

# RED WEEKLY

**battle** of **ideas**  
Monthly supplement to  
Red Weekly

January 1977 No.4

Problems of the East European Revolution

20 January 1977

No.183

Price 10p

## As National Association For Freedom blocks boycott action

# WHERE IS FREEDOM IN S. AFRICA?

...or at  
Grunwick?

**TOM JACKSON** and Red Weekly have never been good friends. But we absolutely supported last week's decision by the Union of Post Office Workers to black South African mail and phone links.

Now the UPW has been forced to back down before a High Court decision. 'It looks as if we have just lost our right to strike', said Jackson.

He was absolutely right. It is the right to take industrial action which is being threatened. This makes it all the more shameful that Jackson and his UPW leaders have decided not to defy the courts.

But there is a lot more behind the High Court ruling.

\* By allowing the appeal of the right-wing National Association For Freedom against the UPW, the courts have created a precedent for this obnoxious bosses' outfit to attack workers whenever it chooses.

The NAFF has already provoked a parliamentary debate which has led to the calling off of a UPW black in support of the Grunwick strikers. It might seem that the NAFF has got it in for black workers — first at Grunwick and now in South Africa.

That it is true, but they are attacking the trade union movement as a whole. NAFF claims it would take the same action if the black was on the USSR. Who are they trying to kid?

\* If the TUC had organised a serious boycott of South Africa this week by the entire trade union movement, the

backing to mount a real fight.

The call by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was pretty limp to start off with. They described it as 'token industrial action'. But much more than that is needed to support the struggle of black people against the racist apartheid regime.

Even a week of effective boycott would have been a start. Jack Jones, however, was only prepared to call for workers to 'impede and harass' South African goods — whatever that means. And the TUC leaflet on the boycott is nothing short of scandalous:

'British business, investing in South Africa, trading with

South Africa, and using, handling and dealing in South African products, stands to lose if matters are not put right and quickly.'

Since when has it been up to British workers to protect business interests in South Africa? Britain is the top trader with apartheid — in 1975 Britain exported £684 million in goods alone to South Africa. British capitalists are doing very nicely out of the blood of African workers.

In the week that ICI has been exposed in its arms deals with Vorster and a **Sunday Times** report indicates the opposition of British employers to black trade unions, it is the

TUC which stands up for the capitalists' interests.

The record of the Labour Government is even worse. They have ignored conference resolution 44 which demanded the end of British investment in South Africa. For example, they have given Marconi an export license for an important defence sale to South Africa.

The only way to stop this collaboration is a mass campaign in the unions and the Labour Party. This can be a step towards defending the right of British workers to support their African sisters and brothers.

This is why **Red Weekly** urges all its readers to support

THE DECISION of the leadership of the Union of Post Office Workers to beat a hasty retreat on their ban on mail to South Africa at the first shake of a judge's wig will come as no surprise to the striking workers at Grunwick, North London.

The strike has now entered its 21st week, and one of the reasons why management has lasted out so long is the equivocation of UPW leader Tom Jackson on when and if he is going to follow his North London membership's wishes and allow a black to be placed on the film processing company's mail — an all-important boycott, as Grunwick depends for most of its business on mail orders.

For a short time there was such a blacking, but the National Association For Freedom stepped in to threaten court action. In the nick of time the Advisory, Arbitration and Conciliation Service decided to hold a ballot on the issue of union membership at Grunwick and the black was lifted pending the result.

That was three months ago, and last week the Grunwick strikers received a further setback when the ACAS announced that it was delaying its announcement on whether to recommend recognition by yet another few weeks.

This delay will have two effects on the strike. First, it will reinforce what was already the strikers' position — that, as the Trico strike showed, there is little to be gained from such bodies as the ACAS. As the secretary of the

Trades Council said at a recent meeting in support of the strike, 'The machinery of arbitration blunts the energy of the trade union movement.'

The second effect of the ACAS delay concerns Tom Jackson. He used ACAS as an excuse for the calling off of the blacking; the local UPW depot wish to recommence their boycott, but without authority from the union leadership they would be isolated and could face charges under the Post Office Act.

Now Jackson faces a clear choice — whether to give in to the type of court room interference reminiscent of the Industrial Relations Act, or whether to insist that solidarity with fellow trade unionists on strike comes first.

The issue of solidarity does not only apply to the UPW. The whole of the trade union movement, particularly in the Brent area, should consider ways of concretely supporting the UPW workers should they go ahead with the blacking of Grunwick's mail.

As for the Grunwick strikers themselves, they have not become demoralised in the 21 weeks, but held another successful and spirited march last Friday. On the demonstration were a Trico delegation, who encouraged the Grunwick workers by reporting that thanks to their successful struggle Trico was now nearly 100 per cent unionised.

It is now up to the rest of the labour movement to ensure that Grunwick becomes another Trico, that union recognition is won, and that no faith is placed in tribunals.

the demonstration called by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London on 6 March, to demand the end of all collab-

oration with apartheid. We must fight for all trade union and Labour Party organisations to support this action.



# Left failings on abortion fight

THE APPEARANCE of the new Benyon Bill to restrict abortion rights has made it even more urgent that people leave the National Tribunal on Women's Abortion rights on 29 January with a clear commitment for a united vigorous response to this latest attack. The anti-abortionists are on the offensive. They will use this Bill to achieve their real ends — to wipe out completely the limited gains of the 1967 Abortion Act by changing the grounds for abortion.

The past months have not been easy for those committed to the pro-choice movement. The extremely successful parliamentary manoeuvring which put the James White Bill into a Select Committee was followed by piecemeal restrictions on women's abortion rights.

## ATTACKS

These attacks were introduced by administrative procedures, away from the spotlight of the movement. Although important local campaigns — often centred on facilities — have been launched over the past year, the possibility of a nationally co-ordinated response to continued state interference in women's abortion rights was minimal.

Of all the organisations in-

involved in the abortion movement, only the National Abortion Campaign has remained committed to a mass-action perspective. Even within NAC, all has not been well.

## FORCE

In the months leading up to 21 June 1975, the date of the 20,000 strong demonstration against the James White Bill, almost every force on the left was involved in NAC. When difficulties in the objective situation were encountered, many of these organisations disappeared — yet it was during these months that it was even more important to keep up the fight!

While the attacks continued — through massive cuts to NHS facilities as well as through piecemeal restrictions — it was a testing-time for the left. But how did the broad range of forces comprising the left in Britain respond?

A consistent thread runs through the actions of the leaders of social democracy. Whatever the political situation, the MPs claiming to support women's abortion rights will take measures only insofar as they cannot afford not to.

When a groundswell of opposition emerged to the James White Bill, a whole range of MPs travelled up and

down the country speaking at meetings, putting their names and sometimes resources to local initiatives taken in their constituencies. On 21 June itself, they marched at the head of the demonstration.

However, once the abortion issue disappeared from the limelight, successfully shelved in the Select Committee, the organised movement subsided. Why did this happen? An important responsibility must be laid at the doorstep of these MPs who claim to represent the interests of the working class, and hence those of women.

It was these MPs who found it expedient to sign their names to the First Report of the Select Committee. They argued that they had only given way on 'minor' restrictions and had fought off the most severe one presented to the Select Committee. But it was this compromising stand that added to the disarray of the pro-choice movement.

## ALRA

Organisations like the Abortion Law Reform Association, who also rely on parliamentary expediencies to win changes, also took a compromising stand on the First Report. According to its press release, ALRA judged some of the clauses as positive, others

RED WEEKLY Supports the

# ABORTION RIGHTS TRIBUNAL

11am SATURDAY 29th JANUARY, CENTRAL HALL WESTMINSTER.

Rally with RED WEEKLY supporters for:

**A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE — FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND.**

**A WORKING CLASS ENQUIRY INTO ABORTION RIGHTS AND FACILITIES**

Published by Belgocrest Ltd., for RED WEEKLY 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

as restrictive. Only the National Abortion Campaign condemned the entire report as merely paving the way for further restrictions.

With the new threat of the Benyon Bill, we can expect the same unprincipled action from these MPs and the organisations that follow their lead unless a movement is built which can impose its needs on these so-called representatives of the working class.

Without this kind of movement, the MPs will undoubtedly try to defeat the Bill through relying simply on parliamentary manoeuvres, such as trying to 'talk out' the anti-abortionists. This will pave the way for a clear defeat.

## TERRAIN

Parliament is the terrain on which the anti-abortionists are strongest. It is therefore crucial that any opposition to the Benyon Bill demands that the MPs who claim to support the pro-choice movement carry out the fight for its goals and aims both inside and outside Parliament.

Unfortunately the Communist Party has adopted a course which also relies on the goodwill of individual MPs. As on other political issues, the CP readily took up the right of women to abortion once the left MPs began to move on it.

But, tied to the coat tails of the lefts, and to a typically social democratic conception of abortion as a women's issue of 'social' concern, they have never put the organised strength of their 25,000 members behind the aims of the campaign. At best they have mobilised their women's sections, seeing the issue as

outside the realm of trade union concern.

Not infrequently it has been CP members who have proved the biggest obstacles in the fight for abortion rights within the labour movement. They have insisted, for instance, that the TUC Charter should be adopted rather than the Working Women's Charter. A major point of difference between the two is, not sur-

prisingly, the abortion demand!

However, even where the CP has supported abortion initiatives in labour movement bodies where they wield some influence, they have never once mobilised this support. Yet campaigns that have been built to keep open hospitals threatened with cuts — including the abortion facilities — would be infinitely strengthened if the CP used its industrial strength, taking strike action if necessary, to fight for the demands raised by the users and workers of these facilities.

## MASS

However, this would force the CP to rely upon the mass involvement of the rank-and-file membership of the labour movement, which cuts right across its strategy of an alliance with the left bureaucrats. As the National Assembly on Unemployment demonstrated, the CP will move rapidly to quell any developments which threaten to go beyond its control.

Only if the 29 January Tribunal on Abortion Rights becomes a launching pad for a campaign firmly committed to united mass action to win a woman's right to choose will its full potential be realised.

realised.

**DODIE WEPPLER**

\* The sectarian antics of the Socialist Workers Party — most recently seen in their call for their 'own' demonstration at the time of the second reading of the Benyon Bill — are just as serious a threat to the abortion rights campaign. The next issue of Red Weekly will take these up in more detail.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Nearly 150 women at Magnavox, Barking Essex are in pay grades 6,7,8 whereas the youngest males are in the higher grade 5. The women are on strike against this blatant evasion of the Equal Pay Act. Most men are on strike too and all will remain out until management at least negotiate.

## ABORTION RIGHTS - A SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE

25p

AVAILABLE from Red Books 182, Pentonville Road, London, N1. 30p including post and packing. Just out!!!

# Women's rights in higher education

'We believe, therefore, that action is necessary at several points to help women and girls overcome the effects of past and present deprivation. This does not imply lowering standards to benefit women and so replacing one form of injustice by another. History has seen to it that women have been given "special" treatment of a detrimental kind. If they are to take their chance on their merits as human beings, the elements of their "special" position must be identified and acted on in an appropriate way.'

'The colleges of further education occupy a key place, and they should take steps to redress the dangerous imbalance between the sexes in further education that has been shown to exist, by such measures as recruiting higher proportions of girls than they are at present teaching.'

'We know that in putting forward this policy we are not only asking for radical social and economic changes, but are also by implication attacking deeply rooted assumptions about the respective roles of men and women, which are none the less cherished for being unexamined.'

So wrote the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (which merged with the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education to form the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education) in 1973 in a report on 'The Education, Training and Employment of Women and Girls'. The ATTI was one of the first unions to support the Working Women's Charter, the third point of which demands: 'Equal

What are the implications of this demand? Real equality in education and training means an end to sex segregation in courses. At present NATFHE members teach courses that channel students into 'women's' and 'men's' jobs.

Many college courses are composed of students of wholly or mainly one sex. Female students predominate in nursing, teaching, hairdressing and shorthand typing; male students in science and technology and craft subjects.

education than men. In addition the effect of the cuts is to reduce courses in which women do predominate, such as nursing and teaching, thus lessening women's overall share in education.

In opposing education cuts, NATFHE members should fight for increased opportunities for women students. For instance, a Sub-committee of Brent Trades Council, on which NATFHE is represented, is preparing a foundation course specifically aimed at female school leavers.

NATFHE can also take up the Charter with regard to its women members. The idea that women teachers already have equality is misleading. The pay scales may give the same rates for men and women, but women are disproportionately concentrated on the lower scales.

Women lecturers also often teach 'women's' subjects — humanities, liberal studies, commercial and secretarial skills, nursing, teaching, fashion, etc. Thus women are also affected by inequality in promotion opportuni-

part-time contracts. They are also leading to the closure of college nurseries or preventing necessary expansion in this field. And it is not to be supposed that all members of NATFHE will be immune to the idea that married women should lose their jobs first.

All of these are good reasons

why the next NATFHE conference should adopt the ATTI policy of support for the Working Women's Charter. Meanwhile NATFHE members can attend the Rally for Women's Rights on 26 February and try to get support for it from their branches and regions. The Rally is an excellent opportunity

both for raising interest in the Charter and for showing how much inequality exists in further and higher education for women as teachers and as students.

**LIZ LAWRENCE** [Member of NATFHE Northern Region Women's Rights Advisory Committee, in personal capacity].

Advanced courses	M	W	science	18375	3502
Univ first degrees			social admin/		
engineering/			business	61342	9690
technology/	916	4	professional and		
science	2177	597	vocational	9868	3674
CNAA first degrees			OND		
engineering/			engineering/	5253	62
technology/	8142	103	science	725	188
science	4007	756	business/	3726	4234
			commerce		
HND			ONC		
engineering/			engineering/	25776	331
technology/	8728	56	technology/	6325	2940
science	2532	467	science		
			social/admin/		
HNC			business/	13618	3940
engineering/			commerce		
technology/	23482	90	CGLI		
science	4737	1112	engineering/	400493	4576
			technology/	4191	2319
All advanced			science		
courses	420028	154	social admin/		6692
engineering					

# The Andy Bevan Affair DEFEND THE RIGHT TO ORGANISE!

NEW YEAR security arrangements at Labour Party headquarters have hit the news. Announcing his decision to lock the directory department, where Transport House records and addresses are kept, Labour's General Secretary Ron Hayward denied that the decision was prompted by the recent appointment of Andy Bevan. 'It is totally untrue', he said.

A month earlier, the *Daily Express* had reported the decision of a number of Labour MPs and party workers to write to Callaghan telling him of their fears of 'a spy at HQ'. 'They want to keep party secrets from Trotskyite Andy', the right-wing *Express* announced.

All this was just a curtain raiser to last week's decision by NULO, the Labour agents' union, to black Bevan. The agents have hypocritically announced their sorrow that an individual should suffer as a result of their trade union dispute with the Labour Party NEC. The decision to appoint Bevan, they say, lessens their already slim chances of promotion!

But as the YS member on the NEC, Nick Bradley, pointed out, the Labour Party is not in business to give careers or cosy jobs to people in its ranks. Too many careerists — like George Brown, Richard Marsh and Ray Gunter — had made careers and fortunes out of being members of the party, he added.

## SHAM

Moreover, NULO did not protest about the original advertising of the job of youth officer in *Labour Weekly*, nor over the short-listing. In the last three years, eight out of 16 agent appointments have gone to non-members of NULO without a single protest!

NULO's claim that this is a trade union dispute is clearly a sham. This is why its appeal to other unions at Transport House to black Bevan was turned down. Commented one of the members of the TGWU branch involving staff at Transport House (which Bevan has now joined): 'Would they have said the same thing if he was black?'

## POSITION

NULO's position was clearly based on political hostility to Andy Bevan.

This view was abundantly confirmed at last week's special meeting to discuss the state of the Labour Party's finances, attended by leaders of more than 30 unions. The union leaders, who have been policing the Labour Government's anti-working class Social Contract, listened first to Ron Hayward's appeal for more funds.

But they took particular interest in the sentiments expressed by party chairman John Chalmers. *Since the unions were paying the piper, Chalmers assured them that they should naturally expect to be able to call the tune.*

They seized on the opportunity to make complaints about some NEC members' criticism of Government policy, and ranted and raved in particular about so-called threats to sitting Labour MPs in the wake of the Prentice affair! And they concluded with demands to see the infamous Underhill Report, which argues that the main danger facing the Labour Party is its 'infiltration' by Trotskyists, spearheaded by supporters of *Militant*.

## MOTION

The Report was due to be considered by the December NEC, but consideration was narrowly put off to the NEC meeting on 26 January. Reg Underhill, Labour's national agent, now claims that he has received new documents which form an ever-growing arsenal of evidence of plots and conspiracies. A motion at the January NEC will call for an official investigation into 'infiltration'.

Support for this proposal from Callaghan and right-wing trade union leaders can mean only one thing: they want to use the witch-hunt of *Militant* as a smokescreen



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

want to eliminate the far left as the only people prepared today to organise a fight against their anti-working class policies.

The red-scare tirades of the gutter press have been designed to create an atmosphere in which the far left is isolated and prevented from acting as an organising centre against the Social Contract. This is why there was such a 'sensitive' response by much of the press to Benn's open support for Bevan's appointment.

The aim is to drive a wedge between supporters of Benn and

the far left. So people like David Watt in the *Financial Times* concede that 'of course there's a place for Marxists in the Labour Party', but argue that there's a world of difference between saying that and supporting the existence of organised Trotskyists within the party.

This is why Bevan's commitment to 'be good', as the *Guardian* put it, can only serve to weaken the hand of the left in the labour movement. Bevan is alleged to have promised Hayward and Underhill not to attend meetings of

'any sectional group within the Labour Party. That includes the Militant group, the Tribune group and even the Social Democratic Alliance'.

This is no way to fight the witch-hunt. *The only answer to the right wing is to defend the right to organise within the party.*

## VICTORY

The appointment of Bevan was a real victory. With opposition

growing in the trade unions and constituencies up and down the country to Sir Harold Witch-hunt and Co., Bevan had no need to make these sort of concessions.

On the contrary, he should argue that the best guarantee of an advance to socialism lies in a democratic discussion of the different views held inside the party, with people having the right to organise to fight for their views.

If the Labour Party leaders really stood for democracy, as they so often claim, then they would throw out the Underhill Report,

and the bans and proscriptions and have an open debate. But they will not do this, because they do not stand for democracy. They continue to flout conference decisions and carry out policies for which they have no mandate.

Now they are threatening to bring in someone from outside the Labour Party supposedly to 'arbitrate' in the NULO dispute. The only answer is to struggle to build a socialist opposition within the labour movement both to their undemocratic practices and to their right-wing policies.

# IN FOCUS

## For Independent Action To Break With The Social Contract

WITH the capitalist press debating what form another year of incomes policy should take, and rumours in the air of a special TUC conference on incomes policy as early as April, the national executive of the Communist Party explained in the *Morning Star* on 10 January that, 'Vitaly important though campaigns against government policy may be, the decisive factor in defeating the social contract would be the collective action on pay by organised workers'.

Red Weekly would agree with this wholeheartedly. Unfortunately, however, actions speak louder than words — and the actions of the CP show that they are waiting until they can convince their allies in the left trade union bureaucracy of this before they themselves move to action. For instance, miners in the Barnsley areas struck last Wednesday to lobby the negotiations between the National Union of Mineworkers and the National Coal Board over early retirement. But is the Communist Party building similar action in other pits to stop the sell-out by the NUM leadership?

Then there is the call for a conference on wages from British Leyland stewards. This sudden interest by CP stewards in opposing incomes policy in 1977 follows their role in voting out a fight for a claim which would break the Social Contract now in the Rover negotiating committee. This is the CP working 'might and main' to build the mass struggle.

And what of building the mass struggles against the cuts — how does the conference called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions on 26 February fit into this? For the CP it is a matter of organising the rank-and-file of all unions simply to back up any call for action from the public sector union leaders. Until that call comes, we wait.

But the rank-and-file cannot afford to wait for these lefts, lest they wait for ever. The rank-and-file must organise independently of whether these lefts are willing to act. That is why a democratic conference of all the rank-and-file is needed. That is why the rank-and-file must break with leaders such as Scanlon who have aided the attacks of the Government. That is why the rank-and-file must demand that leaders like Alan Fisher of NUPE, who mouth opposition to the cuts, should name the day for a one-day strike, support the proposals of the CPSA to other public sector unions for a series of such strikes, and set about organising that action now. That is how to make the lefts fight.

# Sell-out by Gormley & Co



HAVE THE MINERS written stage three of the Government's pay policy? Or has the NUM leadership sold out the interests of its members? Really, it was a bit of both.

Last week the leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers and the National Coal Board finally reached agreement on the claim for early retirement. The deal, which must be approved by a ballot of the membership on 25-26 January, will allow miners with 20 years underground to retire at 62, and at 60 within two years, on 80 per cent pay and a £500 lump sum. The NUM executive voted 14 to 11 for its acceptance.

TUC leaders have made it quite clear that, while they are prepared to accept early retirement for underground workers, pay policy permitting, they consider that a similar deal for surface workers would encourage other unions to challenge the Social Contract and the pay policy on which it is based.

## HAPPY

So the NUM leaders were happy to go along with the TUC and sell out the surface workers rather than upset the Social Contract. The workers themselves are less happy to accept the deal. On 12 January, colliery winders in two Yorkshire areas mounted a one day strike which stopped production in 37 pits. It was the threat of continued action that led the NUM leaders to argue for further negotiations on conditions for surface

hoping that this makes no dent in the next stage of the 'voluntary' pay policy. In fact, the mere threat of industrial action has already won the miners important concessions.

It is all very well for the NCB to point to the small print on productivity to show that the miners have not challenged the pay code. Everyone understands that while the NUM leaders may have sold out, and the left failed to mount a fight, management and the Government also come out losers. The first test will come on the date for implementation of the new deal.

The miners' increase under the 4½ per cent phase of the policy will only come in March, which means that their next round of wage and benefit rises is not due until March 1978. But with the militancy of the workers themselves on this question, it has been more or less agreed that the early retirement proposals will be implemented from August. This is a challenge to the pay policy.

The struggle in the NUM has some important lessons. First of all, it shows that it is only by a policy of industrial action that there can be any challenge to the pay policy upon which the Social Contract hinges.

But the size of the concessions wrung out of the NUM by the NCB also show the failure of the leadership of the left in the union, particularly the Communist Party. The absence of any campaign in the union to fight the Social Contract has meant that the words of the left on the executive are just bluster. It is this which has prepared the way for the sell-out by Gormley and Co.

If these lefts are serious about defending the interests of the membership against the collaboration of the right with the Government, they should fight to

Photo: JOHN STURROCK

# CRUNCH APPROACHES FOR E.G.A.

THE OCCUPATION of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital is now well into its eleventh week. The local Area Health Authority [Camden and Islington], which has interfered relatively little in the past weeks, is now beginning to manoeuvre; to 'soften up' the resistance of the EGA workers in preparation for an attempt to close the hospital for good.

First, the bureaucrats of the AHA have begun to offer other jobs to the workers at the EGA, particularly to nurses and technicians. Second, they are attempting to drastically reduce the number of in-patients at the EGA.

These two manoeuvres have presented the workers' leadership at the hospital with problems that need to be overcome. Although the AHA personnel officers have been excluded from the hospital by the joint shop stewards, some alternative jobs have already been accepted by members of the workforce.

## ARGUE

If the shop stewards do not argue consistently against any workers accepting the AHA's offers of new jobs, they will find themselves both tacitly admitting that the AHA will succeed in closing the hospital and allowing the NHS bureaucrats to prepare for it by dividing the workforce.

This is particularly important as many of the workers at the EGA have not been drawn into active participation in the running of the occupation, and so are vulnerable to such AHA ploys. The demand for no redundancies has not been won by accepting jobs outside the EGA, but can only be guaranteed by saving the hospital itself.

The second problem facing the

EGA occupation is the run-down of in-patients and new admissions. This presents the EGA stewards with difficulties. Although all the available beds at the hospital are fully used, there are definite signs that the AHA will now attempt slowly to reduce the patients staying at the EGA.

Patients have to go to the Whittington hospital (the designated home for the ghost of the EGA) for surgery. Previously they have been returned to the EGA for post-operative care. Now the AHA is beginning to keep them at the Whittington (in sub-standard wards with rats!).

They have a good chance of getting away with this, too if the leaders of the General and Municipal Workers Union branch at the Whittington have anything to do with it. Their miserable lack of solidarity with the EGA workers has meant that the Whittington workers have been given no opportunity to express any support for this struggle.

## LOBBY

The EGA workers have therefore proposed a lobby of the Whittington, so that the workers there will be able to hear the real facts about the EGA struggle. This action should be supported, especially by all hospital workers in

the Camden and Islington area (including those in the Whittington), to stop the wards at this hospital from becoming the future home of the dismantled EGA.

It is expected that the AHA will attempt to remove vital equipment at the end of January and try to close the hospital in early February. To prepare for action the shop stewards have called for mass picketing on 28 January (the likely date for removing equipment) and a delegate conference for all bodies of the labour movement on 12

February at the EGA.

These two initiatives should be given the utmost support by all workers, especially other hospital and public service workers who are working under the shadow of Healey's axe.

Solidarity action is vital to save the EGA. The importance of the struggle is that it shows in practice how to fight the cuts, how to stop hospital closures.

At present 55 London hospitals are threatened with closure. The EGA conference can discuss and

plan for a campaign with the health unions NUPE, COHSE, ASTMS, NALGO, and the GMWU for their leaders to name the day for all-London strike action against the closure of the EGA and all the other threatened hospitals.

If the occupation at the EGA is defeated, it will be clear where the responsibility will lie — not with the EGA workers who have built a magnificent example of how to fight the cuts, nor other hospital workers attempting to get to grips

with the problems of defending the NHS against Healey and Callaghan — but with the trade union leaders in their refusal to call such strike action and allowing the EGA to fight on alone.

For details of picketing and the 12 February conference in solidarity with the EGA occupation, write to: EGA Shop Stewards Committee, EGA, Euston Road, London NW1 (tel. 01-387 2501, ext 50).

COLIN SMITH

# Lambeth Council's solution: LESS HOUSES = LESS PEOPLE

HIDING behind a curtain of 11,000 pages of High Court summonses and affidavits served on squatters in Villa Road on 8 January, Lambeth Labour Council has again side-stepped the practices fought for and won by the labour movement.

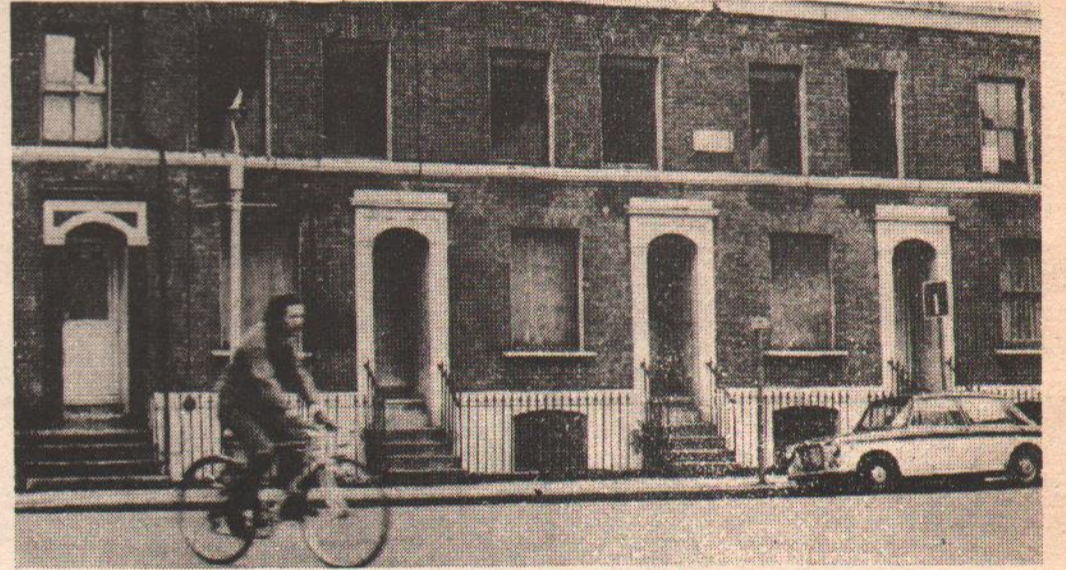
Last year, faced with a local building workers' ban on demolishing empty properties in the borough, the council responded by bringing in lump wreckers to do the dirty work of making Greater London Council predictions of a declining Lambeth population come true — right before the eyes of 17,000 families on the housing waiting list and countless homeless single people in the area.

If demolishing houses to make sure bureaucratic predictions are fulfilled sounds far-fetched, the latest threatened eviction and demolition in Villa Road prove the point. Backing up the Labour Council, local Tory leader Peter Cary justified the plans thus: 'To make sure that the extra population doesn't stay, we should demolish houses that encourage them to do so.'

So now, while entering into negotiations with the squatters in Villa Road for rehousing, the Council is at the same time preparing a case for forced eviction of the 130 squatters.

More than simply a 'dirty trick', this action by the Council puts in jeopardy the negotiating potential of all organised homeless people in the borough. A look at the facts of the case illustrates the reasons for the Council's behaviour, and why it has struck out in fear.

Villa Road is due for demolition in order to create an 'open space' — in other words, another pile of



Lambeth Council's 'solution' to the housing crisis — if you can't knock the houses down, at least let them stand empty.

concrete and corrugated iron. Last spring a local Trades Council enquiry into the plan made clear the insanity of the project, and provided an alternative plan which would leave the houses in Villa Road intact and provide an area for play space.

But for the Council to have accepted this scheme would have meant accepting the whole history of their own wasteful planning. Accordingly the report was rejected out of hand.

However, the pressure which the Villa Road Street Group and their supporters in the area were able to bring to bear on the

Council through a series of direct actions forced the Council into negotiations for the rehousing of the squatters.

Active in the Angell ward of the Constituency Labour Party, Villa Road squatters were instrumental in the selection of the candidate in the recent council by-election. Taking a firm stand against the cuts and racism, the Street Group campaigned for an election platform which would take up these issues.

Alderman Stimpson, leader of the Council, has publicly complained about the 'transient population' in the borough taking part

in local activities; that is, people in the Labour Party he doesn't agree with. So while forced to negotiate with the Street Group, the Council has also been booking time in the Chancery Division of the High Court in order to wield the big stick of forced eviction.

Should the Council's case succeed, they will have taken care of two problems with one blow: the houses in Villa Road will be cleared, and the Angell ward will be rid of campaigning activists.

Meanwhile the cuts ensure that no open space with amenities will be built and more families will go onto the waiting list.

# MORE JOBS SLASHED ON HUMBERSIDE

LAST WEEK the workers of Humberside were treated to a devastating exhibition of the Social Contract at work. After the Hawker Siddeley announcement that 450 workers were to be made redundant, the management at the local Nedler sweet factory calmly but 'regrettably' gave notice that half their workforce would be sent to join the ranks of the 16,000 workers already on the Hull dole queue.

Almost immediately Harry Lewis [Labour Chairperson, Humberside County Council], not to be outdone by private enterprise, declared coming cuts of over £2 million. A local representative of the National and Local Govern-

ment Officers Association calculated that this will mean yet another 700 lost jobs on Humberside.

After a series of mass meetings at the Brough plant of Hawker Siddeley, convenor Bill Ashton and the shop stewards are confident that the workers want to fight to save every job. The main problem at the moment is what strategy the shop stewards will adopt in order to defeat the management.

Certainly no real assistance will come from the suggestion of local MPs. Thatcherite Major Patrick Wall, with the traditional Tory obsession for murdering black freedom fighters, wants the ban on the sale of Buccaneer jets to South Africa to be lifted. Labour MP John Prescott, however, intends to raise the whole question of the aircraft industry in the European Parliament.

For Hawker Siddeley workers the immediate aim must be to set up an inter-plant shop stewards committee so that they can draw up an action programme to save their jobs.

The Brough shop stewards, now looking at the options open to them, are having an important meeting next week with members of the Institute for Workers Control and representatives of the Lucas Combine in Burnley. Through their own struggle to save jobs the latter are discovering the need for workers to develop their own plans for production, plans which require information. That is why the demand to open the bosses' books is so important. Any successful fight also means aiming for nationalisation under workers control.

Apart from this meeting, the Brough shop stewards have also agreed to give active support to a solidarity meeting initiated by the local IWC and Red Weekly supporters. Already key worker militants in Hull have promised support, and in the next few days the initiators of the meeting will continue canvassing support from factories in order to get the broadest support from the Hull labour movement.

The role of this meeting is not to tell the workers what to do, but to start the formation of a solidarity committee which can prepare strong support for any action the workers take to save their jobs. Red Weekly supporters will be attempting to build unity of the left in order to ensure such solidarity is as active and as effective as possible.

NOEL HIBBERT

**PUBLIC MEETING  
FIGHT THE REDUNDANCIES  
TUESDAY 25 JANUARY  
BEVIN HOUSE, 7.45pm**  
Speakers:  
BILL ASHTON — Convenor, Hawker Siddeley Shop Stewards Committee.  
PHIL ASQUITH — TASS representative, Lucas Combine.  
KEN FLEET — Secretary, Institute for Workers Control.  
KEITH RUSSELL — Chairperson, Botanic Branch Labour Party.  
Chairperson:  
WALT CUNNINGHAM — Chairperson, Hull Port Shop Stewards Committee.



# WORKERS UNITY IN SHEFFIELD

Hotel workers marched in solidarity with Balfour Darwin strikers during a half day stoppage in Sheffield. The stoppage, on 12 January, was called to support the struggle of the workers at Capitol Tools, whose closure would mean 400 workers laid off by the Balfour Darwin steel combine.

The workers at Trust Houses Forte's Grosvenor Hotel have themselves been out on strike since 14 December to force management [backed by the National Association For Freedom] to recognise their union. The dispute is rapidly becoming part of a confrontation between the union, the T&GWU, and the whole of the Trust Houses Forte empire, of which the strike at Oxford's Randolph Hotel is another.

Both groups of workers have stuck out Christmas with unity intact. For the workers at Capitol the decision to close their factory came as a cruel blow. Only 20 months before the announcement, Edgar Allen Balfour promised that there would be no sackings or closures.

Money is desperately needed for both strikes. Send to:  
★ Edgar Allen Balfour Group Shop Stewards Committee, the New Inn, Carbrook Street, Sheffield 9.  
★ Grosvenor House Strike Fund, Transport House, Hartshead, Sheffield.

Photo: JON STURROCK (Report)

# 'Alternative technology' - what it means

ONE of the most enduring phrases to come from the lips of Harold Wilson was his promise in 1964 of 'the white heat of technological revolution'. Since then a lot of asbestos has passed under the bridge, and capitalism's capacity for harnessing technological change to meet the needs of the community has floundered in the developments of bigger and better bombers, Flixborough explosions, and the marketing of gold plated electric toothbrushes.

But in times of economic crisis the wasteful sprees begin to be questioned. For the controllers of the economy, the issue is whether the 'nation' can afford bigger and better bombers; but for the more socially aware, the issue is whether or not something more useful could be produced.

with the possible cancellation of the production of the more sophisticated weapons of war produced by the aircraft and shipbuilding industries. The dilemma for militants is that while defence cuts can only be welcomed, the loss of jobs they bring is hardly a cause for celebration.

It was in an attempt to answer this problem that last year the Lucas Aerospace Shop Stewards Combine Committee began to develop plans for what has become known as 'alternative technology'. Instead of simply posing the demand for 'the right to work', the Lucas workers demanded 'the right to work on socially useful products'.

In an attempt to answer the threat of unemployment in the aerospace industry, the shop

meeting human needs with cheap, safe and ecologically sound systems in the transport, energy and medical fields. Among the proposals were safe braking systems, a 'hobcart' for disabled children, and the increased production of kidney machines.

It came as no surprise when the management rejected the proposals; if the Government is thinking of cutting military aircraft, it will certainly have decided to cut National Health Service orders for kidney machines. And while the aerospace industry is run for private profit, anything which does not conform to this criterion will get short shrift from management.

So while alternative technology, as developed by the Lucas stewards, shows that workers can develop plans for the running of

industry in question must be taken out of private ownership and nationalised under the control of a workforce which does not see the end as huge profits.

Even that is not a complete answer, for while industry and society as a whole run on the norms of profit the rulers of society will not see kidney machines and the like as a high priority.

The development of alternative technology can only be welcomed; it gives a vision of the future when society will be run on different standards. But by itself it does not offer a complete solution to the cancer of unemployment.

TOM MARLOWE

• The issue of 'alternative technology' has been neglected by many on the left, including Red

# T&G ELECTIONS: MEDIA BACK EVANS

THE PROSPECT of being 'the most powerful man in the country' has attracted 15 candidates for the post of General Secretary of the Transport & General Workers Union. Between now and the elections, which take place in the branches between 21 February and 19 March, the national press and media will step up their campaign to ensure that the 'moderate' candidate wins.

After all, there is a lot at stake. Jack Jones's successor will be elected at a crucial time for the joint TUC-Labour Government attempt to inflict further attacks on the working class through stage three of the incomes policy. The T&GWU National Conference in July will be one of the first testing grounds for the new pay deal. Any serious opposition or rejection of wage control could seriously jeopardise the future of the Social



MOSS EVANS

The clear-cut 'favourite' is Moss Evans, the union's present national organiser. His loyalty to the Social Contract is unwavering. He has the backing of Jones himself, as well as of a large section of his union's bureaucracy.

But the undemocratic procedures and structures of the T&GWU should above all guarantee that he secures the position. The T&GWU has a rule book which allows the most flagrant breaches of democratic procedures by its officials. No rule exists for disciplinary action against a branch or district officer who violates election rules or rigs ballots.

## DECISIVE

Decision-making is almost totally concentrated in the hands of the General Secretary; the 39-person 'lay' executive only meets once every three months. Moreover, the General Secretary's influence in the selection of all the top full-time officials is decisive. Only the General Secretary is 'elected', and then remains in the post until retirement.

Nor are National Conference decisions binding on the General Secretary. When the 1975 Biennial Conference voted to accept the Social Contract subject to eight conditions, such as price controls and no cuts in the welfare state, these were easily ignored by Jones.

Evans's record in the car industry in the Midlands reveals that, rather than opposing participation schemes, redundancies and rationalisations, he has made it his task

to see that these are implemented. And few of the other candidates have any more to their credit when it comes to defending the interests of their 1.8 million members.

Neither John Miller, national officer of the union's rubber and chemicals section, nor Larry Smith, the national bus officer, have taken a single action to oppose the policies of the Social Contract.

As for John Cousins, he has been vigorously attacking the anti-democratic nature of his union, complaining that the T&GWU leaders 'are seduced by their power over the Government'. As an employee of the National Economic Development Office, one of the major agencies for promoting collaboration between the TUC and big business, he appears to have forgotten that it was such collaboration that produced the Social Contract.

The so-called 'left' candidate, Alex Kitson, is a member of the Labour Party NEC and has the support of the Communist Party. He has not come out against incomes policy, and although he says he knows of 'no alternative to free collective bargaining', he also insists that the trade union movement 'must have in mind the tremendous social responsibility involved in a return to free collective bargaining'.

The undemocratic campaign will ensure that two candidates at least either get no coverage or else are subjected to a witch-hunt. These are Tommy Riley, the Socialist Worker candidate, and Alan Thornett, a member of the Workers Socialist League, a Cowley shop steward, and chairman of T&GWU 5/293 branch.

Riley's programme offers little solution to the present needs of his members. Thornett's platform, on the other hand, calls for a sliding scale of wages and other demands which offer a clear alternative to the policies of class collaboration. As well as a consistent record of resisting all the bosses' attempts to curb workers fighting in their interests, he moved the main opposition to Jones's line on wages at the last Biennial Conference and called for 'cost of living rises'.

It is on this basis that Red Weekly is supporting Thornett's candidature.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

# NALGO LEADER 'HOPING AND PRAYING'

GROWING opposition to the Social Contract inside the National and Local Government Officers Association was reflected in the narrowness of the margin by which the right-wing dominated National Executive Council defeated criticism of the Social Contract at last Friday's Special Conference on the cuts. The 334,046 to 267,071 [54.8 to 45.2 per cent] vote came on a composit amendment to the NEC's motion to conference. This stated that NALGO should not support any further extension of the Social Contract.

This defeated composite, which was sponsored by left bureaucrats and their Communist Party supporters, was formulated after a week of furious activity to undermine the amendments of nearly 20 branches which favoured immediate opposition to the existing Social Contract. The thinking behind the amendment is that Jack Jones has recently spoken out in favour

of 'an orderly return to free collective bargaining'. But this 'orderly return' is merely the formula used to win acceptance for the increasingly discredited and unpopular Social Contract, and is in line with the call by the Confederation of British Industry for an extension of the trade union leaders' pact with the Government.

Under increasing membership pressure to break with the Social Contract's cuts and unemployment policies, the left bureaucrats of NALGO are hoping and praying that Jack Jones's ruse will work. They would then be able to present their paper opposition to an extension of the Social Contract as a victory for the left. In the meantime they are maintaining firm opposition to those members — including, in some cases, majorities in their own branches — who have voted for a fight against the Social Contract now. JACK LEWIS

## WHAT'S ON

BRISTOL Red Weekly supporters Socialist Forum: every fortnight, first meeting Tues 25 Jan. Bob Pennington speaks on 'The Labour Government, the Crisis, and the Way Forward for Socialists'. 7.30pm, Polytechnic, Unity St.

'THE AUTONOMY of the Women's Movement' — pamphlet originally published by MSR in Ireland, reproduced by Cardiff IMG for IMG Fund Drive. Single copies 15p plus s.a.e. Reduced rates for branches: 5 copies 40p plus postage; 10 copies 70p plus postage; 50 copies £2.50 plus postage. Available from S. Bell, 11 Pen-y-wain Place, Roath, Cardiff.

'WHO KILLED John Short' and other poems by IMG militant Steve Bell. All profits towards IMG Fund Drive. Single copies 30p plus s.a.e. Half price for 5 or more copies. Available from S. Bell, 11 Pen-y-wain Place, Roath, Cardiff.

WORLD REVOLUTION Public Forum: 'Unemployment and the Workers Response: The Right to Work or the Abolition of the Wages System?' 2.30pm, Saturday 22 January, Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1.

THE END of the Palestinian Revolution? Public meeting organised by the Middle East Research and Action Group. Friends House, Euston Rd, NW1. Wed 26 Jan, 7pm. Further details: MERAQ, 278 9308.

AGEE-HOSENBALL Benefit Disco: Sat 27 Jan, 8pm, Basement Club, 27 Shelton St, WC2. Live band 'Limousine' plus disco and bar. Adm 80p.

SDA RALLY: National Planning Meeting, Oxford Room, Manchester Univ. Student Union, St Peter's House, Oxford Rd, 12-5pm, Sat 22 Jan. National Co-ordinating Group WWC meeting: Room 1, Manchester Univ. SU., 11am-6pm, Sun 23 Jan. Creche facilities and accommodation provided. Transport leaves Eversholt St (nr Euston Stn) 7.30 am Sat, returning by 11pm Sunday (£3.50 return). If required phone Liz Hambleton, 690 5518.

SATURDAY 22 January at 7pm. London Spartacist Group forum 'For Revolutionary Regroupment'. Speakers include Rainer Baier of Trotskyist Faction, recently expelled from German Spartacusbund. At the Roebuck, 108a Tottenham Court Rd, W1.

BROAD LEFT Public Meeting in Birmingham: 'Two Years of the Social Contract — is 1977 to be another year of wage restraint?' Speaker: Laurie Smith (AUEW National Organiser, in personal capacity), Sat 22 Jan, 12 noon, Australian Bar, Hurst St.

BRISTOL Socialist Teachers Alliance meeting: 'No Cover and the Fight against the Cuts'. Tues 1 Feb, 7.30pm. Speakers: Berundra Singh (NUT Rep, Little Ilford School) and Jo Benefield (Bristol Teachers Association, in personal capacity). Polytechnic, Unity St.

MONSTROUS REGIMENT perform 'SCUM!' (play about women in the Paris Commune) at one-night benefit for Working Women's Charter Campaign. Sun 23 Jan, 8pm, in Fulham Town Hall, Fulham Broadway, SW6 (opp Fulham Broadway tube). 80p at door, refreshments provided.

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

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

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

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

'TROTSKYISM and the Fourth International—an introduction'. Weekend conference 22/23 Jan in Brighton, open to all Red Weekly supporters. Speakers include Tim Wohlforth (SWP) and leading member of the IMG. Details from Red Weekly, 1A Camberwell Grove, SE5.

# CPSA leaders meet lockout with sell-out

THE MOST serious threat to the Civil and Public Services Association for four years was considered by its National Executive Committee on 11 January. A few days earlier CPSA members in the Department of Employment, operating a ban on collection of Government statistics in accordance with their union's anti-cuts policy, had been informed by their bosses that they were faced with a lock-out unless they broke the ban.

The response of the CPSA leaders was an ignominious capitulation. By 23 to 1 the NEC voted to 'temporarily suspend' the ban, and call off similar action planned for the Department of Health and Social Security.

The motion to the NEC was proposed by Pete Coltman, a well-known supporter of Communist Party policies in the union

and vice-presidential candidate on the Broad Left slate for the elections at the forthcoming CPSA conference. It was seconded by Margaret Witham, chairperson of the D of E section, who forthrightly stated her CP affiliations.

There is no doubt that the CP members and sympathisers on the NEC were leaned on by the Communist Party to end the dispute. Faced with an hysterical press campaign which denounced D of E workers as 'mutineers' (News of the World) and 'traitors' (Daily Telegraph), and particularly pilloried Margaret Witham, laying emphasis on her visits to the Soviet Union, the party chose headlong retreat rather than mobilise the membership to fight this witch-hunt threat. There is no other explanation for the overnight conversion of Witham from principled

leadership to advocating a sell-out.

Earlier, in the Broad Left caucus, the proposed sell-out was opposed by Roger Castle and Militant supporter Kevin Roddy. Both, however, dutifully obeyed 'discipline' in the NEC meeting and voted for the resolution.

Only Charlie Elliot, arch red-baiter on the NEC, voted against — for reasons best known to himself.

The terms of the resolution make the effects of the climbdown even worse. The 'temporary suspension of action' is called in order that 'the TUC and General Council can give concrete evidence of their intention to support public sector trade unions in their fight against public expenditure cuts'.

This policy of taking action out of the hands of the membership

## CIVIL & PUBLIC SERVICES ASSOCIATION



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

decided, top priority, anti-cuts campaign.

The rank-and-file response that could have been built against this failure was crucially weakened by the non-intervention of the Redder Tape group. This was particularly vital as Redder Tape had built its reputation as a fighting rank-and-file organisation in campaigns on similar issues.

The confusion in Redder Tape was shown when Mike McGrath, NEC member and Redder Tape supporter, cast his vote in favour of ending the action, on the basis that support for the dispute was not sufficient to prevent a major defeat.

## FAILURE

No-one active in the CPSA believed that the conditions for the confrontation with the Civil Service bosses were particularly favourable. Nevertheless, the failure by the left to stand up to the right wing and the full-time officials in the union made the defeat more certain in a situation where confrontation was inevitable. The union's prestige was at stake for both members and bosses. The defeat has struck a decisive blow at that prestige.

In that light the decision by the Redder Tape Organising Committee to accept a motion from a Red Weekly supporter calling for a conference of union activists sponsored by Redder Tape in Manchester in early April assumes great importance. The object of the conference would be unity in rebuilding the democratically decided campaign against the cuts that has been given such a severe knock by the events of this month.

Meanwhile militants are already tabling motions for their forth-

# Wages Conference Called

The 'Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement' has called a conference on wage control for 27 March. This call follows the initial meeting last October when some 250 militants began to debate what sort of demands needed to be taken into the struggle against the Social Contract.

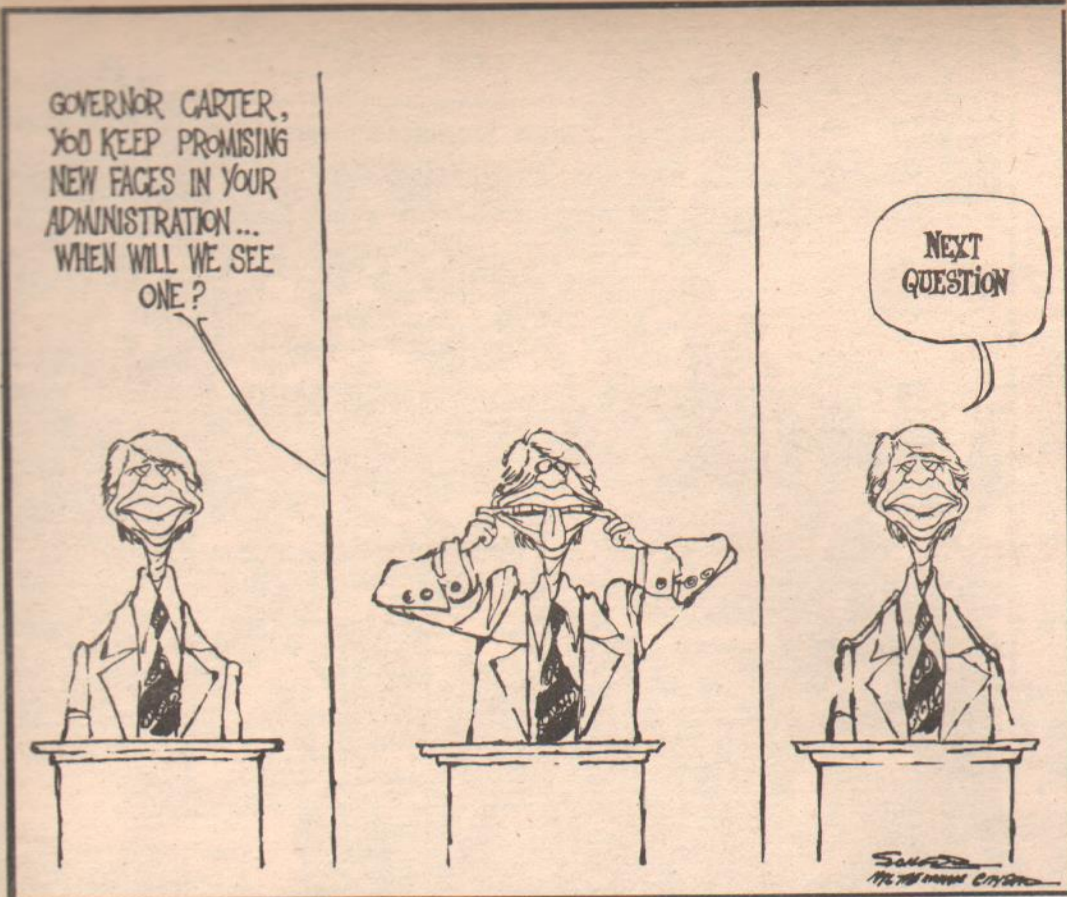
Despite an agreement on a set of demands, several issues were not clarified by the last conference. Confusion as to what forces the 'campaign' was trying to group together resulted in no real plans

all the major issues facing the working class, but to work out a concrete plan of action around these key policies'. Such a conference could play an important part in uniting all those militants who see the need for an independent fight against the Social Contract.

Now, when the TUC leadership is stamping its seal on yet another class collaborationist agreement with the Government on the next stage of the incomes policy, the task of fighting for demands that

anise militants to fight for this and other key demands inside the coming trade union conferences, around trade union elections, and at such conferences as that called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions on 26 February, and the proposed British Leyland conference on incomes policy.

More information on the CDLM conference can be obtained from: Kevin Lee, 44 Devonshire Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham 20.



## Tasks for socialists after US elections

This week Jimmy Carter takes over as the 38th President of the United States of America. TIM WOHLFORTH, National Education Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, the American Trotskyist organisation, gave Red Weekly his assessment of the political situation which Carter faces and the perspectives of the SWP.

Carter has a tricky time ahead. For a long time in the elections he trailed badly behind Ford. This expressed a real lack of interest in the elections. Carter could in no way stir anything like the enthusiasm Kennedy did with the New Frontier or Roosevelt with the New Deal.

So Carter had to change his tactics. He spoke to the left of Ford. He spoke a lot about unemployment, and in the last few weeks of the campaign the trade unions stepped in.

Every single member of the trade unions had their name entered on a computer. A personal call was made to each of the 18 million trade union members, cars ferried backwards and forwards on election day. It was the most massive union effort ever made. I think this was very important, because it showed what the trade union apparatus alone could do for a candidate independent of the Democrats and Republicans.



GRIFFIN BELL - Carter's racist Attorney General elect and the sign from his colour-bar club.

The unions, if they wanted to, could overnight create a mass party which could replace the Democrats as the second party at one stroke.

It was because of the very tightness of the election that many of the workers and blacks came out to vote at the last minute on the basis that Carter was just a little better than

Ford. I think that this had the effect of making the socialist vote a little smaller than it would have been normally.

Despite this the SWP received about 97,000 votes. This was only approximate, since some votes are not counted, but it was still the largest left vote in the country — considerably lar-

# In God's Own Country

ger than that of the Communist Party. The massive campaign which we mounted over 20 months left us in the strongest position that we have ever had.

But we have big tasks ahead. Those workers and blacks who did not lose their illusions in Carter during the election campaign are now losing them after the announcement of Carter's Cabinet. This is especially so in the trade unions, despite his announcement of tax cuts and a small jobs programme.

In particular the nomination of Griffin Bell as Attorney General — a man who until then had belonged to Atlanta's Piedmont Driving Club, which bars membership to blacks and Jews — has stirred up the opposition of

even the most conservative black organisations. For all these reasons it is unlikely that Carter's election victory will have a dampening effect on the struggle.

One of the most important developments in the unions at the present time is the campaign in the steelworkers' union being launched by Ed Sadlowski. Peter Camejo, our presidential candidate, made a most effective point in his campaign when he contrasted the steel union campaign with the bourgeois campaign. He said that whatever the limits of Sadlowski's campaign, this was a real campaign in which there were real differences — differences of class interests.

The Sadlowski campaign is not what we call a class struggle left wing in the unions. However it is a step towards that, perhaps the biggest step towards that seen in the recent period. Despite his lukewarm support for Carter in the election, Sadlowski claims that he is a socialist in the tradition of Eugene Debs (the great American socialist pioneer), and he does speak in class terms.

### ATTACKS

In America it is a big breakthrough for a leading unionist to say that the steel union represents workers' interests, that its function is not to help administer the steel industry. In particular he attacks the present contract which provides for no strikes until 1980. He represents the rebellion against that. And the more radical he gets, the more support he gets from the steelworkers.

Sadlowski has also been attacked viciously for having the support of the Communist Party and the SWP. But he refuses to capitulate, and welcomes the support of everybody. Even if Sadlowski does not win the election campaign (which is likely, because he is badly organised) the impact of his campaign, not just on the steel union but on other unions, will



ED SADLOWSKI leads steel

danger to American workers would be a Sadlowski victory. This is part of the process of constructing a class struggle left wing within which we fight for an understanding of the need to replace the Democrats with a Labour Party.

If the bureaucrats join the movement, they will be because of the unrest at base.

### CAMPAIGNS

We will continue over the year to fight on election forms, including the mayoral elections in New York, and arising from the demagogues Mayor Daley in Chicago. We also be running against right-wing and opposing black mayors who are



# The CIA - a world police organisation

'The files of the CIA do contain information indicating that conversations of certain individual plaintiffs, and certain of the other individuals named in the Court's order of May 4, 1976, were overheard by means of electronic surveillance conducted abroad; and that certain other information, apart from conversations that were overheard, was acquired as a result of several surreptitious entries that were made into premises abroad as to which certain of the named plaintiffs, and certain of the other individuals named in the Court's order of May 4, 1976, had regular access or may have had a proprietary interest.'

The words are those of George Bush, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Behind the legalised jargon the admissions are blatant: the CIA has bugged and burgled premises of the 'plaintiffs'. The plaintiffs in question are the American Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance; the admission comes in the form of a sworn affidavit, dated 1 July 1976.

The affidavit is one of many documents obtained from the CIA as a result of a multi-million dollar law suit through which the SWP and the YSA are suing government agencies and officials for the sum of 40 million dollars. In making the documents public last week, a prominent member of the SWP, George Novack, commented: 'They clearly document an illegal campaign of harassment and surveillance directed against the SWP, the YSA and socialists in other countries who have worked with us.'

## REVELATIONS

Paragraph after paragraph in the documents is blanked out and marked 'classified information pertaining to intelligence sources and methods', 'classified matter', 'CIA internal organisational data', and so on. But enough emerges to indicate the scope of the CIA activity.

One of the most striking revelations is the degree to which the CIA and 'friendly' governments throughout the world co-operated in spying against both the SWP and their co-thinkers in the Fourth International. There are documents on the activities of Trotskyists in France, Spain,

Bolivia and other Latin American countries. For example, a dossier on the French section of the Fourth International explains:

'The League appears strong enough financially to support a relatively large number of full timers. Alan Krivine, leader of the League, is an excellent organiser and an effective fund raiser. Every fair organised by the League makes money. According to the printer of the League paper *Rouge*, the League

*In 1971 African swine fever hit Cuba. 500,000 pigs had to be slaughtered to prevent a nationwide animal epidemic. It was the first time the disease had been seen in the Western Hemisphere, and it was labelled as the 'most alarming event' of 1971 by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation.*

*Now it has been revealed that the disease was deliberately introduced into Cuba by a group of CIA-backed Cuban exiles. Two ex-CIA operatives have recently stated that they transported the bug from a CIA training camp, Fort Gulick, to Cuba via a series of fishing trawlers and the help of anti-Castro exiles. One former CIA operative explained: 'We were well paid for this, and the Cuban exile groups don't have that kind of money.'*

*The precise details of the operation will probably never be known, as last year the US Senate select committee on intelligence revealed that all written records of such activities had been destroyed by the Army and CIA.*

pays its printing bills promptly.

'If the League manages to keep the Student Action Committees mobilised after 1 May (1973) it can count on the full support of the French Communist Party, the General Confederation of Labour, the Socialist Party, the French Democratic Confederation of Labour, and

other leftist organisations, since none of these groups can afford to ignore or to preach moderation to students whose support they are seeking.'

Another example of collaboration between the French and American governments is provided by a telegram in the CIA files. Dated November 1972, the telegram is from the American Consul in the French Caribbean colony of Martinique. 'French authorities' it says, 'are expelling two Amcit (American citizens) members of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party for engaging in political activities in Martinique. For purposes hearing, local French authorities request info about possible subversive activities in which Thomas and Washington may have been previously engaged... Information may either be unclassified or, if appropriate, handed over to French authorities by consulate in confidence.'

## LIED

The documents so far released by the CIA show that they have burgled, bugged, opened mail and used informers against the SWP, the YSA and the Fourth International. During the court hearings both CIA director Bush and FBI head Kelly lied on a number of occasions, and were told off by the judge for doing so.

The suit against the FBI has meant that it has been ordered to withdraw 66 agents or informers in the FBI. But George Novack

isn't satisfied: 'We don't trust the FBI to comply with the directive of the court — which is why we are insisting on getting their names. The FBI legal justification for not giving us their names is what they call "informer privilege", which is a totally new concept in jurisprudence'.

Although the FBI, like the other government agencies, continues to avoid court orders

*Following revelations in a US newspaper, the US Army recently admitted that for 16 years it had deliberately spread dangerous germs in cities from New York to San Francisco. Hundreds of people were taken ill and at least one died as a result of the experiments, which were ordered by the Pentagon to test germ warfare theories.*

*In one test carried out in 1966 an Army agent deliberately dropped a lightbulb filled with the fatal bacteria *Serratia* from a moving underground train in the New York subway. Other agents with scientific equipment monitored the spread of the bacteria through tunnels.*

*During 1952 the Army conducted a similar test in Florida. There followed a tenfold increase in the number of pneumonia cases and a sevenfold increase in the number of pneumonia deaths.*

*The Army claim to have stopped such tests now. But they have also justified carrying them out, saying, 'We had to know just how fast the germs would spread and how far they would go'. It is rather unpleasant to the nerves to contemplate how far the US rulers will go to defend their 'democratic' way of life.*

and delay the hearing as much as it can, it is obvious that a good deal of damage has already been done to the 'spooks'.

Comments Novack: 'We have turned the tables on the FBI. They used to harass us. Now we

are harassing them no end. Because of our suits, 45 of their agents are under investigation and indictments are going to be handed down. That's how the tables have been turned.

On the broader conclusions of the court hearing, and on all the other 'dirty tricks', Novack has this to say: 'The American people have learnt that spying on people is far more systematic and widespread than they ever thought, and that it extends into all walks of life.'

'There has never been such distrust of the powers that be in American history. I do not think that it is a transitory thing. I think it is rather an enduring change of attitude towards the presidency, the Congress and the agencies.'

## EXPLOSIVE

There seems little doubt that a good deal more explosive information will be revealed before the SWP case finally comes to court. At the moment the court hearings centre on securing evidence from the FBI, CIA and others on which the SWP can base their case. But already enough has emerged to show the validity of George Novack's advice to the working people of Britain and elsewhere:

'The CIA is a world police organisation, working by surreptitious means to violate the rights of people throughout the world; to overturn people's governments, assassinate their leaders — all the way from government leaders to trade union leaders. Our warning to the British public is that they must not permit the agency that violates the rights of the American people to do the same to them.'



challenge Militant/Harry Ring



THEODORE SORENSON

*Jimmy Carter has nominated Theodore Sorenson as the next head of the CIA. At first glance Sorenson appears to represent a break with the 'dirty tricks' tradition of the CIA. He registered himself as a conscientious objector in 1948, still describes himself as a pacifist, and was a member of the John Kennedy entourage.*

*Robert in covert CIA operations in Chile during the early 1960s. Korry has said that in 1963 President Kennedy enlisted the aid of David Rockefeller, head of the Chase Manhattan Bank, to set up a group of multinational companies to back American policy aimed at blocking Allende's election. Korry says that Sorenson must have known of these activities and others, such as the American-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.*

*But now a former US ambassador to Chile, Edward Korry, is threatening to tell a different story. He has asked to be allowed to testify at the*

*Neither can the American public*



ZERO MOSTEL (left) is put under pressure to reveal the names of other 'subversives' who marched on a May Day rally parade five years previously. In real life Mostel was blacked by Hollywood.

## It's nothing new

TO REMIND us that witch-hunts, stage-managed trials and slanders are nothing new to the western democratic way of life, Martin Ritt's film *The Front* has just opened in London and will be on general release shortly. The film is set in the Hollywood of the early 1950s, when countless writers, actors, actresses and directors were blacklisted for alleged communist sympathies. Among the victims were Ritt himself, the film's co-star Zero Mostel, its writer, and others who contributed to the making of this fine movie.

They have chosen to look back through black comedy. While illustrating the human tragedies of the witch-hunts, *The Front* concentrates on ridiculing and satirising the accusers. There is a scene, for instance, when Zero Mostel is charged with having communist sympathies for contributing to the Russian War Refugee Fund. He asks quizzically, 'But weren't they on the same side as us?'

The point about that particular 'accusation', which obviously the film cannot explain, is that many Americans were actually charged with this heinous crime. Indeed Richard Nixon himself, as a lieutenant to McCarthy, is on tape asking that very question of one of his earlier victims. It may all seem ridiculous now, but many of the incidents, scenes and banalities in the film actually

vision networks. Woody Allen plays the front man in question: an innocent who has 'always danced in the middle of the floor' and sees the blacklist as a way of paying off gambling debts. The film traces how Allen eventually loses his innocence and, in his own distinct way, finally makes a stand.

Because the events depicted in the film are seen through the eyes of the character Allen plays, it does not set out to give a thorough explanation of how and why the witch-hunts arose. But at times the humour is more savage than any finger-wagging could be.

There is the occasion when Allen ponders the possibility of bribing The House of Un-American Activities: 'Pay them off. How much would it cost? They're only Congressmen'. Or when his producer explains a problem with a script on the Nazi gas chambers: 'The oil industry don't like it; they think it makes gas look bad'. These and other gems are almost thrown away, but they hit home with more effect than would any didactic attempt to 'interpret' McCarthyism.

And while contempt is the medium *The Front* uses, its final effect is very moving — both sad and funny. Allen's playing and Ritt's direction make *The Front* very special, but its real triumph is to show the madness of capitalism and the human dignity of those who oppose it and who attack it by one of the most telling weapons of all

# Fight to stop ICA theatre closure

THE SMALL theatre at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London is at present under occupation. That is to say, the full-time staff of three are still doing their normal jobs, although they were sacked on 31 December.

But since the new year the ICA switchboard has been instructed not to put calls through to any of them. Mike Lave, the Theatre Programmer, has had his desk emptied and removed. And the petty cash tin in the theatre bar has been broken into by the management and the proceeds taken.

Undaunted, the three have carried on by paying themselves out of the Fighting Fund launched last year to stop the theatre being closed.

This bizarre situation has arisen as a result of the ICA Council decision at the end of last November that the theatre should close in order to cut back the projected deficit of £25,000 by half. This deficit, incidentally, covered the whole of the ICA — which includes galleries, a cinema, and small conference facilities — but the theatre (which is on budget target) was singled out for the chop.

A bit harsh? More extraordinary

is that the ICA Council stuck to its decision even after the theatre staff had raised enough money through their Fighting Fund (donations, benefit theatre performances and the like) to keep the theatre open until the end of March *without one penny's cost to the ICA*. Hence the occupation.

Over the last year the ICA theatre has housed 54 theatre companies from Britain and abroad in front of 22,000 people. It is the *only* venue in central London where less well-known theatre companies can play, since the theatre is not hired at exorbitant rates but operates a straight box-office split with the visiting company.

Until now, that is. The ICA Council has decided that the theatre will instead be available for hire — to those companies who can afford it. This strikes at the very heart of the ICA's traditional policy.

So the three occupiers went to the company who were about to do *The Fosdyke Saga* at the ICA on the management's new terms and told them what was going on. The company tore up their agreement and are playing at the ICA at the

moment on a box-office split basis.

This complicated situation has much to do with recent press attacks on the ICA for being dominated by Marxists and showing subversive propaganda. Clearly pressure was put on the ICA Council from the Arts Council to 'quieten things down' — and how better than simply to close the theatre, or make it for hire only?

The Government axe on expenditure on the arts, with the Arts Council as the axeman, has gone much wider than the ICA, however. The inflation rate for theatre expenditure is running at 21 per cent, at a time when the Arts Council has been instructed to restrict its increased expenditure to 10 per cent. That means a *cut* of 11 per cent for subsidised theatre.

Moreover, this cut is by no means divided proportionately. The big prestigious companies (the National Theatre, the Royal Shakespeare Company, English National Opera, etc.), with annual budgets well into six figures, will suffer relatively minor cutbacks; but the much smaller companies, especially those that tour, face savage cuts if not liquidation.

It is also clear that the more political of the small touring com-

panies are under the gravest threat of all — although the Arts Council, of course, will claim that it is a question of 'artistic merit'. But even the subsidised repertory theatres in the provincial towns are having to cut down the size of their staff, close for short periods in the year, and play it even safer in their choice of material in order to gain some box-office return.

A campaign to fight the cuts in subsidised theatre was successfully launched at a 150-strong meeting in the ICA theatre on 9 January. Involving mainly theatre workers but also representatives of organisations such as Equity, NATKE (theatre technicians' union), Regional Arts Association drama officers, the National Union of Journalists, and various others connected with subsidised theatre, the campaign will encourage theatre workers to take direct action if their jobs are threatened, and organise lobbies and pickets of local councils and MPs over the coming months.

For more information about the campaign contact Marion Pike at 01-249 3066.

ANDREW DE LA TOUR



THE FOSDYKE SAGA by Bill Tidy and Alan Plater, showing at the ICA now.

Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)



## LETTERS

# Zimbabwe factions all the same

Zimbabwe today has become one of the most important arenas in the development of the revolutionary process in southern Africa. It is also a major focus of the manoeuvres of imperialism

and the Labour Government in Britain to stave off the social and political crisis that threatens the interests of capitalism in the region. As such, your centre-spread on the question of Zim-

babwe (Red Weekly, 13 January) is to be welcomed, particularly because the Anti-Apartheid Movement has refused to launch any serious activities on this issue for fear of upsetting their cosy relationship with the 'front line' states.

While I agree with the general sentiments expressed in your editorial comment on the interview with Ignatius Chigwendere, I consider that a very serious error/omission was made. At no point did the editors make it clear that in Zimbabwe (unlike in Angola) we make no differentiation between the rival nationalist factions — ZANU, ZAPU, ANC, etc. — except to say in a general way that 'Red Weekly extends its solidarity to all those who are mounting that fight against imperialism'.

Unfortunately, since this fact was not stated, it was implicit that Red Weekly supports ZANU as opposed to the other movements. This is, I am sure, not the case. However, Red Weekly has to understand the serious difficulties that do exist in the Zimbabwe milieu in Britain. As can be seen in the interview, Chigwendere can only advance the most confused analysis of the differences between ZANU and ZAPU (and what about ANC?), and accuses ZAPU of 'being built around Nkomo'.

But isn't it the case that all these petty-bourgeois nationalist movements are classically built around individuals? Does ZANU not have Mugabe and Sithole around whom it is 'built'? For years now the leadership of these movements has continued its divisive tactics in order to maintain the differences between each of the movements, and this has a serious effect in preventing any real moves towards unity in the struggle. Revolutionary Marxists have to distance themselves from these divisive actions of the leaderships, and above all show that in class terms the leaderships differ very little.

# Ideas on arts coverage

I would like to reply to some of the criticisms of the arts coverage in Red Weekly made by Martin O'Leary last week. These raise some important points which deserve a thorough airing, not just in these columns but amongst the revolutionary left as a whole. However, I think it is a great pity that comrade O'Leary marred his contribution by an over-personalised obsessive attack on me as an individual, rather than on certain prevalent ideas which he believes are wrong.

I also object to the way that he invoked the names and views of Lenin and Trotsky, not to clarify the debate but as a form of intellectual intimidation — the club of 'orthodoxy' with which to beat his opponents. What is important about the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky is not that they uttered them, but their content. On this comrade O'Leary had little to say, except the rather banal observation that you can't 'judge a book, film, play or whatever wholly or mainly by political criteria'. With this I largely agree, but was he really so lacking in confidence on this basic point that he needed to invoke the names of Lenin and Trotsky to justify it?

I am unable to comment directly on his criticisms of the theatre group CAST, not having seen them. However, his points sound suspiciously like some I have made in previous reviews of other left-wing theatre productions. For example in reviewing Fifth Column, by Roadgang Theatre Group (Red Weekly, 14 October 1976), I commented: 'The class struggle is not necessarily helped by a demonstration of the ideal course of events...left theatre could remain simply a big 'Hoorah' for already committed socialists...Perhaps it is the very form of these plays, rather than bad writing, that is inadequate...'

What comrade O'Leary has tried to do is to infer my general views on all 'non-socialist works' from my reviews of very specifically committed, 'functional' agitprop productions in the theatre, plus one very perfunctory and wide-ranging review of over a dozen films. The latter was in no sense intended to be an analysis of the genres of the various films involved, but rather an over-view of the central themes of current cinema, which have identifiable social origins.

The point about left agitprop theatre is that it is a form of art which sets itself a specific political task, as an intervention in the labour movement, to affect consciousness in a specific direction. Most of it fails, not because of the failings of its 'political line' — a rather crass, reductionist position, I would agree — but because, as O'Leary comments, most of it is too politically impeccable and overt, allowing no contradictions to emerge.

Neither also — and here I disagree to some extent

with him — does it fail because of the performers' lack of expertise or technique. This is generally of a very high standard, comparable with the so-called 'straight' professional theatre. The major failings of such productions lie at the level of an inadequate dramatic form. They lack a revolutionary, innovative form to express their self-confessed revolutionary content. That is the central question to which we can address ourselves, as part of a process of mutual critical exchange, debate and production.

When it comes to the commercial cinema, we are presented with a completely different problem. Comrade O'Leary says: 'Of course, films like The Exorcist peddle a reactionary message and have, in general, a reactionary effect. But that effect cannot be combatted except by work of at least comparable technical excellence.' This is somewhat wide of the mark. We are not yet in a position to make films of comparable resources and technique, and will probably not be until after a socialist revolution, when the film industry will be in revolutionary hands.

Films cost money, a great deal of money, which we have not got. The best we can do now is to analyse and comment, principally on the reactionary nature, form and social origins of such films. We must surely separate the few grains of wheat from the chaff — and those grains are in no sense simply those with an overt and correct political counter-line.

However, unlike comrade O'Leary, I did not think that a brief survey of the film industry over the last year was the place to go into what film analysts call the semiology of film or its historic development. My position was validated by his own cryptic, garbled comments on the origins of Gothic in romanticism, which did nothing to clarify the debate.

Finally, his point about the unavailability of much of the culture covered in the Weekly's pages is unfounded. It has been the broad policy of the paper only to cover those films and theatre productions which would be seen outside London. Ninety per cent of reviewed material fulfilled this criterion. For example, the Roadgang show referred to earlier never even reached London! — CARL GARDNER (London).

• One other comment made by Martin O'Leary concerned what he felt was our over-reliance on Carl Gardner to the exclusion of a more balanced selection of reviews. We would point out that this situation is not of our own choosing. We would be happy to be able to draw on a wide range of critics, and indeed would urge other readers to contribute both to this debate and to our regular arts coverage. As the situation stands at present, however, the fact that we have any regular arts coverage at all is largely thanks to the efforts of comrade Gardner.

## New from Red Books

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

History Workshop Journal No. 2 (Pluto, £3.45)

This journal of socialist historians contains the second part of an article on women in Nazi Germany — covering women, the labour market, and the attitude of the State in the later 1930s. There are also articles covering the role played by drink in the imperialist expansion in Southern Africa, and militarism in Britain in the period before World War I. The latter is particularly useful in disposing of the conventional teaching on this subject (e.g. only 'the Prussians' had militaristic leanings, etc.). We also have stocks of No. 1 at £3 — Nos. 1 and 2 post free if purchased together.

Hungarian National Socialists; the Rumanian Iron Guard; the Falange; the fascist movement in Flanders; the Austrian Heimwehr; and, of course, the British Union of Fascists.

The Equality Report by Jean Coussins (NCCL, £1.00)

A study by the Women's Rights Unit of the NCCL of the first 10 months of operation of the Equal Pay Act, the Sex Discrimination Act, and the Equal Opportunities Commission. The report is based on an analysis of all the industrial tribunal and appeal decisions for the first 10 months. Although somewhat lacking in a political analysis, the book provides plenty of useful statistics.

Schooling and Capitalism by R. Dale, G. Esland & M. MacDonald (RKP, £1.90)

An extremely valuable collection of articles, this book includes sections on education and class structure; mass schooling; the ideology of liberalism; science, psychology and social control; curriculum and cultural reproduction; and consciousness and change. Designed for use in the Open University's 'Schooling and Society' course, the book brings together not only a number of lesser known articles but also such crucial works as Raymond Williams's article on base and super-structure from NLR 82.

White-Collar Unionism in Britain by Roger Lumley (Methuen, £1.25)

A survey of white collar unionism in Britain at the present time. Includes detailed information on the size, composition and growth of the white collar labour force and the white collar trade unions. Whilst it is not in itself a political book, it contains a great deal of information which will be invaluable to militants working in white collar unions.

JUST BACK IN STOCK! The Kapetanios by D. Eudes (NLB, £2.85)

Dominique Eudes' pioneering work about the partisans and the Civil War in Greece from 1943-1949.

The Rise of Fascism by F.L. Carsten (Methuen, £2.40)

A useful book, not so much for the sections covering the Italian Fascists and the German Nazis as for the sec-



differences between ZANU and ZAPU. They will ask, with justification, 'Why wasn't ZAPU or ANC interviewed? Does Red Weekly consider that ZANU's inadequate programme is any better than that of ZAPU or the ANC?'

The willing participation of the leadership of each of the move-

tions of the leaderships. Serious moves towards forging anti-imperialist and non-partisan unity amongst Zimbabwean exiles are underway in Britain with the formation of the National Union of Zimbabwe Students (NUZIS); but already NUZIS has been slandered by sections of ZANU as being a 'front' of ZAPU and as a result,

ships, we have to make it clear in our press that we do not differentiate between the movements. The publishing of the Chigwendere interview in Red Weekly without explicitly stating this fact can actually provide a left cover for the sectarian policies of the nationalists. Moreover, it can seriously harm our ability to have any



# Mass meeting rejects WRP frame-ups

LAST WEEK saw a tremendous blow struck against a campaign of vilification and slander that has been plaguing the Trotskyist movement for over 20 months. A meeting attended by 1,150 people heard an international platform of speakers firmly refute the campaign by the Workers Revolutionary Party of Gerry Healy to smear Joe Hansen and George Novack, leading members of the Socialist Workers Party of the USA, as 'accomplices of the GPU'.

Tariq Ali, the chairperson, expressed the feeling of a number of his listeners when he regretted that the occasion of such a large meeting and such a representative platform of left organisations should be the frame-up campaign of a small and discredited sect.

Tim Wohlforth, ex-national secretary of Healy's American Workers League, pointed out the record of the SWP, which through its law suit against the FBI and CIA had demonstrated its real concern for the security of the workers movement against spies and infiltrators. In doing so it had struck a blow for the whole working class internationally.

Wohlforth, now national education secretary of the SWP, said that speaking to this meeting in defence of the SWP was 'the proudest moment of my life'. The real concern of the meeting was not to rebut Healy's charges — the record of the militants under attack in the service of the working class was proof enough — but to investigate the reasons for the political madness of Healy and his organisation.

Following this point up, Pierre Lambert (representing the Organising Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International) showed that Healy's method was directly related to that of Stalin. Like Stalin, said Lambert, Healy drew immediate organisational consequences from political differences.

Loud and prolonged applause greeted the appearance of George Novack at the speakers' rostrum. Novack recounted his near-on 50 years experience of fighting against frame-ups, starting with the campaign to defend Tom Mooney, to the Dewey Commission which cleared Trotsky of the crimes of which he was accused by Stalin, and so to

the campaign against the FBI today.

He told the audience that he never expected to be the victim of a frame-up by another organisation which called itself Trotskyist. So preoccupied had Healy become with the Stalinist method of frame-up that he had echoed the American Stalinist leader Gus Hall in the claim that the exposure of FBI agents in the SWP through their suit showed that the SWP 'was the main staging post for the FBI' in the States.

The clear rebuttals of Healy's campaign were muddled a little by the contribution of Michel Pablo of the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency. While firmly rejecting Healy's slanders and calling for the soonest possible end to them (implicitly rejecting the position of the leader of the Belgian section of his tendency, Vereeken, who for a time had associated himself with Healy's campaign), Pablo called for an International Commission with membership acceptable to both sides in order to determine the



GEORGE NOVACK



Photos: LAURENCE SPARHAM (Report)

truth of the matter.

While done from the best of motives, this call could play into the hands of Healy, who, because of his inability to induce independent figures of any stature in the workers movement to serve on the fake 'International Commission of Enquiry' of which he has already prejudged the result, has now resorted to the call for a 'parity commission' of the United Secretariat and his own 'International Committee' to hear the charges against Hansen and Novack and the charges against himself of slander!

Concluding the list of speakers and representing the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, Ernest Mandel cut Healy right down to size. He said that he would feel sorry for comrades who

had stooped to such depths were it not for the antics of that 'little rascal' — Gerry Healy.

Taking advantage of Healy's presence (despite the fact that all who were present were 'accomplices of the GPU' according to *News Line*), Mandel showed that, like Stalin, Healy reduced the problem of politics to spy-hunting. The Trotskyist movement had survived the purges of Stalin and the concentration camps of Hitler only now to be confronted with the 'tin-pot dictator' of Clapham High Street.

At the close of Mandel's speech, Healy rose to speak accompanied by the yelling of WRP members he had enticed to join those 'white-washing the crimes of the GPU'. At the beginning of the rally, which Healy had missed in favour of

making a stage entrance, Tariq Ali had explained that the purpose of the rally was a demonstration of solidarity in rebuttal of Healy's charges, not a debate on their merits, and in this context he moved a vote to the meeting that no further discussion be taken. It was carried overwhelmingly.

Mandel had pointed out the importance of extending the arm of the Fourth International to the militants of the WRP should they reject Healy's foul methods. The full force of this point was underlined with pathos as the audience rose to sing the 'Internationale'.

WRP members raised their fists and sang. Then a glare from Healy sent their fists wavering, their voices faltering. All around him WRP members fell silent. Only in the balcony, immune from the

baleful glare of the 'wizard of Clapham High Street', did they continue to sing the anthem of working class solidarity which their leader has so long defiled.



# Forty years of Tribune

Tribune was born with a silver spoon in its mouth. This week Jack Jones and Michael Foot, the 'left' architects of the Social Contract, are speaking at a rally to mark its anniversary. CHARLIE VAN GELDEREN traces the forty years in between.

In one respect *Tribune* is unique among British papers of the 'left' — it has outlived most of its contemporaries. We would be churlish not to congratulate it on its 40th birthday. During the four decades of its existence, *Tribune* has fought many battles against the bureaucrats of Transport House, and it has always championed the right of dissent within the labour movement. These, at least, can be put down on the plus side of *Tribune's* achievements.

Of course, *Tribune* started off with advantages denied to most papers of the left — and certainly to papers of the revolutionary left. Its founders — Stafford Cripps, Harold Laski, Aneurin Bevan, George Strauss, and William Mellor — were already well-known figures in the wider labour movement. On its first Controllin Board were eminent veterans of the movement like Ellen Wilkinson and Noel Brailsford.

It also had the good fortune to start off with a substantial financial contribution of £20,000 from Cripps and Strauss. If ever a left-wing paper was born with a silver spoon in its mouth it was *Tribune*.

It made its first appearance at a time when Europe was in ferment. Mussolini had strengthened the iron heel of fascism in Italy; in Germany the most powerful working class organisations in the capitalist world had been crushed without a struggle, to be followed by the defeat of the Austrian workers. In Spain, the armies of the Republicans and Franco's fascists were locked in deadly combat.

The British labour movement was painfully and slowly emerging from the defeat of the General Strike and the betrayal of 1931. It was the final victory of the right wing, led by Ernest Bevin and Attlee at the Brighton (1935) and Edinburgh (1936) conferences which was to be the determining factor in the launching of *Tribune*. What has been achieved in the



Why Unity Is Vital—Stafford Cripps: While Mr. Brown Drones—Ellen Wilkinson: Parliament and Monarchy—"M.P.": Vauco II.

defined the aims of the new paper: 'We are part of a world system... that is destroying hope in the world... capitalism... there need be no want, no poverty, no

must will the means of socialism...'

Today, 40 years later, this same capitalism still dominates the greater part of the world. Where it has been destroyed it has been by other means than those consistently advocated by *Tribune*.

Through thick and thin, in war and peace, in conditions of depression or boom, one thing has run through all the arguments advanced by *Tribune* — that Parliament is the one and only means through which change can be brought about in our social order, and the Labour Party is the instrument through which this will be achieved. This was the abiding faith of Nye Bevan, who played a primary role in laying the basis for *Tribune's* philosophy (if such it could be called).

'Bevan', writes Michael Foot in his biography, 'was adamant as ever in his belief that nothing could be achieved outside the Labour Party' (*Aneurin Bevan* — Vol. 1, Four Square Edition, pp269/70). This view is echoed by the present editor, Richard Clements, in the special Anniversary Supplement (*Tribune*, 7 January) when he writes:

'*Tribune's* policy then was the same as it is now. We wanted to see the system changed. In 40 years there have been a lot of changes... Most of the best... have been brought about when Labour Governments were in office... Some of those who call themselves "revolutionary" socialists argue that the Labour Government is nothing more than the hand-maiden of capitalism. That hardly stands up to a moment's examination...'

Really, comrade Clements? Perhaps we should consult the 1 1/4 million unemployed; or the tens of thousands on short time. Maybe Healey's draconian cuts into working class standards of living, the slashing of social services (including the dismantling of Bevan's own creation, the National Health Service), the millions living below the poverty line, the thousands of homeless families — maybe these are merely detours on the road to socialism, and not the propping up of a decaying capitalist system?

*Tribune* cannot complain that it has not had the opportunity to put its policies into practice. One only has to look at the long list of Tribuniters who have

Wilkinson, Stafford Cripps, George Strauss, Harold Wilson, Woodrow Wyatt (yes, he was a Tribuniter, 1947 vintage), Jennie Lee, Barbara Castle, Dick Crossman, and today Michael Foot, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party — the list is endless.

It is precisely because *Tribune* and those who created it and kept it going for 40 years have no conception of the role of the state — because they can regard it as something above classes, neutral, which can be changed by a parliamentary majority — that they have proved unable to get to grips with the real issue once they achieved what they considered to be the real citadels of power — seats in the Cabinet.

The Tribuniters have never understood that capitalism can only be abolished when power is taken away from the owners of the means of production and vested in those that produce — the working class. They create an artificial difference between political power (Parliament) and economic power, and believe that by nationalising a few major industries — in Bevan's euphemism, 'the commanding heights of the economy' — they can subtly use the 'mixed economy' to achieve socialism by stealth. Economic democracy for them means getting a few workers on the boards of state- and capitalist-owned enterprises.

Bevan in his day could turn many a fine phrase into revolutionary rhetoric. In 1942, while supporting the war effort, he was critical of Churchill's conduct of the war — the same Churchill whom he had described in *Tribune* in August 1940 as 'the unchallenged leader and spokesman of the British people'. Now he wrote that 'the people will have to take charge of the war and this, of course, means the peace as well' (*ibid*, p302). But he never gave thought to how this was to be achieved.

There was another road, that taken by the Russian workers in 1917 when they seized power and established the world's first workers government.

That still remains the pattern for the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism, despite the subsequent degeneration of the Soviet Union. But neither Parliament nor the Labour Party are 'the instruments which can achieve this. That *Tribune* has failed to learn this lesson after 40 years is a lesson



**BASQUE COUNTRY**

10 January saw a general strike in Bilbao against the murder of Juan Manuel Iglesias by the police. The strike was solid on the industrial left bank of the river Nervion. A mass demonstration in Sestao, Iglesias' home town, was broken up by the police; but it re-formed and marched on to Portugalete, where the entire town was barricaded against the police. A massive attack was launched on Portugalete in which many workers were injured, one critically.

**CEYLON**

In Ceylon (Sri Lanka) the Government has clamped down and the workers' struggle has stepped up. The Bandaranaike regime has imposed press censorship and is likely to follow the example of India's Gandhi in imposing a state of emergency and total suspension of civil liberties. The strike wave, initiated by the rail workers in December, has been joined by bus and water workers. Despite a compromise offer by the government the vast majority of the rail workers are still out. In two days last week at least fifty-eight strikers were arrested. The crisis within the ruling coalition continues to be exacerbated by the workers' action, which is putting the heat on the Communist Party to withdraw its support from the Government.

Bengali Trotskyists around the paper Socialist Karmi, of which he was an editor. He wrote several books and pamphlets as well as the first Bengali biography of Leon Trotsky. He also translated numerous writings of Trotsky into Bengali.

Chitta Mitra was well respected and liked among the students and teachers of Kalna, where his political work centred. In tribute three large meetings have been held at Kalna College. The Trotskyist movement salutes an excellent friend and comrade.

**ITALY**

The Andreotti Government in Italy is still searching for its own version of the Social Contract. It is seeking to impose wage controls which, it says, are the only solution to inflation. To back this up they are using the possibility of an IMF loan to entice the trade union leaders and the Communist Party (PCI) into cooperation. Sounds familiar.

The main attack is on the index-linked wage increases which protect many Italian workers from the worst ravages of inflation. The union leaders are under pressure from their members not to accept any wage policy, but it seems that they will come to a compromise by agreeing to limit increases for higher paid workers. Meanwhile the PCI continues to support the Govern-



Italian workers - putting pressure on their leadership to demand wages

**CHINA**

In recent days wall posters have appeared in Peking calling for 'popular socialist democracy and freedom'. Many also demand the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping, purged by Mao, and the suppression of the 'Gang of Four'.

How far these are spontaneous expressions, or whether they are purely orchestrated by Chairman Hua in his drive against the 'radicals', is unclear. The danger for all factions of the bureaucracy is that sections of the masses might start taking Hua's democratic rhetoric too seriously.

**EGYPT**

In the Egyptian town of Bayla last week demonstrators burnt down a number of public buildings, including the law courts and the railway station. In Cairo passengers fought with police in protests at the state of the public transport system. There have been frequent student actions against the purge of left-wing teaching staff and the imposition of government-controlled student unions.

There is no single reason for this complex upsurge against the Sadat regime, but it is apparent that the latest Egyptian attempt to sell out the Palestinian struggle, the 'peace initiative', is provoking opposition among growing sections of the Egyptian masses.

**INDIA**

Comrade Chitta Mitra, a leading member of the Communist League, India Section of the

ment by its abstention in Parliament.

**PORTUGAL**

Members of PIDE, the secret police of the old Portuguese regime, are finally being brought to 'justice'. For example, the murderer of Communist Party militant Jose Dias Coelho will have to spend all of ten months in prison. Other PIDE criminals, found guilty, have been released immediately.

Victims of the torturers have been dragged into the witness box and forced to relive their horrific experiences. Henrique Seixas, bodyguard to Salazar and the most notorious of the torturers, has as his defence that he was 'only obeying orders'. Whose orders are Eanes and Soares obeying now? Demonstrators have consistently picketed the proceedings demanding, 'Rigged trials, no! People's justice, yes!'



# HOW SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL 'STABILISES' IBERIA

Recent months have seen the stabilisation of the counter-revolution in Portugal under the leadership of the Socialist Party and the growing interest of international social democracy in events in Spain. Jack Jones has headed a TUC delegation to meet the social democratic trade union leaders and a whole array of stars, including Michael Foot, attended the recent congress of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE). Here RICHARD CARVER reports on a document revealing social democracy's plans for Portugal, and discusses the meaning of the growing influence of the PSOE.

## Fighting Communism in Portugal

IN St. John's Wood, a quiet and respectable suburb of North London better known as the home of the MCC, can be found the offices of an international organisation dedicated to fighting world communism in alliance with the Catholic Church.

The organisation is the Socialist International, which the Labour Party and the governing parties of many European countries are affiliated to.

It was Mario Soares of Portugal who claimed that international communism was the enemy — not in public, of course, but in a closed meeting in Stockholm in August 1975. Among those present were Olaf Palme (Sweden), Harold Wilson and James Callaghan (Britain), Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt (West Germany), Joop den Uyl (Netherlands), Anker Joergensen (Denmark), Francois Mitterrand (France) and Itzhak Rabin (Israel).

A transcript of the meeting, in the hands of the Spanish left paper, *Servir al Pueblo*, shows that the subject was one close to the heart of European social democracy, particularly in the turbulent summer of 1975: Portugal.

The Socialist International's disquiet was not because of the international capitalist campaign, but because imperialism had failed to intervene more decisively against the working class. Soares was disappointed at 'the passivity and resignation of the United States'.

The alternative strategy to direct imperialist intervention which they then discussed illustrates the attitude of the SI to the rise of the workers movement in southern Europe as a whole. The principal political lev to force the Portuguese masses into line was to be EEC economic aid. Exactly the same method is now being applied to Spain, where Common Market membership is the bait to tempt the Government into introducing reforms sufficient to pacify the workers movement.

The Stockholm discussion, particularly the contributions of the German and British representatives, indicates that more direct forms of intervention were consciously planned as well. The main propaganda instrument was seen as British and German radio. Soares praised the efforts of the BBC and German Radio, but demanded increased effort. Only weeks later two left-wing Portuguese journalists were sacked from the BBC.

Soares also demanded increased financial support for the Portuguese Socialist Party: 'We need

This, too, was enthusiastically taken up by others at the meeting and has been reflected in Spain, where the Socialist Party union, the UGT, received £350,000 in the first nine months of 1976 alone — more than ten times the amount it was able to raise from its own membership.

The question remains why the Socialist International goes to all this effort to boost its member parties in the Iberian peninsula. The reason is simple. Any upsurge of the workers movement in those countries will leave the social democratic parties far behind.

Whereas the Communist Parties were able to preserve their apparatus under long years of dictatorship, the social democratic parties need to have their structures rebuilt to fulfil the tasks facing them as legal mass parties.

Events in Portugal and Spain do not worry Callaghan, Schmidt and

ALL the hopes of European social democracy for stemming the revolutionary tide in the south of the continent lie with the Spanish Socialist Party [PSOE]. Mario Soares has done his bit. Now it is up to Felipe Gonzales — young, handsome, and with the grooming of a 'statesman'.

The importance of Spain for the Socialist International is the same as for revolutionary socialists. It is clear that a defeat for the Spanish workers movement will consolidate the achievement of Soares in Portugal. Equally the overthrow of the Spanish dictatorship by mass action can act as a stimulus to reverse the counter-revolution in Portugal.

In recent months the PSOE has looked better suited to play the part allotted to it in the stabilisation of the Iberian peninsula for social democracy. The central reason lies in the failure of the

Government without any of the previous preconditions being met.

On the trade union question it has stood firm against any attempts to set up a united class union. This has been possible because of the anti-democratic leadership of the PCE in the Workers Commissions, which has driven increasing numbers of workers into the UGT. The PSOE is thus able to improve its hold in the workers movement through a combination of radical rhetoric in the unions and credibility in its negotiations with the Government.

It is important not to underestimate the impact of illusions in bourgeois democracy after forty years of dictatorship. Here, too, the failure of the PCE to provide any clear lead has been important. Only by organising to overthrow the dictatorship through the superior methods of workers democracy can the mass of Spanish workers be won away from their support for reformism.

The PCE is being pinched from both directions. Amongst the most politically advanced workers, especially in the Basque country, the revolutionary left and the Mao-centrist organisations are making considerable gains. On the other hand, so long as the mass reformist parties tell the Spanish working class that it is possible to negotiate democracy with the Government, the PSOE is going to become a more attractive proposition.

This, of course, is where the Socialist International comes in. It is able to influence the growth of the PSOE in two ways. First it contributes massive amounts of cash and facilities for the party's use, intervening regularly on its behalf. The vast sums of money from the British Labour Party and trade unions, and the personal appearances in Spain of Michael Foot and Jack Jones, are part of this.

Shortly after the Stockholm meeting of the Socialist International on Portugal, another meeting was scheduled to discuss the intervention in Spain. Unfortunately we have no details, but it is probable that the decision of the West German Social Democratic Party to set up offices in Madrid was a result of this.

The parallels with the plans discussed in Stockholm are clear. The Socialist International can be expected to step up its intervention against the Spanish working class. The difference this time is that, whatever hopes Gonzalez may have of becoming Prime Minister, it is not a major consideration for the European social democrats. The PSOE is becoming King Juan

## Deals with Juan Carlos in Spain



Felipe Gonzales of the PSOE receives applause from Brandt and Palme.

Co in themselves. But what is worrying is the probability that the revolutionary virus will spread northwards, as the workers of the EEC countries see the gains made by their comrades in Iberia. This is the reason why democracy and political stability have been laid down as preconditions for EEC entry in the case of both countries.

Francois Mitterrand summed up the Stockholm discussion by warning, 'Perhaps it would not be good if the PSP was seen to be receiving orders from abroad'. It would certainly not, which is why militants in Britain, both inside and outside the Labour Party, should fight to expose the intervention of the Socialist International in Iberia.

This is not because we are opposed to international workers' solidarity or international organisation. On the contrary, it is because we fight to defend the interests of the entire working class in Portugal and Spain that the

Communist Party [PCE] to present any credible alternative.

Even after the death of Franco, the PCE was the force for the Government to reckon with, with its impressive display of industrial strength in the January 1976 strikes. The PSOE represented no-one, and was forced to keep up its left rhetoric to prevent itself from being completely isolated by the PCE.

For a long time it was forced to make the legalisation of the PCE a real sticking point. There were obvious dangers for the credibility of the PSOE in the workers movement if it were to be legalised and not the PCE. Similarly, on the trade union question, the UGT, the PSOE's affiliate, consistently boycotted the fascist syndicates while the PCE-dominated Workers Commissions participated.

After a while, however, the failure of the PCE to give decisive leadership against the monarchy gave the PSOE greater room for manoeuvre. It did not abandon the demand for the legalisation of the

# 7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

Disraeli once said that every time Britain finds an answer to the Irish question, the Irish change the question. In the past it has always been possible to dismiss this as just a clever way of covering over the fact that Britain's policy of repression has always been justified by avoiding the issues and discussing irrelevancies. From last week, however, such dismissal will not always be quite so easy; because it has become clear that there exists in Ireland a group of people who indeed want to change the question.

The group is the 'Peace People', that much-feted movement headed by that glamorous, globe-trotting trio of Betty 'fingers' Williams, Mairead 'the tears' Corrigan, and Claran 'I've lost my job but found a goldmine' McKewen. These latter-day evangelists last week published a six-page document entitled 'Strategy for Peace', which claims to offer the definitive solution to the 'troubles'.

The root cause of violence, according to the trio, is not the presence of 15,000 British soldiers armed to the teeth, or the existence of the sectarian, undemocratic Northern Ireland statelet, but rather bad vibes between the 'Taigs' and the 'Orangies'. To overcome these bad vibes, the

trio have asked us all to recognise the 'emerging Northern Irish identity' which, they claim, separates us from the Irish people as a whole.

What this 'identity' consists of is never defined; all we are told is that it is 'special'. Such profundity cannot have been excelled since Ian Paisley once remarked 'I love all individual Roman Catholics'. At that time as well Paisley didn't go in for definitions; he refused to say whether he preferred these individual Catholics roasted or grilled.

Not surprisingly, this 'Strategy for Peace' didn't impress many people on the Falls Road. After all, the only Northern Irish identity with which they are familiar in this Christian state is the decades of discrimination which denied them votes and jobs, the special 'identity' of a state that has interned people without trial throughout its existence, whose hallmark has been brutal violence against the minority to which they belong. Nor are they impressed by such words as 'community' and 'partnership', remembering as they do that this rotten state was founded on the 'community of interests' of imperialism and the partnership of the British ruling class with the Ulster Unionists.

Indeed, the only welcome that I heard on the Falls for the 'Strategy for Peace' was from a woman who expressed hope that it meant an end 'to all this tomfoolery of hymns and prayers'. Such a hope is probably unfounded, for the politicians have now scuttled their support for the 'peace movement', declaring that it has gone political; this leaves the Churches as about the only institutions continuing in support, and so we are probably in for more bucketfuls of psalms.

The Churches themselves, though, have been coming under attack from within. Des Wilson, a Catholic priest in Ballymurphy who was sacked two years ago from his parish for criticism of the reactionary proscriptions against mixed marriages and the hold of the Churches on education, has publicly denounced the hypocrisy of the Church leaders in their stance on violence. He explained that the Church was not totally opposed to violence and revolution, and cited their support for Franco's Spain and the support they gave to the fascist effort in 1936. He condemned the Churches for advocating 'peace without change', and denounced the 'peace movement' for allowing the Church leaders onto its platforms. This was proof enough, he believed, that the 'Peace

People' themselves wanted 'peace without change'.

Des Wilson is no revolutionary, but living amongst the people of Ballymurphy he has been unable to ignore the repression to which they have been subjected by the RUC and the British Army. When he met the Labour Movement Delegation organised by the Troops Out Movement in Belfast last September, he voiced the views of his neighbours in demanding the immediate withdrawal of the British Army. But Wilson is very much an exception; his fellow clerics continue Sunday after Sunday with drivelling cant from their pulpits about 'Rendering unto Caesar, etc.'

The Provisional IRA has been active in the first few days of 1977 'rendering' unto the British Army their just deserts. This other bunch of 'peace-keepers' has in the same period been busy — raking the name of Mrs Mina Gillespie in Ripley Terrace, Portadown, with bullets. Mrs Gillespie is a pensioner. They must have been afraid of her bin lid.

One thing the troops are not afraid of, though, is the dead. Belfast City Cemetery on the Falls Road has been the scene of considerable vandalism over the last couple of years. Because many Protestant corpses are buried there many people were ready to accept the RUC story that local vandals from adjacent Catholic housing estates were responsible. One such person was Mrs Edith Bush from Albert Street who regularly visits her father's grave in the cemetery. Over the last few months the grave has been vandalised on number of occasions. Each time the matter was reported to the RUC, who blamed it on the kids from Ballymurphy and Whiterock.

On Boxing Day Mrs Bush visited the cemetery and caught the vandals in action. She challenged them and was told that they could do what they 'bloody well liked'. Mrs Bush did not report to the RUC this time. There didn't seem to be much point: the vandals were paras. Mrs Bush wrote to the papers instead. Seems that in your grave you are not safe from the 'peace-keepers' — or should it be 'gravediggers'?

# WARSAW COMMITTEE EXPOSES REPRESSION, GROWS IN STRENGTH

'WE DECLARE THAT, when arrested after the incidents of 25 June, we were beaten by the police. Each of us had to run at least once through the so-called "path of health", i.e. a cordon of uniformed and plainclothes police, who beat and kicked us. Every time we were transferred to another place we were beaten while getting in and out of police trucks. During the interrogation we were tortured, so that we would make the statement they wanted. In the Radom prison, and when we were detained in the Radom police headquarters, we were beaten by the police and the prison warders.'

This courageous statement, signed by 65 Polish workers, is part of the growing campaign for a parliamentary commission of enquiry into the police brutality which followed the strike wave in June last year. A hundred and seventy-two famous personalities have just added their names to the list on the heels of an appeal by 28 leading Polish professors, 13 of whom are members of the Academy of Sciences. This is the first time for many years that a significant protest against government policy has been made by Academics.

The driving force behind the movement against police repression has been the Workers Defence Committee — KOR. It was set up in Warsaw on 23 September 1976 against the Communist Party leadership's attempts to crush the most active elements in the strike movement of the previous June, especially the workers in the two main centres of opposition to government policy — Radom and Ursus.

The Committee proclaimed itself a legal organisation, formed in the absence of independent trade unions to initiate and co-ordinate financial, legal and medical aid for these workers and to investigate and expose the full scope of government reprisals. Started by 13 intellectuals, the Committee now has 20 members, with hundreds more active helpers and thousands of supporters. And throughout the last four months the KOR has been very effectively doing what it set out to achieve.

## RESULTS

The results of the KOR's work are published in regular communiques circulated very widely by its supporters, and four numbers of a samizdat Information Bulletin issued by some of the KOR's supporters have also appeared. The KOR communiques contain only such information as has been checked by the Committee itself, and more often than not the bulletin lists the names of prisoners and policemen concerned in the repression. For this reason it has become a credible alternative source of information to that put out by the Government.

The facts brought to light expose the lying reports printed in a special series of articles by Bill Brooks in the Morning Star in December. In trying to whitewash the Polish regime, Brooks claimed that no workers had suffered repression following the strike movement last June: supposedly only hooligans were sentenced and remain in prison.

If Bill Brooks had wanted to get the truth he would have met the KOR instead of translating the words of leading party functionaries into English. In the latest available communique (No 3) of 30 October, the Committee's estimated figures for detentions were 2,000 in Radom and 500 in Warsaw. Out of these the committee has identified 141 in Radom and 111 in Ursus who have been imprisoned. At that time 335 people from Radom and three from Ursus were identified as still in detention awaiting trials.

Bill Brooks has nothing to say about the the widespread political sackings of workers. Yet 1,000 is the quoted overall figure of dismissals in Ursus alone! Out of this number KOR was able to identify 288 victimised workers, of which only 100 families were receiving regular support from KOR at the time. On 4 November a letter was sent to Gierek from 889 workers in Ursus demanding the re-instatement of the sacked workers with full pay. Many workers sued their employers for unlawful dismissal and, after their cases were heard by the Warsaw Labour Tribunal, 44 of them were reinstated.

Out of thousands of dismissals in Radom by the end of October, 150 individuals have been identified

KOR has the names of 11 people who died following the disturbances, of which four have been verified.

One of the most significant aspects of the Committee's work has been its continuous flow of information concerning the beatings and torture suffered by arrested workers after the June events. In a statement to the Sejm (Parliament) on 15 November, KOR gave the following facts:

'The Workers Defence Committee examined 96 cases of detention in Radom and 94 in Ursus. 93 of those detained in Radom and 46 in Ursus claimed that they have been beaten up...

'All reports follow a similar pattern. The detainees in Radom were taken to district or local police headquarters and in Ursus to the local police station, where they were made to march or run through the so-called "path of health", i.e. a double row of uniformed and plain clothes policemen brandishing truncheons. These were organised repeatedly throughout the period of arrest and imprisonment.

'The reports agree that during the pre-trial examination the suspects were beaten, hit and kicked to extract confessions. Some of the arrested suffered severe injuries and had to be removed to hospital.'

And in a statement on 29 November:

'In Radom functionaries of the police and the security services visit the homes of victims and put pressure on them to refrain from official complaints. Those who have already dared to issue such complaints have been subjected to interrogations several hours long.'

No bureaucratic regime in Eastern Europe can allow the existence of an organised opposition to continue to operate for any length of time, especially one which has the potential of acquiring a mass character.



Polish Communist Party leader Gierek being greeted by Brezhnev in Moscow. At a meeting in Katowice on 14 October, and at the December Central Committee meeting, Gierek denounced the KOR as 'internal allies of reactionary and cold war forces abroad' and as 'bourgeois, revisionist critics of the regime'.

Repression against the KOR has not let up since its inception.

In October two members of the KOR, Macierowicz and Chojecki, were dismissed from their jobs. In November there were a few arrests and detentions, members and sympathisers always being released after being warned to leave the KOR. In the last two months KOR members and active supporters have been subjected to a continuous round of harassment: house raids, confiscation of written material and communiques in the process of being prepared, confiscation of aid funds, phone calls, break-ins, arrests, interrogations and the distribution of fake communiques.

The homes of the 65 workers in Radom who complained of police brutality were raided on 12 December. Members of KOR have been systematically either prevented from attending trials or been beaten up inside the court buildings themselves. On 20 December a petition was started by Communist Party members in Radom calling for the expulsion of KOR members from Poland — most of the signatories being technocrats and managers.

KOR has been denounced by Trybuna Ludu (party daily) and Zycie Warszawy (daily), likewise by party leader Gierek at a meeting in Katowice on 14 October,

and at the December Central Committee meeting as 'internal allies of reactionary and cold war forces abroad', and as 'bourgeois, revisionist critics of the regime'. Yet the KOR's campaign for a full public enquiry into the police brutality has grown in strength from week to week. The party leadership is being pushed towards a decisive choice: either to concede a public enquiry and risk the consequences of the exposure of its crimes against the working class; or to take the even more dangerous course of a thoroughgoing crackdown on all opposition.

Discussions have already started among a number of socialist organisations in Britain for the creation of a broadly-based labour movement committee to give political and material support to the Polish workers facing repression at the present time. It is also vitally necessary for trade unionists in this country to be able to get reliable information as to what is really happening in Poland.

Red Weekly would fully support the sending of a trade union delegation to Poland on a fact finding mission. Such a delegation would help to end the kind of misinformation spread by the articles in the Morning Star and would strengthen international solidarity with the Polish workers.

HELEN JAMIESON

# Workers and living standards

BILL BROOKS, in this fourth article reporting on his recent visit to Poland, describes shop-floor views of trade union activity and living standards generally.

I VISITED Ursus where the big tractor works is Poland's pride—the hope for the future, for the transformation of the countryside, and where, too, there was a great deal of trouble in June.

What I wanted to know, were the "special circumstances" mentioned in Edward Gierek's letter to the State Council that led the workers there to strike and demonstrate, and so incensed some of them that they pulled up rail tracks and stopped a long-distance express?

I was given a photostat copy of the trade union structure at Ursus which shows, in diagrammatic form, how workers on the shop floor elect delegates who in turn elect the members of the works council.

This works council has considerable powers and resources. It deals with wages and conditions of work, with health, with the special problems of women workers, with housing and other social questions.

So what did it do in June. I asked its secretary. The answer was categorical—nothing.



stop work in June? "Of course! Everyone did."

Seeing a group of young workers, I made for them and started asking questions. It quickly became a small meeting, with workers joining it from all over the assembly shop.

A very articulate worker did most of the talking, although with the clear agreement of the others. Yes, they stopped work in June.

"We were all in it—we were opposed to the price increases. It came pouring out. "We work hard here and for what?"

"If we were working on British machines like these we would be paid a lot more than we are getting," and "the stony is worth nothing abroad."

The prospect of setting a

there were no strikes or demonstrations in June, and was told, the workers, the proposals, albeit rich.

Out of some 17,000 workers in the party committee meetings which were held by about 1,000 of them.

"Why no more?" I asked the party secretary. "We are not allowed to do this and do that."

"No one liked the party secretary," he said. "I was told, 3,800 party members at the factory, about 20 of the labour force."

Party members

The percentage of party members among the higher hands of departments, etc.—in the factory is only 1 per cent, whereas it is only 1 per cent among the workers, who comprise 60 per cent of the workforce.

I asked if this imbalance in the views of the lower party members was properly represented, party secretary thought were. What about the union organisation which sends all the workers' V

Advertisement

## IMG NOTES

Extended IMG Irish Commission, 12/13 Feb. Documents to be in by 1 Feb.

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

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

National Engineering Fraction, Saturday 5 February, Birmingham.

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

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

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

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

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

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

# AS BRIAN RIX RETIRES MERLYN REES TAKES OVER

With the same contempt for the labour movement that Brian Rix has shown for the intelligence of his audiences, Home Secretary Merlyn Rees staged a special show for Phil Agee in London last week.

The occasion was the ex-CIA agent's enforced appearance before the so-called 'Advisory Panel' set up by the Home Office to consider Agee's deportation for 'endangering National Security' and similar vague and absurd charges.

Agee might well have refused to attend the hearings. For weeks Rees refused to specify details of what Agee was supposed to have done. He appointed as advisors three men who were obviously puppets of the intelligence community. And a procedure for the hearings was set out which allowed no lawyers, no examination of witnesses, no time to prepare the case — in short, no chance of a fair defence.

But Agee had to prove the hearings a farce in order to blow apart the last vestiges of Rees's credibility. 'I could have just left the country of my own free will', he told a press conference, 'but I realised that that might be just what Rees wanted me to do.'

## VETTED

Agee's statement to the Panel was a chronicle of several years spent campaigning against the CIA's intervention in 'trouble spots' on behalf of its masters, American imperialism. It is precisely because Agee is not just a paranoid 'spook spotter', but an anti-imperialist, that he has become so much of a threat to the people who want to get rid of him.

The political basis of the deportation was admitted by the Panel chairman Sir Derek Hilton. 'We are following the procedure laid down at executive (i.e. governmental) level', he was said to have told Agee. 'It is a political decision.' And Rees himself, challenged by ex-ministers Judith Hart and Alex Lyon to change the procedure, admitted that he was in charge of the whole charade.

Rees has been able to afford such candour because he is being given a very easy ride by the press and TV coverage of the hearings. The BBC withdrew its radio car on the first day because its reports and interviews had to be 'vetted' in advance of broadcasting. The Daily Mail wrote a story about Agee's tape-recorder breaking down. And the Guardian's John Torode 'exposed' the well-known fact that Mark Hosenball, the other journalist facing deportation, had declined the Defence Committee's support.

Hosenball's own newspaper, the Evening Standard, sent a reporter to nearly every press conference but hardly printed a single word.

## EXPOSES

But the media's fawning silence will not prevent Rees and the Labour Government paying a heavy price for their attack on Agee. In a matter of a few weeks nearly fifty Constituency Labour Parties, the executives of nearly all major unions, and over 40 MPs have attacked the deportations.

More importantly, recognition is growing that Rees is engaged in an important political offensive against the left as a whole. It is clear that Agee does not pose much of a threat to the day-to-day operations of the CIA or British Intelligence as an individual. But by focussing attention not on secret spies but on the global problems of both American and British imperialism 'Agee-ism' threatens to be a spanner in the works in such troublesome places as Rhodesia, South Africa, Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Caribbean... the list is endless.

The Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee has highlighted these broader aspects of the campaign in a series of 'CIA Briefings' on subjects like Jamaica, and the CIA in Europe. Its latest pamphlet exposes the global US intelligence requirements for the year with the publication of the so-called 'KIQ' memorandum issued to US embassies and intelligence bodies. Copies of these, and information about the campaign, may be obtained from Agee-Hosenball Campaign, 186 Kings Cross Road,



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

PHILLIP AGEE at the press conference after the first day of his appeal. Agee has no illusions in the 'impartial' nature of the procedure, but points out that Rees would probably like him to leave the country without fuss.

## £15,000 must be raised by May '77 THE CHOICE IS YOURS

WHEN WE launched the Fund Drive in December, we said that part of the £15,000 would go towards strengthening our work on women's oppression.

With the NAC Tribunal on 29 January and the Rally for Women's Rights on 26 February, the IMG is playing a big role in organising and mobilising for these events.

IMG comrades have been active on the mobilising committee for the NAC Tribunal from the beginning, and the hard work of these comrades will go towards ensuring that the Tribunal will be a success not merely in the numbers attending but, more importantly, in the political impact this will have in the fight for a woman's right to choose.

IMG comrades are also centrally involved in building the Rally for Women's Rights at Alexandra Palace. To help this we have allocated a woman comrade to work full-time.

To aid our work within the labour movement and women's organisations, the IMG is producing several pamphlets around different asp-

ects of women's oppression. We are also developing Socialist Woman as a journal that can begin to make a greater contribution to the debates in the women's movement.

1976 saw a small step forward in the fight for women's rights. This year Benyon's Bill and cuts in the social services generally threaten to undermine all the gains that have been won.

We take the struggle against women's oppression seriously. We have allocated resources and have comrades working full-time on this issue. But this is still not enough. There are many vital tasks still to be carried out, but due to lack of resources and finances we are unable to develop this work fully.

**THE CHOICE IS YOURS:** If you support a woman's right to choose, then give generously to our Fund Drive. Over £3,000 has to be raised by the end of January if we are to meet our monthly targets.

Send POs/cheques and Standing Orders to: Jo-Ann Lewis, 97, Caledonian Road, London, N1.

# RED WEEKLY

## CZECH 'CHARTER 77' FIGHTS REPRESSION

'THOSE WHO LIE on the rails to stop the train of history must expect to get their legs cut off.' That was the hysterical response of the Czechoslovak Communist Party newspaper, Rude Pravo, to the most serious public challenge to the Husak regime since 1969.

One month after Husak was forced by international protests to free leading socialist oppositionists, including Jiri Muller and Milan Hubl, a manifesto signed by 240 intellectuals, workers and citizens arrived in the West. The manifesto, 'Charter 77', denounces the suppression of civil rights in Czechoslovakia.

The name symbolises the Charter's initiation in the year which has been designated by Amnesty International as the year of political prisoners. 1977 will also see the Belgrade Conference, whose task is to examine how the Helsinki pledges, to which the Husak regime is a signatory, have been fulfilled.

The document lists some of the basic rights denied to tens of thousands of opponents of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia of 1968: denial of employment in their own field, denial of their children's access to education, no freedom of literary, cultural and artistic expression, the right to privacy infringed by phone-tapping, bugging, house searches and the like, and the imprisonment of many for their political views.

## PROTEST

The Czech authorities' response was immediate, denouncing the document as 'written on the command of anti-Communist and Zionist centres, and then published by the most reactionary press in the West'. The signatories were called 'bankrupt politicians' and 'political and social shipwrecks, people who have broken all ties with the people of their own country' (a remarkably accurate description of the present ruling bureaucrats!).

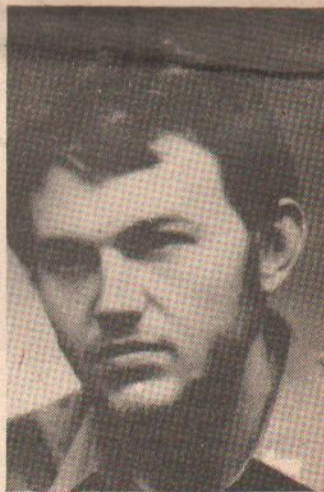
After the manifesto became known, four of the signatories were held for questioning by the secret police and house searches were conducted. This led to another document appearing on 9 January. This time almost 300 people signed the protest against police harassment. The subsequent round of police raids was far more extensive: at least 100 people were detained and questioned.

On 10 January one signatory, Pavel Kohout, passed on the following message via The Times correspondent at the moment when the police were breaking down his door:

'What is the use of Helsinki and conventions on human rights when they are ignored blatantly like this? As a member of the Communist Party for 23 years until I was thrown out contrary to party rules, I must ask my fellow-communists and fellow-writers abroad: how long must we put up with this?'

## FREE

The response of the French, Italian and British Communist Parties was to immediately



JIRI MULLER - recently released

denounce the regime's harassment of the human rights movement. The French CP paper L'Humanité has now joined the ranks of those denounced by the Czech authorities as 'the most reactionary newspapers in the West' by reprinting large excerpts from 'Charter 77'.

These denunciations may shield the dissidents initially, but the demand must go up for these parties to join those who were active in organising the international campaign to free Muller and Hubl in demanding an end to the repression of the new movement of protest.

★ On page 11, Helen Jamieson gives previously unpublished facts on the mass movement of protest against police brutality in Poland.

I donate £ ..... (cheques/POs payable to 'The Week') to the £15,000 Fund Drive.

Please tick box if you do not want your name to be mentioned in the paper.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

The Fund Drive runs only until the end of May 1977. If you would like to regularise your commitment beyond this period, please fill in the Bankers Order below instead.

### Standing Order Authority

TO ..... (name of your bank) .....(branch)  
..... (address)

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

A/C to be debited .....	Your Name	Your A/C Number
Payee .....	Name	A/C Number
	RED WEEKLY	71016000

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

Sorting Code No. .... 15 05 70

First Payment Due	Last Payment Due	Amount	Frequency

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

(Your signature)



NAME..... SUBSCRIPTION RATES  
ADDRESS..... DOMESTIC: £7 per year  
..... £3.50 for six months  
..... FOREIGN: £9 per year surface mail  
..... £12 per year airmail

Write to RED WEEKLY (distribution), 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.