 'There is, of course, a CIA station in Britain Mr Wilson is also personally acquainted with CIA men. For instance, Mr Chet Cooper, who was second in command of the CIA's London station before becoming a special assistant to President Johnson, was in an upstairs room in Chequers the night the Prime Minister tried to reach an agreement with Mr Kosygin, the Soviet Prime Minister, to prolong the bombing pause in Vietnam in the 1960s.

Heren went on to explain the connection with British Intelligence: 'The two agencies (the CIA and the Special Intelligence Services) have always closely co-operated with each other since the SIS helped to organise the CIA in the late 1940s.'

Yet only the previous month, on 6 February 1975, Roy Jenkins told the House of Commons in reply to a question from Tribune MP Tom Litterick, that 'the report about CIA activities in this country was categorically denied by the American Embassy after it was published just over a year ago. I have no reason to think that the denial was not accurate.'

On 19 March 1975 over 30 Labour MPs demanded the expulsion of ten leading CIA agents. Nothing happened. Stan Newens raised the question once or twice more but silence prevailed until the departure of Mr Elliot Richardson as American Ambassador in mid-January of this year. Then Norman Atkinson MP (to cries of 'Rubbish!') merely asked Wilson in Parliament for 'an assurance on the activities he has personally endorsed — that the CIA are not involved in political activities, but in the normal secret service activity?'

The point is that socialists must oppose the secret service activities, dirty tricks or otherwise, of any capitalist government. It is bad enough that a whole series of intelligence gathering operations go on as the normal activity of the whole US Embassy, without 'left' MPs saying that the CIA is all right as long as it limits itself to 'normal' secret service activity.

Red Weekly is attempting to do the labour movement a service by listing the CIA's present operatives in London. The lefts should be forced to campaign for their expulsion.



Anthony Crosland —former paid adviser to a CIA front, the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

PORTUGAL — NEW STRUGGLES

The last few weeks in Portugal have seen a new upturn in the workers' struggles against the bosses' attempts to cancel existing agreements on wages and conditions.

At the Cabos Electric d'Avila factory, for instance, the workforce of 800 voted to launch a 'strike progressively leading to a total stoppage' until management came up with a back-dated wage increase. But they didn't stop there.

Noting the increased turnover over the past year, they demanded the opening of the books to expose the boss's claim that he couldn't afford the increase. Using this information, they then decided to impose workers control in the factory and re-organise production so as to create more jobs — a vital necessity at a time of massive unemployment.

Even where the workers have decided to invite the boss back to run the factory, they have often done so on a basis which makes plain their determination to remain their own masters while using his special expertise. The workers at the Sacar factory in Oporto, for example, successfully laid down the following conditions: 90 per cent of the profits to be reinvested in the factory; repayment of £500,000 earlier removed by the boss; and a sliding scale of wages.

But perhaps the most significant struggle has taken place at another Oporto factory, Malasel. Here the engineering workers, thinking that the crisis must be due to the absence of the proprietor,

invited him to resume his position. The boss, Rui Moreira, a well-known supporter of the fascist ELP, at once tried to take advantage of the general right-wing offensive in Portugal by cancelling all the agreements with the workers.

He got more than he bargained for in return. The whole workforce launched an all-out strike which forced him to ratify all the agreements a few days later. This was not merely one in the eye for Moreira — it showed the whole working class that the return of the bosses is no answer, and that they have the power to enforce an alternative solution.

DECISIVE

The workers movement now faces a decisive test with the expiry of the wage freeze imposed by the Government after the events of 25–26 November. This will demand not merely a response at the level of the individual factory but the co-ordination of a generalised offensive, which in turn means a fight for trade union unity.

The right-wing Popular Democrats (PPD) and certain Maoist groups, supported by international social democracy and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), have launched a campaign to split the Intersindical. But they have met with a rebuff from Socialist Party trade union leaders, who under the impact of the crisis are lining up behind the left-wing SP minister of agriculture, Lopes Cardoso, against the right-wing policies of Soares.

A meeting of SP trade union leaders at Aveiro at the end of January declared itself almost unanimously in favour of maintaining trade union unity; a move which forced the national leadership of the Socialist Party to state for the first time publicly that it too was for such unity. Together with the development of struggles around common demands, this lays the basis for unifying the trade union movement through a democratic congress embracing all the trade unions, whether or not they are presently affiliated to Intersindical.

But this requires a break with the bureaucratic conceptions and practices of the CP-appointed leaders of Intersindical. It means the election with right of recall of all the trade union officials; above all, it means the right of political tendencies to organise around their platform in the trade union movement.

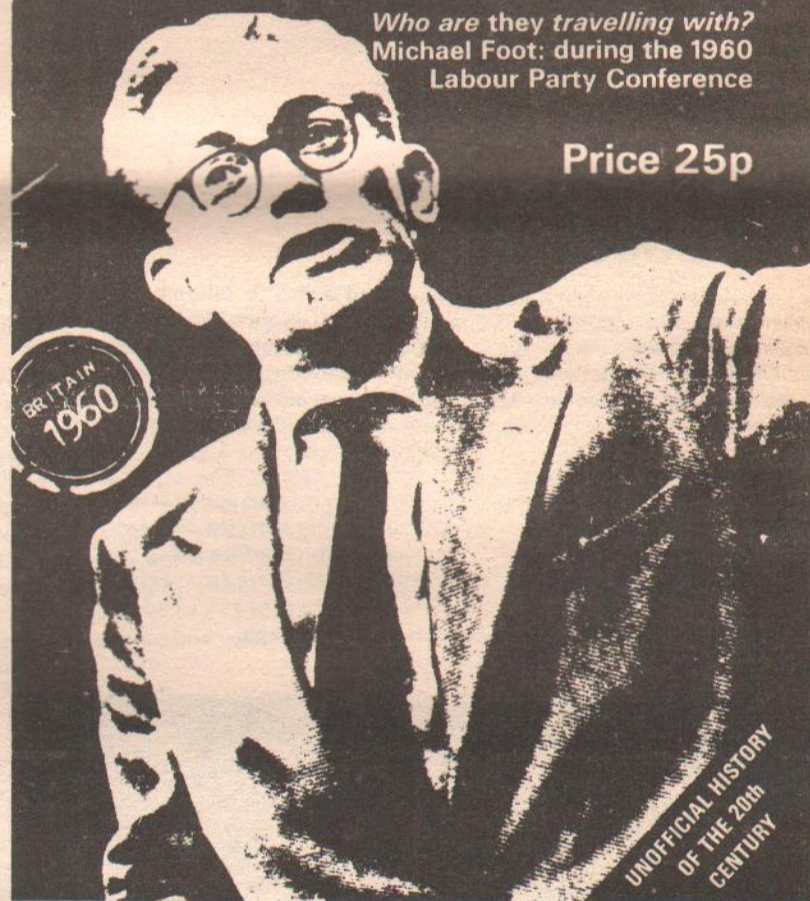
The new upturn of workers' struggles in Portugal only emphasises the importance of the conference called for 13 March by the *Solidarity Campaign with the Portuguese Working Class*. The conference takes place between 10am and 6pm at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Details from: SCPWC, 12 Little Newport St, London WC2 (01-439 3006).

NEXT WEEK: Interview with a comrade of the Internationalist Communist League (LCI — Portuguese sympathising organisation of the Fourth International).

THE FRAGILE WITH CARE

Who are they travelling with?
Michael Foot: during the 1960
Labour Party Conference

Price 25p



The article the *Sunday Times* refused to print, since published as a pamphlet

—WHAT'S ON—

CAMPAIGN for Repeal of Immigration Act—ad hoc committee to organise 11 April demo meets every Friday, 7.30pm, 152 Camden High Street.

WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER Campaign national conference; 10/11 April in Coventry. Open to all bodies supporting the campaign. Discussion of perspectives, amendments to Charter, structures. Credentials from: c/o Helen Gurdon, Flat 4, 39 Newbold Terrace East, Leamington Spa, Warwick.

'THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION'—What must we do? Hugh Lanning (NUS Executive) speaks at the London Socialist Forum, Tues 9 March, 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1 (Holborn tube).

CRITIQUE SEMINAR: Fabio Petri on 'The Limits of Marx's Theory of Value'. Tues 9 March, 7pm, London School of Economics, St Clements Building, Room S418.

BALA TAMPOE speaks on 'The Political Crisis in Ceylon', Tues 9 March, 7pm, in the Conway Hall. Organised by Asian Socialist Forum.

HUMBERSIDE Health Service Action Committee public meeting—'Fighting the Cuts on Humberside'. Weds 17 March, 7.30pm, Stevedores & Dockers Club, Postern Gate, Hull.

'FAMILY, Feminism and Sexuality'—public meeting with speaker Linda Smith (INAC Steering Committee). Weds 10 March, 6pm, University of London Union (Room 3A), Malet St. Organised by IMG Students.

BALA TAMPOE (General Secretary, Ceylon Mercantile Union), 8pm, Thurs 11 March, Isleworth Community Rooms, South St, Isleworth, Workers League and South Asia Socialist Forum joint meeting.

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UNOFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE 20th CENTURY

1914

If we consider the history of Lenin's organisational positions prior to 1914, we see that in neither of the major cases of 'splits' in which he was involved did he favour a split of the Party on *political* grounds. In 1903 he carried through a *faction* struggle against the Mensheviks but opposed any split in the Party. In 1912 he supported expelling Mensheviks from the Party – but because they refused to submit to Party discipline. At this point in time, advocacy of the political line of Menshevism within the Party was perfectly permissible provided that it accepted organisation and discipline – hence the faction of pro-Party Mensheviks within the Party.

None of this should lead to the view that Lenin (of all people!) was unprincipled or 'soft' on questions of organisational principle or political struggle. It means merely that he considered the differences at this period as differences *within* the Party – objects of a faction struggle but not a split in the Party.

FINAL BREAK

When it comes to 1914, however, we find Lenin demands an absolute split into separate *parties*. What had previously been deviations within the Party – over Menshevism, Bernsteinism, economism, etc. – were now definitely shown in the greatest events of the class struggle to be *outside* the working class and its Party.

Lenin's reaction was immediate. His very first statement on the war declared: 'The betrayal of socialism by most leaders of the Second International (1889-1914) signifies the ideological and political bankruptcy of the International It must be the task of the future International resolutely and irrevocably to rid itself of this bourgeois trend in socialism.' (1)

He declared that international Menshevism had definitively passed to the historical camp of the bourgeoisie, and that their parties, although composed of workers, were now *politically* bourgeois parties – a position from which Communists have never shifted. He commented: 'The collapse of the International is now clearly the collapse of opportunism, which is now captive to the bourgeoisie Down with opportunism, and long live the Third International.' (2)

Lenin of course noted, in the whole series of articles of 1914-17, the long *quantitative* development of opportunism. But he was also absolutely precise on the *qualitative* turning point: 'Having for decades to mature in conditions of 'peaceful' capitalism, opportunism was so mature by 1914-15 that it proved an open ally of the bourgeoisie' (our emphasis). (3) It was of course this precise turn, the transformation of quantity into quality, which meant the turn from a *faction struggle within the Party* to a situation where a *split and the formation of a new Party was necessary*.

As the resolution of the First Congress of the Communist International on the Second International put it: 'At the first shot in the mass slaughter the chief parties of the Second International betrayed the working class, and each of them, on the pretext of 'defence of the fatherland', went over to the side of 'its' bourgeoisie It was at that moment that the Second International finally reached bankruptcy and perished.' (4)

METHOD

It is important to note the method which Lenin employed, however, as against the Healy school of falsification. Prior to 1914 he did not call for a Party split on political grounds with the Mensheviks, despite their advocacy of voting for Cadets, their revisions of Marxism, etc; nor did he call for a split in the Second International against Bernstein *et al*. He only called for a split when it was conclusively shown, in the greatest event of the class struggle, that international Menshevism sided with the camp of the counter-revolution.

Then, of course, Lenin drew all the conclusions. The split was final and for ever. The views which had previously been considered positions to polemicise against in a faction struggle *within* the Party were now views which must be excluded from the Party.

But for the Healy school this is doubtless all 'empiricism'. Imagine only splitting when an event showed a world historic betrayal. Healy, of course, would have split years before on 'method' – and doubtless expelled the vacillating centrist Lenin as well. That would be another example of how Healyism renders Bolshevism more profound!

As if the record of Lenin's struggle were not sufficient to illustrate this question, however, we have a second great experience – Trotsky's struggle within the Communist International, and then his split from it.

Here we find that Trotsky pursued an *identical* method and course to Lenin. Trotsky refused to split from the Communist International simply because *theoretical* revisionism developed – the theory of socialism in one country, the 'Third Period', the idea of 'social fascism', etc. He refused to split even on such gigantic betrayals as Germany in 1923, Britain in 1926, and China in 1927. Trotsky replied to each of these events by building and consolidating a *faction*, but he rejected a split of the Party until the Comintern showed that it had crossed to the camp of counter-revolution in the greatest conceivable event of the class struggle – the coming to power of Hitler through Stalinist betrayal in 1933.



FACTION AND PARTY 2

In the last issue of *Red Weekly* we looked at the analysis made by the Workers Socialist League of the struggles within the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. We saw that the WSL has not clearly broken theoretically from the Healyite confusion of a faction struggle with a split in the party. In this issue JAMES FRANCIS looks at the conditions under which Lenin and Trotsky *did* advocate not merely a faction fight but an organisational split into two parties.

Healyism, of course, doubtless understands this all as some manoeuvre by Trotsky. He refused a split because the Comintern was big and it was the best way to get members. Trotsky as crude manoeuvrer and *realpolitiker* – that is the real Healyite view of Trotsky. They reduce him to their own miserable stature.

In fact, however, Trotsky explained his position very clearly and very differently: 'The degree of degeneration of a revolutionary party cannot as a rule be established *a priori* on the basis of symptoms alone. The living verification of events is indispensable. Theoretically it was still impermissible last year (1932) to have considered as absolutely excluded that the Bolshevik-Leninists, basing themselves on the sharpening of the class struggle, could succeed in impelling the Comintern to take the road of actual struggle against fascism.' (5)

Furthermore, clearly flowing from this, he carefully distinguished in the period prior to 1933 between the policy and leadership of the Communist Parties, which he described as centrist, and the class character of the parties themselves, which remained proletarian. 'The Communist Party is a proletarian, anti-bourgeois party, even if erroneously led. The Social Democracy, though entirely composed of workers, is entirely a bourgeois party.' (6) *The question of being a faction and not*

a Party was therefore not one of manoeuvre but of real analysis and principle.

'The slogan of the 'reform' of the Comintern was, for us, never a hollow phrase. We counted on reform as a reality. Developments followed the worst road. That is precisely why we are compelled to declare that the policy of reform is exhausted to the very end.' (7) Of course once this was done then the issue was fought through to the end. In 1924 defence of 'socialism in one country' was a trend *within* the Party. In 1934 it was outside the Party through the fact of the greatest events of history.

Finally, just to complete the picture, we may refute the Deutscherite view on this question, which amounts to saying that in 1933 Trotsky got carried away and took an unjustifiable decision to split from the Comintern. On the contrary, Trotsky outlined quite clearly *in advance* that the question of Germany – the most important working class movement in the world, in the most politically important country in the world, with the largest Communist Party outside the Soviet Union – was precisely a test of the same *qualitative* character as 1914. Thus he wrote in November 1931:

'One of those decisive moments in history is closely approaching, when the Comintern, after a series of big but still 'partial' mistakes which have

and 1933



Nazi Storm Troopers march on the Communist Party headquarters in Berlin

undermined and shaken up the forces accumulated in the first five years, risks committing the capital, fatal error which may erase the Comintern as a revolutionary factor from the political map for an entire historical epoch.' (8) The consequence was clear: 'The seizure of power by the fascists would most probably signify the necessity of creating a new revolutionary party, and in all likelihood also a new International.' (9)

Trotsky also pointed out: 'In conducting the policy of a faction and educating its cadres on the experience of this policy, the Left Opposition, however, did not hide from itself nor from others that a new defeat of the proletariat, resulting from the policy of centrism, would inevitably acquire a decisive character and would demand a drastic review of our position on the question: faction or party?' (10).

As a final check on Trotsky's method, consider the last great political struggle of his life – against the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern opposition in the SWP. This was a tendency whose leading members carried through open revisions of Marxism in their rejection of dialectical materialism and their characterisation of the Soviet Union as 'bureaucratic collectivist'; and Trotsky characterised the opposition as a whole as petty-bourgeois.

PARODY

On the Healyite method, of course, there is no doubt what to do with these people – split with them. Cliff Slaughter, in his introduction to the WRP's edition of *In Defence of Marxism*, states: 'Cannon and the SWP majority leadership fought tenaciously to defend and build the Party and to drive out the opposition, once they had proved intractable to every attempt to win them to revolutionary positions' (page xi).

Once again, Healyism decides to render Trotsky more profound! Here is what Trotsky, as opposed to Slaughter, had to say on this question. Far from being an advocate of 'driving people out', he was a relentless opponent of a split:

'Dear Friend [John G Wright—a leader of the SWP] I endorse completely your opinion about the necessity for a firm, even implacable theoretical and political fight against the petty-bourgeois tendencies of the opposition. You will see from my last article that I characterise the divergencies of the opposition even more sharply than has the majority.

'But at the same time I believe that this implacable ideological fight should go parallel with very cautious and very wise organisational tactics. You have not the slightest interest in a split even if the opposition should become, accidentally, a majority at the next convention..... Even as an eventual minority, you should in my opinion remain disciplined and loyal towards the party as a whole.' (11)

Later he commented: 'If someone should propose, for example, to expel comrade Burnham I would oppose it energetically. But at the same time I find it necessary to conduct the most strenuous ideological fight against his anti-Marxist conceptions.' (12)

He even went further: 'I heard for example that comrade Gould [a supporter of Abern] proclaimed in a membership meeting – "You wish to expel us"..... If it happens that someone of the majority launches such threats I for my part would vote for censure or severe warning.' (13).

In short, far from Trotsky or Cannon 'driving people out', and splitting the organisation, Trotsky would have supported disciplinary action against anyone who advocated such a course! That is a measure of the gulf between Healy and Trotskyism.

The fight in 1940 is precisely one of the greatest examples of a struggle in the real tradition of Lenin's *faction* fights – a simultaneous and dialectically linked implacable ideological and political faction fight and a relentless struggle for the unity of the party. By its *open* rejection of Trotsky on this, Healyism shows once again its complete break with Lenin and Trotsky on the question of the distinction between a party and a faction.

PRINCIPLES

Finally, of course, 1940 should settle the ridiculous charge that Trotsky earlier opposed a split with the Comintern because it was 'big'. In 1940 the SWP had a thousand members. Trotsky's fight against a split was not for numbers but for principle. Trotsky, as Lenin, split the party on the grounds of the historical betrayal of the working class and advocacy of views which had been demonstrated by these gigantic events to represent the camp of counter-revolution. He refused a split on other questions just as much in 1940 as in 1923, 1926 or 1927. In the tradition of Lenin his distinction between party and faction was not formalism but a historic class line.

It is through a serious *study* of these experiences that we can approach next week the incorrect positions taken by the comrades of the WSL on the split in the Fourth International in 1953.

(1) Lenin, *Collected Works (CW)*, Vol 21, p 16; (2) Lenin, *ibid*, p38; (3) Lenin, *ibid*, p444; (4) Resolution of the First Congress of the Communist International on the Berne conference of the parties of the Second International; (5) Trotsky, 'It is necessary to build Communist Parties and an International anew'; (6) Trotsky, 'What Next?'; (7) Trotsky, 'It is impossible to Remain in the Same International with Stalin'; (8) Trotsky, 'Germany the Key to the International Situation'; (9) Trotsky, 'For a Workers United Front Against Fascism'; (10) Trotsky, 'It is necessary to build Communist Parties and an International anew'; (11) Trotsky, *In Defence of Marxism*, p 11; (12) Trotsky, *ibid*, p 122; (13) Trotsky, *ibid*, p 145.

IRELAND'S OTHER CRISIS

The 'miracle' turns to dust

The struggle in the North can only be fully understood in the context of imperialist strategy in Ireland as a whole. Last week we looked at the circumstances which brought De Valera's Fianna Fail party to power in the 1930s. This week we show how the Southern bourgeoisie was able to change no more than the form of its captive relationship to imperialism.

The De Valera Government launched a tariff war against Britain. The issue chosen was that of the annuities paid by the Dublin Government and the struggle itself redefined the relationship between British and Irish capital. First of all, Irish industry grew steadily more healthy behind the tariff walls. Secondly, the trade war and the Free State's neutrality in the 1939-45 war gave Irish capital more room to manoeuvre as the amount of British finance decreased.

The Republic of Ireland Act marked a new turn in the British attitude. Their main priority was no longer direct ownership backed by heavy financing, but the integration of the currency of both countries along with free trade. Control was now to come in the even more indirect form of investment that needed the co-operation of Dublin, and via Britain's continued position as the major market for Irish agricultural produce.



De Valera (right) with subsequent Fianna Fail leader Jack Lynch

growing economic cooperation.

This project very quickly foundered. The most obvious and dramatic reason was the explosion it touched off in the Six Counties. There were others however and they are significant. The fact of the matter is that for all the grandiose plans advanced by Fianna Fail, Irish industry has never grown up. The 'economic miracle' literally had to be financed by foreign capital.

Of the capital for financing industrial projects in the Free State in the 1960-1972 period, only 24 per cent came from Ireland itself, and included in this figure were a substantial number of joint projects involving both Irish and foreign capital. The British contribution amounted to 19 per cent of the whole, and the American share was 31 per cent. This meant that the contraction in financing after 1970 and the growth of world-wide inflation knocked Irish industry sideways.

As a consequence, the old fundamental features of the Irish economy reasserted themselves. Wage levels started to stagnate, and the social liberalisation that had started in the Free State in the 1960s slowed to a halt.

In the present circumstances, even

simple reforms like equal pay for women (in the Free State the average wage of men in manufacturing industry is £44 and that of women £23) have had to be shelved. This in itself has provoked a new rise both in workers' struggles (until recently Ireland continually topped the poll of working days lost through strikes) and — just as the tentative liberal moves in the North sparked off the civil rights movement — a series of confrontations over social issues. The growth of a women's liberation movement in the Free State is one of the most significant expressions of this process.

LAND QUESTION

These social struggles have also combined with the re-emergence of the land question. Ireland's trading position is still heavily dependent on agriculture and the fishing industry. This fact alone has sharpened the economic contradictions considerably.

The bitter struggle between British and Icelandic capital over fishing rights has left Ireland a non-starter. The main concern of successive Irish governments has been with getting a piece of the action — any piece, however small. Serious competition is just not possible.

At the same time, the importance of agriculture in Ireland's trading position has put a great premium on the availability of farming land. This, combined with the relative cheapness of labour there, has meant that new industrial plant has tended to be established on the West Coast and in the South West. In this process many smallholders, whose families have often held the same plot for generations, have been forcibly dispossessed.

This has also meant further blows to traditional Irish culture and a further decline in the old language — for all the fuss made about it at Fianna Fail conventions.

OLD FORMULA

The social crisis, together with the re-emergence in their starkest possible form of the old fundamental contradictions of the Irish economy, split Fianna Fail down the middle and led to its replacement by the present Fine Gael/Labour coalition Government. This represents a return to the old policies of direct repression at home and co-operation with the British abroad — with the social democrats signed on to do the excuse making.

The Fine Gael/Labour majority in the Dail (the Irish parliament) is however a slim one, fluctuating between two and one. At the same time as British imperialism has reached an impasse in the North, unemployment in the South has now reached the staggering rate of 14 per cent. Translated to Britain, this would mean more than five and a half million people on the dole.

It is clear that massive social struggles, topping those we have already seen, could be on the way in Ireland. In the next part of this series we will look at the present stage of the class struggle in more detail.

MARTIN O LEARY

NEXT WEEK: The impact of the social crisis.



The TIMOR Connection

The struggle in Timor by the liberation movement Fretilin against the invading Indonesian forces is having an even bigger effect than Vietnam on the Australian working class. This is understandable. Timor is not very far from Australia, and the Australian working class has a long history of anti-imperialist solidarity. It was particularly active in support of the struggle of the Indonesian masses against Dutch imperialism in the late 1940s, with Australian seamen even helping to arm the Indonesian freedom fighters.

Australia is central to the calculations of the present Indonesian military regime in Timor. Although Whitlam was quite clearly complicit in the invasion of Timor last year, the Indonesian Government and its US backers were clearly worried about the impact inside the Labour Party of this issue; so they waited until Whitlam was removed from office before acting.

The Fraser Government carried on the connivance with the Suharto regime. In January it went so far as to close down the only direct radio link with Fretilin in Darwin, thus sabotaging the visit of a UN observer to observe the

events in East Timor.

It was partly as a result of this action that the trade union movement imposed a total boycott on the Indonesian regime. This includes exports like meat, milk, barbed wire, armaments, spare parts for aircraft and also a complete ban on cable and postal links. The ban was initially imposed by rank and file action and has subsequently been made general by the Australian Confederation of Trade Unions.

The internationalist consciousness of the working class in Australia had already been dramatically highlighted by their action against involvement in the Indochina War. It was the blacking action of dockers and the big trade union component in the anti-war mobilisations that compelled the Whitlam Government to withdraw all troops, end aid to the Saigon regime, and release all draft objectors from prison.

The campaign in solidarity with East Timor is planning the same sort of action, including a total stoppage of work at some stage. Victory for Fretilin in East Timor is assured if the example of the Australian trade unions can be followed worldwide.

SMASH THE SMITH REGIME

'Even Mr. Vorster in South Africa would now clearly prefer a black Rhodesian Government to the conflict which threatens.' This is the opinion of the *Financial Times* (24 February), and must be shared by almost the whole international capitalist class today.

Their panic over southern Africa (demonstrated by the massive selling of South African shares by the Union Bank of Switzerland — one of the three largest banks in Switzerland) derives not only from a fear of the 'dire consequences' of an intensified struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (South West Africa), but also from a feeling of impotence at being unable to intervene directly to protect their vast interests in southern Africa.

Only the British bourgeoisie is today capable of intervening in Zimbabwe, and that in a limited sense; the strategy which Wilson has proposed is to return Rhodesia to its former colonial status, establish a black neo-colonial regime, and prepare the grounds for an intervention by United Nations troops (?) to police the transitional period.

Such policing will aim to isolate and attempt to smash the militant nationalist movement led by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the newly formed Zimbabwe Military High Command — described in the bourgeois press as 'terrorists and extremists'. It was to 'investigate' the possibility of such a strategy that Lord Greenhill (an

old hand at negotiating possible deals with Smith) was despatched to Zimbabwe last week to meet Smith, 'a group of businessmen representing agriculture, mining, commerce and industry', and Joshua Nkomo, the reformist leader of the African National Council (ANC).

Nkomo has for a long time represented the interests of the black African petty bourgeoisie — those with aspirations towards being tomorrow's bourgeoisie in Zimbabwe. As such he has received almost universal support from the international bourgeoisie as the black leader they are least unwilling to see as the future president. He has made plenty of assurances in the past to the various imperialist sectors that their interests would be secure in his hands, and in return has received gratifying publicity in the capitalist press together with some hard core material support.

One of his avid supporters is none other than one of the largest multinationals operating in Africa — Lonrho, which has not insignificant investments in Zimbabwe, including the Coronation Syndicate (copper and gold), David Whitehead Sons (Rhod.) Ltd (textiles), motor, property, and other mining interests. This corporation, famed for its support for other right-wing African nationalist movements like UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), has also expressed worries that the 'closure of the Lonrho oil-pipeline from Beira (Mozambique) to Rhodesia was costing the company £500,000 a year in maintenance with no return while Rhodesian sanctions

'MIRACLE'

The changed relationship of Irish to British capital and the world food shortages of the early 1950s stimulated both Irish agriculture and Irish industry. It was these factors which laid the basis for the 'economic miracle' promoted by the Fianna Fail Government of Sean Lemass in the 1950s and '60s.

Certainly during this period both industrial growth and wages advanced in the South — so much so, indeed, that by 1965 it was very evident that a new strategy of increased economic integration into Britain and Europe was seen as possible by the industrial interests in the South. This development was welcomed by Britain. A series of economic agreements were signed, and Westminster brought its influence to bear on Stormont to include the Six Counties in the

FUND DRIVE

We have finally been forced to bow to the inevitable, and lower our target for the IMG Special Fund Drive to £10,000.

The reasons behind our inability to collect the original total — lack of political preparation of the organisation for such a campaign, etc. — have already been outlined in a previous issue of *Red Weekly* (12 February). While this represents a setback for the work of the IMG, it can have some long-term beneficial consequences if we draw certain lessons for the future about the need for a consistent approach to fund-raising. This will be done in an article after the present Fund Drive is concluded.

Meanwhile the task facing all members and supporters of the Fourth International in Britain is to make sure we top that £10,000 figure by 5 March. Nothing less will do. If you can't get your donation in the post in time, bring it along to the Fourth International rally if you live in or near London, or phone Jo-Ann (01-278 9526) to let us know exactly what to expect. So far (28 February) we have raised £8,210.

This week's contributions have come from: sale of IMG material, £100; Bradford IMG, £20; J. Holloway (Birmingham), £5; *Red Weekly* reader, £1; Bolton IMG, £30; Newcastle IMG, £5; and from a very successful Hull IMG social, £80 — 'our thanks to all who participated'. Above all, our special thanks to the comrade who donated £500 from the sale of his house 'to help build the Scottish Centre'.

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AUSTRALIA

Milk and honey give way to crisis

Australian Trotskyist JOHN McCARTHY reports

Far from being an outpost of prosperity, and a haven for workers seeking to escape the anarchy of production in capitalist Britain, Australia has plunged into deep crisis with the rest of the world economy. Unemployment in Australia is now running at the same rate as in Britain, and workers' living standards are being driven down by inflation and incomes policy.

The Labour Party came to power in 1972 after 23 years of opposition. The reason was clear. The ruling parties of the bourgeoisie, the Liberal Party and the Country Party, were in a mess.

They were sharply divided on key questions such as incomes policy and devaluation. Their foreign policy was not in keeping with the new strategy of detente. At the same time Australian workers had reached a new level of political consciousness as exemplified in their campaign against Australian involvement in Vietnam. This was the reason for the Labour victory.

Confusion

Three years later the situation had changed. The right-wing policies adopted by the Labour Government in the face of the recession, coupled with a series of scandals, had produced confusion and demoralisation in the ranks of the Labour and trade union movement. The bourgeois parties, having gone some way to reconsolidating their perspectives and organisation, moved to block Labour's Budget in the Senate.

The gauntlet was taken up by strike action from the most advanced sections of the class, with metal workers, dockers, public servants and others attending massive rallies all over the country. The workers were completely opposed to talk

lasted. (*Financial Times*, 26 February).

It is therefore no surprise that Lonhro's chairman, 'Tiny' Rowland is 'violently anti-Smith'. For the Smith regime, by its refusal to respond to Wilson's blandishments, is proving to be an embarrassing thorn in the side of imperialism - what they fear most is that an armed struggle in Zimbabwe today would not merely develop a strong anti-capitalist dynamic (as it began to do in Angola) but that this would spread into the rest of southern Africa, putting at stake the gigantic interests that imperialism maintains in the area today.

It is clear that an armed struggle against the racist Smith regime, and against imperialism and its servants, is on the agenda today as the only way forward for the Zimbabwean masses. But the stakes involved in this struggle go well beyond Zimbabwe.

Every blow struck by Zimbabwean militants will advance the struggle of Namibia and SWAPO (South West African People's Organisation). Every blow struck by the latter advances the Zimbabwean cause. Together their fight can advance the struggles of the oppressed masses of the whole of southern Africa. There must be a resounding 'no' to any British 'settlement' or intervention, which will serve imperialist interests alone.

Today in Britain there is an urgent need to mobilise in solidarity with the struggles taking place in southern Africa - in particular in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Against the reactionary stand of the Wilson leadership! Break all links with racist Vorster and Smith! No to imperialist intervention! South African troops out of Angola! South African troops out of Namibia!

JULIUS KARANJA



Whitlam—cooking for capitalism

of a new election, and called for the power of the Senate to be destroyed.

The movement reached its peak with the sacking of Whitlam by Sir John Kerr. But the continued calls by the Labour and trade union leaders for restraint eventually had an effect—the movement was channelled back into electoral activity. The vacillation of the Labour leadership and its right-wing policies took their toll, as did the lack of any effective left opposition within the party. Labour was smashed after the most tumultuous events seen in the Australian working class since 1972.

But the defeat was not one-sided. The mobilisations of October and November had stirred a deep felt need in the working class for a political perspective. This was reflected in the massive increase in membership in the Labour Party: 30,000 were recruited in New South Wales alone, while in Victoria, 40,000 joined.

Discussion

These people are still there and are having an effect on the deep-going political discussion that has blossomed in the party on subjects like Timor and the economic policies of the party. All Whitlam's former right-wing allies have been removed from their positions of influence inside the party, and on Timor for example, the Labour Party has now taken the position of calling for self-determination of the Democratic Republic of East Timor and for the withdrawal of all Indonesian troops.

My organisation, the Communist League - one of the two sympathising organisations of the Fourth International in Australia - is a young organisation founded in the winter of 1972/73. We have waged a consistent struggle to expose the Labour Government, particularly on the question of indexation of wages.

We have played a national role

in campaigns around Indochina and Timor. The only forces which actively promote the question of anti-racism are those of the Fourth International - we have supported the struggle of the aboriginal people to defend their land rights and fought against the attempted victimisation of the Brisbane Three.

Our role in the events around the sacking of Whitlam was sharply axed against the treacherous role of the trade union bureaucracy. We consistently put forward a General Strike against the sabotage of the ruling class. In the election we campaigned for the return of a Labour Government pledged to socialist policies. We are confident that our organisation can move towards providing the leadership which the struggle of the working class in Australia so urgently needs.



Communist League militants on march after overthrow of Whitlam

DID THE CIA TAKE A HAND?

Few people at the time drew any connection between the dismissal of Gough Whitlam on the morning of 11 November and the fact that this prevented him from answering a question in Parliament later that day on US intelligence activities. But now direct CIA involvement in Whitlam's overthrow has been alleged by Australian journalist Malcolm Salmon, writing in the French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

The first suggestion of something

out of the ordinary came in the early days of the constitutional crisis, when Whitlam accused Richard Lee Stallings, an American resident in Australia, of being a CIA operative. Stallings is a close personal friend of Douglas Anthony, leader of the National Country Party (the junior partner in the present coalition), and according to the *Australian Financial Review* was responsible for the installation of the ultra-secret US communications base at Pine Gap in 1966-67.

On 6 November, *The Australian* quoted a US State Department official as denying that Stallings had any intelli-



Who was Kerr working for when he buried the Labour Government?

this, Anthony tabled a question in Parliament asking Whitlam what he thought now.

According to the *Australian Financial Review* of 5 December, Defence Ministry officials immediately tried to prevent Whitlam from answering this question on the grounds of 'national security'. Apparently they were worried not by what he might say about Stallings, but by fear that Whitlam might let the cat out of the bag over Pine Gap.

Pine Gap has been described as the most important US communications base outside the US itself. One of its main functions is to monitor Soviet naval movements in the southern hemisphere with the apparent purpose of developing a 'first strike' nuclear capacity. The agreement was due to be re-negotiated in mid-December, and any secret details of the base's activities revealed by Whitlam could have vitally prejudiced the US's position in this area.

Whitlam was due to give his answer in Parliament on the afternoon of 11 November. But before he could do so he was removed from office on the orders of the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr.

Kerr is widely known as a brilliant lawyer. Less well known is the fact that in the 1950s he represented the Democratic Labour Party, a right-wing split from the Labour Party, in a series of court cases designed to remove Communist and left Labour officials from the trade unions. The links between DLP leaders and the US Embassy in Canberra were an open secret.

Old Links

Kerr also has other less publicised connections. He has been closely associated with bodies known to have received CIA funds, such as the Association for Cultural Freedom and the Law Association for Asia and the Pacific (of which he was president in 1966-70). He also has US business links, being a consultant for Esso and a director of the Australian subsidiary of General Motors.

As for his intelligence connections, these go back to the Second World War, during which he was responsible for the establishment of police, military and spy systems in New Guinea. One of his colleagues in the War, Francis James, commented in an open letter at the time of Kerr's appointment as Governor-General that the post would require 'a firm grasp of the democratic principle, a moral courage and a kind of political integrity which from your past - the real past, unknown to the public - I know you to be lacking'.

One can thus only agree with Salmon's conclusion - that if the US was aiming to play a role in Australian political events, it could hardly have found a better collaborator than Sir John Kerr.

MURDER OF WORKER SHATTERS LIBERAL FACADE

The British capitalist press has been helping to polish up the 'liberal' image of the Spanish Foreign Minister, Areilza, in preparation for his visit this week. Both the *Times* and the *Express* have carried long interviews in which he made the usual vague promises about political reforms to come.

These promises should cut even less ice now than when they were first made a few months ago, coming as they do after the continuous repression of popular demonstrations and strikes and the totally empty 'reform' programme put forward by the Prime Minister. Only a few days ago, Areilza's fellow minister Fraga (also a supposed 'liberal') was explaining that 'democracy Spanish-style' would not apply to 'Communists, terrorists and separatists', and that there would be no further amnesty for political prisoners beyond the miserable

sop thrown out by King Juan Carlos after his coronation.

While Areilza tries to dish out soft words for consumption abroad, his police are dishing out something much less palatable to Spanish workers. Just last week, police in the southern town of Elda shot dead a striking worker — and then tried to justify it by claiming that he was really just a drug-peddler anyway!

But the working class has not taken this lying down. In Elda 10,000 gathered for the funeral of this militant, and his murder also sparked off protest demon-

strations in the nearby city of Alicante and strikes throughout the area. In Barcelona, striking building workers have responded to the ferocity of the police by throwing up barricades and fighting back vigorously.

STRIKE

The high point of resistance has been in the industrial town of Sabadell, just outside Barcelona. Two weeks ago the police attacked a local demonstration of teachers, parent and schoolchildren; another demonstration called in protest was in turn attacked and several arrests made. The 50,000 workers of Sabadell then responded by a general strike, which ended only after the Government agreed to release the 11 arrested during the demonstration.

This determination of the Spanish working class to end the Francoist dic-



FOREIGN MINISTER AREILZA

tatorship for good has resulted in another massive strike wave sweeping the country. Teachers, building workers, lorry drivers, steel workers and miners are among the more than a quarter of a million workers currently on strike.

The Government has prepared a plan to use the army to break the lorry drivers' strike, a plan which has already been put into action in the town of Badajoz. But an important new development has been the involvement of workers from the militant Basque country, which if it spreads could face the dictatorship with the sort of decisive showdown that it has so far tried to avoid.

It is in the midst of this turmoil that Areilza comes to Britain to curry favour with the Labour Government over Spain's application to join the Common Market. So far opposition to his visit has been taken up by only small forces within the labour movement organised in the 'Committee to Stop the Areilza Visit'. The fighting words of Michael Foot and Jack Jones at the recent 'Conference in Solidarity with the Spanish Working Class' have come to nought with their first practical test.

INACTIVE

The same is true of the Communist Party, which specifically declined to take part in the Committee or its activities, and is, as a result, doing nothing.

We must ask Michael Foot, Jack Jones, the organisers of the 14 February Conference, and the Communist Party: — Are you still opposed to the Spanish dictatorship?

— Do you still think the British working class should be solidarising with their Spanish brothers and sisters?

— Do you still oppose the attempts of the Spanish capitalists to get help from the European capitalists through the Common Market?

If so, then isn't it about time you joined those who are *doing something* about all these questions, instead of just passing pious resolutions and making empty speeches?



The Spanish metro strike—'liberals' sent in soldiers to strike-break

STOP THE VISIT OF THE BRAZILIAN DICTATOR

News just received from Brazil underlines the importance of the Labour Party NEC's 15-0 decision to oppose the proposed State visit of President Geisel between 4-7 May.

Sidney Fix Marques dos Santos is a 36-year old Brazilian revolutionary, working as an IBM programmer and with a 10-year-old child. On 15 February he was kidnapped by the secret police at 9.30a.m. Since then nothing has been heard of him — he has probably been tortured, and his life is undoubtedly in grave danger.

But Foreign Secretary Callaghan is hardly concerned with the fate of

people like Sidney Fix Marques dos Santos. What matters to him is strengthening capitalist co-operation — the need for 'close political understanding' and 'strong economic ties' with Brazil of which he wrote in a letter to the NEC. 'Democracy' only comes into it when it's a question of opposing leftists in Portugal.

The Labour NEC decision is to be welcomed as a basis for mounting an all-out campaign of mass action against the Geisel visit. The next issue of *Red Weekly* will feature a major article on the repression in Brazil.

RED WEEKLY

Leaders of the United Ulster Unionist Coalition huddled in Lisburn Orange Hall last Thursday to draw up a plan of action in the wake of the collapse of the Constitutional Convention. After holding hundreds of meetings in the committee rooms at Stormont, the Loyalists abandoned these for the 'hot seat' of Orangeism in Lisburn because of what a spokesman called 'the nature of the business we are discussing'.

This was only one of a series of meetings which the Loyalists have planned to ensure a united response on their part to the next move of the Labour Government.

Last Saturday, they went on to meet UUUC MPs at Westminster. The UUUC are totally opposed to any British plan for the continuation of direct rule, and Enoch Powell, Loyalist MP for South Down, was sharply criticised for hinting otherwise.

The UUUC leaders understand that at present it is impossible for the Labour Government to retreat publicly on its commitment to power-sharing, and so direct rule is likely to continue for the foreseeable future. But they are determined to make it very difficult for Britain to operate this policy for any length of time.

NON-COOPERATION

For example, at its January conference in Eniskillen the UUUC adopted a policy of 'non-cooperation' with the Labour Government. At the same time it decided not to ratify the UUUC Convention report — which demanded the restoration of Loyalist rule. But the next couple of weeks are likely to see the withdrawal of Loyalists from all local councils and other public bodies throughout the Six Counties as the policy of non-cooperation begins.

Calls for a repeat of the 1974 Ulster Workers Council stoppage were not taken up at the conference. But such developments cannot be ruled out. As the violence two weekends running in the North indicates, if the Loyalist politicians are content to hold back at the moment, the same is certainly not true of the para-militaries.

The violence has reached new heights — both in size and gruesomeness. One illustration is the case of Francis Rice, a young Catholic killed on the Shankill Road

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

a fortnight ago. Having subjected him to a terrible beating, the Loyalist thugs slit his throat from ear to ear. Francis Rice was the third Catholic to be killed in what people here refer to as the 'Jack the Ripper' murders.

The same night, fifty uniformed members of the Ulster Defence Association wielding cudgels invaded the small Catholic enclave known as St Johns Place in Larne. They banged on doors and windows uttering threats to the terrified Catholic families inside. One resident described how 'the children were screaming and old people shaking with fear'.

RUC TURNS BLIND EYE

Needless to say, the Royal Ulster Constabulary did not interfere but gazed benignly on the actions of these hooded thugs. The RUC denied that the UDA patrol was intimidating Catholics, and stated that vandalism in Larne had decreased since the UDA patrols began. No-one was killed during this incident and the Convention politicians will wish to forget it. But such actions by the UDA are a warning to the anti-Unionist population of what they can expect in the months to come.

The need for vigilance and unity in the nationalist ghettos was never greater. The Social Democratic & Labour Party have surrendered themselves into the hands of the UUUC, the Labour Government is stepping up spending on the forces of repression in Northern Ireland by £80m, and the Southern Government has launched a new onslaught on Republicans there. The road is well and truly paved for the Loyalist restoration.

No CIA funding

The vital information on the CIA we publish this week involved commitment of one of our editorial staff for the best part of three weeks. Our aim is to make such well-researched, exclusive material a regular feature of *Red Weekly*. But we will not be able to produce it unless the necessary resources are forthcoming.

Last month's Fighting Fund total came to only £139.54. That is little more than a quarter of what we need to plan the future improvement and expansion of the paper. The lesson of our £10,000 Fund Drive should be clear. Regular raising of finance is key. Our thanks to those who contributed this week: North London reader, £2; Central London IMG, £11; East London IMG, £6; Bath IMG, £1; Edinburgh readers, £1; West London Squatters Action Group, £10; Brighton IMG, £1.



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