

RED WEEKLY

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FRANCO'S GHOST STALKS MADRID

- ★ Fascists gun down Arturo Ruiz
- ★ Police murder Mari Luz Nareja
- ★ Fascist attack on lawyers' office leaves five dead
- ★ Three policemen shot with the same guns
- ★ 'GRAPO' kidnaps head of military court
- ★ Government brings back Franco kangaroo court, suspends habeas corpus
- ★ Police arrest hundreds of far left militants

It reads like the script for a black comedy. But it is the latest act in the tragedy of Spain's 'reforms'.

The principal actor is the blood-stained ghost of the old dictator. The fascists are trying to disrupt the pathetic reforms of the Suarez Government. Theirs is an Argentinian 'strategy of tension', escalating the climate of terrorism and political murder until a new Franco leads the army to power.

The Government's response to this wave of fascist terror was also straight out of the Franco book. Firstly, it brought back the old 'anti-terrorist' court, introduced by the dictator to clamp down on working class opposition. Then it suspended habeas corpus, allowing the police to detain anyone indefinitely without charges.

Then came the arrests: not, as you might expect from this impeccably democratic government, against those responsible for the wave of killings, but against the organisations of the far left in the workers movement.

THUGS

It seems incredible that anyone could be taken in by this blatant cover-up for the thugs of the extreme right. But, on the day of the first killing, the Government and the negotiating committee from the Platform of Democratic Organisations issued its first joint statement saying how well the talks were going.

While hundreds of thousands of workers were coming out all over Spain, Santiago Carrillo of the Communist Party continued to make statements of support for the Government's measures. The funeral of the murdered lawyers was a massive show of strength by the left. Two hundred thousand people came out on the streets of Madrid, more than at Franco's

funeral.

The COS, the trade union co-ordinating body set up by the Communist and Socialist Parties, called for workers to stay off the streets and give support to the Government measures. It was not going to be intimidated, so it would continue negotiations with the Government!

DEFENCE

For the 'democratic' opposition, including the Communist Party, any solution is good enough as long as it does not involve confronting the fascists and the Francoist monarchy which breeds them.

When fascists attacked the working class districts of San Sebastian in the Basque country, the workers organised their own defence bands to drive the fascists out. That is an effective defence against fascism. It is also unacceptable to Carrillo. He greatly prefers to praise the 'sensible' behaviour of the army.

It is no coincidence that the arrests of working class militants have so far centred on the south and centre of the country, rather than in the Basque provinces where the Communist Party is weakest.

RIGHT

Carrillo is right on one thing, though. There is no threat of any army coup in the immediate future, for one simple reason. There is already a very effective police state with which to attack the working class.

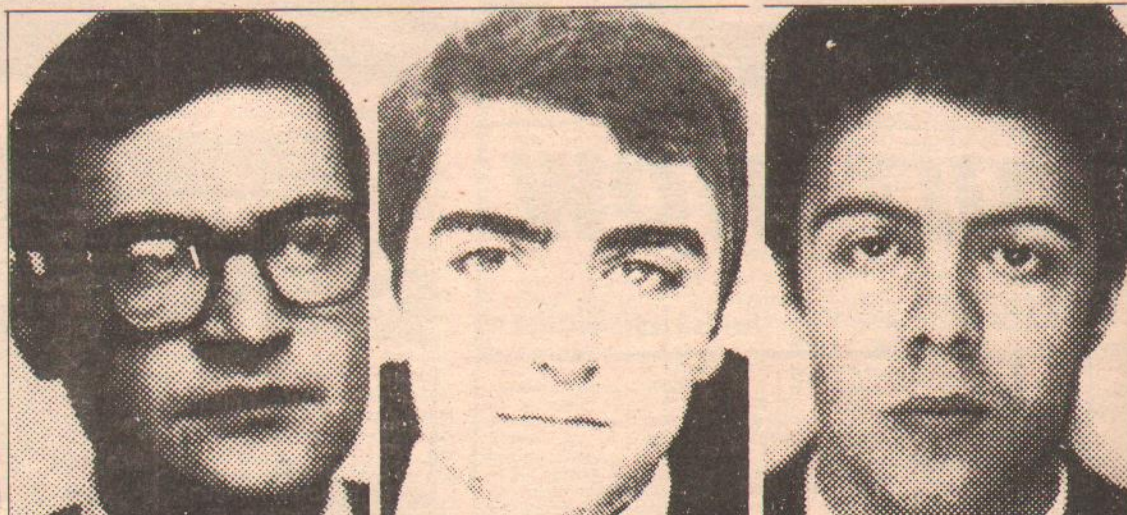
Page 10:— The killings — What is GRAPO? — Arrests of far left — Working class response.

Máximo



from EL PAIS

AND STRIKES DOWN THESE VICTIMS



ENRIQUE VALDEVIRA

JAVIER SAUQUILLO

LUIS JAVIER BENAVIDES

RALLY FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS 26th FEB

Abortion Tribunal Plans Mass Action

A HUGE SUCCESS for the abortion campaign — that was the verdict on the National Tribunal for Abortion Rights on Saturday. 'This gives us a firm basis for building up the campaign against the Benyon Bill', said Rose Shapiro, organiser for the National Abortion Campaign, at the end of the day.

Over 2,000 people came to Central Hall, Westminster. They came from Ireland, Belgium, America, Italy, France, as well as all parts of Britain. They heard evidence from gynaecologists, Community Health Councils, MPs, trade unionists, Labour Party members, and women who have had abortions. All the evidence showed why it is essential for women's liberation that abortion should be available, free, and on demand.

The evidence also demonstrated the obstacles to be overcome in launching this fight inside the working class. As a member of the National Union of Teachers in East London testified: 'The leadership of our union, including the Communist Party, have argued that abortion is not an area we should take positions on. We are a trade union supposedly concerned with the welfare of our members. But abortion is of vital concern to women teachers. At this year's NUT Conference we hope to overturn the reactionary stance of our union.'

The second session of the day was devoted to international speakers. Dr. Barbara Roberts, a cardiologist from Pennsylvania and past national organiser of the Woman's National Abortion Action Coalition, presented a water-tight case for the right of women to decide when and if to terminate a pregnancy. She explained how the state had wrested this right, fundamental to women's liberation, with the help of the Church and other class institutions.

'The state has given fetuses even more rights than humans have. No person has the right to decide whether to live inside another person's body, yet this is what the "foetus-fetishists" are demanding. The starting point for



Photo: GRAHAM COOKSON

campaigning for abortion rights must be our concern for the living woman and her right to independence, not some mystical attachment to the foetus.'

The other international speakers stressed how any restrictions on the 1967 Act would affect them. Dolores Thomas, from the Barcelona Women's Liberation Movement, had her passport revoked by the Spanish authorities at the last minute. But she sent her greetings to the Tribunal: 'I and the women of Spain wish you the best. If the Benyon Bill is implemented, many of us will suffer. We hope to join your demonstration in May.'

Ann Connolly, of Irishwomen United, told of the trade in desperate women between Dublin and Liverpool or London. Some of these girls leave Dublin not knowing where they are going. They have no idea of the standard of hygiene of the clinic, but these girls are prepared to go ahead and have the abortion.'

In the final session on the medical situation, Gail Lewis, from London, showed how an important aspect of 'a woman's right to choose' was being abused under the 1967 Act. 'I did get an NHS abortion', she said, 'but I've since found out that my doctor thinks his black patients breed too much. He doesn't give white women abortions or the pill because he wants to keep them in the home. We must fight against racism as part of a woman's right to choose. It's not just black women in Puerto Rico and America, but black women in Britain who are being given abortions and forced sterilisations to keep the black population down.'

But it was the urgent need to fight the Benyon Bill which most strongly came out of the Tribunal. Madeleine Simms, of the Pregnancy Advisory Service, explained how the latest attack is directed against the charity sector — who try to fill the gaps the NHS leaves. The Bill tries to force charities to refer women to Harley Street clinics by making it illegal for them



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

Gail Lewis — 'my doctor thinks his black patients breed too much'



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

Barbara Roberts — 'concern for the living woman'

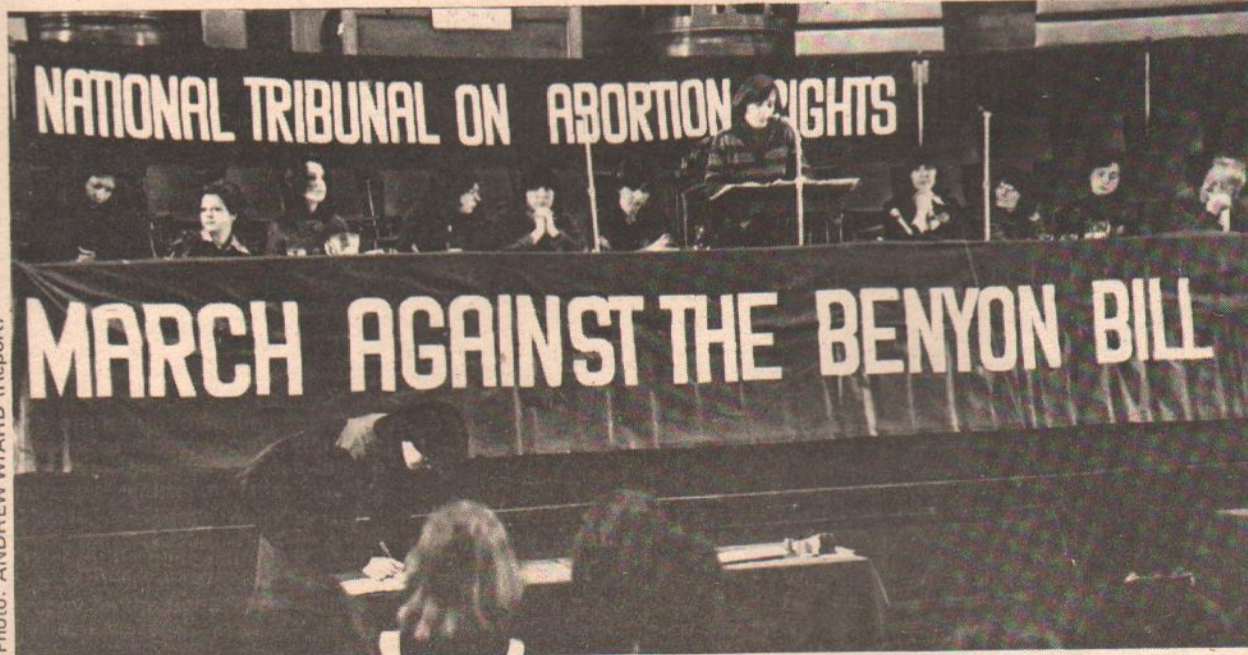


Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

to run their own clinics. 'Mr. Benyon is trying to cut us off from our clinics, and throw our clients to the wolves again. The losers will be 30,000 British women.'

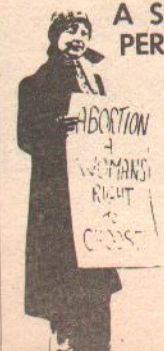
Renee Short MP summarised the findings of the evidence presented. As was to be expected, she provided no real perspective forward for the campaign outside of lobbying MPs, 'even Tories'. Her assurances that, 'We are working very hard in the House of Commons to mobilise support to work against the Benyon Bill', hardly rang true for the campaigners assembled at Central Hall. It was clear to them that the past performance of the MPs, even those supposedly committed to abortion rights, was sadly lacking. These same MPs signed their names to the restrictive First Report of the Select Committee once they were out of the spotlight of the campaign and in the smoke-filled rooms of the Committee.

Angela Phillips from the NAC Steering Committee closed the day's events. She outlined action plans to meet the threat of the Benyon Bill: 'On 24 February, the day before the second reading of the Bill in Parliament, there will be a torchlight march leaving from Bressenden Place, Victoria, through Westminster, and ending up at a rally at Central Hall. We will use this to launch the 14 May demonstration, where we will show the massive opposition to the Benyon Bill.'

Red Weekly urges all its readers to build for this demonstration, and to make it at least as big as the famous march of 21 June 1975 against James White. For as Rose Shapiro said: 'We will carry on the fight. There will be a NAC in 1980 if necessary.' We hope it won't be necessary.

OUT NOW

ABORTION RIGHTS - A SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE



Socialist Woman



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

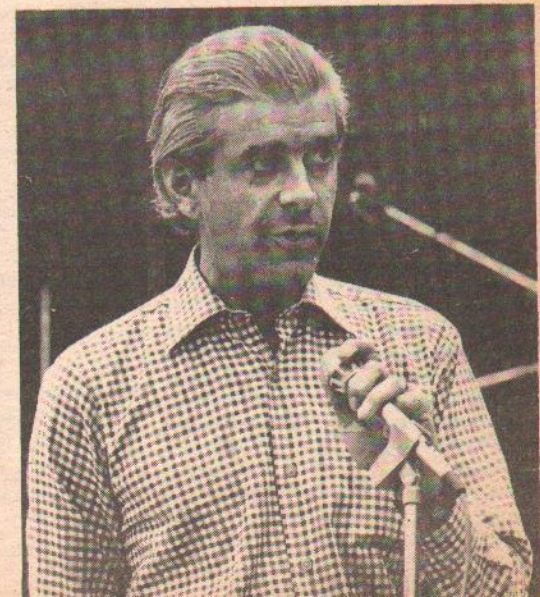


Photo: ANGELA PHILLIPS (11)

NO MORE WAGE CUTS!

INCOMES DATA SERVICES recently estimated that an 'average worker' earning £60.80 a week in April 1975 will be earning £70.14 by April 1977. But with the inflation rate remaining at 15 per cent, this £70.14 will be worth only £51.30 at April 1975 rates — a cut of about £10 a week in real income.

Yet still the wage-cutters of the Social Contract demand restraint. Last October, for example, Jack Jones decided that, 'We are not going back to a wage explosion or a free-for-all, but we are going to try to deal with the problem of productivity and the necessary incentives to make industry efficient.'

Since then the TUC, in collaboration with the Confederation of British Industry and the Government, have been hard at it trying to find a formula for the 'planned return to free collective bargaining' agreed at last September's Trades Union Congress.

'FLEXIBLE'

For the TUC leadership a 'planned return to free collective bargaining' means instructing trade unionists to accept another year of pay cuts; but this time with a more 'flexible' limit on wage increases than the flat £6 limit of stage 1 or the 5 per cent of stage 2. But finding this more 'flexible' pay formula is proving more difficult than they would like.

Firstly the previous stages have resulted in a distortion of the previous wage pattern. Most obvious is the narrowing of differen-

tials, which has led to a number of disputes, particularly in the car industry.

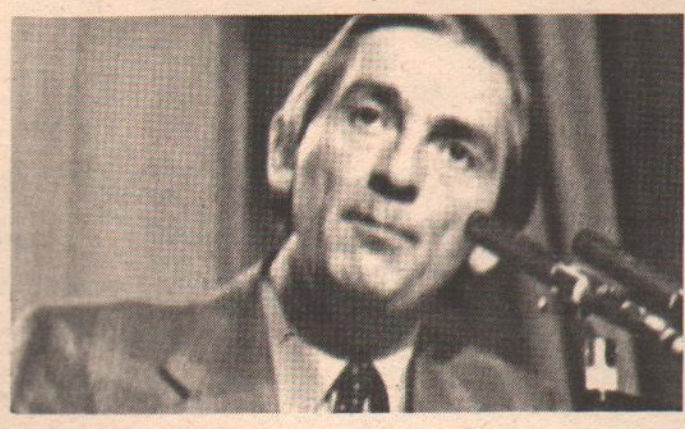
LOW PAID

In addition, the rises under stages 1 and 2 have never been consolidated into the basic rate of pay — thus those low paid workers depending on overtime and shift allowance for a decent wage packet have been hit extra hard.

Then the TUC has the problem that across-the-board increases leave no room for productivity dealing — something which the CBI particularly wants.

But the biggest problem of all faced by the purveyors of the Social Contract is that the working class is increasingly unable to see where the benefits of 'working like beavers' are to be found. Unemployment shows every sign of getting worse. The social services are coming under the hammer. And inflation is not expected to fall below 15 per cent before August, even according to the Government's own optimistic figures.

No wonder Jones is saying: 'If we do not hold prices down we shall not be able to avoid strong



wage pressure.'

One thing is clear — the CBI will have to make concessions to Jones because they have no alternative way of imposing wage cuts. They can only make the best of a bad job by having the TUC hold back its members' wages for them.

The outcome of the current talks cannot of course be predicted with certainty, but it is most likely to consist of a combination of a flat rate increase for all (Healey is arguing for £2 to £3 instead of the old £2.50 to £4 of stage 2), plus leeway for local productivity bargaining and regrading.

STRUGGLES

This is by no means an easy course for the Labour Government, however. It raises the possibility of creating a stream of local struggles for regrading, not only

by skilled workers losing differentials but also by lower paid workers, in particular women workers fighting for equal pay.

IMPATIENCE

But despite the growing working class impatience with the class collaboration of the Labour Government and the TUC, socialists should not run away with the idea that everything is getting back to 'normal'. In particular, we should avoid the approach of the Communist Party, who hope to exploit the growing discontent within the trade unions under the slogan of 'a return to free collective bargaining' in order to convince 'left' leaders like Scanlon that they had the wrong policies.

Simply demanding 'free collective bargaining' will solve little. An alternative set of policies are needed, because the reason for the initial ready acceptance by many trade unionists of the Social Contract was that it did hold out the prospect of an all-inclusive deal: something which would cover prices, unemployment, and an increase in real wages.

ALTERNATIVE

This prospect has by now turned terribly sour: which is why the time is ripe for the left to offer its alternative. This alternative can go beyond the simple demand of a 'return to free collective bargaining', beyond a reliance on 'mere militancy', if it takes up a fight for:

- * An across-the-board increase for all workers to recover the loss in real wages under stages 1 and 2.
- * Wages to be tied to rises in the cost of living, using a cost of living index calculated by the trade unions.
- * Immediate implementation of the TUC minimum wage.
- * The rate for the job — against low pay for women.
- * Against any reduction in staffing levels — for work-sharing.

RICH PALSER

'All hell broke out'

CHARLIE GALLAGHER
Last year in August an Ad Hoc Committee of senior stewards of Leyland Cars division was formed, on the initiative of management, in order to reach a corporate agreement. In October it was given the document called 'Security of Earnings', but was sworn to secrecy. So nothing was disclosed to shop stewards or the rank-and-file in my plant until a meeting of all eleven Rover plants on 11 January.

Instead of a 40 page document, they were given a shortened 2 page version. The convenors tried to force a vote through. Then all hell broke out. We demanded to see and discuss the document before we voted. After a resolution from the floor, the convenor agreed to recall the conference after distributing the document to all shop stewards.

At a meeting on 27 January of representatives from eleven Rover plants the document was overwhelmingly rejected. In place of this document I would like to see a staff status for all hourly rated employees, plus these two resolutions carried at our meeting:

1. That the company agree to introduce a common review date from 1 August 1977.



Delegates at the Youth Campaign against Unemployment conference last Saturday vote unanimously their solidarity with Right to Work marchers facing jail sentences. The conference, organised by the LPYS did little else. Manipulation of the chair by Militant supporters did little either to aid the fight against unemployment or to make the case for defence of democracy in the Labour Party.

Photo: MARK RUSHER (IFL)

Leyland bosses get a bloody nose

LAST WEEK workers at Leyland plants gave the company — and the union bureaucrats — a bloody nose by resoundingly rejecting Leyland's proposed 'security of earnings' scheme.

Below **J. HAINE** reports on what the scheme represents and how it has been cold-shouldered' while **CHARLIE GALLAGHER**, Transport and General Workers Union shop steward at Rover Solihull, tell Red Weekly about the background to two resolutions recently passed by Solihull workers which chart a different way forward.

CONVENORS' VIEW REJECTED

The 'Security of Earnings' scheme, which had the blessing of full-time union officials, offered minimal improvements in sick pay and lay-off pay. In return the shop floor had to sign away their birth-right; there were 'no strike' clauses and a move to corporate bargaining, which once accepted would have stood for all time.

For some plants the scheme's 'benefits' actually represented a step backwards. In Cowley the sickness scheme did not improve on present conditions, and the conditions for lay-off pay would have been stricter.

Of key importance in the offer were the penalty clauses, taking away the 'privileges' of workers if they dared to involve themselves in 'unconstitutional' action for

employment Protection Act. Significantly the deal also included a move towards corporate bargaining with common review dates — which would have put all wage negotiations in the hands of national officials.

Not surprisingly the Leyland senior shop stewards decided by a three to one majority to recommend the deal. To the fore in this was Communist Party member Derek Robinson, the convenor at Longbridge and an arch advocate of the 'participation' fraud which poses a mortal threat to the independence of the shop stewards organisation.

But Robinson and his TUC masters were stopped dead in their tracks by the shop floor. A two to one rejection at Speke

Parsons, the witch-hunting Transport and General Workers Union convenor, tried a manoeuvre which would allow him to renegotiate the deal. But the mass meeting refused to disband until a vote of total rejection was recorded. Parsons was so upset at this demonstration of workers democracy that he vowed he would never call another mass meeting.

The Cowley Spares division refused even to consider the offer, while the Radiator plant went one step further and demanded the disbandment of the Ad Hoc Committee for daring to agree to such an obvious con-trick in the first place.

Clearly this development shows that Leyland workers are not prep-

IN FOCUS

DEVOLUTION AND THE REFERENDUM

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT has now largely junked the programme of legislation which it promised would be part of the Social Contract. The reason given (and accepted by the 'lefts') was the amount of time needed for the Devolution Bill.

The priority of this legislation for the Government is simply that its failure would decimate the Labour Party electorally in Scotland and greatly increase the vote for the Scottish National Party as the only method of securing the Assembly that three-quarters of the Scottish people want.

Opponents of the Bill and the Assembly in Parliament (over 70 of them) demanded a referendum as a condition of supporting even an amended Devolution Bill. They, in the name of the sovereignty of Parliament, hoped and still hope to sabotage or delay the legislation. The referendum now promised by Michael Foot, the Bill's guardian angel, is quite simply the only way the Government can get its legislation passed.

This referendum will be no exception to the rule that none of the devices of bourgeois democracy are really 'democratic'. But despite this, it is only in very unusual situations that revolutionaries would turn their backs on the participation of the mass of the population when, through the absence of any other form of self-expression, they participate in bourgeois democratic devices, be they elections or referenda.

WHY NO BOYCOTT

Boycotting a referendum would be justified if, for instance, the questions were so rigged as to give only the answers that the Government wanted (as for example with de Gaulle's referendum in 1969, whose intention was to produce a vote of confidence in the regime after May 1968); if open campaigning were banned around it (as in Spain last December); or if the results were going to be ignored by the Government anyway, as was the referendum on democratisation of the Tsarist regime given as a sop to the masses in Russia after the 1905 revolution.

At the present time none of these considerations apply. But the form in which the referendum questions are posed would be a factor which could change that situation.

Of course, by far the best method of achieving Scotland's right to self-determination would be by immediate elections to an Assembly — an Assembly with no restrictions placed on its powers. A referendum, because of the limited choices which it offers, is a restriction on the right of self-determination — but a restriction which revolutionaries are in a position to change.

Faced with a choice of voting for or against the proposals in the Government's Bill, the answer must be yes. While the prohibitions, vetoes and restrictions of the Government's proposals have to be continuously denounced, nevertheless it does contain the essential features of democratic rights for the Scottish people — that of a directly elected Assembly. At the same time, though, we should be in favour of the widest and most open number of choices. The more open the questions the more democratic the result. In particular this should include the choice of setting up an Assembly immediately with no limitations on its powers.

INDEPENDENCE

But the referendum should include a question on independence. Red Weekly would not be in favour of a vote for independence. At this stage the working class will gain nothing from the dismemberment of Britain into various local sub-units. Unlike the situation in Ireland, there are no concrete forms of national oppression in Scotland which separation would remove. The greatest strength of the Scottish working class still lies in a united labour movement with workers in England and Wales. That unity would be maintained under a revolutionary socialist federal system of government of the future.

Supporters of this paper in Scotland will be fighting for the widest possible campaign of the labour movement in the factories, workplaces and housing estates to argue for a clear vote in favour of a directly elected Assembly. This means support, however critical, for the Government's Devolution Bill. During the campaign they will be using the occasion of the referendum to explain that only an executive formed by the workers parties, based on and accountable to the working class, can ever realise any of the hopes that the Scottish people have in the Assembly. Such an executive, if it was to carry out policies in the interests of working people, would find it necessary to assume powers to control the hold of private capital, to rip away the veil of commercial secrecy, and prepare the way for ending the anarchy of production for private profit.

- over the previous 12 months.
- (b) A commitment to eliminate all anomalies in grade rate pay where jobs or skills are of a similar or broadly similar nature.
- (c) An agreed method to achieve this new grade rate structure to be worked out, and an understanding reached that the final results to be back-dated to 1 August 1977.
- 3. LAY-OFF PAY
The elimination of all penalty clauses except:-
The clauses that are already contained in current lay-off agreements.
- 4. That the proposed procedure for dealing with 'manpower surpluses' document is unacceptable and is rejected.
- delegate for every 500 members or part thereof, from each factory within Leyland Cars for first year.
- (b) The above Delegates will elect from amongst themselves a Leyland Cars National Negotiating Committee of 50 at the above conference.
- (c) The above conference will discuss and vote on resolutions sent from individual factories.
- (d) Any offers by the Leyland management will be brought back to a recalled delegate conference.
- 2. After the establishment of the first Leyland Cars Agreement, the Negotiating Committee, as elected under 1(b), and the subsequent ones will organ-

T&G CANDIDATES: THE DIVIDING LINE

WHO WILL replace 'the man who runs the country', the architect of the Social Contract, the big boss of the Transport and General Workers Union — Jack Jones? This is the latest issue to occupy the minds of the media pundits.

For the capitalist press, it is an important issue, because they need reassurance that whoever takes over will direct Britain's largest union along the same wage-cutting and profit-boosting road as Jack Jones. But for socialists the election is an important opportunity to challenge the class collaboration of the present 'leaders' of the trade unions.

For both the decisive question is: 'Where do the candidates stand on the Social Contract?'

APPLAUDED

It is not hard to see why the capitalist press has applauded Moss Evans. In his election address he says: 'The sacrifices that have been made by our membership over the last few years, during a period of world economic crisis, justify now a return to free collective bargaining in order to defend the interests of our membership.'

Sounds militant, but in fact he is merely reiterating the words of his mentor Jack Jones — a more 'flexible' pay policy is needed, but one which avoids a 'wages explosion'.

Then there is Alex Kitson. Kitson religiously avoids even mentioning the Social Con-

TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORKERS' UNION

(AMALGAMATED)

TRANSPORT HOUSE
SMITH SQUARE
LONDON
SW1P 3JB



GENERAL SECRETARYSHIP (1977)

ELECTION ADDRESSES

tract or wage restraint in his election address, merely remarking that 'bargaining with government and arrangements reached must not substitute for trade union action to solve better standards and conditions'. Which says little and means less. An ideal candidate for the Communist Party to support.

Another 'left' bureaucrat is John Miller. At least Miller spells it out clearly: 'In a capitalist market economy, however, wage restraint should have no part whatsoever in negotiations [with the government of the day].'

But Miller has done little to organise a fight inside the T&GWU against the policies of

Jones and his cronies. He would rather keep these issues as gentlemanly disagreements, and goes out of his way to show he has nothing personal against Jones.

'We must give credit to Jack Jones', he says, 'for leading the campaign on higher pensions, raising our sights beyond our immediate workplaces.' The pensioners meanwhile have less and less spending power — thanks to the Social Contract policies of Jones & Co.

RANK-AND-FILE

For any fighting policies against the Social Contract we have to look at the candidates from the rank-and-file of the union — Tommy Riley (a member of the Socialist Workers Party) and Alan Thornett (a member of the Workers Socialist League). Both say boldly and clearly where they stand — they are against the Social Contract, and they are against those in the union who support it.

But in putting forward an alternative, Tommy Riley offers little more than militancy: 'I'm standing so you can say: We've had enough of wage freezes, we've had enough of sackings, we won't take any more cuts.'

Having had enough of them, however, Riley only gives T&GWU members the task of strengthening 'rank and file' organisations. Nothing is said of policies or programme which can offer a political alternative to Jones.

That is why Thornett, a can-

didate well known for his consistent struggle to build an opposition in the T&GWU to Jones, is being supported by Red Weekly. We give the last word to him:

'I therefore oppose the Social Contract and all cuts in public spending. I call for the opening of the books of all the employers who declare redun-

dancies or closure and support occupations demanding work-sharing on full pay to maintain jobs. I am for the nationalisation of any employer who refuses these demands and for the removal of Callaghan and Healey by left MPs who must form a government who will support these demands.'

Equal pay women sacked

EIGHT WOMEN on strike since 5 January at motor agents T.H. Nice Ltd. in Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, have been sacked. Their claim — equal pay!

The women, who are clerical workers, have demanded that their pay should come into line with the lowest paid male workers in the motor trade — pump attendants — although the firm itself does not employ any. A pump attendant gets £34.50 a week, following a recent £2.50 increase. The women earned between £16 and £32.64, and in negotiations have refused an offer of between £3 and £5.

The management say that the pay policy stops them from going further, and that in any case pay comparisons are pointless, as pump attendants' hours vary. But were we not told by Healey himself that equal pay was exempt from the pay policy, since women had already achieved equal pay? This case, in fact, points very clearly to all the inadequacies of the present legislation.

MALE RATE

Two thirds of women do low-paid jobs which cannot be compared with men's work — so, as in this case, the only answer for women is to compare their pay with the lowest male rate in the industry. But cases taken to tribunals on this basis have usually been rejected because the term 'broadly similar work' is open to the widest interpretation. Even more importantly, the legislation does not really cover women in this situation.

As most women work in low-paid jobs, and therefore in industries in which the majority of workers are women, they are automatically excluded under the terms of the legislation. Only a fight against low pay coupled with a demand for the rate for the job can begin to challenge the situation of the majority of women workers.

But women are finding it a hard fight even within the terms of the legislation. When

a group struck for equal pay recently at Magnavox, in Barking, they came up against job grading — the results, no doubt, of a job evaluation scheme. While the lowest paid male worker was on grade 5, all the women had ended up at the bottom of the scale in grades 6, 7 and 8.

RALLY

This is just the tip of the iceberg. At the Rally on Women's Rights on 26 February, women who have gone through fights like these will be explaining what the legislation has meant for them. On the basis of this experience, and particularly the fight at Trico, it should become clear that women can only win their rights by relying on their own strength and struggles, and not on the legislation.

The strike of the women in Suffolk also makes it clear that in many cases this will mean breaking with the Social Contract. At Trico, because the tribunal ruled that the women's claim did not fall under the Equal Pay Act, the women won a straight wage claim and broke the Social Contract. In Suffolk the employers are rejecting the women's claim by saying that it is contrary to the Government's pay policy.

The fight for women's rights cannot be separated from the fight against the Social Contract, not only because cuts and unemployment eradicate any gains that women may have made under the equal rights legislation, but also because equal pay means a fight against low pay — which brings you smack up against the Social Contract.

EXPLODE

The third stage of the pay policy, with its proposed emphasis on differentials, could therefore explode in the face of the employers as women begin to fight against their low grading and low pay in industry, thus revealing that the legislation has failed.

ANNE CESEK

Hull militants organise for jobs



KEITH RUSSELL

'THE WAY things are going, the only job left in Hull will be that of the one engine driver taking local deputations to the committee rooms of Whitehall begging for jobs.' So spoke Keith Russell, prospective councillor and chairperson of Botanic Branch Labour Party, when convening a meeting of nearly a hundred militants last week. The meeting was held in response to the announcement of 1,500 redundancies in the area in the space of five days, and was geared to mounting a solidarity campaign against the job cuts at Hawker Siddeley, Brough.

Earlier in the afternoon, Red Weekly supporters had initiated a

joint meeting between the Hawker shop stewards committee, Ken Fleet, Secretary of the Institute for Workers Control, and representatives of the Lucas Aerospace Combine. They discussed the question of an alternative workers' plan of production, and the types of socially useful commodities that the aircraft factory could produce. What ensued was an indispensable discussion on the need to centralise the experience of the working class, in particular engineering workers, in formulating alternative social goals for productive activity.

At the solidarity meeting Phil Asquith (AUEW-TASS representative on the Lucas Combine)

outlined the experience of the Lucas workers in constructing their 'Corporate Plan'. Instead of meekly accepting job cuts, Lucas workers designed alternative job creation projects such as ecologically safe and cheap transport systems, urban heating plans and wind generators as alternative sources of energy.

Ken Fleet, speaking next, attacked the idea floated by the local right wing for lifting the ban on sales of Buccaneer jets to South Africa. He explained that Hawker Siddeley workers would not get support from the labour movement for this. Brother Fleet also spelt out the need to fight for the passing of the Nationalisation of Shipbuilding and Aircraft Bill.

Keith Russell began his speech by noting that 'unemployment in Humberside has rocketed to over 16,000. Unless we call a halt now to the consequences of the Social Contract, this area will be reduced from an industrial ghost town to a desert.'

He pointed out that, 'The last Tory Government was brought down through the struggles of workers and was replaced by a Labour Government elected on the most radical manifesto for years. Today Callaghan, Healey, Murray, Scanlon and Jones argue that our main aim must be to restore the confidence of "our" businessmen through the Social Contract. But how many more for the dole? How many more hospitals have to be closed?'

CAN WIN

Russell argued that the lessons of struggles like those at Trico was clear: 'Despite the confusion of many workers it is possible to win! It's no use waiting for somebody else to fight for you — the fight is here and now.'

He finished by appealing to all activists 'to fight in their unions to build a broad based solidarity committee which in close liaison with the Trades Council should raise an active fight on unemployment. When Hawker workers go into action other workers should back them up with stoppages and demonstrations.'

A resolution was then passed by an overwhelming majority to set up a broad based solidarity committee with a view to calling a demonstration and holding an action conference on unemployment.

LITTLE ILFORD SUSPENSIONS CONFIRMED

THE OUTCOME of the appeal by 30 Little Ilford teachers to the National Union of Teachers executive last Friday was predictable: indefinite suspension from the union until they sign a declaration never again to take 'unofficial no cover' action. But a 150-strong picket of NUT headquarters — called at short notice by the school defence committee — reflected the deep-seated desire by many teachers to see a fight-back against the cuts in London.

It might be thought that the best way out for the NUT leaders under such pressure would be to give official backing to sanctions in all schools and associations within London which wish to act. But that's not the case, because such action could rapidly spread outside London. While the bureaucrats can afford to sponsor a few localised struggles against the cuts — mainly in Tory-held authorities where the NUT intervention has resulted in negotiated cuts — they know that their effective support for the Social Contract rests on avoiding a generalised, national campaign of strike action against the cuts.

This is a problem for the NUT leadership, because they are officially committed to fighting the cuts, cuts are taking place in London, and teachers are willing to fight back. The only answer for them is to try to separate off the London militants from the rest of the NUT membership in the provinces by labelling them as lunatic ultra-lefts. This is their only chance.

Incredibly, members of the Socialist Workers Party seem set on falling right into this trap. SWP and NUT

last Friday simply instructed militants to go into schools and build unofficial no cover — the very action for which the Little Ilford teachers have just been indefinitely suspended. After Little Ilford, teachers are going to feel less and less confident in committing themselves to unofficial no cover sanctions on a school-by-school basis.

ALL-LONDON Socialist Teachers Alliance meeting, Tuesday 8 February, 8pm at Prince Albert, Wharfedale Road, NI.
EDUCATION CUTS Action Committee: mass meeting for all London teachers, Thursday 10 February, 6pm at NUFTO Hall, Jockey's Fields, WC1.

But the NUT leadership are sensitive to mass pressure. A public, centrally organised and democratic campaign of all those schools and associations wishing to take no cover action, with the central demand that the bureaucracy make this action official, could have the effect of forcing the NUT leadership into action.

As a first step socialist teachers in Inner London could call on ILTA to ballot the membership on the issue of no cover. Second could be a campaign in schools and associations for declarations of support for a no cover policy, provided that an effective campaign is organised; other schools and associations could also be contacted with a view to discussing the possibility of no cover action and co-ordinating this on an all-London level.



ARTHUR CHURCHLEY, shop steward at the occupied Elisabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital thanked pickets who turned out in force to resist the closure of the hospital. The picket was called last Friday on the day

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

STECHFORD BY-ELECTION

WHY THE IMG IS STANDING

Brian Heron, a shop steward at the British Leyland factory in Longbridge, will be standing as the International Marxist Group candidate in the forthcoming parliamentary by-election in Birmingham, Stechford. We asked him why the IMG was standing.

To highlight the anti-working class policies of the Labour Government; to attack the cuts, wage controls and unemployment and to put forward the socialist solution to the crisis.

We believe that there are thousands of workers who are prepared to take action against the betrayals of the Labour leaders, provided they are given a way forward for struggle. That's the crucial point really. The present retreat exists because many workers, even militant workers, don't see any alternative to the Social Contract.

We want to use every possible platform to put forward the socialist alternative, and elections are obviously a way of doing this. Second, we think that we can use the platform given by elections to organise those militants prepared to fight. We want to get as many votes as possible, but that isn't the thing.

Stechford was Roy Jenkins' seat. His ideas on how to deal with the problems facing Stechford working class people are the same as those

of the present Labour Government. To deal with inflation he proposed wage cuts; to deal with Stechford's declining industry he proposed to increase the dole queues; to meet the latest wave of racism facing Stechford's black community he proposes support for the immigration laws.

This 'intellectual giant' of the labour movement has now found his rightful place as chief butler to the bosses of the Common Market, but his policies live on.

What policies will you be campaigning for?

Our main message in the election will be to fight to break the Social Contract; fight to build a socialist opposition. We must learn the lessons of the past period. Those prepared to confront the Social Contract should be united in a common class struggle against Labour's policies.

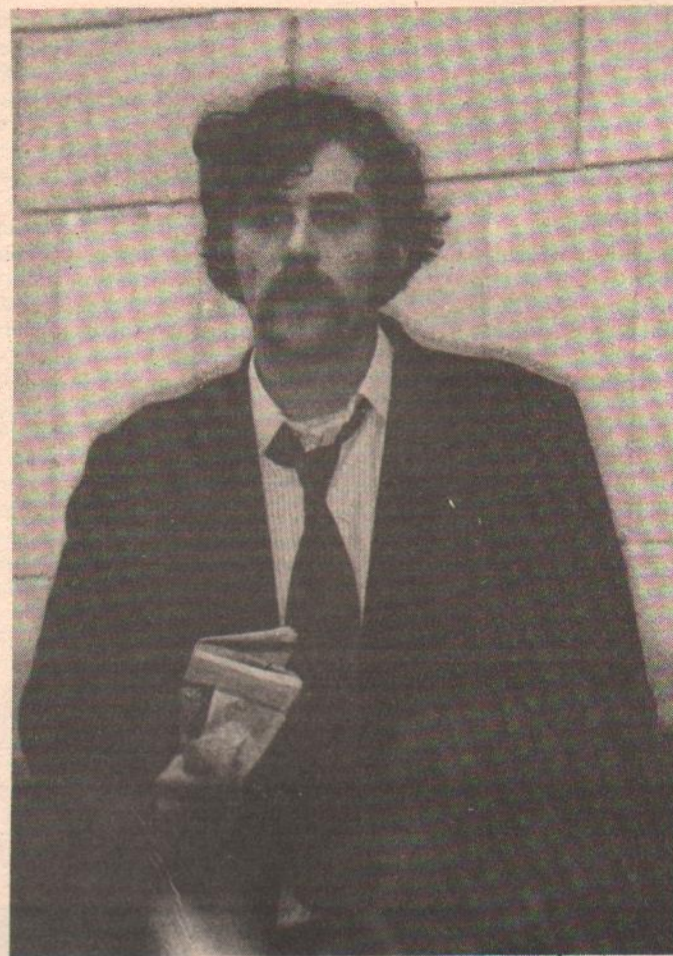
We will need a range of policies which are an alternative to the capitalist solutions of Labour, which those inside

and outside the trade unions and Labour Party can unite their struggle around. On wages we'll be fighting for an end to the Social Contract and a sliding scale of wages to keep up with inflation.

We want a total price freeze on all basic necessities. On the social services we'll be putting forward policies for the restoration of all cuts and for a crash programme of useful public works — which can also help to relieve unemployment. We'll be arguing for the nationalisation, under workers control, of all firms creating redundancies.

All these policies have to be put in the framework of the fight for workers control of the economy, which means fighting to break the power of the bosses throughout the economy. The two other themes of our campaign will be the fight against racism and for women's rights.

But isn't the IMG in favour of a Labour Government? How do you justify standing against Labour in view of this?



We are not in favour of a Labour Government for all time and in any circumstances. Today there is no realistic working class alternative to a

Labour Government. So we say 'for a Labour Government, but develop a fightback against that Government: start to build a working class opposition to its anti-working class policies'.

Too often in the past workers have put a brake on struggle because there is a Labour Government. We can't accept that. The best guarantee for the labour movement is not the existence of a Labour Government, but the fighting strength of the working class.

Standing a candidate against Labour could mean that Labour loses the seat.

But if that happens, the responsibility won't be with the IMG or any other socialist candidate. At the next general election Labour will probably lose many seats, but not because of socialist candidates but because of working class disillusionment with Labour's Tory policies.

If Labour loses Stechford of course it will try to pin the blame on socialist candidates, but the real responsibility will lie with those who have pursued pro-capitalist policies, and with those who have refused to organise a fight against those policies.

The 'moderate' prospective Labour candidate in Stechford supports Callaghan and Healey to the hilt, but would you stand against, for example a member of the Tribune group?

Michael Foot is a member of the Tribune group as are Booth, Orme and other ministers in the Government, all committed along with other Labour 'lefts' such as Benn to support the Government's policies. For us the left-wing speeches which these people sometimes make are no substitute for a struggle against the Social Contract — a struggle which does not base itself on manoeuvres in Parliament, but on organising mass action of the working class.

Few Labour candidates and virtually no Labour MPs have such a record. Indeed, few Labour MPs even have a consistent record of merely voting against the Government's anti-working class measures in the House of Commons.

Since the IMG announced a candidate in October, the IS (SWP) have announced a can-

The two candidacies are of a different character. The IMG started with the perspective of a 'class struggle' candidate, that is a candidate who could be agreed upon and supported by a wide range of individuals and organisations prepared to fight against the Government's policies. We would have supported such a candidate, even if that candidate didn't agree with the IMG on everything. But given the fact that the trade union and Labour Party leaderships have managed to derail any big struggle such candidates have not emerged from the mass movement.

So now we are putting up an IMG candidate, who will argue the IMG's programme, yes, but also fight for the perspective of a class struggle opposition. The SWP are completely opposed to such a perspective. All they have to say to workers is 'join us', that the SWP is the only way to launch a struggle.

Whereas the SWP will just be concentrating on building themselves, we shall be campaigning in favour of united campaigns of struggle — cuts action committees, anti-racist campaigns and so on. And we shall open up all our electoral meetings to participation and debate by all these forces, whether they support our candidate or not.

How many votes do you expect to get?

Very few. The best we can hope for is some hundreds. Only a very small minority of the working class is prepared to give its voting support to revolutionary socialists. But as I explained earlier, vote-getting is not the main aim.

The main aim is to utilise the local and national spotlight provided by this very important election to argue the class struggle alternative and to help organise a class struggle left.

Advertisement

IMG NOTES

- IMG 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.
- Extended IMG Irish Commission, 12/13 February, London.
- National IMG Anti-Racist Caucus, Sunday 13 February, 11am. All branches should send one delegate. Details of venue from National Centre.
- National IMG Teachers Commission, Sunday 20 February.
- National IMG Teachers Fraction, Sunday 27 February.
- IMG North-West NALGO School, for members and supporters. Saturday 5 February, 11am. At Manchester Regional Centre. For further details phone Manchester Regional Centre (238 2352).
- IMG Women's Liberation National Fraction. One representative per branch, pooled fare. Saturday 19 February, 10.30am.
- IMG National NAC Fraction. One representative per branch. Sunday 20 February, 10.30am.
- IMG School on the Family, for members and close contacts. Saturday 5 March, London. Further details of venue next week. Kits for the school (which include selections from Mitchell, Evelyn Reed and Gough, as well as the FI World Congress Document on Women's Oppression) are now available at £1. Order through branch organiser.
- 'Perspectiva Mundial' — new fortnightly 24-page journal in Spanish, which will cover news and analysis of the most important political developments around the world. Articles will consist of translations from *Intercontinental Press*, as well as material from Spanish language publications and features such as translations from the writings of Leon Trotsky. PM will be an invaluable aid for Spanish-speaking Trotskyists, and also those working with Latin American exiles. For a single copy, send 27p to Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1. For a subscription, send payment to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. £1 for 5 issues. £2 for 6 months (12 issues). £4 for 1 year (24 issues). Please print name & address when sending order.
- 'Socialist Review', new IMG bulletin, for sale to members, sympathisers and supporters of the IMG only. Contents include National Committee document on present conjuncture and the IMG's tasks; and document on the new-narrow. Plus documents on elections.

RACE RELATIONS ACT - An Attempt To Buy Off Black Struggle

'Legislation is the essential pre-condition for an effective policy to combat the problems experienced by the coloured minority groups and promote equality of opportunity and treatment. It is a necessary pre-condition for dealing with explicit discriminatory actions or accumulated disadvantages.' (White Paper on Racial Discrimination, September 1975)

Such is the thinking behind the establishment's approach to race relations in Britain — the view that parliamentary legislation is the key to racial harmony. A whole battery of legislation has been enacted in an attempt to prove this.

IMPOTENT

The first was the 1965 Race Relations Act, which set up the Race Relations Board and local 'conciliation' committees. The scope of the Act was very limited, and the bodies created were impotent.

Then in 1968 a second piece of legislation entered the statute books. This Race Relations Act attempted to cover such areas as unemployment, housing, publications and advertising, but again its ability to intervene decisively to halt discrimination and prejudice was limited.

Even when cases did reach the Race Relations Board, supposedly more powerful as a result of the 1968 Act, blacks received scant redress. For instance, in 1974 the amount of damages awarded to victims of racial discrimination ranged from £2 to £150, with the average settlement totalling the grand sum of £25.50.

The ineffectiveness of such institutions and legislation persuaded many blacks of the hope-

means of combatting racism. This pressured the parliamentary legislators into having yet another go — due to come into effect sometime in March or April.

Under the new Act the definition of unlawful discrimination now includes discrimination 'in effect'. It will also be unlawful for a club of more than 25 members to discriminate on the basis of race, colour, nationality and citizenship — although it seems it is now perfectly all right to discriminate against blacks in a club of less than 25 members.

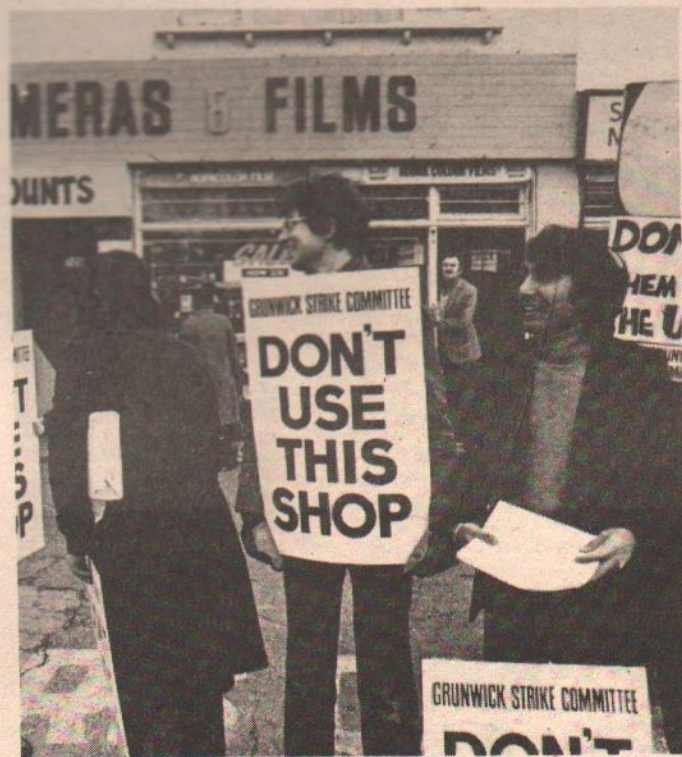
But the change which has attracted most publicity is that which makes it an offence to incite racial hatred publicly. It will no longer be necessary now to prove 'intent' in order to obtain a conviction, although any such prosecution will still need the approval of the Attorney General.

So is this legislation going to succeed where the rest has failed; indeed, can any legislation eradicate racism? Any serious look at the roots and nature of the oppression of blacks in Britain could only answer such questions in the negative.

The first reason is that the law does not address itself to the main problems confronting blacks. For instance, it does not relate to such matters as police brutality and harassment, or the worthless devaluing process that black kids experience in the educational system of this country.

PREJUDICE

Instead the basis of race relations legislation is the conception that the oppression of racial minorities is simply the product of racial prejudice, and that therefore



Strikers at the Grunwick film processing laboratory and supporters picketed this shop in Wembley as part of their campaign to ask chemists and customers to refuse to handle film with the trade name 'Grunwick' or of its subsidiaries 'Cooper and Pearson', 'Bonuspool' and 'Trucolour'. The first stage of the campaign was a day of action all over London last Saturday supported by London trades councils and SE Region of the TUC.

But this view fails to take into account the social and economic roots of racism; it cannot explain, and therefore cannot 'cure', why blacks suffer more unemployment, why they live in the worst housing conditions, why they are the chief targets for police brutality, why they receive the worst education.

The parliamentary legislators bears responsibility for the social and economic conditions which produce racism.

And when blacks themselves begin to stand up and organise themselves, then the parliamentarians and legislators will set up a whole series of judicial mechanisms to absorb such struggles. This is the real intention of the 1976

WHAT ATTITUDE TO 'INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY'?

OVER THE PAST few months, as the Government-appointed Bullock Commission has been quietly mulling over the array of evidence before it, 'industrial democracy' has erupted as the latest dogma in British politics, winning converts all the way from the TUC and the Labour Party, through the CBI and the Institute of Directors, to Maggie Thatcher and the right-wing Tory 'One Nation' Group.

How can this sudden 'discovery' and avowal of industrial democracy by such a wide range of political forces be explained? And what lies behind the sharp split in the Bullock Commission, and the bitter fight that seems to be shaping up between the Government and the main British capitalists over its proposals?

The concern with 'industrial democracy' stems from a simple source: the deep crisis of British capitalism, on the one hand, and the tremendous power of the British working class on the other.

Making up the vast majority of society, with its own powerful, united organisations formed over centuries, and with the rank-and-file exerting much more influence over these organisations (despite their often undemocratic nature) than elsewhere in the capitalist world, the working class can effectively block any proposed solution to Britain's economic problems if it mounts determined opposition

EROSION

Thus far this problem has been resolved by the combination of the Labour Government's readiness to carry out the necessary measures of expenditure cuts and pay restraint, and the agreement of the union bureaucrats to go along with the steady erosion of working class living standards they entail. But this scheme is wearing thin: it has only been sold to the workers as a 'temporary' belt-tightening, and they're getting pretty fed up with forking over hard-won gains to fill the coffers of capitalism.

It is generally accepted that the next round of pay talks must concede at least a partial return to 'free collective bargaining'. How, then, to ensure that this does not lead to a big working class offensive that undoes all the work of the past few years on behalf of the capitalists?

'Industrial democracy' is seen as providing the answer — but in different forms and for different purposes for at least two broad groups of its supporters. For its strongest advocates in the left of the Labour Government and the TUC, it is a method of associating the trade union movement with all the decisions that are going to have to be made to bail out British capitalism.

ACCEPT

It thus serves three functions: as a means of convincing the workers to accept further cuts in exchange for 'participation'; as a means of undercutting opposition to measures which the bureaucracy supports, by involving workers' representatives in them; and as a means of ensuring that the capitalists do not use the big concessions the bureaucrats are giving them to undermine the power of the workers organisations and grab everything they can get.

The capitalists' approach is well represented in the 'minority report' of the three industrialists who served on the Bullock Commission. They seek to confine workers' representatives to an upper-level 'supervisory board'; the management board beneath it can thus, if need be, modify or even sabotage its decisions in working out 'concrete implementation' of policy.

Workers' representatives will only make up one-third of the board, with one third representing shareholders, and another third chosen jointly by the two groups. The worker representatives will come from newly-created 'participation councils', independent of the union structures and elected by all company employees — shop floor workers (including non-union members), staff and managers.

The industrialists are also insistent that even this plan would not extend to the powerful banking and financial institu-

tions, so aware are they of the possible dangers of unveiling explosive facts and figures about capitalist dealings.

COMPROMISE

The proposals of the Bullock Report are a compromise between these two positions. On the one hand they accept the idea of the worker and shareholder representatives being 'balanced' by a jointly-chosen third group (their '2X+Y' formula), albeit not as large as the one-third the industrialists call for. On the other hand they accept the trade union view that worker representatives should be selected through trade union machinery. (And they also include the banking and financial sector.)

Given the intentions of the union bureaucrats in the first place, and the likelihood that the Labour Government will water the Bullock proposals down even further in the face of the industrialists' opposition, any scheme that comes forward for legislation is therefore likely to pose a serious challenge to the working class.

Thus far, opposition to these proposals inside the labour movement has taken two forms. Part of the right wing, such as the General & Municipal Workers Union, hold the view that worker representation should be negotiated 'flexibly' between unions and management. This is just a formula for avoiding a fight on the question and selectively capitulating to the bosses' schemes.

VIEW

More widespread is the view that rather than getting involved in management structures, the unions should, in the words of the Communist Party's submission to the Bullock Commission, work for industrial democracy 'through the further development of collective bargaining'. This is now the official view of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers — and also of the right-wing electricians' union EETPU.

The first thing to say is that this, coming from the leaderships of unions who haven't

even been prepared to defend the present scope of collective bargaining, is just hypocritical talk. But that aside, it has a certain validity.

The idea of defending the integrity and unity of the existing trade union movement and building and extending on this base is a sound one. The question is, if this is not just empty talk designed to sidetrack the issue, how is it to be achieved?

A correct response by the left to the issue of 'industrial democracy' is precisely the way of launching an effective fight to extend the field of workers' struggles. One of the original TUC proposals which everyone — including the TUC — seems to have conveniently forgotten was that in addition to 50-50 representation on the board, decisions could only be made if there was a majority of worker representatives in agreement.

UNITY

This provision would have stressed the unity of the worker representatives and prevented the bosses from getting their way through the manipulation of one or two workers. If coupled with free disclosure of company information to the workers movement (which the TUC originally advocated) and a proper system of democratic election, recallability and accountability through the trade unions (as advocated by bodies such as the Institute for Workers Control), this could create a situation in which regular 'collective bargaining' would take place over overall company policy.

One of the lessons of the past period should be that 'collective bargaining' — or more exactly the struggles between workers and bosses — can only be waged effectively in the midst of an economic crisis if they are extended to cover the whole question of the way in which companies, and the economy as a whole, are being run.

STRUGGLES

But in this, as in other questions, struggles are only as effective as the organisation which backs them up. A democratic

and accountable system of workers' representatives would be an important step. But as long as worker representatives are dependent on management structures for their information and advice, and for the implementation of policy, they will remain the hostages of the bosses.

A really effective representation of workers' interests can only arise if it is rooted in a fully-fledged system of workers control, in which workers are organised at all levels of the firm to collect information for their delegates, check on management claims, and supervise the implementation of policy decisions.

An effective, fighting programme for the defence of living standards is thus a necessary pre-requisite for real 'industrial democracy'. But the only way such a programme can be realised is if the workers movement is prepared to take the running of the economy out of the hands of the capitalists.

This would make the defence of living standards a real possibility and, equally, lay the ground for turning the defensive battles into a coordinated fight for socialism.

The left, then, should be working out and advancing its own long-term programme in response to the challenge of the Bullock Report and the CBI. It should include such measures as:

- ★ For full implementation of the original TUC proposals;
- ★ For free disclosure of all company information to the workers movement;
- ★ For the democratic election, recallability and accountability of all workers' representatives through the unions;
- ★ For the organisation of an independent and effective system of workers control at all levels of the firm;
- ★ For the preparation of a plan of action to defend workers' living standards;
- ★ For the coordination of workers' representatives to prepare a workers plan for the economy, and measures for its implementation under workers control.

CHRIS BALFOUR

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TROTS
by Max Morris

THE TRUTH ABOUT MAX MORRIS

WHEN THE education system is being massively attacked by the Labour Government, you might expect that a 1,300-word article in *The Times* by an executive member of the National Union of Teachers would mention the fact. But not when the author is Max Morris.

Max contented himself with a passionate exposure — not of the cuts, nor of teacher unemployment, nor of the attacks on progressive education — but of the way in which 'Trotskyist wreckers bend democracy'. An odd set of priorities, you might think, for the chairperson of the NUT's 'action committee'?

STAMPS

Not in the least, if you consider the way the NUT bureaucracy stamps on any action against the cuts that oversteps the narrow limits it imposes. For example, when teachers at Little Ilford tried to turn resolutions into action, Max and his fellow democrats went into a frenzy of activity — to stop them.

Working class democracy is not simply a formal question of procedures; it is a method of organising that repudiates manipulative stunts such as slanders and witch-hunting. But it is Morris — who left the Communist Party only a few months ago — who is always wheeled out whenever the bureaucracy wish to

collaboration with the Government.

They do so because he is a past master at borrowing from the 60-year-old ruling class repertory of lies and smears against revolutionary socialists in order to avoid debating its political arguments. He is an expert at substituting hysterical bourgeois demagoguery for free debate in the workers movement, and so it was no surprise when he followed up his *Times* article with another in the *News of the World* last Sunday.

But amid all the hypocrisies of his articles — such as the claim that 'the Trotskyites were in fact aiming to prevent any help being given to them (the Little Ilford teachers)' — a couple of arguments can be detected.

The first is that, whereas 'Trotskyites' clamour for democracy in the labour movement, their own organisations are run by a method of 'near-terror', and in secrecy. This is breath-taking cynicism from one who has never made any criticism of the Communist Party's practice in this regard, and who remained in it long after the Hungarian events.

CRONIES

Trotskyists deny to no-one — not even Morris and his cronies — the right to meet on their own to discuss their policies and action. But we also say that no representative of the workers movement should use his/her position to negotiate, or pretend to speak for the workers,

they say to their organisations.

In this Morris's record is scandalous. In the case of William Tyndale, despite the fact that the teachers had the support of their local association, and despite the fact that at that time the NUT executive had not discussed the case, Morris used his 'special relationship' with the media to go on television to attack the teachers.

Another of his 'arguments' is that Trotskyist policies are 'impossibilist', and therefore split the movement.

ATTACKS

But with the attacks on all aspects of education, it is Morris's own policies which seem not just 'impossibilist', but ludicrous. He manages to vote for a resolution demanding 'substantial' salary increases while at the same time refusing to oppose the Social Contract. He claims to be defending the education system while devoting most of his energies to fuelling the witch-hunt against progressive teachers singled out by the media.

So what are the fruits of the 'policies of the possible' Morris thinks so highly of? Twenty thousand teachers out of work; a further run-down in real salaries; a building programme cut almost to nothing. It is not so surprising that Morris is trying to sweep these facts under the rug with poisonous attacks on his



DEMOCRACY AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

LABOUR WITCH-HUNT: TIMES CHANGE FOR MICHAEL FOOT

TIMES HAVE CHANGED. Nearly twenty-five years ago, Michael Foot was editor of Tribune. Socialist Outlook, a Trotskyist paper within the Labour Party, had just gone weekly. 'I don't agree with many of the things that you say', wrote Foot to the paper, 'but in accordance with the good Socialist tradition which some Socialists seem to have forgotten, I will certainly fight for your right to say them.'

Twenty-five years later, Foot finds himself moving a resolution to set up an NEC committee of enquiry into 'entryism' in the Labour Party. And on this occasion, Tribune has nothing whatever to say!

Foot's resolution came in the midst of the NEC debate on a motion put by Tom Bradley. This resolution noted 'with concern' reports of entryist activities in the CLPs and instructed Reg Underhill to update his notorious report, which had first gone to the NEC over a year ago but was then 'laid on the table'.

But Eric Heffer has not forgotten the 'Socialist tradition' of opposing witch-hunts. He put an amendment removing the instruction to Underhill and inserting a clause which said that the reports were deliberately designed to damage the Labour Party.

Then in stepped Foot. He proposed that Heffer's amendment be accepted, but then substituted a new resolution for Bradley's proposal about the Underhill Report. This proposed the setting up of a committee of enquiry.

The original motion as amended was then carried unanimously, and Foot's motion was carried by 16 votes to ten. John Forrester, Renee Short and Barbara Castle were among those who voted with Foot.

Callaghan and Foot have been successful. They have cleared the first hurdle in preparing the attack on the far left. And they have been successful because of a series of compromises made by the left.

* The NEC compromised with the National Union of Labour Organisers (NULO). An impor-

tant victory was won with the appointment of Andy Bevan. But the NEC also recognised the NULO careerists' 'legitimate case' in the absence of any attempt by the left to put forward the only reply in the interests of party democracy: the proposal of a rule-change for the next Labour Party Conference which would establish the election of all full-time party officials.

* The left has failed to give a lead against the charges of 'infiltration'. Tony Benn's defence of Andy Bevan was welcome. But Benn simply defended the right of party members to hold the ideas they chose. He did not openly defend the right to organise.

* The left has not itself begun to organise against the Government's anti-working class policies.

The rank-and-file are totally opposed to the policies of the Government and its witch-hunting attempts to camouflage its responsibility for the forthcoming electoral disaster. The best defence in this instance is to take the offensive against the right wing. Organise to break the Government's Social Contract policies! Defend the right to organise!

WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING

The decision to set up a new enquiry into 'Trotskyist infiltration' of the Labour Party has given a real boost to the witch-hunters.

Shirley Williams and her like must not be allowed to have their way! The rank and file must speak out. When NULO defied conference decisions and placed their 'boycott' on Andy Bevan, the response from the constituencies was immediate. Within a week, over 20 resolutions reached Transport House from CLPs. The Executive Committee of Harlow CLP passed a resolution recommending withdrawal of cooperation from NULO members in their area until the black was lifted. Sheffield District Party, representing seven CLPs and delegates from trade union branches, opposed the NULO action and supported the appointment of Andy Bevan.

A similar response must meet the NEC committee of enquiry. A campaign of resolutions must flood the NEC. Letters to Labour Weekly, Tribune and other papers should be written

defending the right to organise. The Campaign for Labour Party Democracy* must be strengthened and won to a campaign against the witch-hunt.

As Linda Gregory, who moved the Sheffield resolution, told Red Weekly: 'This enquiry has been portrayed as a compromise in the best interests of the unity of the party. We've heard similar things in the past. No one should be fooled. This committee is a wolf in sheep's clothing. It's the pursuit of the witch-hunt by difference means. No one has proposed to "enquire" into why and how the Labour Government has totally betrayed conference decisions and carried out reactionary, anti-working class policies.'

'This enquiry must be thrown out. There must be no expulsions. We must defend the right of all currents within the party to organise in support of their policies.'

* CLPD, 10 Park Drive, London NW11. [Tel: 01-458 1501].

LEFT ACTION, a new bulletin for Young Socialists, was launched this week. Vincent Moss, of Hemel Hempstead LPYS and a member of the bulletin's editorial board, explains its significance.

The decision to launch Left Action marks a real step forward for Young Socialists. The leadership of the LPYS spends a great deal of time talking about the misery which capitalism brings on the vast majority of people, and about the need for socialism. But it has not turned the YS into an action-oriented campaigning organisation in the struggle for socialism.

With Left Action, Young Socialists will be able to reach out confidently to young people not yet members of the YS. They will be able to recruit new members on the basis of real Socialist campaigning activity.

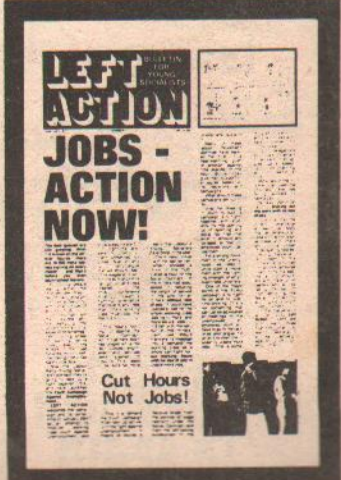
Up and down the country Left Action supporters will be able to get together and discuss what the branches and regions should be doing. Most important of all, at National Conference Left Action can act as a pole of attraction to YS members who are fed up with the 'talk-shop' politics of the leadership, and who see no alternative presented by the parliamentary perspectives of Clause 4.

At National Conference, Left Action supporters can present themselves as serious contenders for the YS leadership in the next few years. They can organise public meetings, produce a Conference bulletin, and sponsor a candidate for the position of YS representative on the Labour Party NEC. Anyone who considers themselves on the far left in the YS and who puts themselves outside

this task would be totally sectarian. Left Action will be calling a national supporters' conference on 21 May. This conference must be the target of the activities over the coming months.

By adopting a real campaigning style, and including democratic discussion in its pages, Left Action can ensure this conference is a major success.

New Bulletin for Young Socialists



Copies of Left Action can be obtained, price 10p (including postage) from: Linda Gregory, 7 Newman Road, Sheffield S9 1LP.

NAFF AND SOUTH AFRICA

Further to your article on the National Association for Freedom, the hypocrisy of their claim that they 'are not concerned to protect apartheid' has just been further exposed by the appearance of a £500 donation to NAFF in the company accounts of Consolidated Goldfields. This British-owned South African gold-mining company was able to boast not so long ago that the wages it paid to African workers hadn't risen in real terms since the First World War [for more details see the report on Consolidated Goldfields published by Counter Information Services]. Its donation can only be seen as a kind of award to NAFF for services rendered in defending investment in apartheid. — TOM MARTIN (London).



LETTERS

HOW TO FIGHT FOR LOWER FARES

I am writing to correct the wrong impression of the struggle against high London Transport fares which was given by the article 'Fare Fight — Up Against the Law' (Red Weekly, 13 January).

The number of bus and tube workers supporting 'Fare Fight' is in fact extremely small. There are two reasons for this. First, the deferred payment slips involve conductors in a vast amount of extra paper work which may have to be done in their own time, since there is a fixed time allocated for its completion.

Second, the approaches made to the unions concerned have been less than tactful, and have resulted in the alienation from the organisation 'Fare Fight' of many who support the principle of col-

lecting lower, or no, fares. Earls Court NUR and the former North London District Council of the NUR fall into this category. The precipitate and ill-informed actions of some 'Fare-Fight' supporters have made our struggles within the union for lower fares more difficult.

Finally, I can suggest one way in which the system can be effectively disrupted. When you pay an Underground fare to the ticket collector at the end of your journey, demand a receipt [which you have a right to]. The ticket collector [being paid this time] won't object, and the queues which will form will cause considerable congestion. — MARTIN EADY (NUR London Transport District Council).

150 attend first media forum

ON SUNDAY 23 January, the first of a series of open forums on the mass media in London organised by the IMG was introduced by Raymond Williams before an audience of 150. CARL GARDNER reports.

'The media does not operate by indoctrination. Indoctrination requires a much more controlled authoritarian situation than this one at this point something much more interesting than indoctrination begins to occur. And this is the process you have to analyse as the attempt to incorporate.'

Thus went the central thesis put forward by Raymond Williams after he had summarised in a very lucid way the specific growth of the British press and broadcasting in the last century and a half, compared to the USA and France.

PACKAGE

What then did Williams mean by 'incorporation'? One specific example he gave was the way in which the Daily Mirror adopted a 'radical' stance after the Second World War, primarily directed against the Tory remnants of the aristocracy. This played on the working class's dislike of such leaders without in any way cutting across the immediate class interests of the newspaper employers, part of the new, corporate capitalist class of the last thirty years.

Williams highlighted the capacity of the media for linking into a whole series of interests, needs,

and half-framed sentiments in the working class movement and presenting them as a 'package' with its own ideological content and political position subtly built in. Self-conscious attempts at indoctrination only take place on very specific issues.

Concluded Williams: 'We are faced with very specific phenomena of late capitalist society, which we are still describing in the terms of early capitalist society.'

In the ensuing discussion, many of the themes of future forums were touched on and sketched out. Some people maintained that the 'incorporation' process was simply a reflection of a more general process of social democratic incorporation of the workers movement under capitalism.

How then, asked another speaker, is it that the revolutionary left itself is often incorporated and neutralised on TV and radio? Williams himself had warned against believing that incorporation 'only happened to other people'.

But there appeared to be general agreement that the solution lay in challenging those institutions through a process of workers control. It is in a debate between this position and other possible strategies, such as gradual 'democrati-

sation' of the media or the building of 'alternative' structures [important as the latter were in the 1960s], that we hope much of the subsequent forums will be concerned.

• SUNDAY 6 February, 7pm: Paul Walton [co-author of Bad News] on 'The Mass Media and the Class Struggle'. London Film-Makers Co-op, 44 Fitzroy Road, London NW1 [Chalk Farm tube/Primrose Hill BR].

Healy and workers democracy

Like the organisers of and the speakers at the London meeting on Friday 14 January, I deplore the slanderous campaign currently being conducted against Joseph Hansen and George Novack by Gerry Healy and the Workers Revolutionary Party. I attended the meeting both to listen to the distinguished speakers and also to support its aims: 'For Workers Democracy, Against Frame-Ups and Slanders'.

However, I think that it was a serious mistake for the meeting to have refused Healy the opportunity to reply to speeches made against him. After nearly two hours of criticism Healy should have been allowed to respond in accordance with the requirements of workers democracy. After all, like it or not, the WRP still represents a current of thought in the workers movement, albeit a sectarian one of declining influence.

Furthermore, the coverage of the meeting in Red Weekly (20 January) was rather less than adequate on this point. 'At the close of Mandel's speech, Healy rose to speak accompanied by the yelling of WRP members' is the kind of thing I expect to read in the bourgeois press, but not in Red Weekly.

When it became clear that Healy was not going to be allowed to speak, it is true that a large number of people (surely not all of them WRP members) began to shout at the chairperson Tariq Ali. (Since discussion had been refused, in what other way were they supposed to communicate their views to him?) But what your article does not say is that they were pointing to the inconsistency involved in supporting free and open discussion in the workers movement yet denying Healy the opportunity of an immediate reply to the criticisms made.

In his opening remarks, Tariq Ali explained that the meeting was one of solidarity with Hansen and Novack and not for the purposes of discussion, and this was later used as a reason for not allowing

Healy to speak. But the speeches of Wohlforth, Lambert, Novack and Mandel were not only powerful responses to Healy's vicious campaign, but also stirring defences of the principles of workers democracy, and as such exposed the ill-founded nature of the chairperson's remarks. An otherwise excellent meeting was very regrettably marred by the fact that it did not practise one of the things which it preached. — BARRY WILKINS [Cardiff].

• In no sense can the refusal to allow Gerry Healy to speak be construed as a violation of workers democracy. Healy and his WRP have for months been quite freely purveying their slanderous rubbish through the length and breadth of the country with meetings, newspaper articles, and glossy publications. In all this the only infringements of workers democracy have been those perpetrated by Healy's hatchet-men, substituting slander for politics and denying opposing views the right of free expression.

The 14 January rally was organised with the specific purpose of redressing the balance in some small way, by allowing the victims and opponents of Healy's Stalinist methods to express their views. No attempt was made to restrict Healy's supporters from freely putting forward their position within this framework, and by selling their literature and distributing leaflets.

Healy's attempt to speak was clearly not a serious attempt to debate the issues. If he had really wanted this he would have approached the organisers beforehand and proposed a change in format of the meeting which could have been discussed with all those involved. Instead News Line merely labelled them all as 'accomplices of the GPU'. Faced with Healy's last minute attempt at a dramatic stunt, the chairman had no alternative but to pursue the course he did.

UNOFFICIAL SOVIET ART

Guest critic PAUL RUSSELL looks at the exhibition which has recently opened in London.

IT IS DIFFICULT to know what the art of a revolutionary democratic socialist state will be like. For the moment one can study the art of the 'Socialist Bloc' countries, where there are a number of styles and movements.

Yugoslavia, for instance, commemorates its revolution by a stunning thirty by seventy foot abstract concrete and aluminium sculpture. Poland holds an annual international exhibition of graphics at Cracow, which is now the world's best display of prints. Cuba produces posters making use of the best of Western visual design, and has even issued a series of postage stamps reproducing the abstract painting and sculpture of notable European and American artists (ironically no Western government has yet accorded these artists — their own — such distinctive popular recognition).

Just as this attitude towards avant-garde art reflects Yugoslavia, Poland and Cuba's more open society, so it comes as no surprise to find that the Soviet Union allows artists no latitude, and demands strict adherence to the formula of Socialist Realism.

GLORIFY

The aim of Socialist Realism is to reflect and glorify the people and the state, by depicting workers at their labour, the successes of the Red Army, school-children's achievements etc. It seeks to avoid the bourgeois values and mystification of Western art movements. A dignified and sound revolutionary programme.

But — and this is the nub of the problem — the Soviet Union is a degenerated workers state and, given a climate of cultural restrictions, its art cannot but reflect this degeneration. While it is true that a revolutionary artist's class duty is to glorify and uphold the proletariat, this duty in the Soviet Union is inextricably bound up with the patriotic duty of glorifying the state, and the nationalist duty of upholding Russian culture; with the result that Socialist Realism is but a passive reflection of selected aspects of Soviet society.

Art's potential for inspiring action and change is pointedly ignored; one only has to think of the dynamic and creative collective experiments of the Russian avant-garde painters between 1917 and 1924 or, more recently, the Paris students' stimulating poster campaign of 1968.



OSCAR RABIN — Still life with fish and Pravda 1968 (Oil on canvas).

So it is disappointing to find no sound or methodical critique of Soviet society in the exhibition of unofficial dissident Russian artists currently being held at the Institute of Contemporary Arts. At best this collection of mostly over-painted, muddled and indecisive artworks is a critique by default, since the Soviet Government has chosen to publicise the issue by over-reacting to an absurdly hysterical degree, and in so doing has lowered the whole argument to a stunted level of debate.

Witness a reviewer in the Moscow Evening News: '...Analysing the majority of these works, one is forced to diagnose their authors' spiritual collapse, or rather, evil intent resulting from their hostility to reality and Russian national culture.'

During one of the few tolerated exhibitions of unofficial art in

crossed-out frontier posts proved too much for the censor, and the tapestry was removed. A pity that the tapestry has not found its way here.

Of the artists exhibiting, I liked Boris Sveshnikov's drawings best. Sveshnikov spent eight years in a labour camp, where he was free to draw what he wished. He produced some gently surreal tragi-comic drawings depicting the irrational life which is so much a part of penal institutions.

When Oscar Rabin lost his official status as an artist he was shunted into a rundown Moscow suburb; here he incorporated the surrounding slums into his paintings, thereby earning further displeasure from the Moscow authorities. Ilya Kabakov is a fine draughtsman whose intellectual Pop art would be at home in any Western collection.

politicised situation (the expensive but well-documented catalogue gives a breath-taking account of the running battles between the artists and the Moscow authorities).

Naturally, bourgeois critics and commentators are making political capital out of the exhibition by pointing to the necessity of separating art from politics. Militant artists and critics should use this opportunity to emphasise the need for a politicised visual arts precisely in order to combat the Soviet philistines and the cynics from the Western art establishment and, more important, to rival drama and literature in their potential for stimulating mass revolutionary consciousness.

The exhibition continues until 27 February at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, Nash House, the

INTERNATIONAL

Volume 3 Number 2 Winter 1976
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Lessons of the General Strike

Denise Avenas
Trotsky's Marxism
PART 1

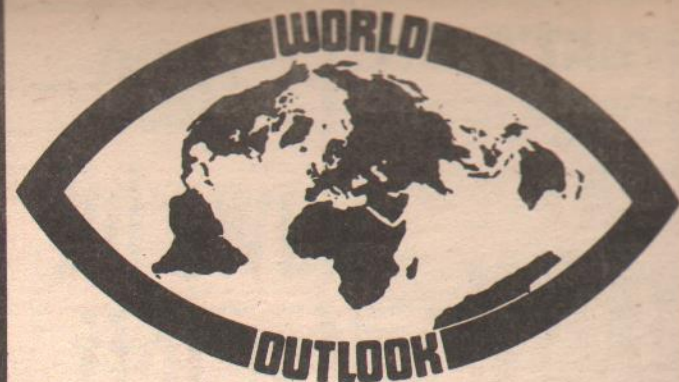


NATIONAL QUESTION IN SPAIN



'THE PROGRAMME WE NEED'
- IMG CONFERENCE DOCUMENT

WHY THEY FEAR CHARTER 77



★ ITALY

The first ever law permitting abortion was passed by the Italian Chamber of Deputies two weeks ago, as reported in the last issue of Red Weekly.

It was supported by the Communist and Socialist Parties but opposed by the Radical Party, which has been in the forefront of the campaign for free abortion on demand. The far left Proletarian Democracy deputies, who had proposed their own Bill, abstained.

The law permits abortion in the first 90 days of pregnancy if there is a threat to the physical or mental health of the woman. Later in pregnancy it would only be allowed if there was a threat to the



MAKARIOS

★ CYPRUS

The future of the Cypriot masses is still being decided over their heads. Makarios, the arch-survivor, and Denktash, self-styled President of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, have had discussions about reopening negotiations. Naturally there was no mention from either side of getting all foreign troops out of the country.

This comes in the same week as the publication by the Sunday Times of the findings of the Council of Europe report on Turkish atrocities in Cyprus. The Sunday Times details a horrifying catalogue of murder, rape, torture and looting. One example: a girl, aged six, was stabbed to death by Turkish soldiers attempting to rape her. There are still 25,000 Turkish troops on the island.

★ FRANCE

Paris cinema audiences are protesting volubly at cuts in the new film by Yves Boisset. A Paris court has imposed 19 cuts in the film *Le juge Fayard dit le sheriff*, which bears strong similarities to the 'unsolved' murder of Judge Renaud in Lyon in 1975.

Renaud, nicknamed 'the sheriff' like the judge in the film, had discovered links between SAC, the Gaullist paramilitary organisation, and organised crime. He was shot through the neck outside his house.

Every reference to SAC and their part in the murder of 'Judge Fayard' has been cut from the film, either by blank frames or bleeps on the soundtrack. Audiences, fully aware of the responsibility for the murder, are chanting 'SAC-SAC-SAC' throughout the gaps.

★ FRANCE

Three revolutionary left organisations have agreed on a common platform for the French municipal elections to be held on 17 March. The three organisations are the LCR [Revolutionary Communist League - French section of the Fourth International], Lutte Ouvrière [Workers Struggle], and the OCT [Communist Workers Organisation].

The platform is in clear opposition to the class collaborationist programme of the Union of the Left, formed by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals. It calls for the centralisation of the struggle against the austerity plan of the Bare Government and takes a unitary position towards the CP and SP. All three organisations see this electoral unity as a step towards the unification of the revolutionary left as a whole.

The full text of the joint platform is published in the latest issue of *Inprecor*.



New issue features Japan, W. Germany, Sri Lanka, etc. 40p [inc. p&nl from Red Books, 97 Cale...

they have to make a choice between allowing a contagious political instability (contagious in the sense that it would spread throughout Czechoslovakia, and then of course into Eastern Europe) and losing face on the international scene, then I think that they will risk the latter, as they have done several times in the past.

The preservation of the political status quo in their sphere of influence is the most important thing for them.

But the stated aim of Charter 77, and the widespread support it has in Czechoslovakia, limits the manoeuvring space that both Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have.

■ What response has there been to Charter 77 in other countries in Eastern Europe?

It is highly significant and encouraging — not just for the Czechoslovak opposition, but also for the future of the socialist opposition throughout Eastern Europe — that Charter 77 has got so much support from opposition groups in East European countries and in the Soviet Union.

Expressions of solidarity from the Soviet Union have been reported in the Western press, and the Hungarians sent a very clear-cut letter of support and solidarity — a letter in which they do not refer to the situation in their own country, but just in support of the Charter. Polish and Czech oppositionists have shown a fairly consistent interest in the developments in each others' countries over the

JAN KAVAN was a student leader and associate of Jiri Mueller in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s. He is now a director of Palach Press. Helen Jamieson and Mark Jackson asked him to explain the significance of the new Charter 77 movement.

■ What are the basic aims and positions of Charter 77?

It is a human rights manifesto based on the fact that on 13 October 1976 the Government published Law No. 120 (incidentally an immediate best-seller and no longer available in shops) which was the text of two UN covenants, on civil and political rights, and on social, economic and cultural rights.

It was signed by the Government in October 1968 and became legally valid in March 1976. The signatories of Charter 77 are just demanding that the Government fulfill its obligations.

The signatories of the Charter have stated that it is not a platform for political opposition, that it has no programme, membership, or structured organisation. It is a citizens' group whose chief aim is to force the Government to guarantee to the Czechoslovak people all civil and human rights. People who sign the Charter at the same time commit themselves to ongoing activity to win these demands.

■ This is the first public protest by a broad spectrum of people since the action around the election leaflet in 1971. The signatories of the Charter must have considered that they would have mass support, which would defend them against the authorities.

The signatories go right across the political and social spectrum of society. Socially — intellectuals, writers, journalists, historians, workers, technicians, ex-students, have signed it; politically — for the first time support ranges from purged Communist Party members like Dr Kriegel, Mlynar, Silhan, to intellectual liberals, democrats, to Christians (mainly Protestants), to Trotskyist groups, ultra-left groups, groups like the Plastic People of the Universe; age-wise it cuts across generations.

Geographically too it seems that for the first time it is not just based in Prague but also in other towns, although there is a noticeable lack of Slovaks — a situation which I believe will partially be remedied in the near future.

One should not forget another important aspect, something which underlines the claim that this is not an opposition group in the classical sense — among the signatories are people who were never persecuted after 1969, people who still have important, well-paid jobs to lose.

Charter 77 can to a certain extent be seen as the culmination in united action of protests by individuals and groups over the last nine years, sparked off and encouraged by the Helsinki Agreement and the present international situation. The combination of the Berlin conference of European CPs, the Helsinki conference, and the various statements made by the Spanish, Italian, French, British and other CPs, all creates an atmosphere where a number of people are encouraged to join in activities such as Charter 77.

■ How widely known is the text of the Charter, and to

To answer your question is very difficult, because it is impossible to know how many samizdat copies of the Charter are circulating. But the Government has helped in its own way by not ignoring the Charter but instead organising a vicious hysterical campaign, using the mass media every day, using the Party and trade union organisations at all levels to support government propaganda, and attempting to get an enormous amount of signatures by individuals or collectives to condemn the Charter.

The way in which the regime obtains resolutions condemning the Charter is revealing. For instance, when the newspapers published a resolution from a mass meeting at the Prague CKD factory, which has 14,000 workers, they forgot to mention that the meeting itself was only attended by 22 of them.

On other occasions no meeting has been held at all, and the director has simply signed on behalf of the whole

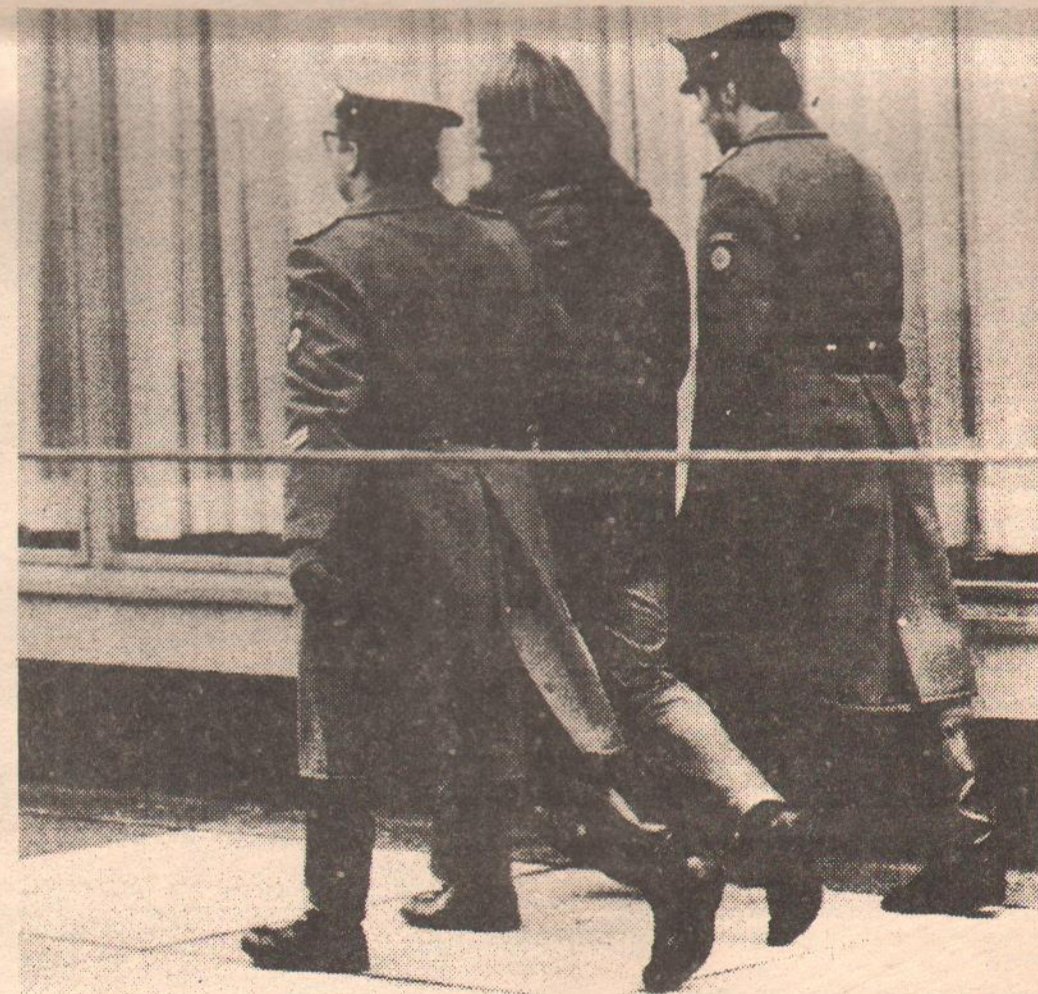
longer each day. According to a report a week ago, the number was about 400 signatures. It is quite feasible that by the time of the Belgrade conference in June there will be several thousand.

■ What have been the different forms of repression used against signatories?

The Government's reaction came immediately in the form of a widespread hysterical denunciatory campaign in the mass media, and in the form of harassment, intimidation, detentions and arrests. The intention is to try to get signatories to retract their support, and to frighten off others from signing it. Reports indicate that up to now about 180 people have been interrogated, many of whom have been detained several times.

■ Can you say a few words about what you think the Soviet Union's attitude is to the Charter?

Here I can only refer to reports



factory or institution. Furthermore, the many people who have asked to hear the text of the Charter they are supposed to condemn have been attacked for showing a lack of trust in the Party, and have even been threatened with losing their jobs.

In any event, the result of this press campaign is that everyone knows that the Charter exists. Furthermore, the newspapers frequently name some of the well-known signatories and attack the Charter's aims. If you read papers carefully, and the Czechs and Slovaks are well-trained in reading between the lines, the majority of people would be able to deduce the main aim of the Charter.

• How many signatories does the Charter have now?

in the Western press that some important members of the Soviet embassy in Prague met with Czechoslovak Party leaders shortly after the Charter appeared. Reports indicate that the Soviet Union's attitude was that the authorities should nip the movement in the bud, crush it before it has a chance to grow.

On the other hand, I find it difficult to believe that the Soviet Union would want to endorse public persecutions of the Charter, such as widespread trials with heavy prison sentences. The Soviet leaders would probably prefer it if the Czechoslovak Government could deal with the movement by using sacking methods instead of publicised nasty political trials.

I must admit I don't know

woman's life. The decision on these criteria rests with the doctors, who are entitled to refuse an abortion on religious grounds.

A further restriction is the large number of church-run hospitals in relation to state facilities. Also women may have state abortions refused by doctors who are making money by performing backstreet abortions.

Even these limited gains seem likely to cause a big political crisis. Some Catholic rightists are demanding a referendum. But after getting their fingers burnt on the divorce referendum, the Christian Democrats will not want a repetition.



★ CHINA

Strange bedfellows for Underhill, Morris, Williams et al. After accusing Chiang Ching of emulating Scarlett O'Hara, Peking radio has finally levelled the inevitable accusation of Trotskyism at the 'Gang of Four'.

Their plan to usurp power over Mao's deathbed was apparently modelled on Trotsky's anti-party activities while Lenin was dying. Native Trot-hunters are referred to 'The Concise History of the Soviet Union' published under Stalin which, as you would expect, gives

WHAT'S ON

Deadline: 5pm, Saturday before publication. Rates: 2p per word except for general movement events.

NAC DISCO: Sat. 5 Feb., with live band 'The Transcriptions'. 8pm-1.30am at The Basement, Shelton St., WC1. 75p. Mixed.

'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.

WOMEN'S OPPRESSION Under Capitalism: A Revolutionary Communist Group public meeting to launch Revolutionary Communist No 5, which contains a major analysis of the position of women in capitalist society. Speakers: Olivia Adamson, Carol Brown. Friday 4 Feb. 7.30pm, Small Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (Holborn tube).

BRISTOL Red Weekly supporters Socialist Forum every fortnight. Tues 8 Feb. 'Why we need a revolutionary women's movement'. 7.30pm, Baptist Mills Centre, Horley Road, St Werburgh's.

SOCIALIST ACTION — New quarterly magazine by the League for Socialist Action. Includes articles on 'Racist Offensive', 'Struggle for Abortion Rights', 'Crisis in South Africa', 'The Transitional Programme Today'. Available in all leading bookshops or from LSA, 58 Auckland Road, SE19. 25p + 11p postage.

NAC National Conference and meeting of socialist current of women's liberation movement in London on 'Women and Unemployment', 19/20 March.

BENGLI 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.

NAC National Planning Meeting, Sat 12 Feb.

'ONE YEAR On From the Sex Discrimination Act': public meeting organised by Hammersmith WWC group. Speakers include: Pat Turner (GMWU), Ann Holmes, Ernie Roberts. Songs from Broadside Mobile Workers Theatre. Thurs 10 Feb. 7.30pm, Swan pub, King St/Hammersmith Broadway. Creche provided.

SOCIALIST Teachers Alliance open planning meeting to discuss next STA conference. Sun 6 Feb, 10.30am, Caxton House, St John's Way, N19.

WALES Day Conference of Campaign Against A Criminal Trespass Law: Sat 5 March, 11am-5pm, Miners' Hall, Merthyr Tydfil. For details and booking form, contact CACTL Conference in Wales, c/o AUEW/TASS, 18 Anne's Close, Merthyr Tydfil, Mid-Glamorgan. AUEW National Broad Left Conference: 10.30am-4pm, Sun 6 Feb, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham.

ENGINEERING VOICE Social: 8-11.30pm, Friday 11 Feb, Golden Eagle, Hill St, Birmingham. Bar and disco. All welcome.

BIRMINGHAM Trades Council Conference on Racism: Sat 19 Feb, starts 10.30am, Digbeth Civic Hall. Credentials from Birmingham Trades Council, Ruskin Buildings, 191 Corporation St, Birmingham.

SOUTH LONDON Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law public meetings: Mon 7 Feb, 7.30pm, Waterloo Action Centre, 14 Baylis Road, SE1 — film 'Occupy' plus speakers J. McPherson-Quinn (AUEW) and M. Duggan (South Bank SU); Weds 9 Feb, 7.30pm, Deptford Town Hall, New Cross Rd, SE14 — speaker Mike Taylor (NUPE).

ETHIOPIAN Cultural Evening: Fri 18 Feb, 7pm onwards, at the LSE. Organised by British Ethiopian Information Group and LSE Afro-Asian Society.

AFRICA IN STRUGGLE: new issue (No. 4) out this week. 25p plus p&p from 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

PORTUGAL/CHILE/BRAZIL: Popular power! popular culture. 3-day festival, 18/19/20 February at Conway Hall and The Other Cinema, London. Special all-inclusive ticket for £2 available only in advance by post from: Portugal/Chile/Brazil, 54 Bruce Road, London E3.

DARLINGTON Red Weekly readers' meeting: 'The Labour Government's Attack on Democratic Rights'. Speaker: Derek Stainsby-Tron. Darlington Public Library, Tues 8 Feb, 7.30pm.

BIRMINGHAM Working Women's Charter Campaign day school on women's rights. Hear Jean Coussins (NCCL) and local women trade unionists. Witness a mock tribunal. Sat 5 Feb, 11am-4.30pm, Friends Meeting House.

FIGHT THE CUTS in the NHS: public meeting, Thurs 3 Feb, 7.30pm, in Basement Theatre, Town Hall Extn, Manchester. Speakers: Pam Jones (EGA), Berry Beaumont (SMA), Sue Arnell (WWC) and local speaker from Withington Hospital.

'WHICH WAY for the Working Women's Charter Campaign?' The WWC will be holding their National Conference in London on 21-22 May. Venue to be announced later. All enquiries to 1a Camberwell Grove, London SE5 (01-701-4173).

WORK REVOLUTION public forum: 'Unemployment and the Cuts; the Workers Response'. St Matthew's Hall, St Mary's Rd, Southampton, 2.30pm, Sat 12 Feb.

BATTLE OF IDEAS — IMG public meetings: Tues 8 Feb, 'Zimbabwe Forum', with Ignatius Chigwendere (ZANU) and Brian Slocock (IMG). 7.30pm, Room C101A, Clarendon Building, LSE, Houghton St, WC2.

FOUR DAYS of Marxist discussion on the Soviet Union: on the class character, Stalinism, political economy, women, state power, social structure, change. Organised by Critique. Speakers include: Hillel Ticktin, Mick Cox, David Law, Sandy Smith, Alix Holt, 4-7 April, Central London. Registration limited. Write for further details to:

Franco laws hit far left

The Suarez Government, supposedly the guardian of democracy in Spain, has seized on the right-wing terror as a pretext to bring back many of the most vicious weapons of the dictatorship.

The anti-terrorist law, under which most of the 200 remaining political prisoners were convicted, has been re-enacted; and habeas corpus, the protection against imprisonment without charge, has been suspended. The massive police round-up allowed by these increased powers was directed almost exclusively against the far left.

The first round of arrests — 130 at the end of last week — was directed against our comrades of the LCR among others. Over the weekend the detentions have concentrated on the PTE (Labour Party of Spain) and the ORT (Revolutionary Workers Organisation), two Mao-centrist organisations, and the OIC (Communist Left Organisation), a revolutionary group.

It is interesting that the arrests have been concentrated in the south and central regions of the country. The last time the dictatorship tried mass arrests was in December in the Basque country. Immediate strike action and mass demonstrations forced the release of the 154 Trotskyist detainees.

SOLIDITY

Already it has been the Basque and Catalan workers who have shown the greatest solidarity in their response to the Government and fascist terror in Madrid. It is unlikely that the Government wants to take them on at the moment.

The arrests inscribe a massive question mark over the policies of the Communist Party (PCE) and of the Maoist groups themselves. Throughout the crisis of the past week both have more or less committed themselves to supporting the Government initiatives. If they are effectively to defend their comrades, the Maoists will have to drop their project of alliance with the 'progressive' bourgeoisie and organise mass working class action.

It is clear that the Communist Party will organise no such action itself. In the past week it made a call for a one-day strike for the funeral of the murdered lawyers — a call which was heeded by hundreds of thousands — but has organised no systematic or prolonged actions. Indeed, it has told workers to stay off the streets.

STRIKE

Not surprisingly it has been in the areas where the far left is strongest that the actions have been most sustained. In Catalonia 300,000 workers came out on strike and a massive demonstration coincided with the funeral of



'MARI LUZ, your faculty comrades will not forget you.'

To die in Madrid

ARTURO RUIZ GARCIA: Police and right-wing thugs attacked an amnesty demonstration in the Plaza Santa Maria Soledad on Sunday 23 January. The Times reporter saw a group of fascists armed with clubs beating up demonstrators. Arturo Ruiz was one of a group threatened by four newly dressed young men. They shouted, 'We have come to kill

you sons of whores', and fired two shots at Arturo at point blank range.

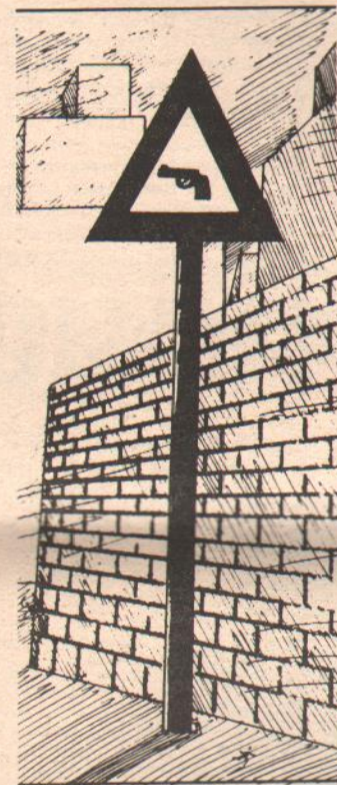
MARIA LUZ NAJERA JULIAN: The following day a further demonstration was attacked by the police. A tear gas canister was fired at Mari Luz at point blank range. She was taken to hospital in a coma and died three hours later with multiple fractures of the

cranium.

LUIS JAVIER BENAVIDES, SERAFIN HOLSADO, FRANCISCO JAVIER SAUQUILLO, ENRIQUE VALDEVIRA, ANGEL RODRIGUEZ LEAL: On 25 January two masked men in green trenchcoats burst into the office of a group of Workers Commissions lawyers at Calle Atocha 55. They shouted 'look at us' and opened fire at the

lawyers' faces with machine pistols. Four were killed instantly, one died later in hospital.

Responsibility for these murders and the murder of Arturo Ruiz was claimed by the Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance, named after the Argentinian Triple-A organisation. There are strong indications that Argentinian fascists were involved in this slaughter.



the lawyers in Madrid. In Galicia there were strikes in the industrial centres despite the protestations of the PCE.

It was again the Basque working class which demonstrated the most sustained solidarity. All the big factories of Bilbao's left bank — Babcock and Wilcox, General Electric, La Naval and Altos Hornos — were brought to a halt. On the right bank and in San Sebastian and Pamplona the story was similar. All these actions went beyond the narrow reformist framework of the PCE. That is what is needed if the state of siege is to be broken.

'GRAPO' uses US guns

Two months ago Antonio Oriol, President of the Council of State, was kidnapped by an organisation calling itself the Revolutionary Anti-fascist Group of the First of October — GRAPO. Before Christmas Red Weekly pointed out the very shady background to this organisation. Its only previous actions were the bombings last July, which have been established as provocations of the extreme right.

We indicated the long record of the Spanish police and extreme right in carrying out such provocations. It is also surprising that the police, normally so efficient at rounding up 'terrorists', have made no progress in tracking down the kidnapers. It is now generally accepted that GRAPO has no connection with the left. The Madrid daily El Pais claims to have conclusive evidence linking GRAPO to the fascists.

Even more strange than the easy and unimpeded kidnapping of General Emilio Villacusa, President of

the Supreme Military Court, is the killing of three policemen last Friday.

This was intended to look like revenge for the murder of the Communist lawyers earlier in the week. In fact this second action bore all the hallmarks of the first. The highly professional murder technique was the same; shots to the head first, followed by the torso being riddled with bullets. But above all, each killing was done with the same gun.

The gun is unique. It is called the Muruetta, produced in small numbers by the US Government and not on sale on the world market. It is pistol-sized, with an additional charge in the handle, and can be used for rapid automatic firing with an effective silencer. This was the gun used to kill the lawyers and the policemen.

Left-wing guerrillas supplied with American arms?



GUTIERREZ MELLADO, 'liberal' deputy premier, scuffles with fascists at the funeral of the three policemen.

'Gora Euskadi Askatuta!'

AT QUARTER PAST NINE on the evening of 20 January, an unfamiliar sight greeted the people of the town of Garay, near Bilbao. For the first time since the fall of Bilbao in the summer of 1937 the Ikurrina, the Basque flag, was raised over the town hall.

Three hours later, 20,000 people crowded into the old quarter of San Sebastian, elbowing their way through the narrow streets to the 18 July Square where the Ikurrina was to be raised. 18 July was the date of the fascist uprising in 1936.

The old quarter, where gaudy tourist shops jostle with left-wing bookshops and cafes, was still scarred by recent fascist attacks. The workers and residents of the neighbourhood still maintain their self-defence squads to see off the threat from the police whether in their grey or green uniforms or with the fascist armbands of the Guerrillas of Christ the King and the Adolf Hitler Commando.

WALLS

The walls are a battleground for graffiti painters. Every morning the police black out 'Gora Euskadi

the square when the criss-cross flag of red, white and apple-green was raised.

The crowd chanted 'Amnistia, Libertad' and, defiantly, 'Gora Euskadi Askatuta'. Then people started to jump up and down shouting: 'Anyone who doesn't jump is a fascist.' Everyone jumped. This night, unlike most, there were no arrests, no machine guns, no Basques dead on the streets.

The Civil Guard could be permitted a certain nervousness at seeing the Ikurrina flying over an official building. In the past many have died as they detonated booby traps by pulling down provocatively placed Basque flags.

The Ikurrina has become a symbol of the whole resistance of the Basque people to Francoism. But, unlike the broad blue diagonal band of Galicia or the red and yellow stripes of Catalonia, it is a

BY RICHARD CARVER

exclusively the preserve of those bourgeois nationalists who had capitulated so easily before Franco. It was the PNV Government of the Autonomous Basque Republic which betrayed thousands of Basque militia fighters to the Italian army at Santona in 1937.

The mayors (appointees of Franco) who met Interior Minister Rodolfo Martin Villa to negotiate the legalisation of the flag are also members or sympathisers of the PNV.

The enthusiasm of the crowds in San Sebastian, which drowned out the mayor's speech, was not over a mere flag. The bulk of the Basque working class, half of whom do not even speak the Basque language, are not nationalists in any sense. What is at stake is the fight for the democratic right of the Basque nation to self-determination — and that means the right to

aries and the vanguard of the workers movement — rather than from the nationalists of the PNV. Since the 1920s the bourgeois nationalists have not demanded the right to self-determination, but autonomy within the Spanish state.

The Basque mayors' deal with Martin Villa was part of that strategy. Both parties to the agreement hope that symbolic concessions will be enough to divert the struggle for national democratic rights.

The problem, from their point of view, is that the people assembled in 18 July Square know exactly what they are up to. Few are taken in by the limited political concessions which the Suarez Government might make after the fake elections. The PNV and the Communist and Socialist parties, on the other hand, seem quite happy with them.

In this case it is the demands of the Trotskyists for a national Constituent Assembly which have been taken up by the masses, for example in the Manifesto of the

PNV is riding high on a wave of popularity among the middle layers of society, the shopkeepers and small farmers. But as the implications of the Government's real plans for the Basque country and the collaboration of the PNV become apparent, it is unlikely that these people will maintain their allegiance.

Two hundred political prisoners, most of them Basques, are still held by the dictatorship. Young Basques are daily picked up by the police, bound, beaten and half drowned in baths of filthy water. Fifteen-year-old Juan Miguel Iglesias was murdered by police in Sestao a fortnight ago.

These are the simple facts which Julio Jauregui, the PNV representative now negotiating with the Government, has forgotten. The masses in the old quarter of San Sebastian, whether they are nationalists or socialists, have not.

In the general strikes of last year, and when the fascists attacked, it was not the PNV which organised democratic self-defence squads but the people themselves.

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

Northern Ireland Secretary of State Roy Mason went to Dublin last week to tell the Southern Coalition that British rule in the Six Counties was 'proving beneficial'. His statement caught the headlines in the Irish papers the following day, sharing the front page with the latest unemployment figures. As usual the latter recorded a rise in the number of registered unemployed to over 57,000 in January, ensuring that Mason's statement would be greeted with a healthy cynicism. One of the

prime motivations for maintaining the British link which has been advanced by Unionist politicians in the past is that British subsidies provide a standard of living comparable to that on the British mainland; but it is an argument seldom heard today as the number of jobless continues to rocket upwards.

For while the crisis of the capitalist system has meant bitter hardship for workers' families throughout the 'UK', its effect in the North of Ireland has been out of all proportion. One report by the Housing Executive towards the end of last year disclosed that more than 150,000 families in the Six Counties were living below subsistence level, and more than one third of 'heads-of-households' have net weekly incomes of £25 or less.

The impoverished picture of life here has also been startlingly detailed with the recent publication by the Child Poverty Action Group of the results of a survey they have just carried out into the standard of living of Northern Irish people under British rule. Their pamphlet, Poverty: The Facts in Northern Ireland, records that:

- a staggering 35.5 per cent of all households are living below the poverty line, and this figure is constantly increasing as unemployment and inflation continue to rise.
- wages are lower than in Britain by an average of £5 per week.
- in 1974, 24 per cent of male workers and three quarters of female workers earned less than £30 per week.
- the price of basics such as food, fuel and transport is much higher than

in Britain; electricity charges are as much as 35 per cent higher, while gas is up to one-and-a-half times more expensive.

- one person in seven has to claim supplementary benefit of Family Income Supplement in an attempt to make ends meet.

- in 1974, claimants in Britain were twice as likely to get Exceptional Needs Payments as claimants in the Six Counties. [These payments are made to the long-term unemployed to cover such things as clothes, high heating costs, etc. Anyone in Britain who has tried to claim such a payment will know that it is harder to succeed with such a claim than it is to light a match in a basin of water].

Mason and his government cronies have been busy telling foreign investors that the strike rate in the North is only about half that in Britain, and that 'for every company that experiences financial or labour difficulties here, there are scores and scores of factories that keep going with a happy disciplined workforce and with a profitable balance sheet'. What has been much less publicised are the harsh conditions of existence for working class people that help guarantee these profits!

The CPAG pamphlet, by gathering such a wealth of material between two covers, is to be welcomed for beginning the task of making these conditions widely known, and exposing that British rule 'is proving beneficial' not for workers but only for the bosses. For the workers of the North of Ireland there can be no expectation that they will ever enjoy the benefits of their labour until they organise to end the 'British rule' so treasured by the capitalist class.

Why Ireland won't go away

ON MONDAY 24 January, while queuing to observe the Balcombe Street siege trial, Michael Maguire, Finbar Kissane and Maire Kissane were arrested outside the Old Bailey under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and subsequently interrogated for 24 hours. All three are members of the London branch of Sinn Fein.

Later that day, in the Old Bailey itself, three of the accused in the Balcombe Street trial refused to plead on 25 counts of bombing and murder because the indictment did not include the Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings — for which, they claimed, three men and a girl had been wrongly convicted last October on the flimsiest of evidence. At that trial all the accused had stated that their 'confessions' had been beaten out

of them by the police, and all four have insisted on their innocence ever since.

Then, in the early hours of last Saturday, 13 minor explosions shook the West End of London, the day before the anniversary of 'Bloody Sunday'. On that anniversary itself, what must be judged as a relatively small demonstration took to the streets in London to demand 'troops out now'.

By the end of the week, no-one could say that the war in Ireland does not have its consequences in the mainland.

Inevitably it was the bombings which were given the most space in the ruling class press. The statements that innocent people were serving life imprisonment for crimes they did not commit re-

ceived scant mention.

That the PTA had been used yet again against members of a recognised political organisation was hardly acknowledged. But when the 'mad bombers' returned to London, huge hysterical headlines were the order of the day.

As always, the newspapers reported that it was a 'miracle' that no-one was killed by the bombs — although the small amounts of explosives used, and the timing of them, suggests that there was a conscious attempt not to cause fatalities. And, of course, by Belfast standards, the explosions were minor affairs indeed.

Having said that, no revolutionary socialist can approve of the bombings, and the assumption must be that Irish Republicans were responsible for them. Yet again those Republicans have shown that they have no conception of the tactics to adopt in this country which could assist the aim of their struggle — the withdrawal of Britain from Ireland.

But likewise neither will moralistic indignation over the bombings, or the raising of the slogan 'stop the bombings', aid the Irish people in their struggle for liberation and self-determination. As on similar occasions in the past, the first job of working class militants is to explain why the bombings took place.

The answer can be found every day in the streets of Belfast, Derry and elsewhere in the North of Ireland, as the British army of occupation goes about its daily routine of beatings up, harassment, raids. In one sense, what is remarkable is that the Irish Republicans commemorate the anniversary of the murder of 14 civilians in Derry five years ago as bloodlessly as they did in London.

There is one further explanation for the West End bombs. The tactics behind them are based on the assumption that the more bombings there are, the more the British public will get weary of the Irish war and demand 'our boys' be brought home so that the 'paddies' can fight it out.

But Irish Republicans tend to think along those tactical lines because an alternative way of mobilising opinion against the war has not materialised. They can see by the smallness of 'troops out' demonstrations, by the apparent apathy in most of the labour movement towards the Irish war, that the tactic of appealing to the working class to mobilise in favour of Irish self-determination has

borne little fruit.

Although the ultimate conclusions drawn are wrong, there is no doubt that the working class movement in this country does carry its share of responsibility — especially those of its 'leaders' who have recently rushed like flies to cow dung to support the pro-Army, pro-RUC 'Peace Movement'.

But when the 'Peace People' came to London recently, they were greeted by a demonstration called by the Peace Through Freedom Committee. That demonstration was a success because those organising it had agreed to sink their political differences and build the counter-demonstration on a united front base: that is, putting the movement before any 'party

building' interests. It was also a success because the demand 'troops out now' was stressed.

The need to agitate, educate and organise on the Irish issue remains essential. There are still many within the working class mass organisations who are willing to join such work if an attractive enough opportunity presents itself.

The bombings, the revelations at the Old Bailey Trial, the continued use of the PTA, make the promotion of that opportunity all the more urgent. Not because this may or may not 'stop the bombings'; but because, as the old slogans say, 'Ireland Unfree Will Never Be At Peace' and 'A Nation That Enslaves Another Can Never Itself Be Free'.



Photo: MARK RUSHER (IFL)

CHALLENGING THE 'PEACE PEOPLE'

The 'Peace People' may be turning into something of a spent force in Ireland, but they are still capable of attracting large audiences of clerics and well-meaning liberals in Britain. Last Tuesday they drew over 120 people to a meeting in Darlington, a town not known for its interest in Irish affairs.

We knew we were in for an interesting night when one of the Peace Movement supporters told a comrade that he 'ought to be shot' for handing out leaflets calling for the withdrawal of troops from Ireland. Inside the meeting, Sadie

Local IMG members repeatedly questioned the role of British troops in Ireland and the role of the RUC and UDR. 'We support the Army. They are the only ones we've got', Mrs Martin shouted at us.

A couple of speakers from the floor called for a civil rights movement and a mass, non-violent campaign around social issues. We pointed out that such a campaign had existed in 1968 — only to be crushed by the security forces of the sectarian Northern Irish state. At this Mrs Martin exploded. It was Bernadette Devlin

for many of the audience, and the discussion wandered off onto whether or not children of both denominations should be encouraged to play games together on Sundays, with a small majority opposed since 'The Lord's Day must be kept holy'.

But despite a call to the rest of the left in Darlington, the IMG was the only group present to challenge the Peace People's ideas and lay the responsibility for the violence in Ireland on the forces of the British Crown. It is the duty of socialists throughout Britain to present their alternative whenever

Well, comrades, we didn't make our January target — in fact, together with the December deficit, we are now behind by £3,072.51. Perhaps we can put it down to Christmas and the New Year festivities but, as someone once said, 'The party's over' — and unless the money starts to come in soon that could take on a double meaning.

So far our donations and standing orders amount to £1,927.49. The area currently leading the way in raising money for the Fund Drive is North London — but will they still be out in front this time next month? Socialist competition rules, OK?

To reach our total of £15,000 by May we want to notch up £2,500 each month. This means that we have to raise £5,572.51 by the end of February in order to catch up. That sounds a lot, but with many IMG branches organising special fund-activities this month we feel confident of a big response. Go to it, comrades!

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N. London supporters	£166.89	L of Scotland	£20.00
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			AH	Sheffield	3.00	KG	Portsmouth	2.50
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			K.J.	Birmingham	80.00	C.V.G.	London	4.00

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RICHARD'S PIPE DREAM GOES UP IN SMOKE

NO-ONE WAS SURPRISED when Ian Smith finally told British Zimbabwe negotiator Ivor Richard where to get off, though you might have thought so as Richard floundered around like a wounded hippopotamus. It has been clear all along that Smith has his own personal interpretation of majority rule [or African rule as he prefers to call it, on the grounds that he is an African himself]. It is also apparent now that the 'Kissinger proposals' which brought Smith to the Geneva conference bore little relation to the British plan.

Smith hoped to use the talks to conceal his increased military operations, which have been striking at nationalist guerilla camps in Mozambique. This tactic has been remarkably successful, mainly because the nationalist leaders have continued to insist on the centrality of the talks. When the Smith army massacred hundreds of guerillas and Mozambicans in November, their only response was that Smith was trying to wreck the conference.

Now that the British proposals have been drawn up on paper, Smith feels that the usefulness of the talks to the maintenance of white racist rule is over. There is nothing that Richard can suck out of his pipe to bring him back.

The nationalist leaders are predictably angry at the failure of the 'Richard mission', particularly after the British envoy had been

offered such warm support by the leaders of the 'front-line' states.

Joshua Nkomo, one of the leaders of the Patriotic Front, has discovered rather belatedly that the Geneva talks were never intended to provide a real solution to the needs of the Zimbabwean masses: 'It was just negotiations between Smith and the British. It was not our conference.'

MISSES

But even this misses the point. What the conference did achieve was a large measure of agreement from the African delegations on the plan for an interim government presided over by a British resident commissioner. Nkomo's attack on Richard was along the same lines: 'Rhodesia is still a British colony — it is for the British Government to deal with it.'



The demand for Britain to assume its 'colonial responsibilities' has been consistently repeated by all the nationalist delegations and their backers among the front-line states. But the central task is to

demand that the Labour Government relinquish all colonial control and back the liberation movements in the struggle to overthrow the racist regime.

In practice all the nationalist

factions and the front-line states have been temporarily forced to bypass the British. The collapse of the Salisbury talks was followed by a rumble of warlike noises from the Zambian capital of Lusaka. Even the Organisation of African Unity has been talking about the creation of an African force to prevent Rhodesian army incursions into foreign territory.

But the neighbouring African states have not dropped their attachment to a 'peaceful' solution in Zimbabwe. Even President Machel of Mozambique, who reached a large measure of agreement with Richard in the early part of his tour, is aware that a war in Rhodesia will threaten both the internal security of his regime and his trading links with South Africa.

VOICE

Nkomo gave voice to such sentiments when he announced that, 'if it is possible, even now, to organise a conference that will end it, we will go'. Nevertheless it seems likely that the guerilla struggle will be stepped up. There are rumours

of an arms deal between ZIPA, the guerilla army, and Somalia, with the threat of ZIPA tanks being sent into Zimbabwe.

Smith is aware that, even if the nationalist leaders still want to talk, the guerillas are less likely to stay their hand now that the conference has collapsed. His move is an attempt to force an intervention from South Africa and the United States.

MOMENT

At the moment American intervention is unlikely. The Carter administration is firmly committed to a neo-colonial solution along the lines of the Richard proposals, while Andrew Young, Carter's black ambassador to the United Nations, has even indicated support for the Patriotic Front.

South Africa, on the other hand, is faced with an acute dilemma. Committed in principle to a neo-colonial solution in Zimbabwe, Vorster is well aware of the consequences of a military defeat of the Smith regime on the black masses in South Africa.

For the moment Smith is still trying to cultivate Bishop Muzorewa, the most right-wing of the nationalist leaders. But Muzorewa too is committed to the British solution. Even he could not sit down with the man who, two weeks ago, hung eight of his followers.

STUDENTS ACT TO BUILD SOUTHERN AFRICA DEMO

Red Weekly readers should by now have pencilled 6 March in to their diaries as the day of the national demonstration on southern Africa. This has been called by the Anti-Apartheid Movement as the culmination of six months' work to demand that all collaboration ends with the apartheid regime of Vorster.

The Scottish AAM has also called a demonstration for 5 March in Glasgow.

As part of the build up to the March demonstrations the National Union of Students has decided to organise a national week of action in the days before the weekend of 5-6 March. This is a move which can only be welcomed, especially in view of the important role that the South African students in Soweto are playing in challenging the racist policies of the Vorster regime.

ACTION

Other students are taking action not only to support the demonstration but also to organise within the student movement. One very important initiative has been called by the Manchester Area of the NUS: a national student conference on southern Africa on Saturday 19 February.

In a leaflet MANUS explain the function of the conference as 'to provide a national forum for students to come and discuss the southern African situation and also work out ways and means to practically assist the black African people'.

THREE

The conference has three sessions. The first, on South Africa, is to be introduced by Martin Legassick, the author of a recent Anti-Apartheid Movement pamphlet. The second, on Zimbabwe, is especially relevant following the failure of the Richard shuttle and the intransigence of Smith. Martin Loney, the author of *Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response*, and Lionel Cliffe, who was imprisoned in Zambia and now is on the editorial board of the *Review of Political Economy*, are the main speakers.

The final session, and in many respects the most important, will discuss what solidarity actions can be taken by the student movement in Britain. The conference is open to all students, not just delegates.

Another group of students have also taken a positive role in mobilising for 6 March.



The recently formed African Students Union, at its second conference held last December, put out a call for an African contingent on the

South Africa demonstration. This appeal has been endorsed by a range of African and black individuals and organisations. At the same time they also decided to convene their next conference for 5 March.

If this demonstration is to live up to the expectations of the AAM, with more than 30,000 people out on the streets, the attitude of the trade union movement and the Labour Party will prove decisive.

Both the TUC and the Labour Party are committed on paper to opposition to the white racist regimes in southern Africa and to end British collaboration. However, we can only hope that the TUC builds support for 6 March more seriously than it did for the trade union week of action, which was a total failure. Likewise the Blackpool conference of the Labour Party

South Africa. The question is whether the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party takes that decision seriously and puts its full weight behind 6 March.

Red Weekly urges all its supporters in the unions and the Labour Party to put down resolutions to back the demonstrations, and also to send copies to their national leaderships to demand that they do likewise.

RIC SISSONS

NATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE: 'Southern Africa in Crisis', 19 February, UMIST Students Union, Sackville Street, Manchester. Further details contact: Colin Talbot, MANUS, Old Music College, Devas Street, Manchester 15. Telephone 061-273 5947.

For details of the AFRICAN STUDENTS UNION and its conference write to: The Organising Committee

SHARES SOLD

The Oxford University Anti-Apartheid Disinvestment Campaign has succeeded in making Wolfson College sell all its shares — totalling £50,000 — in two firms with large South African interests — Consolidated Goldfields and Rio Tinto Zinc.

The college maintains that the shares were sold on 'bankers' advice', but it represents an important victory for the disinvestment campaign. The next step must be to demand that the disinvested money is channelled to those who created it. End investment in apartheid, money to the freedom fighters!

NEW WITNESSES FOR AGEE

The tribunal hearing former CIA agent Philip Agee's case against deportation will be reconvening for further sessions this Thursday and Friday. Mervyn Rees's 'three wise men' will be able to examine witnesses specially flown in from overseas.

These witnesses include former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark; Martin Halperin, former assistant to Henry Kissinger; Mel Wulf, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Sean McBride, former US Commissioner in Namibia.

All four will be on the platform at a public meeting called by the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee this Thursday evening [3 February]. Other speakers are expected to include Judith Hart MP, Professor Ralph Miliband, and Patricia Hewitt of

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We the undersigned support the call put out by the African Students Union to build the 6 March demonstration in London in solidarity with all freedom fighters in southern Africa, on which the ASU will be building an African contingent.

Ethiopian Students Union in UK

Africa in Struggle

Asian Socialist Forum

Namibia Support Committee

Scrape Ntshona

Pal Luthra, chairperson Overseas Student Group, Middlesex Poly

Black Struggle

Samaj

Portsmouth Polytechnic Pan-African Society

A. Sivanandan, Director of the Institute of Race Relations, (personal capacity)