

RED WEEKLY

18 MARCH No. 142 PRICE 10p

ALL OUT FOR
FREE ABORTION
ON DEMAND

Support NAC demonstration
SATURDAY 3 APRIL

NO MORE WILSONS!

NO TORY POLICIES



Wilson has had to go. But his supporters remain. Jones, Scanlon and Basnett have made a special appeal for unity behind the Government's policies. Callaghan, Healey, Jenkins the men of the £6 limit, the social expenditure cuts, the million and a half dole queue — are waiting in the wings.

It is clear what has brought Wilson down. Inflation will rocket as a result of the monetary crisis and the Common Market deal. His economic strategy has been exposed as a tissue of lies.

FURTHER CRISIS

A tiny number of lefts could block the expenditure cuts for a second time. This would provoke a massive crisis in the Labour Party. There are growing signs that the anger and hostility against Wilson's policies will start to grow into mass action.

The strike and demonstrations in Dundee, in British Rail, in the steel industry have fuelled the crisis of the Labour Party leadership. They will go on against whoever replaces Wilson.

There are any number of candidates ready to continue his right-wing policies. The system of electing the Labour leadership by the Parliamentary clique of Labour MPs will be used to ensure that one of these gets in.

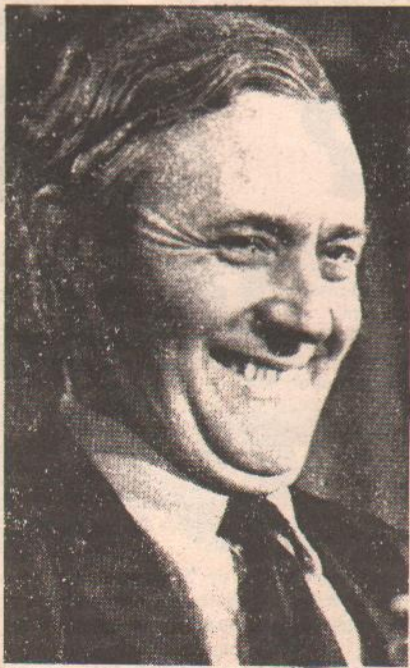
PARLIAMENTARY FRAUD

The labour movement must fight this fraud by demanding that an emergency Labour Party Conference is called immediately to elect a new leader and decide on a new course

instead of the disastrous policies of the present Government.

None of the candidates coming forward are adequate to the needs of the working class. A leadership is needed which will fight to

- * Abolish the £6 limit.
- * Restore all public expenditure cuts.
- * Establish a programme of nationalisation and public works to guarantee the right to work.



Benn - workers disgusted by Wilson's policies will look to him.

Only a candidate fighting for these policies and based on the mass struggle of the working class would be any beginning of a real solution.

Of course, the left and Benn will come forward in the coming weeks

to claim that they represent the way forward for the hundreds of thousands of workers who are sickened by Wilson's policies.

If the only alternative to Healey, Callaghan and Jenkins is Benn, then he should be voted for — not because anyone can have any confidence in someone who is part of the Wilson Cabinet and who has already voted for the £6 limit and the public expenditure cuts, but because his victory would strengthen the confidence of militants and place him on the spot, forcing him to come out in his true colours.

But a Benn victory wouldn't solve the real problem. Defeating the Wilson leadership isn't a matter of just replacing one man.

It is a question of defeating and replacing the supporters of the policies of this Government at every level — right from the shop stewards committees, through the Labour Party GMCs to the trade union leaders and the right-winger who will replace Wilson. It means a fight for policies to defend the working class.

MASS STRUGGLE

That fight isn't going to be simply the one waged in the next two weeks, but must be taken up in every mass struggle against incomes policy, against the cuts, and for the right to work.

One important opportunity to start this fight is the National Assembly on Unemployment on 27 March. It means a determined campaign at all levels of the labour movement for a class struggle opposition that will organise a mass working class campaign against Wilson's successor.

WHAT TO DO IN YOUR LABOUR MOVEMENT BODY

Red Weekly urges all its readers and supporter up and down the country to fight for support in trade union branches, CLPs, shop stewards committees and other labour movement bodies for the following resolution. If any meet before the National Assembly on Unemployment on 27 March, they should send a telegram resolution along the lines of the resolution below:

'The resignation of Wilson, the leader of the Labour Government's anti-working class policies, comes at a time when there are 1½ million on the dole queues, wages are being cut via the £6 limit, and savage cuts are being imposed in the social services.

This branch/GMC rejects the idea that the Parliamentary Party alone should be able to elect the next leader. It will only produce another right-winger to continue Wilson's policies.

We, therefore, resolve to:

1. Send a telegram to the Labour Party NEC demanding that it immediately convene an Emergency Labour Party Conference to decide on the Party leadership.
2. Demand that any left-wing candidate support a policy of no incomes policy, restoration of the social service cuts, and a programme of nationalisation and public works to guarantee the right to work and meet social need.
3. Organise a public meeting with other bodies of the labour movement to discuss the policies of the Labour Government and the way forward.'

LABOUR CONFERENCE MUST DECIDE

Trades Councils:

THROW OUT RULE 14

Mounting opposition is meeting the TUC's latest attempt to muzzle resistance to its collaboration in the Government's anti-working class policies.

Seven trades councils have now thrown out the new Rule 14 which seeks to ban 'cooperation with organisations whose policies and activities are contrary to those of Congress'. And Camden Trades Council has put out a call for an all-London meeting of trades council delegates opposed to the ruling.

End to support

If implemented, the ruling would mean an end to trades council support for anti-cuts committees and unemployment demonstrations like that on 26 November, which mobilised 20,000 and was hysterically attacked by Len Murray. It would amount to a significant undermining of democratic freedoms in the labour movement. Trades councils would be expected to become the tame mouthpieces of an already tame TUC leadership.

Unfortunately a number of trades councils have accepted the ruling with no more than disgruntled verbal opposition. Indeed, the Communist Party's position appears to be to

vote for the new rule and then pretend you can ignore it in practice — or perhaps just use it against the 'ultraleft' when convenient? This can only sow confusion in the rank and file.

The TUC hasn't brought in the amendment just for the fun of it. More cuts, more redundancies and an even tougher wages deal are on the way. The bureaucrats want to hold the line of collaboration with Wilson and Healey at all costs.

Yet in recent months trades councils have been to the forefront in organising resistance to Wilson's attacks. Numerous local conferences and protests against unemployment have been promoted or backed by trades councils. The sponsorship of trades councils has been important in building such national events as the 26 November unemployment demo, the National Assembly on Unemployment next weekend, and the national demonstration against the health cuts on 25 April.

A curb on this independent role of trades councils would be a big blow to all those organising against the Government's policies, and a

big boost to the right wing — strengthening the bureaucracy's hand in policing the trade union movement.

On this score the Communist Party is ignoring its own history. In the early 1920s, the CP-led Minority Movement claimed to be 'the first organised movement to draw attention to the importance and real role of trades councils in the labour movement', urging their transformation into 'local councils of the working class'. This clear position helped the CP to build strong Minority Movement.

General Strike

Between 1924 and 1926 over 50 trades councils, including London, Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield, sent delegates to the Minority Movement conferences. Significant support was gained for transforming trades councils into real councils of action — a role many played in the General Strike.

And today, when trades councils are in many cases initiating concrete actions of the rank and file against the Government's attacks, are they not beginning to turn again into such 'parliaments of the local working class'?

The TUC responded in identical fashion in the 1920s. First a stern warning was issued to all trades councils against associating with the Minority Movement and the Communist Party. This was followed by the present Rule 14, which the TUC General Council introduced to reinforce its position by refusing recognition of trades councils which associated with the Movement in any way, effectively killing the National Federation of Trades Councils.

The CP then failed to wage a resolute fight against the ruling, with the tragic result that in 1928 the TUC was able to use this as an excuse to dissociate itself from the National Unemployed Workers Committee. The Minority Movement was on the slide.

A refusal to fight the new ruling is to accept defeat in advance. It is part and parcel of the TUC's sell-out policies, of its attempts to police the Government's attacks on living standards and jobs.

Important

The trades councils which have rejected the ruling have given a fighting lead. The all-London meeting initiated by Camden is an important move. Now the task is to fight for the rejection of the ruling at the May Trades Councils Conference, and to fight for a recall TUC to reverse the ruling and end support for the Government's policies.

An effective challenge to this ruling will help to defend democratic organisation in the trade union movement and enormously aid the whole labour movement in the fight against Wilson's policies.

Anna Larkin

FREE DESMOND TROTTER!

Trotter was a marked man. During the late 1960s he had been a central leader of the Black Power movement that emerged in Dominica at that time. He was an organiser and main speaker at African Liberation Day demonstrations on the island in 1971, 1972 and 1973.

A series of strikes by agricultural workers led the Dominica Labour Party Government to intensify its repression against its left-wing opposition. Two days after the killing of the American tourist, then Deputy Prime Minister Patrick John made a radio speech charging that the shooting was 'the handiwork of a few degenerate leaders, who see themselves as architects of a new society, projecting new standards and cultures unacceptable to the majority of our people

The 'evidence' against Trotter was the testimony of a police corporal who claimed to have found Trotter sitting on an overturned bucket with a gun beneath it two months after the killing, and the account of a 15-year-old woman who admitted to a lawyer that her testimony was perjured.

However, the trial went on — with 'Hang Desmond' signs painted above the entry to the jury room and the entrance to the lounge where the

The Committee in Defence of Desmond Trotter and Political Prisoners in Dominica urges that protests be sent to Prime Minister Patrick John, House of Assembly, Roseau, Dominica. Copies should be sent to the committee at P.O. Box 231, Roseau, Dominica.

On 18 and 19 March the Privy Council in London, the highest court in the British Commonwealth, is scheduled to hear the appeal of Desmond Trotter. If the appeal is denied, Trotter faces death by hanging.

A militant of the Caribbean island of Dominica, the 21-year-old Trotter has been held in solitary confinement since his arrest in May 1974 on a frame-up murder charge. Trotter was accused of killing an American tourist despite the testimony of numerous witnesses that he had been sick at home with a severe asthma attack when the killing took place.

As a leading member of the Movement for a New Dominica, and the editor of its monthly publication, *Twavay*.



TUC is trying to crush such challenges to its class collaboration as the 20,000-strong jobs demo on 26 November

Whose press - whose freedom?

The *Barnsley Chronicle* beats the Institute of Journalists by 32 years. The former was established in 1858 and has never experienced a strike, while the IoJ has never called one in its 90-year history. Small wonder, therefore, that the Barnsley branch of the National Union of Journalists has asked the local labour movement 'to take appropriate action' to deal with the *Chronicle's* four IoJ members (by not dealing with them!).

Three of the four joined the Institute last year because they objected to the 'increasing left-wing militancy' of the NUJ — reinforcing the IoJ's role as a strike-breakers' haven. But it is of course the supposed challenge to 'press freedom' which has caused Michael Foot and Harold Wilson to tell the NUJ executive to think again, after it congratulated the Barnsley branch on its action and advised other branches to do likewise — which Sheffield and East London have already done.

HAPPY

NUJ General Secretary Ken Morgan is quite happy to think again. And Foot and Wilson have lined themselves up with the President of the Newspaper Society (the provincial bosses' group), who des-

cribes the refusal of trade unionists to speak to non-union reporters as 'the sort of interference with the press we deplore'.

The sort of interference none of these gentlemen deplores, needless to say, is the monopoly ownership and control of the mass media which ensures that millions of workers who believed they were voting for a government committed to defending their interests now have the pleasure of reading a press whose sole concern is whether the cuts are big enough.

The role played by *Republica* and *Radio Renascensia* in the Portuguese struggle vividly demonstrates the threat to the ruling class of any challenge to its hold on the mass media, and explains the anxiety of the press proprietors and editors over the closed shop clauses in the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Amendment) Bill, now in its final parliamentary stages.

But the opposition of *The Times* to the Bill (or even to negotiating the so-called charter of press freedom proposed by Foot) has brought an excellent response from the paper's Father of the NUJ Chapel, Jacob Ecclestone:

'I suggest that opposition to the Bill derives from a fear that the present undemocratic control of the press might

be put in jeopardy by a strong trade union whose members might one day insist on the reality of press freedom rather than the present sham.'

It is in this context that the action in Barnsley represents an important step forward. It is absolutely correct and necessary for workers to defend their organisations. Journalists who refuse to join the NUJ, and especially those who sign up with the anti-union Institute, not only undermine the economic interests of those who will fight tooth and nail for the proprietors' and editors' press freedom.

DEAD LETTER

Unfortunately the NUJ's Code of Conduct, which supposedly obliges its members 'to strive to eliminate distortion, news suppression, and censorship', is a virtual dead letter. A struggle for the implementation of the Code is now underway in the NUJ, but it is clear that the weight of the whole labour movement is necessary to back it up. That is why the links established with other workers organisations in Barnsley, Sheffield, and East London are a step towards the achievement of real press freedom.

The call for a labour movement conference on press freedom, which is to be debated at the NUJ's annual conference next month, has to be taken up throughout the labour movement.

Richard Brinsley



Picket in London last year to demand Trotter's release

IN FOCUS

Tribune's last stand?

The need for action outside Parliament to defeat the cuts must be the conclusion drawn from the decision of 37 members of the Tribune Group to bring about the parliamentary defeat of the Government's strategy for cutting social expenditure.

The Government's White Paper on Public Expenditure is rightly seen as the linchpin of the approaching budget. It is through the transfer of funds from homes, schools, the railway system, hospitals and so on to meet repayments on the National Debt that the Government hopes to have the room for manoeuvre to boost profits.

The action of the Tribune minority threatened the very existence of the Labour Government. But Tom Litterick MP, in the middle of his point — that the alternative to bringing down Labour is not capitulation to right-wing policies but changing the composition of the Labour leadership. Not to a revolutionary leadership — it is impossible for such a leadership to gain control of the Labour Party — but to a leadership which clearly stands for the abolition of wage controls, the rejection of all cuts, and taking all measures necessary to ensure the right to work.

A REFRESHING CHANGE

Litterick's words are a refreshing change from the usual gibberish about pressurising Wilson and Healey to change their policies. 'Pressure politics' have been the traditional excuse of the lefts and their Stalinist fellow travellers for not challenging the centre and right of the Labour Party. Kicking out Wilson and Healey would perhaps have the consequence of putting in lefts who could equally well betray the working class. The pathetic grovelling of Michael Foot are one clear indication of such a development. But even this would be a step forward for the working class; to see what the lefts do when they are actually in the driving seat rather than acting as petulant back-seat demagogues.

However, because such a battle would involve not only a fight in parliamentary corridors but the mobilisation of the class outside Parliament, we think that the likelihood of the lefts taking such action is unlikely.

But in the event of any such struggle Red Weekly would join with the lefts one hundred per cent, even though we consider that the political solutions they offer amount only to reformist tinkering with the capitalist system. In the course of such a struggle we would fight for policies which could provide a real alternative to reformism.

Activists in the labour movement should demand that the lefts start to take a position on the cuts, unemployment and incomes policy. Meetings should be organised in all localities, and left MPs called on to address them through resolutions passed by trade unions and constituency parties. At the National Assembly on Unemployment those left MPs sponsoring it should be asked point blank whether they intend to oppose the Government's anti-working class legislation, and above all vote against the budget — because that will be the basis on which the trade union leadership sell any recommendation on incomes policy to their union conferences.

WILSON RESPONSIBLE

The lefts should spell out the truth to Wilson and the working class. It is his Government which is speeding the removal of Labour from power through its anti-working class policies. Those who claim to defend the interests of the working class have no alternative but to vote against all such policies. If Wilson insists on tying the fate of the Government to the continuation of these policies, then the responsibility for any defeat and removal from office it may suffer will quite clearly lie at the door of the right-wing leadership.

Healey and Wilson had the nerve to accuse the lefts of conspiracy with the Tories. But it was Healey, Wilson, Jenkins and Callaghan who conspired with the Tories to spit in the face of the whole labour movement by campaigning for British membership of the Common Market, it was Tory support for Wilson which secured endorsement of Labour's unemployment policy; it was the joint votes of the Tories and the Labour right-wing headed by Wilson that ensured the continuation of the reactionary Select Committee on abortion. There have certainly been unholy alliances in this Parliament — but they have been initiated against the whole working class in this country by Wilson and the Tories.

A defeat for the lefts would be a defeat for the working class. This is why we defend them against Wilson while at the same time fighting for a commitment from them to oppose all cuts in social expenditure, incomes policy, and the continuation of the mass unemployment policies of the Labour Government. The only way they will make their opposition seem anything more than playing around to the working class is to translate such a stand into a fight to remove Wilson and Healey and the right wing in the Government. To do that they will have to mobilise forces outside Parliament. Because, as some of these lefts are often fond of saying, 'that's where it really counts'.

bit to prevent any struggle. At the end of February the Executive defeated by 15 votes to 8 a motion demanding withdrawal of co-operation on economy cuts; a 24-hour token strike; an appeal to other public sec-

tor unions to join them in a token stoppage; and a recall Labour Party Party conference.

These demands could lay the basis for a real fight against the rail cuts — but only if the supporters of these policies on the NUR Executive campaign amongst all rail workers for such policies and encourage the setting up of joint depot committees between the three rail unions to organise resistance to the cuts. This must centre around the demand for the opening of the books to reveal the true causes of British Rail's financial crisis in decades of interest payments to the private owners and subsidies to capitalist industry, and a campaign for an integrated transport policy.

BRITISH RAIL'S REAL CRISIS: INTEREST REPAYMENTS TO THE BOSSES

	Operating Profit	Interest
1969	£56.2m	£41.5m
1970	£51.7m	£42.2m
1971	£30.2m	£45.6m
1972	£24.9m	£51.1m
1973	£ 5.7m	£57.3m

James Hurst



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Accompanied by the Chrysler (Stoke) shop stewards' banner, the Right to Work March makes its way to Rugby last Saturday

The Right to Work March

The spectre of the 1930s has been vividly recreated by the Right to Work March on London. Workers of the older generation seeing the march pass by have been profoundly angered and moved. Promised by successive post-war Labour Governments that never again would they see the hunger marches and the degradation of the Thirties, they have been sharply reminded that the unacceptable face of capitalism can never be washed clean by Labour's reformist tinkering.

What else has the march done? There is no doubt that for small groups of workers, isolated by the treachery of a trade union leadership bound body and soul to the anti-working class Wilson Government, the march has acted as a tremendous boost: for the 50 technicians on strike at Rugeley in Staffordshire; for the 123 workers at Spear and Jackson in Dronfield near Sheffield; for the 70 electricians at the Taylor Woodrow site in Manchester.

But these positive features of the march also highlight its failures. The march was intended as a massive publicity stunt to build the Right to Work Campaign run by the Rank and File Organising Committee, a trade union front for the International Socialists.

There is nothing wrong with publicity stunts — the Jarrow hunger march was just such an action taken by workers who despaired of their plight ever reaching the eyes and ears of the labour movement. It was an action taken as a last resort, after years of struggle against unemployment had failed because of the treachery of the trade union and Labour Party leadership. But it led nowhere, because no political strategy and alternative was advanced for the working class. It moved the consciences of the whole country, it exposed the inequalities of capitalism, but did little else except act as a sign post of defeat.

The Right to Work marchers of 1976 claim that theirs is not a march of despair but one of anger. But anger is no substitute for politics. And that is why this march, which could have been a centralising force in a fight for jobs where central leadership is chronically absent, has remained a publicity stunt which will quickly fade from the minds and activities of the militants it has encountered.

There is another side to the Right to Work March. Right to Work Committees established in the localities to fight unemployment have turned over all their resources to building the march instead of developing a real strategy and actions to beat unemployment. The Communist Party has attacked the march from the very beginning, counterposing it to the National Assembly on Unemployment on 27 March. Instead of meeting this attack correctly, using the march to build the National Assembly on Unemployment on a basis that could have fought the love-in between the Lefts and the Communist Party that will serve as a substitute for action, the IS paper *Socialist Worker* has paid only lip service to this task, in practice ignoring it altogether.

Red Weekly has supported the march, and militants who follow its policies have participated and spoken at meetings organised by the marchers. However, we insist that the march could and should have been organised by all those forces committed to action against the policies of the Labour Government, instead of merely by the Rank and File Organising Committee alone.

In that way the march would have escaped the stigma in the labour movement of being merely a party-building stunt for the International Socialists, and could have provided a much wider basis for fighting the Stalinists — who have worked 24 hours a day to increase its isolation. It could have become part of a whole movement based on Right to Work Committees, where the policies needed to fight unemployment could have been thrashed out and turned into action.

This has not happened, and nor do we expect it to happen because of the blind sectarianism of the leadership of the International Socialists, who put the interests of their small organisation above the interests of fighting for mass united action of the class against the Wilson Government and mass unemployment.

The Albert Hall rally on 20 March, which is being built as the triumphal culmination of the march, will be a splendid memorial to a tragic misuse of resources in the workers movement.

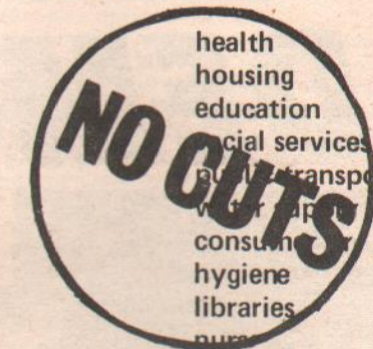
Rail cuts strike - SOLD DOWN THE LINE

The first sparks of opposition to the latest round of rail cuts flickered out on British Rail's Eastern Region last week. Wielding the extinguisher was none other than Ray Buckton, 'left' leader of the drivers' union ASLEF.

After repeatedly urging his members to return to work, he finally succeeded in negotiating a 'compromise' with the Railways Board. BR should in future consult the men in the depots more carefully before implementing the cuts that Buckton and the other rail union leaders have

already accepted in principle at a national level.

In the same way that ASLEF defused the earlier threat by Southern Region drivers for 24 hour protest strikes against the cuts, Buckton effectively crushed the revolt on the Eastern Region by isolating it. What could have been the start of a nationally organised fight against the rail cuts — which rail union leaders on their own admission expect to reduce the service from 11,000 miles to just over 4,000 by 1981 — was reduced to a shambles.



The jobs slaughter will go on, and passengers will face an ever deteriorating service and never ending fare increases. In January 1948, when the railways were nationalised, there were over 19,000 route miles and 600,000 staff. Only 11,500 route miles and 190,000 staff remain today.

Since March 1974, fares have risen by 83 per cent. Last year alone the increase was 51 per cent. Passengers have been driven away from the railways, increasing the congestion and pollution of private transport on the roads.

Now rail workers and passengers face the prospect of Crosland's dictated halt in British Rail expenditure and a pegging of investment at £238 million for the next five years. In addition to straightforward cuts, this means that old rolling stock will be retained, trains will be shorter, and speeds slower.

If Buckton sat on one strike, the leaders of the National Union of Railwaymen have also been doing their

London teachers fight for jobs

Plenty of teachers chasing hardly any jobs. That is the picture contained in figures just announced by the Inner London Education Authority.

In the secondary sector, for instance, there have been 1,000 applications so far compared with 300 this time last year. One school has received over 70 applications for a job in its English department and 30 applications for a Remedial post. In the primary sector the situation is even worse: there have already been more than 2,500 applications. Even these figures don't tell the whole story, as many student teachers are just not bothering to apply.

These figures are just one example of the growing gap between the level of education which is potentially available and that which the ILEA is prepared to provide under the Government's policy of cuts. They demonstrate the need to draw up a register of all unemployed teachers, as a first step to forcing the ILEA into giving jobs to all teachers and so improving the education service.



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

'DISCRIMINATION OUT - OCCUPATION IN!' That was the slogan which echoed through London's streets last Friday, when 3,000 students demonstrated against the Government's proposals to increase students' fees by 30 per cent next year.

It was a slogan which had already been put into practice by students at the London School of Economics. They marched out of a three day occupation to join the demo. Their occupation was a big success: it attracted the active support of up to 150 students and made quite clear to the college authorities that implementation of Labour's racist proposals would be met with massive resistance.

The militancy of those who marched was in marked contrast to the tone of Trevor Phillips' speech at the rally following the demo. Phillips, a Broad Left member of the NUS Executive, displayed the same dynamic leadership he had shown when he phoned LSE on the night before the occupation to say that unfortunately NUS could not support their occupation. Generously he said: 'If you have the wholehearted support of the

mass of students, if you have won over your student union, and if you have the backing of your college staff - then, and only then, NUS will be pleased to support initiatives like that at LSE.'

The NUS Executive (which is Broad Left dominated) has done nothing, apart from calling Friday's demo, to defend the interests of overseas students. There has been no real campaign on discriminatory fees, and no campaign at all on government discrimination in grant awards (overseas students don't get them); on the constant surveillance of overseas students by the Home Office; or on their exploitation as cheap skilled labour in underpaid research teams.

The task of giving a lead on these issues, of organising a campaign of militant direct action in alliance with the organised trade union and labour movement, has been left to the revolutionaries in NUS.

Colin Robinson (LSE)

NO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST OVERSEAS STUDENTS!

Overseas students in Britain are facing an immediate and severe threat. The Labour Government and local education authorities are now trying to force through dramatically increased fees, with the idea of a quota system limiting the number of overseas students in each course as a fall-back alternative.

For the last ten years, overseas students have faced increasing discrimination through higher fees and legal restrictions. In 1966, a discriminatory fee of £250 was introduced for overseas students. This year the fee went up to £320 and will go up again next year to £416.

The Immigration Act of 1971 and subsequent laws made obtaining visas difficult, vacation work permits almost impossible, and introduced intensive 'screening' by the Home Office of political activities. As a result the threat of deportation became a spectre haunting the overseas student community.

Students who had to work in the holidays to finance their studies were increasingly forced to work illegally for low wages, all the time running the risk of being kicked out. The powers given to the Home Office enabled them to deport those considered 'undesirable', in many cases back to their home countries where they faced repression.

But these restrictions pale into insignificance compared with the moves now being planned by the authorities and the Labour Government. The Labour Cabinet 'policy group' is recommending that overseas students' fees should be increased to five times the 1976/77 level to £1,200 for non-advanced courses, and £2,100 for advanced courses.

These measures, if implemented, would amount to kicking out all the self-financed overseas students (who make up 75 per cent of the total). The effect would be that only students who were faithful servants of neo-colonialist regimes would receive grants and therefore be able to study in Britain.

An alternative and perhaps additional device will be the introduction of a quota system for students from abroad. The Inner London Education Authority are the trail blazers with this vicious tactic. This Labour controlled authority is planning to introduce measures which will cut the proportion of overseas students in its colleges from 25 to 10 per cent over the next five years. No doubt other LEAs will follow suit.

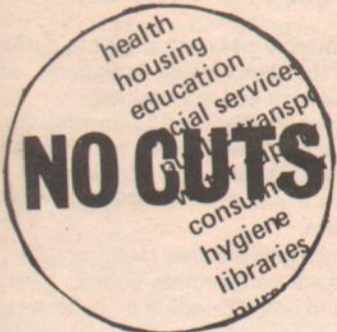
To justify these proposals the Government and LEAs have been peddling the lie that it is 'sons of rich oil sheiks' who are being educated at the British taxpayers' expense. But the vast majority of overseas students come from underdeveloped countries. They do not come to take advantage of cheap education, but because no adequate educational facilities exist in their own country as a result of the systematic underdevelopment of these economies by imperialist powers like Britain.

Overseas students do not receive maintenance grants, and are largely supported through tremendous sacrifices by their families. As a result they bring well over £100m of foreign currency into Britain every year.

As for the 'sons of rich oil sheiks', the Government's present plans would ensure that only such people and other students smiled upon by neo-colonialist regimes could enter this country.

The attacks on overseas students are intimately bound up with the offensive against education facilities as a whole. Many colleges and courses have a very high percentage of overseas students. Radical restrictions on overseas students will make these colleges and courses unviable, both for students from abroad and British students. This will lead to closures, reduction of student numbers, staff redundancies - in fact, a cut-back of the education system as a whole.

Overseas students have been chosen as the target because they are weakly organised and can be used as a scapegoat for the general problems in education. That is why the fight for the rights of overseas students to study in Britain is not some moral question but fundamental in resisting the wholesale cuts being imposed in further and higher education.



They also illustrate the need to force the executive of the National Union of Teachers into implementing a real national campaign against the cuts, and to demand that no teachers should be required to cover for absent colleagues. Nor is it only teachers who are being forced onto the dole queue - ancillary workers are also involved, and there must be a united front involving all unions against these measures.

An all-London Action Committee has been set up as a first step to fight the cuts. It is organising a lobby of the NUT Executive meeting on 20 March at 8.30am outside Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, WCI to demand that it leads a united fight against the cuts and implements the sanction of no covers nationally. It is also compiling a register of unemployed teachers.

Further information from: All-London Committee Against Cuts and Unemployment, c/o 21 Almorah Road, NI.

...and against victimisation

The ILEA is continuing its attempt to victimise Hackney teacher Mike Colley for attending last October's demonstration against the education cuts as an elected delegate from Clissold Park School NUT.

Hackney Teachers Association has set up a defence committee to fight his case as part of the general campaign against the cuts. Support has so far been won from the South East Region TUC (which organised the October demonstration), Hackney Trades Council, Hackney North & Stoke Newington Labour Party, and Stan Newens MP. But the NUT has refused to take up Colley's case, just as it has refused to launch a real fight against the cuts.

The defence committee has called a lobby of the ILEA Education Sub-Committee meeting at County Hall on 23 March at 4.30 pm, to demand that the charges against Mike Colley are dropped. There will also be a lobby of the Clissold Park School Governors meeting (Clissold Road, N.16) on 30 March, - see next Red Weekly for time.

APRIL 25...APRIL 25..

SHEFFIELD ENGINEERS, LABOUR PARTY BACK HEALTH CUTS DEMO

JANET MAGUIRE is the national organiser of the National Coordinating Committee Against the Cuts in the NHS (NCC). We asked her what steps have so far been taken to build the 25 April demonstration against the cuts called by the NCC and sponsored by the National and Local Government Officers Association.

'On a national level, the National Union of Students has decided to sponsor the demonstration. But we are also getting an encouraging response at the local level.

Take Sheffield for instance. There the District Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has now agreed to 'sponsor and support' the demonstration.

'The Sheffield District Labour Parties have also voted to sponsor the demonstration. The Sheffield District Party, which represents all the Constituency Labour Parties in the Sheffield area, is taking all our mobilising material and circulating that to build support for the demonstration.'

Maguire told us that this week the NCC would be circulating material to all the CLPs in Britain, urging them to make sure that the demonstration gets support in their local parties. The aim is to build a really



JANET MAGUIRE

Photo: ANGELA PHILLIPS (IFL)

big contingent of Labour Parties on the 25 April demonstration. 'We want to see as many Labour Party banners as possible on that contingent', says Maguire.

Meanwhile, the NALGO Health Workers' and Local Government branches in Manchester have agreed to support the demonstration, and in Liverpool a NALGO branch is booking a coach for 25 April to make sure that their members get down to London.

Maguire is particularly encouraged by the support the demo is getting from bodies like Manchester Fight the Cuts Committee, Birmingham

Campaign Against the Cuts; Brighton Action Committee Against the Cuts; Humberside Health Service Action Committee; Tyneside Action Committee Against Cuts; Oldham Campaign Against Cuts in Public Expenditure; Barnet Health Action Group; London Regional Committee Against Cuts; Bristol Committee Against Cuts; Plymouth Action Committee Against the Cuts; and the NCC in South Wales.

'The London branches of the NATSOPA print union are also doing a magnificent job', she told us. 'Last week we got another £25, making a total of £175 they have so far donated. We ask supporters of the campaign in other unions and CLPs to follow this example and get donation towards building the demonstration and making sure that the campaign is kept going.'

The NCC now has a letter and a six-sided brochure which have been printed for the campaign by NALGO. People wishing to mobilise local support for the campaign can get supplies of these from the address below. NATSOPA has also designed, and NALGO are printing, four posters again supplies can be obtained from Dr Paul Stern, 55 Bridge Lane, London, NW11 (01-455 4920).

ABORTION: FOR A WORKERS ENQUIRY

'Support the 3 April demonstration' - this was the message of Terry Marsland, National Organiser of the Tobacco Workers' Union, when she addressed the TUC Women's Congress in Southport last week. But support for the 3 April demonstration called by NAC, although essential, is not the end of the campaign. The refusal of six MPs to play by the rules of the parliamentary game, in resigning from the Select Committee, has thrown up new tasks.

As Dr. Berry Beaumont, a member of the Steering Committee of the National Abortion Campaign, told *Red Weekly*: 'We've got to say now - loudly and clearly - that the evidence still has to be collected, and we should organise a Forum to debate the way forward for the abortion campaign on the basis of the evidence we have collected.'

'The so-called democracy which Parliament offers the working class is a sham - this Select Committee has confirmed that much. Now we have to fight for a different kind of democracy - one where, through our own investigations carried out through the trade unions, the Labour Party, and with women leading this action, we can work out a plan to meet the attacks on women's right to abortion. The idea

of a big Forum will be a step in this direction.'

To be successful, such a Forum - presently being considered by 16 pro-abortion groups, including the National Union of Students and the Socialist Medical Association - must be well thought out. First, it will entail an intensive campaign within the trade unions and Labour Party to get their support for the action of the MPs in resigning from the Select Committee, and for a commitment to campaign for the Forum.

NOT EASY

Although this initiative is in line with the TUC and Labour Party Conference decisions for 'free abortion on request on the NHS', it won't be an easy task. The right wing in

these organisations are horrified by the resignation of the MPS, arguing that this 'opens the doors to extra-parliamentarism'. Of course it's these same people who have sabotaged any efforts to implement the TUC and Labour Party resolutions on abortion.

MOBILISE

Paper support won't be enough to build the Forum. It will also need the active mobilisation of the workers movement. The MPs who have resigned should be called upon to place themselves at the head of this campaign, rallying support for it. But even if they refuse in the face of the attacks by the right, this action must go ahead.

First, it will be necessary to establish exactly how the 1967 Act is presently being sabotaged. Hospital workers should lead an enquiry into how the cuts in the NHS have affected women's abortion rights, demanding the opening of the books



Terry Marsland calling for support for the 3 April abortion demonstration at the Women's TUC last week

Photo: ANGELA PHILLIPS (IFL)

in order to begin to work out a plan for a health service that caters for the needs of women, as well as of the whole working class. These local enquiries must have the support and participation of the entire workers movement.

The vigil recently organised at Barbara Castle's home in Islington as part of a fight against the closure of the Elisabeth Garret Anderson Hospital is one example where such broad support has been won. The Working Women's Charter Campaign, the NAC, the Camden Committee Against the Cuts, and the hospital workers declared redundant following the closure all participated in organising this action.

Women in the localities must draw together their experiences in attempting to get abortions - investigating which doctors have imposed their reactionary views on women by adopting a consistent policy of 'no abortions'. Local campaigns should be launched with the backing of hospital workers to remove these doctors, who are sabotaging even the limited 1967 Act. Their medical skills should be used in other ways to serve the working class. But they can't continue in a position where they determine the fate of hundreds of women each year!

Only through organising in this

way - relying on the independent organisation of the working class - can the Forum become an authoritative body, counterposed to the present rump on the Select Committee. If it is successful, then the TUC and Labour Party will fall in behind because the political price of remaining outside will become too heavy. Hence it is important to begin now to plan to mobilise the broadest support possible at the union branch and local Labour Party level.

LABOUR PARTY

At the recent London Labour Party Conference a call was put out to all those interested in organising around the abortion issue inside the Labour Party. This could be the first step in building a real campaigning body within the Labour Party on a national scale which can organise those actively prepared to oppose the Labour Government's attack on this fundamental right of women.

If the National Abortion Campaign puts itself firmly in the forefront of building such actions this could be an important step forward. The NAC has consistently adopted a policy of mass action - and this perspective is more than ever necessary now!

DODIE WEPPLER

Linking womens' struggles through the Charter

11 April sees the National Conference of the Working Women's Charter Campaign at Lanchester Poly. TESSA VAN GELDEREN reports on the progress of the Campaign.

The Working Women's Charter Campaign (WWCC) has now been active for over two years. In that time it has been adopted by and received support from many organisations of the labour movement - including the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, National Union of Public Employees, National and Local Government Officers Association, National Union of Journalists, and at least 37 trades councils - and Charter groups exist throughout the country.

The importance of the Charter has been to show clearly that the position of women in the workplace and the home cannot be separated. That is why the Campaign has always insisted on the unity of its ten demands, despite the obvious weaknesses of some of them when taken individually. Equal opportunity without nursery facilities or the

right to abortion and contraception becomes meaningless, and the WWCC has had an important impact in taking up these questions inside the organisations of the working class.

The present attacks of the Labour Government mean that the Charter has an even more important role to play. The cut-backs in public expenditure affect women at all levels: it is women who will suffer most from nursery closures, education cuts, the declining health service, rent increases, etc. Women are also often the first to go when it comes to redundancies. The effect of all these attacks is that women are being pushed back into the family.

The recent legislation designed to end discrimination (Equal Pay Act, Sex Discrimination Act, and Employment Protection Act) becomes a mockery in such a situation (and this is not to mention the inadequacies of the Acts themselves). How can women begin to play a full role outside the home (at work, in the unions, community etc), when

what little was offered them with these pieces of legislation has been more than taken away through the Government's cut-backs?

Women are bearing the brunt of the crisis, and one of the most important functions of the Charter Campaign in the coming period is to show clearly that this is an issue for the whole working class. No section of the working class must be allowed to pay the price for what is the responsibility of the capitalists and their system.

Co-ordinate

It is for this reason that the forthcoming National Conference of the WWCC is so necessary as a means of starting to co-ordinate and centralise this struggle. Because we must forge actions against the policies of the Labour Government which unite the whole working class, we have to fight against all who say that the struggle for women's rights is a diversion at the present time. The WWCC National Conference is an expression of the need for that struggle, and it will be an important opportunity to pool experiences and begin to work towards a common strategy.

The actual demands of the Charter have also been put to the test in the last two years - and in a number of instances found wanting. What is important to remember in amending the Charter is that it embodies the practice and experience of the labour movement in the last two years in the fight for women's rights (e.g. the passing of the Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts, the fight for free abortion and contraception on request). By up-dating the present Charter in this light, a better basis can be provided for uniting broad sections of the working class in the fight for women's rights.

Acid test

It is not too late to get delegated from your local trade union branch, trades council, Charter or women's groups. Women's liberation becomes an acid test for the left in the present economic and political crisis; and unless the labour movement passes that test, not only will women be sold out but the whole working class will be weakened and disunited.

The Charter has so far made small but important inroads. Now it must be strengthened politically and organisationally so that it can go out into the organisations of the labour movement and ensure that the needs of women are taken up in all the struggles now breaking out against the effects of the capitalist crisis.

Applications for credentials to: WWCC Conference Secretariat, c/o Helen Gurdon, Flat 4, 39 Newbold Terrace East, Leamington Spa, Warwick.



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

-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.

CAMPAIGN To Free Eva Forest - public meeting Thurs 25 March, 7.30pm, Centreprise (Room 2), Kingsland High Road, near Dalston Junction.

BIRMINGHAM Engineering Voice public meeting: 'End Wage Controls'. Speakers: Ernie Roberts (Asst Gen Sec. AUEW), Derek Robinson (Convener, Austin), Chair: Mick Rice (JSSC Lucas BW3). Fri 19 March, 7.30pm, AUEW Hall, Holloway Circus, Birmingham 1.

RED BOOKS comprehensive list of titles now available - Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Mandel, Lukacs, Novack, Cannon, Deutsch, etc. Send s.a.e. for copy to: Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

WORKERS BOOKSHELF - a socialist mail-order book service offers a wide selection of books on Marxist theory, labour history, women and international affairs. Pamphlets our speciality - over 60 titles. S.a.e. (foolscap) for catalogue to: Workers Bookshelf, 150 Foster Road, Trumpington, Cambridge.

STUDENT CONFERENCE on Ireland, sponsored by North London Poly and Middlesex Poly student unions and TOM. Any college society or union can send delegates on the basis of self-determination for the Irish people. Sessions include debate with Broad Left. Sat 27 March, 10.30am, North London Poly, Holloway Road, N7. Social in evening. Details from Paddy Prenderville, 01-328 1545.

CENTRAL LONDON Right to Work public meeting: Thurs 18 March, 7pm Roebuck pub, Tottenham Ct. Road (Warren St. tube). Speakers: two marchers. The Right to Work Committee is open to all affiliated bodies, the unemployed, local rank-and-file militants -

meeting to plan and organise after the rally, Mon 29 March, 7pm, the Plough, Museum St, W.1.

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

DEFEND THE RIGHT To Work badges - 17p including postage from: Jo-Ann, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. Bulk rates on enquiry (01-278 9526).

GLASGOW Socialist Forums - every Thursday in the Iona Community Centre, 7.30pm.

'HOW TO FIGHT the Crisis in the Public Sector' - IMG public meeting, Weds 24 March, 7.30pm, Euston Tavern. Speakers: Bernie Regan (candidate for NUT Executive), Dr Dominic Costa (NCC), NALGO speaker and Mike Colley (victimised teacher).

EAST LONDON Troops Out Movement public meeting, Weds 24 March - 'The British Army in Ireland, why it should be withdrawn'. 8pm, Central Library, Bancroft Rd (off Mile End Rd), E1. Speaker: Neil Davies (ex-paratrooper)

'RACISM IN AUSTRALIA and the Development of the Black Movement' - public meeting with speaker Sue Chilly (leading black Australian militant). Thurs 25 March, 8pm, Roebuck pub, Tottenham Ct Rd (Warren St tube). Organised by Australian Socialist Alliance.

ROOM TO LET in Islington flat for woman comrade, £8 + bills. Share bathroom/kitchen. Ring 226 9028 or call at 18 Alwyne Rd, N1 on Saturday morning.

ISLINGTON NAC BENEFIT with West London Theatre Workshop's new play on women plus music and a film. Fri 26 March, 7.30pm, Old Red Lion pub, St Johns St, EC1 (Angel tube).

'ORGANISING for Health' - Socialist Medical Association one-day conference, Sat 27 March, 10.30am - 5pm at NUR headquarters, Euston Rd, NW1 (almost opposite Euston Station).

PRESTON IMG public meeting: 'Fight NHS Cuts' - speaker Bob Pennington, Weds 24 March, 7.30pm, Windsor Castle Hotel, Egan St, Preston.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

ACTION NOT JUST

A general strike and demonstration of 8,000 against the cuts in Dundee; strike action against cuts in services by bus workers in Liverpool; widespread unofficial action against the rail cuts by workers on British Rail's Eastern Region. Everywhere there is a mushrooming struggle against the cuts, with big support developing for the 25 April national demonstration against the health cuts. And down in Avonmouth a bitterly fought 17-week strike by 630 workers against wage cuts and redundancies at Commonwealth Smelting Limited ended earlier this month in victory.

The working class is beginning to move against the Tory policies of the Wilson Government — so much so that 37 Tribunate MPs felt compelled to abstain on a motion on Healey's White Paper last week, leading to the Government's first major defeat in the House of Commons. But as the working

class moves forward, the trade unions are falling over themselves to retreat.

The tarnished 'left' of yesteryear, recently announced his 'complete and total support for the Government's economic policy'. Ray Buckton repeatedly urged the trade union return to work. Joe Gormley sabotaged the right to work at Langwith colliery.

Despite this, the Miners' leadership is being forced to join the Civil and Public Services Campaign, the National and Local Government Officers' Association, the National Union of Teachers, the National Union of Public Employees and the TUC. The possibility of a recall TUC. The possibility of centralising the fragmented struggles against the Government's anti-working class policies is clear.

The National Assembly on Unemployment will meet at the Central Hall Westminster on 27 March.

A programme for action

With only a few days left to the Assembly, no programme of action against unemployment has yet been put forward by the conference organisers. In all likelihood this means that militants at the conference will be presented with the Tribunate demands for import controls and 'controlled reflation'. In other words, Healey in his April budget should hand out just a bit more than he will in tax relief to wage-earners and 'take up the slack in the economy'. A truly 'left-wing' export-led boom!

Red Weekly has many times pointed out that import controls are not only reactionary — attempting to export 'our' unemployment on to the backs of workers abroad; they are also useless, because they simply mean that workers have to pay higher prices for goods from the sectors involved, leaving aside the threat of massive retaliation from stronger capitalist powers. The 'lefts' call for import controls precisely because they prefer collaboration with the bosses at home to organising a real fight against these same bosses for the right to work.

REDUNDANCIES

As for 'controlled reflation', this will simply mean more tax concessions to big business and lower interest rates to encourage industrial investment. Such investment will be for the purpose of rationalising industry — creating more redundancies, more unemployment.

As it is, many employers are still not investing in new plant because the present economic climate has made it easier for them to lay off workers and step up productivity without meeting massive resistance from the workforce. This points inescapably to one conclusion:

any programme coming from the Assembly to tackle the effects of inflation, unemployment, the cuts and the social crisis must have as its centrepiece the struggle for workers control over production and the social services.

Even the limited struggles that have developed against the cuts and unemployment so far have shown elements of the programme necessary to wage a successful fight.

OPEN THE BOOKS

In most major towns Cuts Action Committees exist, drawing support from local union and Labour Party branches as well as voluntary groups and individual militants. The immediate problem these committees face is a black-out on information about the cuts: the demand for the opening of the books of the local authorities, with local Labour councillors being forced to support this, both helps to reveal the extent of the cuts and allows a planned fight back against them.

A workers' enquiry into both the cuts and the needs of working people in particular areas can agitate for a programme of public works to meet social need as well as providing jobs.

PROGRAMME

In the national campaign against the cuts, the National Co-ordinating Against the Cuts in the NHS has already given a fighting lead. The 400 strong delegate conference from which it was launched last October adopted a programme including demands for a workers enquiry into the NHS, an immediate cash injection of £1,000 million to improve the service, and a sliding

scale of expenditure to defend NHS spending against the effects of inflation. A resolution along these lines was also passed by last year's Labour Party conference.

The National Assembly on Unemployment could give this fight a tremendous boost by supporting the 25 April demo against private practice and cuts in the NHS called by NALGO and the NCC, and campaigning for the implementation of Labour conference policy on the health service and its extension to the whole public sector.

To finance this policy, militants at the Assembly should fight in existing cuts committees and throughout the labour movement for the cancellation of all national and local debt charges, and for the nationalisation of the banks and financial services.



Their unity and ours

When the Communist Party began its campaign for the Assembly in November it didn't look too bad — for those who don't know the habits of the CPGB, that is. The demand for the recall of the TUC was put forward and the *Morning Star* talked about the need for a real programme to fight unemployment. Furthermore the promise was held out of a large democratic gathering of the labour movement, with news that mass factory meetings were to be held to elect delegates in Southall, London, being favourably reported.

But as the list of working class organisations supporting the conference has grown, so every other positive aspect has been dropping out of sight. The demands for a recall TUC and, since the National Executive Committee decision, a recall Labour Party Conference have been popping in and out of the pages of the *Morning Star* — mirroring the manoeuvres of the parliamentary Labour left.

NO POLICY

As for any programme to fight unemployment, nobody at all (except perhaps the industrial department of the Communist Party) has any idea at all of what it is going to look like. No one even knows if there is going to be a resolution, or whether any policy at all will be adopted. Indeed the most recent circular from the Assembly's organisers, the No. 8 region of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, simply invites delegates to discuss the unemployment situation — without demanding the right to work!

There are reasons for this. The Communist Party's strategy of left unity puts 'unity' with the 'lefts' above the task of actually fighting for a programme to smash unemployment.

ACTION

For the CP, 'left unity' is the goal itself. But for *Red Weekly*, unity of the left is unity for action: drawing together the widest possible sections of the labour movement in action against the policies of the Wilson Government, and building a permanent labour movement opposition to the Labour Cabinet and the right-wing leaders of the TUC. That should be the task the Assembly sets itself.

It is, of course, something the left can't stomach, as it demands a

real fight to remove the present misleaders of the working class, not a paper battle. And the leaders of the Communist Party will do their best to stop that real fight from erupting from the floor of the 27 March Assembly because it will threaten to upset their cosy relation with the lefts.

NONSENSE

That is why there is as yet no resolution. That is why no procedure for submitting motions and amendments has been announced. Because how on earth is it possible to have a conference on unemployment actually organising any action against Wilson when it is supported by Hugh Scanlon, who is simultaneously announcing his total support for the Government's economic strategy?

For years and years we have heard the eternal refrain from the Communist Party of 'leave it to Hugh', 'we musn't queer Jack's pitch', and similar nonsense. By now it should be clear to everyone what the 'corridors of power' strategy leads to.

It is yesterday's 'left' darlings of the CP — above all, the great Jack Jones and Michael Foot — who have been to the forefront in plotting and carrying through the anti-working class policies of this Government. It is all too clear where 'leaving it to X, Y, and Z' has got the labour movement.

BANKRUPT

Crushing any real discussion on programme and action inside the Assembly thus becomes a logical counterpart to the Communist Party's bankrupt line of reliance on the lefts outside. Anyone who has experienced the refusal to vote on resolutions and the ranting left-baiting in earlier conferences organised by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions knows that the only time you can expect any democracy from the CP is when the audience is so stacked against them that they have to show a bit of good manners.

The fact that once again they are going to spring a resolution at the last moment, with no-one having a prior chance to discuss it, shows what we can expect in this respect. Perhaps the tender sensibilities of the Labour lefts, and the fact that its own working class base isn't what it used to be, will allow a little democracy to be extracted from the CP at the Assembly. But it will be an uphill fight all the way.



N UNEMPLOYMENT

DEED - WORDS

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important part of that process. Of all the labour movement bodies opposed at least on paper to the policies of the Wilson Government, the Assembly will be easily the biggest. It is already sponsored by over 40 Labour MPs and union bodies representing six million workers, and over 1,000 delegates had registered by last weekend with a fortnight to go.

The Assembly undoubtedly has the forces, given a clear line of march, to destroy the rotten policies of this Government. The problem is — where are the Assembly's political leaders, the Communist Party and the Labour left, marching? In the following articles we look at the crucial questions facing militants at the Assembly: what sort of unity of the left; the programme necessary to smash unemployment; and how the fight can be carried forward after 27 March.

...ance houses into a single state bank under the control of the working class.

In the fight for the right to work, *occupations* have time and again been shown to be the most effective way to resist redundancies. Many unions even have this written into their policy, and the recent London Labour Party Conference pledged itself to promote and support such actions.

These leaders must be forced to turn their words into action — starting with the policy of many unions for a *35-hour week* which should be coupled with a *ban on overtime* with no loss of earnings. Against useless pleas for the Government to save jobs, it is the workers themselves who must produce their own plans for *worksharing with no loss*

of pay and nationalisation prepared through the opening of the companies' books.

If the majority of Chrysler stewards had acted on the report drawn up by workers at the Whitley research plant, a very different outcome to Varley's 'rescue' deal would have been possible. The activity of the Open the Books Committee at Leyland's Cowley plant, which has won increasing mass support through its exposure of the 'workers participation in speed-up' proposals of the Ryder Report, is an example to be generalised to every factory.

Another vital task facing militants at the Assembly is the breaking of the trade unions and Labour Party at every level from the policies of the Wilson Government. The campaign for *recall TUC and Labour*

Party conferences will allow the maximum forces to be grouped in opposition to the Wilson Cabinet and their collaborators in the TUC.

At a local level, *action committees and right to work committees* can help to centralise opposition to unemployment. Even working on the information available to existing stewards' committees, the plans and intentions of managements for redundancies can be exposed and powerful propaganda made for the opening of the books.

NATIONALISATION

There should be a fight for the maximum involvement of Labour MPs in sponsoring such committees — particularly in committing the lefts to policies of nationalisation under workers control, as well as continually fighting to force them to support every struggle against unemployment and the cuts.

The fight for the right to work of *women workers* is of major importance given the astonishing rate of increase of unemployment among women compared with men. This potentially dangerous rift in the labour movement can be overcome through the rejection of any policies of 'women out first' and a struggle for *all the rights of women*.

This means in particular a campaign for the *implementation of TUC and Labour Party conference policy of free contraception and abortion on request*; and a continuing fight for the adoption and implementation in full of the demands of the *Working Women's Charter* by the labour movement.

In the struggle against the effects of inflation, the number one demand that the Assembly must adopt is the *rejection of any incomes policy under capitalism*. The £6 limit — for which Hugh Scanlon has now admitted his support — has contributed more than anything else to the sharp decline in living standards.

The Labour Government was also responsible for the abolition of threshold payments, which at least gave some protection to wages against inflation. *Automatic cost of living increases based on a trade union*

After the assembly

The Assembly could be the ideal launching pad for the construction of a class struggle left wing in the labour movement around such a fighting programme. But even though it won't live up to this task, it will bring together many of the militants who can play a central role in building a permanent labour movement opposition to the Labour Cabinet and the traitors in the trade union bureaucracy who support them.

Similar assemblies in local areas, cuts committees and right to work committees will be an essential part of this process of challenging the right wing for the leadership of the labour movement. No amount of 'pressure', no amount of talk about the issues being 'politics not personalities' from the Communist Party and the Labour lefts can hide the fact that you either fight for leadership or end up surrendering to the right wing.

In calling for this new class struggle left wing, *Red Weekly* does so in the traditions of the early Minority Movement before its sectarian degeneration. With one sixth of the present claimed membership of the Communist Party, the CP of the early 1920s was able to build a National Minority Movement with supporters in every major union, and hold regular national conferences with representation from up to a quarter of all trade unionists. It is that sort of movement, which clearly

cost of living index for all wages, pensions, grants and social service benefits is the only way to defend workers' incomes against price rises.

The building of a national day of action will be an important part of the fight for alternative policies to those of Wilson in the labour movement. Already the one-day general strike in Dundee and the planned three

challenged the right wing for leadership, that we must strive to build now.

Demands and campaigns for the recall of the TUC and Labour Party conferences allow the right-wing leaders to be confronted and the maximum possible forces assembled in opposition to them. *Even at the present time a national conference of all Constituency Labour Parties and trade union bodies in favour of recall conferences to break with Wilson's policies would be a tremendous step forward in the fight against the right — and towards a class struggle left wing.*

In local action committees, individual factories, unions and Labour Party branches a common, *but not linked*, fight is going on against the right wing. Newham North East is only the proud tip of a larger iceberg. The welcome decision of the Institute of Workers Control to set up a commission to investigate the car industry, for instance, extends the fight already started by the Open the Books Committee in Cowley.

An enormous range of initiatives leading towards a class struggle left wing are *already* being taken, and many more can and will be. Indeed, as with the Minority Movement in the 1920s, it is only through the development of all these struggles and campaigns that such a movement can be built. It is to this task that militants must turn themselves after the Assembly.

hour strike against the cuts in Glasgow have opened the way here. By 'naming the date' for national strike action against the cuts, the Assembly could provide a powerful focus for all the fragmented struggles occurring at the present time — and prepare the way for national industrial action to force the withdrawal of all the cuts.



DUNDEE, 5 March: The photos on this page show the 8,000-strong demonstration during the local one-day general strike against the cuts. This is the kind of response to Wilson's policies that militants at the Assembly must begin to build up—by 'naming the date' for a national one-day strike against the cuts and unemployment. (Photos: Socialist Worker)



Organisational Principles and Internal Regime

Over the last three weeks *Red Weekly* has been looking in detail at the difference between a revolutionary party and factions within such a party. We have drawn the historical lessons of Lenin's struggle against the revisionists in the Second International and of Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinists.

In both cases what emerged is that neither launched a new party until both the social democrats and the Stalinists had passed definitively into the camp of the counter-revolution — the former by their support for their 'own' fatherlands in the First World War, the latter by their disastrous policy in Germany, which allowed Hitler to come to power in 1933 without a shot being fired. Until these actual *historic class betrayals* took place, both Lenin and Trotsky fought for the existence of *factions within the same party* to hammer out political differences.

We followed this up last week by showing that the 1953 split in the Fourth International was a split not into two world parties, but into two public factions. Because no historic betrayal of the interests of the working class had taken place, it was possible for a principled reunification of these two factions to take place in 1963 — a reunification involving the majority of both the International Committee and the International Secretariat.

REMAIN OUTSIDE

Gerry Healy, leader of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the so-called International Committee today, chose to remain outside the reunified International in 1963. Instead he maintained and developed the myth that 'Pabloite revisionism' had destroyed the International in 1953 (although this did not stop him from making what should therefore have been unprincipled approaches to the Fourth International for unity talks later on, or sometimes deeming this organisation — which had supposedly historically betrayed the working class — part of 'the world Trotskyist movement').

In this concluding article we show how Healy's complete lack of understanding of the difference between a faction and a party as embodied in his attitude to the 1953 split *inevitably* contributed to the internal degeneration of Healy's organisation along with the disintegration of his rump International Committee. We do this because we believe that the comrades of the Workers Socialist League, who were themselves the victims of Healy's bureaucratic regime, have failed as yet to work through the meaning of their own expulsion.

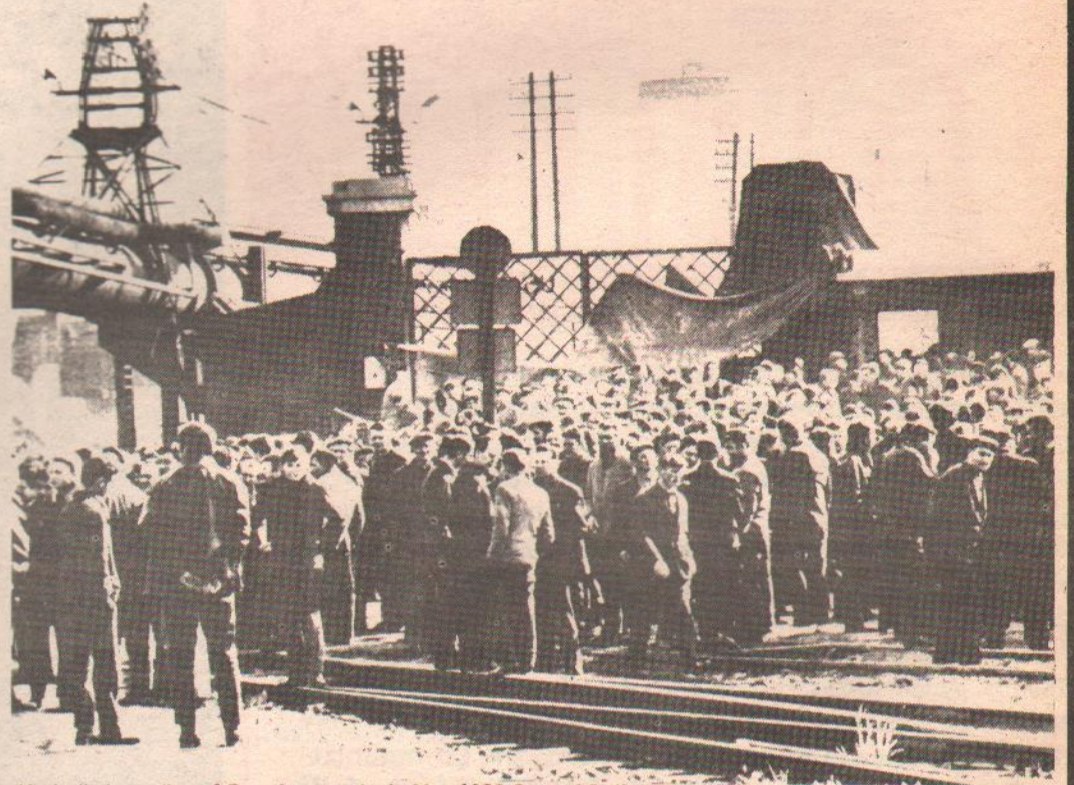
They have rejected the methods of lying, falsification, slander and expulsions of the Workers Revolutionary Party. But because of their own confusion about the difference between a faction and a party, they do not understand the SLL/WRP's degeneration as a result of Healy's split from the International, and so flounder between a position of saying that 'Pabloite revisionism' destroyed the International and calling for serious discussions with the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The first result of Healy's allegation that the 'Pabloites' crossed the class Rubicon in 1953 was the systematic lying and misrepresentation of his opponents' views. For if the Pabloites were responsible for world historic betrayals, then Healy had to prove it — and, inevitably, show that such betrayals would continue and get worse. (This is something very different from arguing that gross errors have been developed, revisionist ideas advanced, and even totally wrong positions taken on major questions. Even if true, *none* of these would justify a split into anything more than two factions.)

Lacking the necessary facts, Healy was forced to justify his position through systematic lying. *To lie* that the International Secretariat did not support the 1956 Hungarian revolution; *to lie* that Cuba is not a workers' state; *to lie* that the United Secretariat did not intervene in and even publicly attack the line of the Ceylonese section before a majority of it joined a bourgeois coalition government in 1964; *to lie* concerning the line of the French comrades in the May 1968 General Strike; *to lie* today on virtually every major issue of the world revolution.

To justify the creation of a separate party from the 'Pabloites', when in fact the conditions for such a definitive split did not exist, the SLL/WRP was forced to turn its organisation and publications into one of the greatest storehouses of falsehood and dishonesty in the labour movement. Lying and falsification is not accidental, an 'excess' of Healyism, but something which became a *necessary* part of its political line when it maintained its separation from the Fourth International.

But such a sustained campaign of falsehood has its own inevitable effects. Firstly, there is a deadly danger



Healy lied over line of French comrades in May 1968 General Strike

FACTION AND PARTY 4

JAMES FRANCIS concludes our series on issues confronting the Workers Socialist League (WSL)

that the membership may encounter reality and see that these statements are lies. So the membership must be censored. Hence such terrible practices as taking away leaflets handed out to WRP members, of printing the documents of only one side in disputes and so on — practices culled from the Stalinists in their early development.

The members must be kept from anything and anyone who challenges Healy's 'truth'. United front are increasingly rejected not simply because of the WRP's wrong political positions, but they lead to 'contamination'. Sectarianism deepens. Finally even physical violence is used to keep any 'alien' influence away, as in the beating given to Trotskyist leader Ernie Tate.

But clinical isolation cannot be achieved; even an innocent question might lead to the demand for wider answers and reality creeping in. Complete cessation of internal democracy is the only way to prevent this. A sectarian organisation always, *inevit-*

ably and *necessarily* tends to the suppression of internal democracy.

Finally, when the danger of the truth striking looks ever more likely, the members of the WRP must be inoculated against Healy's *political* opponents by vile personal attacks. To maintain their position it wasn't enough for the Stalinists to attempt to prove Trotsky politically wrong, they had to make him a conscious agent of the counter-revolution and the fascists. So also must Healy make Joe Hansen, George Novack and all who defend them such as the WSL *et al* not merely political opponents but actual accomplices of the GPU, police agents, and so on.

The filth which recently spewed from *Workers Press* was the logical culmination of the policy embarked on by Healy when he declared that world historic betrayals had taken place when none had, and when he turned his back on the Fourth International.

INCONSISTENT

However, just to complete the picture, there is another line which Healy sometimes projects. He talks of discussions leading to 'a principled unification of the world Trotskyist movement' (*Fourth International*, Summer 1965), i.e. he sometimes acts as if his organisation is merely a public faction of a temporarily fragmented Fourth International. Yet this is completely inconsistent with talk of the 'Pabloite revisionists' as 'traitors to the working class' (*Newsletter*, 7 November 1964) and 'actively assisting imperialism' (*Fourth International*, August 1965).

But as Healy doesn't understand the difference between a party and a faction we can hardly expect him to see the contradiction. For if the SLL/WRP did see itself as a *faction*, how could it justify not being part of the organised Fourth International? To justify a separate organisation on less than principled bases is the hallmark of a sect.

Ironically enough, elements of Healy's internal organisation are akin to those of a faction. The totally correct acceptance of diverse political views within a party is unacceptable within a faction — it would make it an unprincipled combination. The consequences of the confusion of party with faction are clear once again.

If the organisation is not conceived as a party-type organisation but as a faction, then non-tolerance of opposed views is not undemocratic but on the contrary a principled position. Whichever way it twists and turns, the WRP's position on 1953 made its internal degeneration inevitable.

For the comrades of the WSL, and indeed all Trotskyists outside the Fourth International, the task is clear. Certainly discuss the issues of the 1953 split. Take your positions on the theoretical and political questions involved. We for our part will certainly do this. But also address yourself to one fundamental question and draw all the practical conclusions from it:

In the period leading up to 1953 and since, have the International Secretariat and later the United Secretariat of the Fourth International carried out betrayals of a character equivalent to 1914 and 1933? If so, your task is clear. Maintain a separate organisation, but cease all talk of a 'world Trotskyist movement'. Your task is solely to expose the betrayals of those who falsely claim to be Trotskyists.

Alternatively adopt the course taken by all the main sections of world Trotskyism after 1953, which led to its reunification. Conclude, perhaps, that great errors were committed. Conclude, even, that these are maintained today. But if that is the case, your duty is to wage a faction fight inside the International to correct these errors, split — only if your faction fight fails and the USFI's errors do actually culminate in a world historic betrayal of the working class. We obviously do not share such views, but if you conclude that no historic divide justifying a division into two parties has been passed through then this path is your revolutionary duty.

In 1963, when the International Secretariat and the International Committee within the Fourth International overcame the situation of two public factions within the Fourth International, they noted that the only forces who held out against this were the Posadas group in Latin America, the Lambertists in France, and the SLL in Britain. They expressed the hope that these groups would rejoin at a later date on a principled basis. It was always Healy who shut the door on this, not the Fourth International.

Thirteen years later, surely the balance sheet of where Healy's rejection of principled organisational positions has led should be clear. It was by no means the only element causing the SLL/WRP's degeneration but it was the one which made that degeneration insurpassable. For the comrades of the WSL to confront that terrible balance sheet and the abandonment of principles which led to it is one of the chief tasks confronting them. It is the road from Healy back to Lenin and Trotsky. It is also the road to the Fourth International.



Healy falsely accused International Secretariat of not supporting 1956 Hungarian revolution

THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL
MARXIST GROUP, BRITISH SECTION OF THE
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL
Volume 3 Number 1 Spring 1976
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Ernest Mandel on
Imperialism in Latin America

UNITED SECRETARIAT
THESES
The British crisis
and the way out for
the working class



PORTUGAL
AFTERMATH
OF NOVEMBER

WOHLFORTH
ON TROTSKY'S
WRITINGS

DEBATE ON
NATIONALISM

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20 February 1976 marked in a sharp and tangible manner the beginning of a resurgence of working class militancy in Ceylon.

On this day, the suppressed but growing indignation of the workers against the reactionary and repressive methods used by the Government against working class struggles in general – and the Government Press strike in particular – erupted in a massive way when workers belonging to most of the trade unions, including the Ceylon Mercantile Union, struck together in the first united action of its kind since 5 January 1962. The strike was island-wide, and the working class of Ceylon once again demonstrated that differences of race, religion and community do not enter the class struggle.

The current mood of the working class was reflected in the militant speeches made at a packed meeting of the General Council of the CMU on 17 February, when speaker after speaker came to the platform to support the proposal of the Executive Committee that the union should participate in the token strike – not only in support of the struggle of the Government Press workers, and against the Government's use of emergency powers against that struggle, but to

Mass general strike in Ceylon

demand the withdrawal of the Essential Services Order under which the fundamental right to strike has been snatched away from the working class.

Although some major unions – including those of plantation workers and bank employees – did not participate, the strike had a paralysing effect on road, rail and air transport, oil distribution, and key sectors of industry, trade and commerce, both in public and private sectors. The strike in the Ceylon Transport Board

(CTB) was the most effective ever experienced. Not even in the Hartal or the CTB strike of 1962 has there been such complete island-wide unity of CTB employees in struggle. Likewise, in the railway, no further evidence of the completeness of the strike was required than the vast emptiness of the Fort Maradana railway stations during the entire day.

In Colombo Port, ships were idle as the entire work force of approximately 15,000 struck work. The situation was



Mrs Bandaranaike—praying that Government will survive growing workers' struggles?

the same in the ports of Galle and Trincomalee. State enterprises employing CWE, thousands of workers, such as the CWE Insurance Corporation, National Textile Corporation, State Engineering Corporation and Steel Corporation, were shut down.

In the private sector most of the factories, particularly in the industrial areas such as Ratmalana and Jaela, and also the Wellawatta Spinning and Weaving Mills, were completely affected by the

strike. All the major establishments in the tea, rubber and fibre export business, shipping etc. were also unable to carry out any work or business.

The impact of the strike on the public was so obvious that the feeble attempt of the Government to make out that it was not really effective only served to widen further the credibility gap between the Government and the people.

FUND DRIVE £11,166.08 OVER THE TOP

Last week our total stood at only just over £8,000, but many readers and supporters saved their donations until the Fourth International rally in London on 5 March. Individual donations amounted to over £780, and together with last minute branch donations and IOUs we have raised another £3,000.

We would like to thank the following individuals and branches for their donations:

Brighton IMG	78	A. Balzar	12
Norwich IMG	3	L. Holley	8
S.W. London IMG	42	Reader	1.33
S.W. London teachers	5	Hackney IMG	100
C. Birchall	30	Birmingham IMG	40
S.W. London reader	5	N. London Whittington Hospital workers	60
Central London IMG	6.30	Reader	10
S.E. London IMG	68	Sale of IMG material	206
Cardiff steelworkers	5	Scottish and Newcastle comrades' collection on coach to FI educational school	100
I. Chadwick	1	IMG Scotland	103
Oxford IMG	50	Comrade JB	150
Sudan readers	5	Rally collection	892.95
Lancaster reader	2	IOUs:	
Newcastle IMG	42.50	Comrade H.	200
Reader	3	Comrade S. (London)	5
Sheffield IMG	65	West London IMG	90
Preston IMG	51	Dr Bruce	25
Manchester IMG	60	Comrade A. (Herts)	500
Bath IMG	6		
Bath reader	3		
Bristol IMG	30		

AREA	AMOUNT REC'D	PERCENTAGE	NEW TARGET
SCOTLAND	1170	87.7%	1333
N. EAST	244.50	100%	166
YORKS	496	74%	666
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W. MIDLANDS	304	45%	666
E. MIDLANDS	20	12%	166
WALES	80	48%	166
E. ANGLIA	40	24%	166
LONDON	1011.30	100%	1000
S. EAST	255	38%	666
S. WEST	163	48%	333
OTHERS	7011.28	100%	4,000

contributed least to the Fund Drive. We can only hope that those comrades will try to make up for it over the next weeks by sending especially large donations to the Red Weekly Fighting Fund. In the East Midlands we have two main branches – Leicester and Nottingham. Only Leicester, which is a small branch, donated money to the fund drive – £20. We wait to hear from Nottingham's fund-raising activity this weekend!

Our thanks also to London IMG who made their new target of £1,000; many areas in London have promised 'more to come' over the next few weeks.

Although the fund drive has now officially ended, many comrades have informed the IMG Centre of further money in the pipeline. We ask all our readers and members to send in every last penny to the Red Weekly Fighting Fund. The Fund Drive must be the start of a regular fund-raising effort to ensure that the Fighting Fund hits its £500 target every month if the plans to expand and improve the paper's coverage are to become a reality. Send your donations to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Workers face machine guns

Following the token strike of 20 February there have been reports of various disturbances and incidents. The most serious one occurred at the State Textile Corporation, about 35 miles from the capital city Colombo, where a lock-out has been imposed since 23 February and the CMU branch president and another CMU member have been arrested.

On 21 February, from morning to night, the workers had been forcing the executives to apologise for not joining the strike the previous day. The General Manager was *gheroed* (held captive) in his office in the morning. He had called for the army, and a truck load had gone into the factory at 9.30 am.

These soldiers were armed with machine guns. The workers bared their chests to them and asked them to fire. Others started pelting them with stones, and the army personnel were forced to retreat and the gates of the factory were closed. Then the enraged workers demanded that the General Manager should come out and explain why he called in the army. He was forced to come out and explain that he had not asked the army to enter the factory, although he admitted having called for them – for which he gave an apology to the workers gathered there.

Further incidents took place during the day, and a police jeep arrived at the factory at 10.30pm. They too were forced out of the premises by the workers. The management cancelled all Sunday overtime work and on Monday the gates were closed and the entire work force of over 4,000 were locked out. Buses approaching the Textile Corporation were stopped by the police, who assaulted passengers who protested. The lock-out continues, and joint action by all unions is being considered by the CMU.

From a leaflet published by the Asian Socialist Forum. Further details from: 22 Boundary Road, London NW8. (01-328 2332).

11th WORLD CONGRESS OF



FOURTH INTERNATIONAL PLANNED

A plenary session of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the Fourth International was held in Europe in mid-February 1976. Members of the IEC and observers from sympathising sections from some 30 countries were present.

The political discussion at the IEC centred around the problems of the Portuguese revolution and the civil war in Angola. Three tendencies emerged on the first question, two on the second.

Theses on an intermediary balance sheet of the Portuguese revolution and a resolution supporting the MPLA military camp against its opponents in the civil war were adopted by large majorities. These documents are in the process of being published in the press of the Fourth International (the text of the Theses on the Portuguese Revolution appears in the 4 March issue of

Inprecor; the resolution on Angola will be published in the 18 March issue of *Inprecor*).

The IEC Plenum also heard informational reports on current developments in Spain, as well as on the civil war in Lebanon. It commemorated the death of Comrade George Jungclas, a founding member of the Fourth International and its German section who had been a member of the IEC for 25 years. The Plenum voted motions honouring two Angolan comrades killed in the civil war, an Arab comrade killed in the Qarantina massacre in Beirut, and the Argentine comrades killed by reactionary murderers.

The IEC Plenum resolved some organisational disputes that had arisen in the ranks of the Fourth International in various countries; a new and larger United Secretariat was elected; a call

was issued convening the Eleventh World Congress of the Fourth International (Fifth Congress since reunification), and a provisional agenda for that Congress and the modalities of the pre-congress written discussion were set.

Unanimous

All these questions were decided by unanimous votes. Once again the Fourth International has shown that it has learned to combine lively and frank political debate, even when conducted in public, with the maintenance of organisational unity and the strengthening of the common organisational framework of the movement.

The proposed provisional agenda for the Eleventh World Congress is as follows:

1. World political situation;

2. Intermediary balance sheet of the Portuguese revolution;
3. European perspectives document;
4. Theses on the Arab revolution;
5. Balance sheet of the Indochinese revolution;
6. Theses on women's oppression and the women's liberation movement;
7. Organisational norms of the Fourth International;
8. The outgoing international leadership's activity report;
9. Election of the International Executive Committee.

If a revolutionary situation breaks out in Spain before the Eleventh World Congress, Spain will be a special point on the agenda. Likewise, any other important change in the world situation may lead the United Secretariat or the World Congress delegates themselves to add additional points to the agenda.

GOOD START FOR PORTUGUESE CAMPAIGN

Over 120 delegates met in London last Saturday for the founding conference of the Solidarity Campaign with the Portuguese Working Class — an excellent attendance in view of the relative downturn in the class struggle following the partial defeat of 25 November.

The first session of the conference heard two reports by Portuguese workers. The first came from an official of the domestic workers union, the other from a member of the shop stewards committee at the Standard Electric factory (a subsidiary of ITT). He spoke of the attempts of ITT and other multinationals to bankrupt Portuguese subsidiaries and create mass redundancies.

An important development in the fight against their sabotage has been the formation of a coordinating committee of workers in the multinationals. But as the speaker pointed out, that alone is insufficient — international coordination is needed. The conference voted to mount a campaign against the multinationals (many of which are British), stressing the need to build real links between Portuguese and British workers.



ITT delegate JOSE GANHÃO

Despite the presence of a number of Constituency Labour Parties, the Communist Party and all the various tendencies of the revolutionary left, there was only one clear debate and split vote. The International Socialists proposed an amendment to delete the campaign slogan which called for 'Solidarity with the organs of popular power'.

The IS argued — making a 180 degree turn since November — that today the struggle in Portugal is economic rather than political. All talk of armed insurrection has gone, and with it any mention of the need to develop and centralise the organs of popular power. As IS delegate Colin Sparks said: 'It is not the time to raise questions of taking state power'.

CONTINUE

Many delegates, including members of the IMG, argued in reply that the organs of popular power continue to exist and along with the trade unions are playing an important role in organising opposition to the austerity measures of the Sixth Provisional Government. They also highlighted IS's confusion by explaining that while the working class is on the defensive, that does not mean that the self-organisation of the class is any less important.

As was pointed out by John Wilkinson, secretary of the Merseyside support group and a member of the IMG, the severity of the Portu-

guese economic crisis means that the only solution for the working class can come through generalised workers control and the establishment of a workers plan to beat the crisis. It is in this process, which is already beginning, that the workers commissions and similar bodies have a key role to play.

GAINS

The final point made by those opposing the IS was that any solidarity campaign worthy of the name has to take the historic gains of the Portuguese revolution into the British working class. For the first time for two generations, embryonic soviet type organisations have emerged in Europe. The campaign has the responsibility to educate the working class in this country about these advances.

Arguments such as these convinced the vast majority of the delegates. The amendment was defeated. The conference went on to vote for the main campaign resolution, which outlined a series of solidarity tasks: work around the role of the multinationals; taking up the role of the Labour Party leadership in fostering links with the right-wing leaders of the Portuguese Socialist Party like Soares; countering the lies of the bourgeois press in its coverage of the events in Portugal; and opposing the imposition of import restrictions on Portuguese goods coming to Britain.

The need for such a campaign could be seen by one small announcement in the press the same day as the conference met. The Society of Graphical and Allied Trades has decided to export unemployment by instructing its members not to handle paper imported from a number of countries, including Portugal.

COMMITTEE

Finally the conference elected a 15-person national committee to organise the campaign. The elections gave seats to all the political tendencies represented at the conference, as well as to representatives of various support groups and a number of trade unionists who have played an important role in the campaign to date.

The national committee now has the task of implementing the conference resolutions and building a mass solidarity campaign with the Portuguese working class — a task which in the coming months will be of greater and greater importance as the inevitable class confrontations materialise. As the campaign slogans say:

No to any economic boycott!
Big business, NATO, CIA — Hands off Portugal!

Portugal must not become another Chile!

Solidarity with the organs of popular power!

Against the repression of workers and soldiers — free the 25 November prisoners!

Solidarity with the Portuguese working class!

Ric Sissons



Portuguese delegate from ITT's Standard Electric plant tells conference of the need for international co-ordination of struggles

Stop Brazilian butcher's visit to Britain!

President Ernesto Geisel of Brazil is expected to arrive in Britain at the Labour Government's invitation for a state visit between 4 and 7 May. But a recent meeting of the Labour Party NEC passed a resolution 'deploring the fact that the head of one of the most repressive regimes in Latin America should be welcomed to this country'.

Brazil has been under the yoke of a military dictatorship since 1964. The famous 'economic miracle' which has been praised so much by the international bourgeoisie has a simple explanation — it is based on a brutal lowering of working class wages since 1964, and a consequent growth of infant mortality, diseases, plagues and starvation for the working masses as a whole.

An idea of this is given by the following facts: in 1965 a worker had to put in 78 minutes of work to obtain one kilo of bread, while in 1969 he needed 147 minutes; one kilo of rice took 75 minutes of work to earn in 1965, and 107 in 1969. This is accompanied by brutal repression — strikes are banned, there is only one legal opposition party, and all basic democratic rights are denied. There are thousands of political prisoners who are

'BRAZIL: Perhaps the most completely documented example of institutionalised torture that the [UN Human Rights Sub-] Commission has received. The government and police have made constant use of "death squads" to eliminate either Left-wing critics or simple criminals. Torture schools, instructors and a specialised technical corps are constantly devising ever more esoteric and vicious punishment. An Amnesty report of 1972 named 1,081 political prisoners tortured. Torture is as common as in 1972.'

— *The Sunday Times*, 14 March 1976

tortured systematically and in many cases eliminated by the notorious 'death squads'.

No need to wonder, though, why *The Times* ran an editorial headed 'It would be wrong to stop this visit' (27 February). Behind the hypocritical noises about a growing 'political freedom' and Geisel's so-called good intentions, *The Times* clearly shares the concern put more explicitly by Labour MP Ben Ford, Chairman of the Anglo-Brazilian Parliamentary Group, who admits

that he is worried about Brazilian orders for warships being jeopardised.

This is the same type of pressure that led the Labour Government to send the submarines to the Chilean dictatorship. Once again it is Foreign Secretary Callaghan who is to the fore, strongly urging the Brazilian butcher to ignore the Labour NEC and go ahead with his state visit as planned.

This is clearly a visit that has to be stopped. The best way to begin the campaign is for all the forces who have been involved in the Chile Solidarity Campaign, in particular in the trade unions, to come together through the establishment of an ad-hoc committee to mobilise opposition to the visit. All those on the Labour NEC who voted against the visit should be urged to back such a mobilisation.

Those involved in the CSC should remember that it is the Brazilian military dictatorship which has



PRESIDENT GEISEL

provided Pinochet with the blueprint for his 'economic model' — as well as with the trained torturers who have helped to set up the Chilean torture centres. If Geisel's visit goes ahead it will be regarded as a sign of approval by the reactionary forces throughout South America.

'Export-led growth has been the main plank of Brazil's economic managers. A succession of technocrats supplied a sophisticated economic policy that took advantage of the eager inflow of destitute peasants into the towns, and of the military's ability to keep their wages under control when they got there. The "indexation" of wages to the cost of living was arranged in a way that never gave workers full compensation, but the indexation of savings and financial claims did.'

— *The Economist*, 13 March 1976

That is why it must be stopped now with a campaign to demand that the Labour Government immediately implements the NEC decision to cancel its invitation.

PERUVIAN WORKERS' APPEAL

The following appeal has been received from the National Federation of Mining and Metallurgical Workers in Peru.

In a totally arbitrary manner, the present Peruvian military regime has kidnapped a group of legal advisers and trade union leaders and is holding them in prison without any charges being brought. The purpose of the military regime is to frighten the workers, leaving them without legal advice and trade union leadership at the very moment when price rises in all commodities have been decreed, hundreds of workers are being made redundant, strikes have been banned, and all trade union demands have been declared illegal.

The lawyers — Drs. Ricardo Diaz Chavez, Jose Ona Meono, Genaro Le desma Izquieta, and Raul Salas Rodriguez — are in the penal colony of El Sepa, which is used for ordinary prisoners and is in a highly inhospitable

part of the central jungle region. They are isolated and in a bad state of health, particularly Dr. Salas Rodriguez, who suffers from a heart complaint.

The trade union leaders — Bro. Victor Cuadros Paredes, secretary general of the National Federation of Mining and Metallurgical Workers of Peru, and Bro. Hernan Cuanas Anci, ex-secretary general of the Cuajone Mine Workers Union — are imprisoned in an unknown place, and there are serious fears concerning their security and physical integrity.

Numerous trade union organisations, intellectuals and professional figures have demanded the freedom of these comrades without obtaining even an explanation from the military regime. That is why we are asking you to help us extend this campaign — demanding through the national and international press, and through letters to the military government, the freedom of these comrades — as an act of solidarity with the Peruvian working class.

Some weeks ago, announcing a new policy of direct rule from Westminster for the North of Ireland, Merlyn Rees declared that a major priority of this 'firm and fair' administration would be the elimination of unemployment in the Six Counties.

But the reverse is now happening. Many factories, established on large government grants, are now quitting as the economic crisis of British imperialism bites ever deeper. Even firms in which the Government has a stake are closing up and transferring production to British plants. The most notable example is the Rolls-Royce plant at Dundonald, where more than 800 jobs will be lost.

High unemployment has always been a feature of Northern Irish life — even during the 'prosperous' 1960s the rate was never less than four times that in Britain. But the present figure of 60,000 is the highest since the War, representing about 11 per cent of the workforce.

As always, it is the anti-Unionist

working class which is bearing the brunt — a policy consciously maintained by the British Labour administration. West of the Bann the unemployment is 15 per cent in Derry and 26 per cent in Strabane.

As in Britain, the social services have suffered huge cutbacks. According to the Area Health Boards, the Six Counties faces a drastic worsening of health care — including fewer doctors in general practice, the phasing out of 'house calls' to patients, the complete disappearance of many rural practices, a shortage of junior hospital staff, and a medical staff 'famine' in the West.

The same picture emerges in the education and housing sectors. Hundreds of qualified teachers are already unemployed, with no prospect of a job. And a 17 per cent cut in the number of teacher training places has been announced for next year, along with a 50 per cent cut in the number of grants for Northern students wishing to take their training in Britain.

The real meaning of Merlyn Rees's democratic phrases was revealed in Chan-

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

cellor Healey's announcement that public spending in the Six Counties is to be cut by £45 million by 1977/78. This compares with total public sector spending in the North of Ireland of some £1,300m a year, representing at least 60 per cent of the total domestic product.

Of course, the economic crisis hits Loyalist as well as nationalist workers. But Loyalist workers have traditionally resolved such problems by offloading them onto the nationalist minority.

There is no sign that things will be any different this time.

Ever since the Ulster Workers Council stoppage in May 1974, there has been a campaign to drive nationalist workers out of their jobs to accommodate Loyalists. As the number of closures and redundancies increases, so does the scope of this campaign. Loyalist MPs at Westminster, for instance, recently voted against the Fair Employment (Northern Ireland) Act — a weak attempt to outlaw discrimination over jobs in the Six

Counties.

The 'Better Life for All' campaign launched by the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions is doomed to failure. The campaign calls for 'the right to live free from violence, sectarianism, intimidation and discrimination; security of employment and well-paid work; the right to associate freely and to advocate political change by peaceful means; good housing accommodation and equality of opportunity'

All very good, but because it poses the solution to these problems via maintenance of the link with Britain, it not only fails to combat sectarianism but actually legitimises the Loyalist view that 'disloyal' people have no right to jobs while 'loyal' workers are unemployed.

A former Unionist Prime Minister, Sir Basil Brooke, once declared: 'I recommend those people who are loyalists not to employ Roman Catholics, 99 per cent of whom are disloyal.' That remains the policy of Loyalism in the North of Ireland today; and it has to be combatted, not brushed under the carpet.

LESSONS OF

CONVENTION

By Dave Bailey

COLLAPSE

Red Weekly has continually said that as far as the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland are concerned, there is no chance that they will get full civil rights as long as there is such a thing as the state and government of Northern Ireland. The break-up of the Northern Ireland Convention proves us right once again. The latest attempt at creating a government representative of both Protestant and Catholic communities was sabotaged by the same people who fought so hard to set up this curious little statelet in the first place: the Protestant Loyalists who constitute a majority in the Six Counties.

The Convention was set up as a response to the Ulster Workers Council strike of May 1974, which brought down the Faulkner-Fitt coalition. This strike, led by Loyalist workers and paramilitary men and drawing in Paisley, Craig and West behind it, made one thing absolutely clear: they were having no truck with any Government which could consider an 'Irish dimension' such as the Council of Ireland discussed at the Sunningdale talks.

Merlyn Rees couldn't say no. British policy was in ruins, and Rees had no alternative but to play along with 'Ulster nationalism' and see what the Convention would bring.

Meagre hopes

The British pinned their meagre hopes on the view that while the Loyalist masses might reject a federated Ireland, they might not completely reject power-sharing with the Catholic middle class if the sacred cow of partition were not touched and Northern Ireland's constitutional status could be guaranteed by Whitehall. This might then allow a new Northern Executive to be set up which, albeit at a much later date, could be integrated back into British plans for re-shaping Ireland as a whole to imperialist needs.

But the combination of threats and promises which Rees used in an attempt to achieve this end backfired when the Loyalist leaders reacted with their own form of psychological warfare. They threatened UDI if Britain didn't agree lock, stock and barrel to their ever more intransigent demands for a Loyalist executive (with Catholics given a few committee positions). 'We have 100,000 men under arms', said Craig and Paisley, and they would unleash a bloody 'civil war' if Britain imposed any kind of 'power-sharing'.

So things looked grim for the British. There was a brief buzz of hopeful anticipation in Whitehall when Craig did a surprise about-turn and came out in principle for an 'emergency power-sharing coalition' last November, but his isolation from the mainstream of the Loyalist movement soon became clear.

Nothing acceptable to British imperialism has therefore come out of the Convention. The Loyalists — worker, farmer, capitalist and civil servant alike — will not agree to sharing power with Catholic representatives. So Britain has simply folded up the Convention without even bothering to try a referendum on vastly watered-down 'power-sharing' proposals — so inevitable would the outcome have been.

The final part of our series, IRELAND'S OTHER CRISIS, has been held over to next week's issue for reasons of space.

The first lesson of the Convention period, therefore, and indeed of the whole of the last seven years, is that the only form of government possible in the Six Counties is a sectarian, Loyalist-dominated one, ruling a captive minority with force and gerrymander.

A bourgeois democratic Northern Ireland in any real sense is ruled out. But the Loyalist alternative is not acceptable to the bulk of the British bourgeoisie, who are seeking a new working relationship with the Southern Irish regime; and of course it is not acceptable to the working class movement either, here or in Ireland.

The second lesson of the Convention period is that while the Loyalists can defy British demands, while they can force all kinds of concessions from the British, they are not strong enough to force Britain to hand over power to them on their own terms. Nor are they strong enough to go it alone — to carry through UDI, for example.

Rees's strategy was utopian all along because it failed to recognise that the Protestant working class is not driven simply or even mainly by fear of the IRA or of being ruled by a backward papist constitution opposed to birth-control. Its real fear is that, in the Northern state itself, the Catholic workers will be put on an equal footing with the Protestants. This, the Protestants fear, will be at their expense.

Pressure

It is pressure from this source which has led to the Loyalist leaders' blustering. But no section of the Orange bourgeoisie seriously wants UDI.

When the Convention broke up, Ernest Baird forced through a motion that the Loyalists should break down the doors of Stormont and continue the Convention despite Rees's attempts to close it. This gesture at UDI was a complete flop — Craig, Paisley and West didn't turn up, and an embarrassed Baird denied press suggestions of UDI.

This reflects the fact that while the Protestant workers — organised through bodies like the UWC and the paramilitary UDA, UVF, etc. — are strong enough to prevent the Orange bourgeoisie from dilly-dallying with the British, they don't have the support of the Orange bosses — much less the British — for an Independent Ulster.

None of this means of course that the paramilitaries should be dismissed or taken lightly. They may be disunited over political strategy, but on one thing they are more or less unanimous: the problem is not to stop the IRA planting bombs, it is to 'put down the Taigs (Catholics)' — in the words of one UDA leader, 'for several generations' — regardless of whether



Ernest Baird (left) called for a UDI-style continuation of the Convention—but Paisley (right) didn't even bother to turn up those Catholics want to fight for their rights at Stormont Castle or Dublin.

What the paramilitaries do agree on is the perspective of a punitive war against the Catholics (which theoretically, fits in not only with UDI but also with integration and even Direct Rule).

Reactionary bloc

The lesson to be drawn, therefore, from the Loyalist performance over the Convention period is that the Protestant working class is not going to be bought off by British manoeuvres around 'power-sharing'. They do not blindly follow their 'leaders', and constitute a reactionary bloc to British strategy in Ireland in their own right.

The question which now faces the international workers movement is how to set about breaking up this reactionary Loyalist bloc, with all its quasi-fascist tendencies. And the lesson for the British labour movement is that British imperialism is the last force which can be relied upon to do this.

Only one thing can lead to a break-up of the Loyalist bloc — withdrawal of the British prop which sustains it. It was the fear of this which tempted Craig to make his move last November. Ulster cannot go it alone — economically, politically, or militarily.

British withdrawal would unleash political chaos among the Loyalists, as sections of the Orange bourgeoisie were forced to recognise that they had to treat with Dublin rather than London. British withdrawal would demoralise the Loyalists by hitting them at their weakest spot, and pave the way for a realignment of sections of Protestant workers on a class rather than sectarian basis.

An Ireland genuinely independent of British imperialism would be an Ireland in which the Protestants would be a minority, and the working class North and South would have new opportunities to unite for socialism and peace. This is what British workers must fight for now.

imprecor
international press correspondence
Brighton, Sussex, 1 March 1976 B.E. 10.40 ft.

Djibouti: A TURBULENT FUTURE

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RED WEEKLY

Long live the daily rouge



Mass turn-out for funeral of one of the murdered workers

HISTORIC ADVANCE FOR SPANISH WORKERS

'Basauri and Vitoria will go down in history as the places where the Spanish workers' revolution started', declared a statement adopted by a 15,000-strong general assembly of Basauri workers last week. These words of the working class of Basauri, the main industrial suburb of the Basque city of Bilbao, sum up the immense meaning of the struggle that has been sweeping through Spain in the past two weeks.

It began on Wednesday 3 March, in the Basque city of Vitoria. On that day a general strike began in solidarity with local workers who had been on strike for almost two months against the refusal of their bosses to negotiate with democratically elected workers representatives (as opposed to the flunkies of the official, state-run 'union').

The strike was a total success. From the early hours of the morning flying pickets moved throughout the town ensuring the shut-down of factories, shops, restaurants, schools, and banks. Ninety per cent of the city's workers joined the strike.

Other pickets threw up barricades around the city's outskirts and regulated the flow of traffic. Workers' committees ensured that essential services were maintained to working class households and took over the policing of the streets from Vitoria's 190 local policemen, who were completely overwhelmed by this massive display of proletarian power.

This was a challenge which the Fran-

coist state could not tolerate. Heavily armed police reinforcements, drawn from the entire north of Spain, were moved into the city.

Their first move was to surround the local barracks, where soldiers had been confined to quarters, in order to prevent fraternisation with the strikers. They then moved to break up demonstrations throughout the city.

At 5pm they surrounded a church in a working class neighbourhood where a workers' meeting was in progress. When the workers rejected the police demand to come out, more than 100 tear gas grenades were lobbed into the church. As the choking crowd surged out of the church, the waiting police opened up with rifles and sub-machine guns.

Three workers were killed instantly, one died later of his wounds, and a total of 120 were injured. The police left behind them a pool of blood thirty yards across.

But this act of brutality did not deter the workers of Vitoria. The following day pickets were out once again rebuild-

ing the barricades, and a call was issued for a general solidarity strike. On Friday 5 March, 50,000 attended the funeral of those killed by the police.

Over the weekend solidarity demonstrations with the struggle in Vitoria took place throughout Spain, and on Monday these erupted into a solidarity strike movement.

Some 500,000 workers struck throughout the Basque country (75 per cent of the entire working population of the province of Guipuzcoa joined the movement). Mass demonstrations took place in the streets of every Basque city. In Madrid four factories struck and the telephone workers took to the streets.

MASS ASSEMBLY

In Basauri a 15,000 strong demonstration was attacked by the police, who killed another worker. The following day a mass assembly of workers voted to call for an indefinite general strike. The funeral of the murdered militant was attended by a crowd of 40,000, who demonstrated for three hours in the city streets.

In the following two days 200,000 building and engineering workers stopped work in solidarity in Madrid, holding meetings to condemn the killings. Striking miners in the northern province of Asturias were only prevented from holding a mass protest rally by a massive police cordon that completely sealed off the city of Oviedo.

This latest wave of struggle has, for the first time in recent history, brought together the working class across the entire territory of the Spanish state into united action. It has also brought into being the sort of bodies - mass assemblies, workers committees, pickets, workers' self-defence bodies - that can paralyse the political machinery of the dictatorship.

Struggles such as these are throwing the dictatorship into an ever-deepening political crisis and laying the basis for the sort of coordinated general strike movement that will spell its death and destruction.



Picket in solidarity with Spanish workers outside Iberian Airlines office in London last Saturday
Photo: DEREK BOWIE (IFL)

Red Weekly welcomes a great event for the world Trotskyist movement this week - the appearance of a daily Trotskyist paper in France.

On Monday 15 March, *Rouge*, the former weekly of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (French section of the Fourth International) commenced daily publication. This is good news not just for the LCR but for the whole revolutionary movement, especially in the context of the rise of the European revolution.

DAILY STRUGGLE

For the first time in France, a revolutionary paper will be able to report on the daily struggles of the international workers movement. It will be able to give these struggles maximum publicity and help to link together the actions of the working class. The columns of *Rouge* will be open to all workers in struggle, to all the militants whom the Stalinists prefer not to mention in *L'Humanite* because they threaten the Communist Party's 'respectable' image.

Rouge certainly does not intend to make the same mistake as *Workers Press*, the former daily paper of the Workers Revolutionary Party. In contrast to the WRP, the LCR does not claim to be the only current aspiring to defend the interests of the working class. There are other currents in the revolutionary movement, and *Rouge* sees it as an important duty to give them a platform to express their views.

We think that one of the most important steps forward for the European revolution is to move towards the unity in action of the revolutionary left, and one way of helping to achieve this is to open a clear debate. Hence *Rouge* will carry debates with French and foreign revolutionaries in a clear, constructive and political way.

In France another major Trotskyist

organisation called Lutte Ouvriere (at one time linked to the International Socialists in Britain) has reacted in an equally fraternal manner, welcoming the creation of the daily *Rouge* as an important step forward in building the revolutionary party in France. Lutte Ouvriere will be contributing a regular column to *Rouge*.

At a time when the French bourgeois press is in open crisis, a daily revolutionary Marxist paper is entering the arena to speak loud and clear for itself and for the whole workers movement. Every day thousands of workers in Europe want to know more about the capitalist system that oppresses them - and how to fight it. As their fight develops, *Rouge* will be with them.

Yesterday Indochina, today Portugal, tomorrow Spain, the day after the rest of Europe. ...As part of the Fourth International, *Rouge* will receive the support of all the other sections. Already the LCR has sent correspondents to Portugal, Spain and Italy. In Britain and the rest of Europe, in Africa, Australasia and the Americas, teams of reporters have been set up to report for the daily *Rouge* so that the struggles of the world workers movement become a part of the experience of the French working class.

NOT THE LAST

Rouge will be the first daily paper of the Fourth International, but it will certainly not be the last. Throughout the world our sections are developing their press, and nowhere more so than in Europe. Already this year has seen the appearance of weekly papers of the Fourth International in Portugal and Germany.

Most importantly, *Rouge* will be the first daily paper not just of the Fourth International but of the revolutionary movement in general - the first daily of the whole working class in struggle.

Long live the daily *Rouge*!

The ghost of a chance?

We got a £10 contribution this week from an Equity comrade playing Banquo's ghost in *Macbeth* - he particularly liked our piece exposing the CIA spooks! And one thing's certain - our financial problems are transparently large.

We need £500 every month for our Fighting Fund if we are to talk seriously about developing and expanding *Red Weekly*. So far this month we have only £79. Our thanks to the following recent donors: North London IMG, £20; Sheffield IMG, £11.50; Nottingham IMG, £10; Chris Malcolm, £10; Edinburgh teacher 'in appreciation of *Red Weekly's* fight against the cuts', £1.50; Bristol IMG, £1.50.

But that still leaves us with a long haul over the next fortnight. Give us at least the ghost of a chance of reaching our target! Rush all donations to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.



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