

RED WEEKLY

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP 12 DECEMBER 1974 No 80 PRICE 8p



Saturday's mass picket of Islington estate agents Prebbles found the property speculators' office guarded by a solid phalanx of boys in blue. The 200 supporters of the Islington Tenants Campaign received rough handling from the police (upper left) who broke up the picket and arrested one demonstrator — counting on the High Court's recent decision that all such pickets are illegal.

Wilson prepares Market sell-out

As the capitalist 'statesmen' of Europe met for their summit in Paris this week the back-stabbing goings on behind the scenes were enough to leave Jack the Ripper green with envy. The only person bearing good tidings into this den of thieves and bandits appeared to be 'our own' Harold Wilson.

The French were busy trying to line up everybody against the Americans on oil, the Italians were threatening that unless someone bailed them out their system would collapse into the hands of the 'red peril', and the West Germans were trying to organise everybody on an even harder line than usual against the oil producing countries and the third world.

But Wilson brought a glimmer of hope: 'It stands to reason that provided we get the right terms...I shall commend them to the British people and recommend that we should stay in and play our full part in the development of the Community.'

The response of the capitalist press was gleeful. The *Financial Times* headlined 'Wilson EEC speech smoothes the way' and *The Times* rejoiced 'Wilson speech raises hopes of Paris Summit talks success'.

They have every reason to be pleased. Staying in the EEC is virtually a life and death question for Britain's capitalist class. With Heath having failed them at the elections, the capitalists are now relying on Wilson and the Labour Government to do their dirty work.

Wilson and Foreign Secretary Callaghan aim to confuse the working class movement by screwing a few concessions out of the French

and Germans. On the basis of this 'triumph' a referendum can then be stampeded through.

Wilson will claim that the Labour Cabinet and (if possible) the Parliamentary Labour Party are for staying in, and speak as the highest authority of the working class movement. On the basis of this he will try to dragoon enough Labour votes into alliance with the Liberals and Tories to get a majority for staying in.

The Labour 'left' is quite incapable of dealing with this situation. All their nationalist nonsense about 'Parliamentary sovereignty' explodes like a bomb in their faces. The whole reason the Labour right can even think of getting away with such a manoeuvre is because they also stand for 'Parliamentary sovereignty' — in particular against the decisions of the working class movement.

According to the right, Parliament is the ultimate expression of working class democracy. The 'little' facts that Parliament is actually an organisation in which workers' representatives' escape from all working class control, that it has absolutely no real power over the armed forces, the state or the economy, are all conveniently forgotten.

And how does the Labour 'left' deal with this? Do they stand up and say that while a Parliamentary system may provide much more

favourable conditions for carrying out the working class struggle than fascism or military rule, nevertheless Parliament is *not* an instrument of working class democracy? Do they point out that even the existing organisations of the working class.

let alone the workers' councils that will be built in the future, are a hundred times more democratic than Parliament? No chance. They too — led by the likes of Michael Foot — troop along shouting about preserving 'Parliament Sovereignty'. The only thing the Labour left knows how to do is dig its own grave.

The Labour 'lefts' are pinning their hopes on an emergency Labour Party Conference to call for a vote against membership in any referendum. But by the time this meets it will be too late. A Labour Party conference held three or four weeks before a referendum won't be able to organise a real campaign against the bandwagon of publicity and tub-thumping the capitalist and Wilson will be engaged in by then.

Time is crucial. Local conferences of the working class movement are needed *now* to launch a campaign against membership of the EEC on any terms. Leaflets and meetings must be pumped into the factories to counter the massive press campaign. Only steps along these lines can defeat the machinations of Wilson and the capitalists.

STOP POLICE STATE MOVES TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

Police hit out with new powers

The police are revelling in the powers given to them under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

No sooner had the Act been rushed through the House of Commons than the police began to prepare for an indiscriminate wave of arrests and deportations.

CRAMMED IN

Surrey's Assistant Chief Constable said of the first batch of twenty people detained: 'They will be detained further until we have satisfied ourselves one way or the other.' The Guildford police station could not cram in all the people roped in by the Surrey police, and so some detainees were taken to other local stations.

John Rafferty was arrested on the Saturday, only hours after the Act became law, and by Tuesday had been put on a plane to Dublin. Rafferty was one of six people who have so far had exclusion orders issued against them.

Roy Jenkins has made sure that appeals from people issued with exclusion orders will not get tangled up in any liberal nonsense by appointing Lord Alport as head of the body that will hear these appeals. Alport is a former director of the Conservative Political Centre, and was once High Commissioner for Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

He also served for a time in the Artists Rifles, the forerunner of the SAS — the terrorist wing of the British Army, which specialises in assassinations and bombing

jobs. The SAS are known to have had a hand in a number of the sectarian murders in Belfast. Jenkins need not lose any sleep worrying that Alport will be soft on the Irish.

STRATEGY

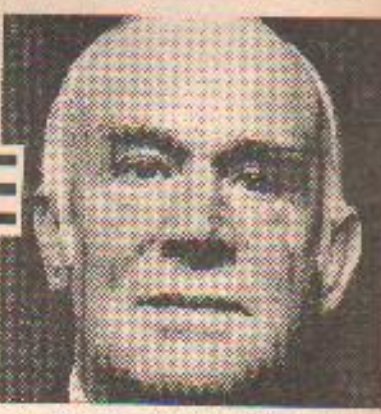
The strategy of the police is quite clear. People known to be, or suspected of being, sympathetic to the Republican cause are deported as quickly as possible. They see this as a way of frightening the entire Irish immigrant population into submission since any one of them could be bundled out of Britain at any time.

By using their sweeping powers of detention the police have seven days to force confessions from those arrested, or get out of the arrested people names of other alleged Republican sympathisers. If they cannot break a suspect or that person has nothing to tell them then they can always have them deported.

The police also hope to use the threat of deportation as a means of building a circle of informers and provocateurs.

As the implications of this Act are seen more and more in practice, the urgency of building a united working class resistance becomes apparent. One way of doing this is to win support for the IMG's Open Letter calling for repeal of the Act and for troops out of Ireland. The Labour MP for Glasgow Govan, Harry Selby, is among those who have added their names this week.

WILSON'S FAVOURITE TYCOON



Sir Don Ryder, Harold Wilson's favourite tycoon is going to be boss of the National Enterprise Board. Although this has caused some squeals on Labour's backbenches it has made the City and the industrialists most contented.

The ruling class have every reason to be pleased. Ryder's credentials are impeccable. After beginning life as a writer on the *Morning Post* (which later merged with the *Daily Telegraph*), he quickly got on the right side of his boss Lord Camrose by tipping him off on how to make a fast buck on the Stock Exchange.

Later he became editor of the *Stock Exchange Gazette* and specialised in putting its readers onto the 1950s property boom. This made money for a lot of wealthy parasites and made the cost of land rocket sky high — which was unfortunate if you happened to be a not so wealthy worker looking for a cheap home.

Later he joined IPC where he came under the wing of Cecil King. King helped the ambitious Ryder up the ladder — then came the day when Ryder put his signature to the letter dismissing King.

Later IPC and Reed merged, and the one-time snare trapster became the £46,306 a year boss of the conglomerate which not only produces the *Daily Mirror* and a host of other papers and magazines, but manufactures paper, do-it-yourself kits, and lavatory pans.

At Reed he built up a reputation as a hardliner, unpopular with the unions and noted for his total passion and attachment to making money. His views on South Africa enraged liberals, never mind socialists (but then White South Africa also takes the profit motive seriously).

Ryder does admire some aspects of Labour's policies. He thinks that the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation set up by Labour between 1964-70 did a good job. As it mainly concentrated on re-organising industry into bigger and more powerful monopolies and introduced massive redundancies one can understand why.

For years he has been critical of British Leyland. He has felt that productivity is too low and its employment roll is too high. No doubt when he goes in to introduce mass sackings and make the work-force work even harder Wilson will be proud of his protégé.

You do not employ the Ryders of this world if you are seeking a socialist solution to the crisis. You do employ them if you are seeking a down-to-earth, no nonsense capitalist solution.

INSIDE

- IRISH REPRESSION..... pp. 2-3
- SPECIAL ON WOMEN'S OPPRESSION..... pp. 5-8
- Chile — Czech dissidents... p. 10
- Japan — Spanish political prisoners..... p.11
- BRITISH LEYLAND..... p.12



TORTURE IN THE CAMPS

The Guineapigs by John McGuffin (Penguin Special, 40p) / Sean Reed

To launch a book like John McGuffin's *The Guineapigs* at the height of the anti-Irish hysteria which is now sweeping Britain may not be the best time from the sales point of view.

However, from the viewpoint of socialists faced with the need for facts and information to use to hurl back the tide of anti-Irish racism, this is a very welcome book indeed.

McGuffin piles fact upon fact to expose the use of torture by the British Army in maintaining imperialist rule in Ireland, and he scrapes away the flakes of whitewash from both the Compton and Parker Reports.

The book lists five reasons for torture:

1. To gain intelligence.
2. To get 'confessions' which will lead to charges in the courts. This helps to give the impression that with the numbers being headed into court, the Army and police must be 'on top of the situation'.
3. To mete out summary punishment.
4. To create a climate of fear in the area from which the arrested man comes, to weaken support for the guerrillas, and to increase the number of informers.
5. To create fear in the minds of the younger volunteers, so that if captured they will break quicker, believing that they will be subjected to the same torture.

One may of course differ as to the order of importance attached to these five reasons. One former member of the Special Air Service (SAS) interviewed by this reviewer placed reason 4 (creation of a climate of fear) at the top of his list.

In fact one form of torture not used to date in Ireland, but currently being taught at the SAS's Battle School in the Brecon Mountains and at Bradbury Lines (the SAS camp at Hereford), is planned with this in mind. The method takes the form of inserting a 'Y' shaped twig into the stomach of a living man, and twisting it so as to draw out the intestines.

One SAS officer, now a 'respectable business man' in the City, boasts of the fact that he once drew 20 feet of intestine from a guerrilla in the Gulf States. This gentleman is now a strong supporter of hanging for 'terrorists'.

Elsewhere, John McGuffin quotes the list of 'Twenty-five Principal Methods of Torture used in Hollywood and Girdwood Barracks':

1. Placing a man in 'search position', single finger of each hand to the wall, legs well apart and well back, on the toes, knees bent, for prolonged periods.
2. Heavy punching to the pit of the stomach of man in 'search position'.
3. Kicking the legs from under a man in 'search position' so that he falls to the ground, banging his head on the wall, radiator or ground.
4. Beating with batons on the kidneys and on the privates in 'search position'.
5. Kicking between the legs while in the 'search position'. This is very popular among the RUC officers, and they often do it for periods of half an hour or an hour.
6. Putting a man in 'search position' over a powerful electric fire or radiator.

7. Stretching a man over benches with two electric fires underneath and kicking him in the stomach.

8. Threats to prisoners' families, bribes offered, false confessions used.

9. Rabbit-punching to the back of the neck while in 'search position'.

10. Banging the head against the wall.

11. Beating the head with a baton in crescendo fashion.

12. Slapping the ears and face with open hand.

13. Twisting the arms behind the back and twisting fingers.

14. Prodding the stomach with straight fingers.

15. Chopping blows to the ribs from behind with simultaneous blows to the stomach.

16. Hand squeezing of the testicles.

17. Insertion of instruments in the anal passage.

18. Kicking on the knees and shins.

19. Tossing the prisoner from one officer to another and punching him while in the air.

20. Injections.

21. Electric cattle prod.

22. Electric shocks given by use of a machine.

23. Burning with matches and candles.

24. Deprivation of sleep.

25. Urinating on prisoners.

26. Psychological tortures:

a. Russian roulette;

b. firing blanks;

c. beating men in darkness;

d. blindfolding;

e. assailants using stocking masks;

f. wearing surgical dress;

g. staring at white perforated wall in small cubicle;

h. use of amphetamine drugs;

The book deals specifically with the treatment meted out to fourteen Irishmen by the British 'security forces' in the period from August to October 1971.

At the time of writing it has just been announced that two of these 'guineapigs', Joe Clarke and James Auld, who only a few days ago were awarded substantial damages by a Belfast court for the torture which they suffered, have been interned for a second time.

In private discussions during the recent Labour Party Conference, Merlyn Rees and Stan Orme told MPs that they would never sign a second internment order for them. Being honourable men, they kept their word: Roland Moyle, a junior Minister of State at the Northern Ireland Office, signed instead.

Henri Alleg, whose book *The Question* did so much to highlight the French use of torture in Algeria, once estimated that it took seven years before the standards of torture enforced in the colony became standard in the metropolitan country.

Five years after British troops went into Northern Ireland in force 'to bring British standards of democracy to Northern Ireland', we now have Stormont standards in Britain. The first batch of Birmingham suspects appear in court 'heavily bruised', while the police are given seven days under the Jenkins laws in which to work on anyone before they need to be charged.

Socialists must make sure that this book is in every left-wing book shop and book-stall in the country. Militants in organisations like the Troops Out Movement will also find it invaluable in their work.

The butcher of Amritsar

In 1919 British imperialism was still riding high. It could claim to rule a bigger slice of the world than anyone else, and its 'greatest jewel' was the 'Indian empire'.

No wonder then, that Britain's rulers and their agents in India should have reacted violently to suggestions that perhaps the Indians could run their own affairs better than British officials, British soldiers, and British businessmen.

To deal with these uppity natives, the British Government passed emergency laws which gave sweeping powers to the police and government officials. The pacifist and nationalist leader, Gandhi, organised a kind of peaceful general strike in protest.

In the northern Indian city of Amritsar two such strikes took place quite peacefully. This, however, did not please the local British authorities, so they decided to deport the two most prominent nationalist leaders in the city to another part of the country.

When this news got out demonstrations broke out, and in the confrontations which followed the army fired on the crowds wounding and killing several. The enraged crowds then attacked the local banks. Two bank managers were killed, and one bank burnt down, as was the Town Hall. A number of Europeans were attacked and beaten, among them a woman missionary.

In reply the British authorities moved in the army and placed the town under martial law. The commander

of the British forces, Brigadier-General Dyer, now set about 'pacifying' the city, which was still in an irate and militant mood. What Dyer wanted was to deliver a massive blow against the inhabitants and break their militant spirit.

When he received word that a mass meeting was being held on waste-ground in the city he seized his chance. He marched to the meeting, where he found 20,000 local inhabitants packed into a large area hemmed in by high walls. Sealing off the main exit with two armoured cars, he had fifty riflemen take up firing positions.

Then, without any warning and before most of the crowd were even aware of his presence, he ordered his men to open fire. For a quarter of an hour the soldiers fired continuously into the unarmed and panic-stricken crowd. Soldiers who fired above the crowd's heads were threatened by their officers and told to fire low.

According to official records 1650 rounds were fired. Almost every bullet found its mark. In the space of those 15 minutes almost 400 were killed, and another 1200 wounded. But Dyer had carried out his aim, and his action was promptly endorsed by his military superiors and the regional government authorities.

Dyer then did everything in his power to humiliate and demoralise the inhabitants. Indians who showed disrespect for army officers were publicly flogged. The street where the woman missionary had been attacked was closed, and Indians who wanted to pass down it were required to do

so on all-fours. Six boys merely suspected of being involved in the attack were publicly beaten without the niceties of a trial.

The brutal suppression of the nationalist movement in India aroused some political opposition in Britain, and a Commission of Enquiry was set up. Like most such bodies it did a whitewash job (it approved, for example, a decision to bomb demonstrations from the air). But it had trouble with General Dyer, because he insisted on being both frank and unrepentant about his mass killing.

The Commission could not sweep him under the rug, so it criticised him for failing to give an order to disperse, and for 'firing far too long'. The Government followed suit. In July 1920 Winston Churchill told the House of Commons that Dyer was guilty of an 'error of judgement' and was being reprimanded on half pay.

But even this mild 'punishment' enraged a big section of the ruling class. 129 MPs voted against the Government — on the grounds that they agreed with Dyer's actions — and a majority of the House of Lords took the same position! The *Tory Morning Post* (a predecessor of the *Daily Telegraph* which is now an enthusiastic advocate of tough treatment for 'terrorists') labelled the butcher of Amritsar the 'saviour of India', and opened a public subscription to reward Dyer for his services to British imperialism. Within a few weeks it had put more than £25,000 into his blood-stained hands.

SECTARIANS REJECT UNITY

WRP LETTER

The ruling class would love to throttle the revolutionary left — the least we can do is to avoid putting the rope around our necks for them.

It is a sad commentary on both the International Socialists and the Workers Revolutionary Party that they have refused to join forces with other sections of the revolutionary left to fight the *Prevention of Terrorism Act*.

As the Labour Government sets the stage for the most vicious attacks on the Irish community and the opponents of Britain's war in Ireland, the IS and the WRP are not prepared to take the necessary steps which could strengthen the forces fighting against this Act.

Only last year, the WRP, the IS and the International Marxist Group signed a joint declaration against the attacks that were then being launched against democratic rights. Now, when the attack against democratic rights is taking place with a vengeance, we find these two organisations refusing to take any joint action.

The WRP, in their attached letter refusing a united front, even resort to the pretext of former IMG member Gery Lawless's statements on the London bombings in order to evade their responsibilities. We would point out that the Provisionals have since accepted responsibility for those bombings — however, established facts have never been permitted to stand in the way of the WRP's organisational sectarianism.

As for the International Socialists, they originally agreed to hold a joint public meeting with the IMG, but have now cried off.

With the Labour MPs dutifully lined up behind the Act, and the trade union leaders in their great majority supporting the new measures, it is more than ever necessary that the forces of the revolutionary left unite in a joint campaign to oppose this most serious attack on democratic rights.

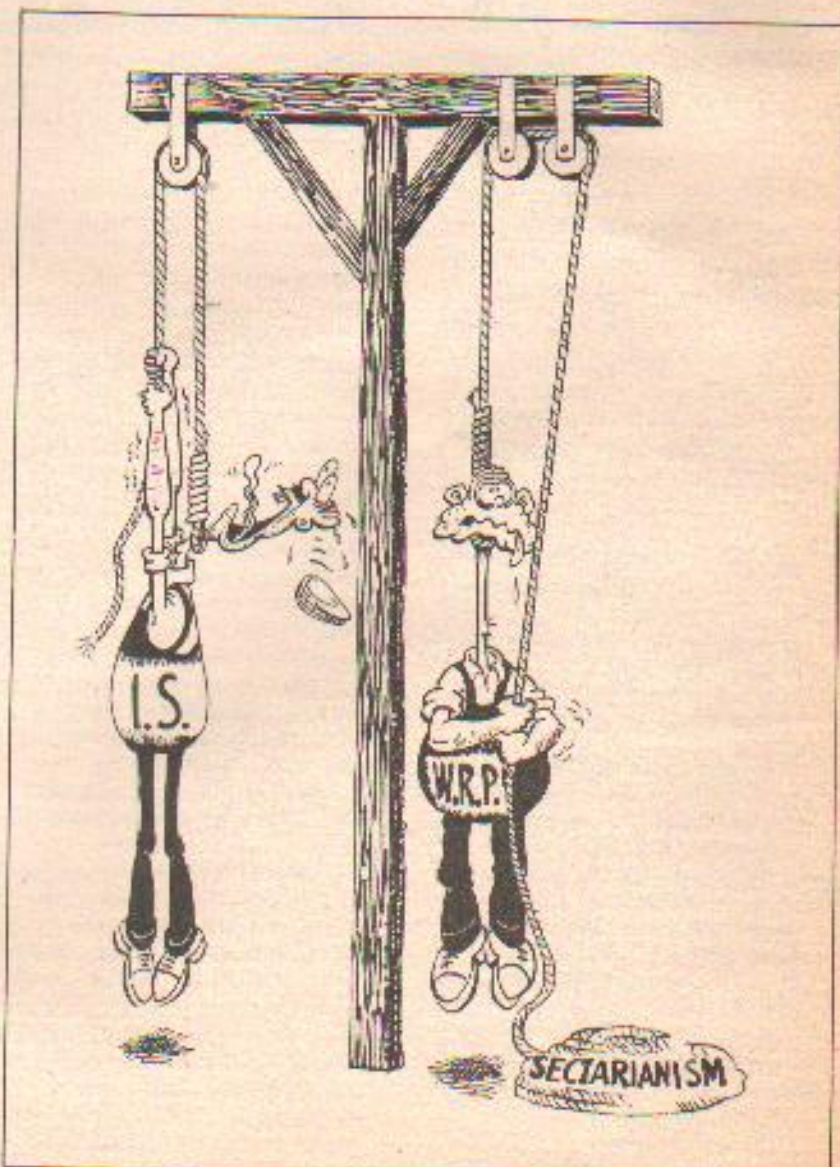
The IMG reiterates that it will continue to fight for the maximum unity of the revolutionary forces to fight this Act. We therefore appeal to the comrades in the IS and the WRP to reconsider their decision.

Our Political Committee has discussed your letter and enclosure of November 26, 1974.

We are fighting against the so-called Anti-Terror legislation in the way set out in our policy statements and published in *Workers Press*. We consider a meeting and joint statement between our respective organisations at this stage will cut across this work. In the Lawless case last year, very serious and fundamental differences were revealed in relation to the defence of Irish workers in the struggle against British imperialism and the role of the state, its police and secret service.

If, however, a member of the International Socialists or IMG has any rights infringed by this legislation, we will have no hesitation in supporting a joint campaign against such infringements.

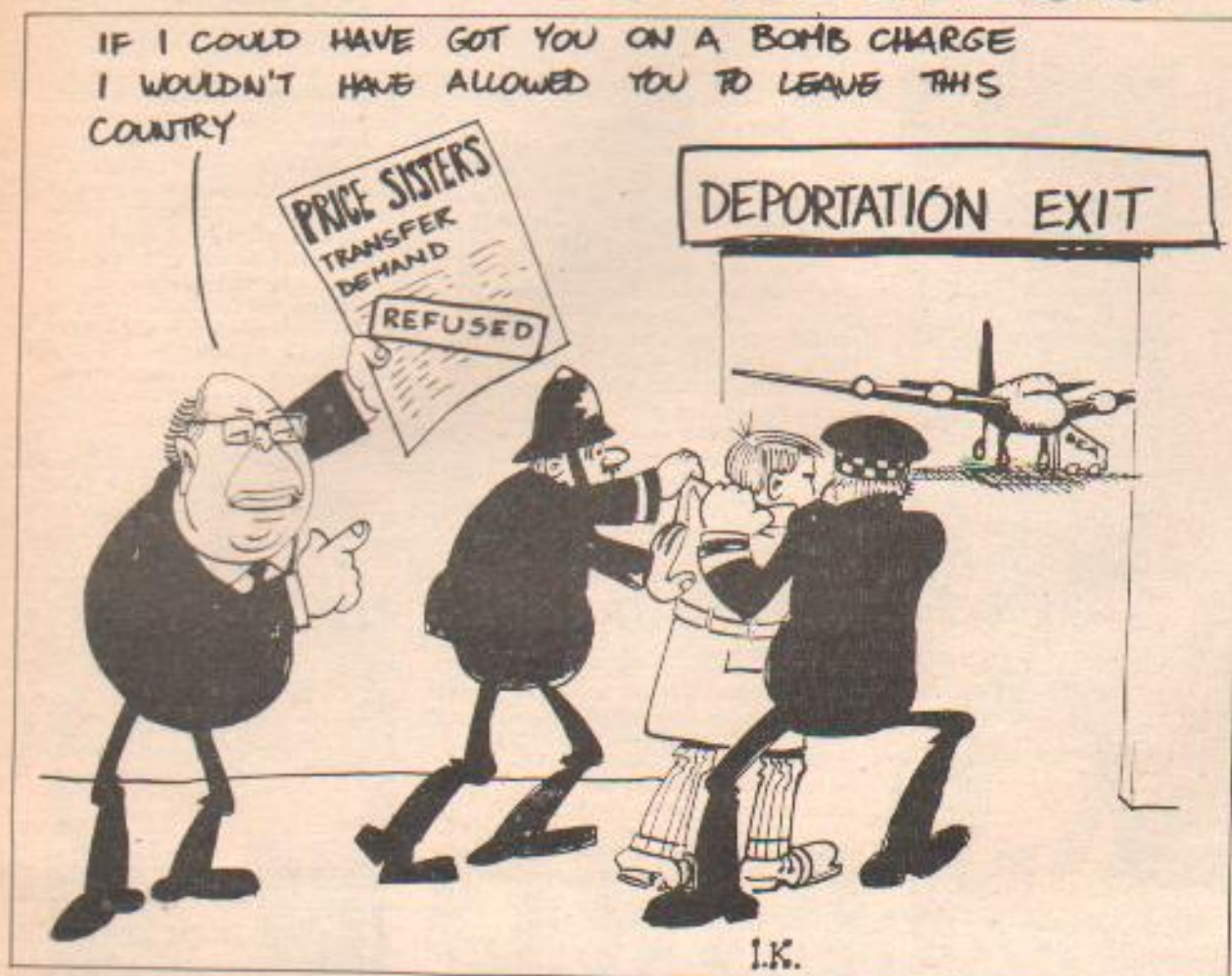
Yours fraternally,
SHEILA TORRANCE
Assistant National Secretary.



Labour aims to smash Catholics

Licking the boot that kicks

IF I COULD HAVE GOT YOU ON A BOMB CHARGE I WOULDN'T HAVE ALLOWED YOU TO LEAVE THIS COUNTRY



During the debate in the House of Commons to introduce the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act', Leo Abse - by no means a Labour 'left' - commented that all the hullabaloo which was being stirred up by Jenkins was merely a cover for the lack of policy of the British Government in Ireland.

But, of course, a lack of policy does not mean that the world stands still. While Rees dithers, the conceit of the reactionary Loyalists increases by leaps and bounds as they raise ever-more treacherous demands. The violence and repression against the Catholics by the army develops daily; and the grovelling of the Southern Irish ruling class becomes ever more craven.

The Loyalists are hell bent on retaining their privileges and untrammelled rule over the Catholics in the six counties. The nominal leader of the United Ulster Unionists, Molycaux, pointed out in the debate in Parliament last week that the Loyalists would not tolerate any form of 'power sharing' with any force which 'wished to destroy the state'. How uncompromising the Ulster Unionists are can be gleaned from the fact that they view even the mealy-mouthed Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) as an 'enemy of the state'.

THE CAT

Rees himself unintentionally let the cat out of the bag in his speech to the Labour Party Conference last week. 'We want to have a planned withdrawal of British troops and their replacement by the police' he wittered on, 'but I tell the conference bluntly - and I do not think I have ever used words so carefully chosen - that a premature withdrawal of British troops would lead to civil war, and I would not like to be responsible for the lives of the Catholic population in Belfast if that were the case' (emphasis added).

So, now we have it - the *real* root of the violence in the north is the Loyalists. It is they who would launch an attack on the Catholics in a frenzied effort to secure their privileges.

Despite this fact, it is the Catholic population who are the main targets of the British army. The reason is simple: it is the Catholics who constitute the threat to British rule. At all costs, the Catholics must be brought under the sectarian 'rule of law' through which the Loyalists will be able to overlord the scene for British imperialism.

The sheer vindictiveness of Britain's direct rule can be seen in the re-internment of James Auld and Joseph Clarke. These two men have just been awarded very substantial damages for their torture by British troops after their arrest in the first wave of internment.

succeed in totally demobilising the Catholic minority first will we see the 'orderly withdrawal' promised by Merlyn Rees.

KILLINGS

The fight to get the hated sectarian Royal Ulster Constabulary into the Catholic ghettos is part of this manoeuvre. At the present time this is being attempted by taking advantage of the sectarian murders of Catholic workers. It is common knowledge that various prominent leaders of the Protestant armed groups, the UDA and the UVF, are responsible for most of these killings.

Rees is claiming that the reason these murderers can operate more or less freely is because the Catholics will not let the sectarian RUC operate in their areas. But these same areas are saturated with British troops. These troops continually pick up hundreds of 'IRA suspects' - i.e. any able bodied adult they can get their hands on. But no Loy-

alist murderer is ever apprehended.

Contrast this with the situation in those areas where the British Army is not allowed to operate - Derry, South Down, Fermanagh and so on. Here no sectarian killings occur. The British army simultaneously gives cover to the killers and weakens the self-defence of the Catholics.

ARRESTS

Last week Rees and his direct rule team finally decided to move, and 18 people were promptly rounded up. But 16 of those arrested were Catholics! Clearly neither the Government nor the army is interested in doing anything about the killings. And little wonder - for sectarian killings aid the policy of Rees and Co., and provide a 'useful' outlet for Loyalist frustration.

This is the reality of Labour's policy in Ireland. It is absolutely vital for the Government that the Catholic masses are tamed before the Constitutional Convention is called in Spring of next year. Otherwise even the watery power-sharing to which Rees clings will provoke a big protest from the Loyalists.

Meanwhile, in Southern Ireland the ruling class can feel which way the wind is blowing, and are trimming every sail in a desperate effort

'Exile' No 2 hits out at the IRA MY WAR ON THE PROVO MONSTER



THE second man to be deported under the new anti-terrorist law arrived in Dublin yesterday and said: 'I bear no grudge against the British Government.'

Wounded etc. Mr. Gerry Doherty says: 'After the Birmingham bombings they had to act.'

Mr. Doherty, a member of the IRA, was deported under the new law. He said that the Provisional IRA was not responsible for the bombings in Birmingham. He said that the Provisional IRA was a 'peace loving' organisation and that the British Government was responsible for the bombings. He said that the British Government was 'the monster' and that he was 'at war' with it.

The imperialist press - notably the *Daily Mirror* - had a field day after Doherty's statements.

Some of the applications of the new 'anti-terrorist' measures look on the air of the theatre of the absurd last week.

Take the case of Gerry Doherty, a former national organiser of Clann na h Éireann (the organisation in Britain which supports the Official Sinn Féin).

Here is an organisation which is totally opposed to the Provisional IRA and its strategy and tactics. It hasn't got anything better itself, but it is without doubt opposed to the Provos, the bombing campaign and anything else they do or don't do.

Why then expel Doherty? The answer lies in the way in which the new laws are designed to aid harassment of the Irish political community as a whole.

However, while we will defend Doherty and others from his organisation unconditionally against these attacks, we cannot but deplore the statements he has been making to the press.

On arriving at Dublin on 4 December after being deported, this spokesman of the Officials declared that he 'bore no grudge against the British Government'. He was 'more angry with the Provos than the British'.

To carry sectarianism to this extent is unforgivable. The fight which has to be

waged today is for the total repeal of the repressive laws passed by the Labour Government and for the complete withdrawal of British imperialism from Ireland. Yet Doherty chooses this time to say that he is 'more angry' with the anti-imperialists than the imperialists; i.e. he regards sectarian battles with the Provos as more important than the struggle against British imperialism.

Clann na hÉireann should publicly dissociate itself from Doherty and the implications of his statements. They have a perfect right to criticise the Provos - as do the other left-wing groups in this country - but to equate the actions of the oppressed with those of the oppressor is unacceptable.

Terry Kelly

Anti-fascist militant jailed for 18 months

IAN COLEMAN, a member of the Students' Union executive at the Sheffield Polytechnic and also a member of the IMG was imprisoned last Friday by the Leeds Crown Court for 18 months.

He was jailed for allegedly causing 'actual bodily harm' to a policeman at a demonstration organised by the violently racist National Democratic Freedom Movement (NDFM). This outfit is a breakaway from the fascist National Front. The NDFM members left the NF because they did not think it was tough enough on Jews and blacks.

The NDFM is considered to be behind a campaign of synagogue daubing, and its bully boys go in for 'gay bashing' with fanatical zeal.

Ian was not the only person arrested that day. Three other anti-fascist militants were fined a total of £150 for a breach of the peace. Another arrested person was an NDFM member who, unlike Ian, had previous convictions. He got off with a small fine.

DEFENCE

A defence campaign has been started in the Leeds area to demand that the charges against Ian Coleman be quashed. Leeds University students have already started the campaign rolling by donating £50 to the defence fund. More money is urgently needed.

The Campaign Committee have called for a national demonstration in Leeds on 18 January of all anti-fascist forces. It is hoped that this demonstration in support of Coleman's release will receive wide support, particularly from the National Union of Students.

At the recent Margate Conference NUS secretary and CP member Steve Parry told delegates how the NUS will continue the fight against fascism and

by Brian Grogan

NATIONAL FRONT KEEPS TABS

The fascists of the National Front are now busy preparing detailed files (complete with photographs) on left-wing activists and anti-fascist militants.

This information comes from the NF's Members' Bulletin for October/November 1974, which has been sent to *Red Weekly* by an anonymous 'friend'. The relevant passage in the bulletin, entitled 'Keeping "TABS" On the Left', reads:

'Trade unionists should send in the minutes of any Branch or Regional Committee meetings where action against the NF is discussed. The names and addresses of known left-wing extremists active in promoting anti-NF activity within trade unions should be supplied.

'Organisers should keep their own cross-reference filing system on hostile organisations and hostile individuals operational in their districts, and should arrange for such activists - including street sellers of extreme Left Wing publications - to be photographed and the photographs

absolutely crucial as our party grows' (emphasis added).

Note the ominous last sentences. What are the 'self-defence arrangements' of the fascists?

In a word they imply identifying, isolating and assaulting left-wing and anti-fascist militants. The fascist groups all over Europe specialise in these actions.

Increasingly worried by the work

The trial of anti-fascist militants in Basingstoke has been adjourned to 2 January, but the local police are continuing their campaign of harassing the Anti-Fascist Committee and are producing a dossier on all their activities - quite clearly in collaboration with the local NF.

The Basingstoke AFC is anticipating heavy fines, given the current offensive by the magistrates against anti-fascist activity. They are appealing for funds which should be sent

of anti-fascist militants in the trade unions, the NF is preparing photographic files to start this job in earnest.

The Members' Bulletin also instructs NF members not to have anything to do with Martin Walker of *The Guardian*, who is currently writing a book on the NF and the extreme right.

'No co-operation, assistance, advice, information or comment - no matter what the subject or issue - may be given by any member of the National Front to Mr Martin Walker or any other journalist known or suspected by members to be working on behalf of Mr Walker.'

Could it be that the NF, the fearless defenders of free speech actually have something to hide? Perhaps they are worried that Walker will unearth their links with other fascist groups in Europe, and go into some detail on the unsavoury past of their leaders?

O'Connell let off too lightly

Your editorial on 'The Workers Movement and Ireland' (*Red Weekly*, 21 November) reflects both the strength and the weakness of your coverage of events in Northern Ireland.

The strength has always been in your principled fight to educate the workers' movement on the need to support the fight for self-determination in Ireland. As you have often argued, this involves campaigning for the withdrawal of troops and giving solidarity to the Republican forces who have been pursuing the military campaign against the army.

Your weakness has been your reluctance to spell out clearly the negative features of Irish Republicanism.

Your editorial dealt at length with an interview given by David O'Connell to the *Weekend World* TV programme, and your assessment of the interview was generally positive. He was calling for the withdrawal of troops, the release of political prisoners, the removal of British influence and defence of the Catholic areas. Quite right.



But the main thrust of the interview was to explain the escalation of the bombing campaign to the British mainland — and you let O'Connell off far too lightly for his apologetic reasoning.

Any socialist watching the interview must have been horrified by the right-wing line of his argument. You make no mention of his call for a UN 'peacekeeping force' following the withdrawal of British troops, nor of his assurance that Republican forces could collaborate with the police to keep law and order in Northern Ireland.

But most important, you do not deal with the thoroughly petit-bourgeois approach of O'Connell to the British working class. His justification of extending the bombings to Britain was not to bring the fight against the British state and its army onto the mainland. He was arguing for a bombing campaign AGAINST THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS. His reasoning was appalling: the British workers were allowing the Government to continue its repressive policies in Northern Ireland, and they had to be taught a lesson. The answer? Bombs.

Of course Marxists must recognise the backwardness of the British working class on the question of Ireland. But their response is to take up a vigorous campaign against anti-Irish chauvinism, and build a political campaign inside the workers' movement for the withdrawal of troops. This has been a major priority of the IMG. The bombing campaign can only make this task more difficult.

The new bombing campaign shows exactly the same failure to understand class politics as ICRA's terrible line in the election, when they failed to call for a Labour vote and stood candidates in marginal Labour constituencies.

Naturally, whatever the tactics used by the Provisionals, socialists must defend their militants against repression from the police and courts, and expose the hypocrisy of those who denounce the violence of the Republicans without mentioning the violence of British rule in Ireland.

But solidarity must not be confused with an apologetic tail-ending of the Provisionals. The present campaign will have such serious results that *Red Weekly* must combine defence of the Provisionals, exposure of the Labour hypocrites who denounce the violence which their policies have caused, and a vigorous campaign against the right-wing turn taken by the Provisionals. —MICHAEL WINSTANLEY, Coventry.

Next week *Red Weekly* will be publishing an analysis of recent trends in the Republican movement and where IMG stands in relation to them.

Boston - why demand troops?

The 24 October issue of *Red Weekly* carried a story about the racist offensive against school desegregation in Boston, Massachusetts. This development rightly deserves international coverage, because it is much more than a local issue. The racist offensive is aimed at the gains made by the Black liberation struggle in the US over the last 20 years. If the racists in Boston succeed in stopping desegregation there, it will give a powerful impetus to like-minded forces across the US.

But I think that *Red Weekly* made an error in criticising the demand made by Black leaders for federal troops to protect Black students attempting to attend white schools.

This demand has been raised in the following context. The racists are trying to stop a court-ordered busing plan, by which Black students are transported to white schools, and white students to Black ghetto schools. The goal is to desegregate the schools, enabling Black students to get a better education.

The racists are trying to stop the buses by force. They have mounted a sustained and effective campaign, including mass mobilisations of many thousands, and harassment, threats, and mob violence against Black students. There have been beatings and stonings of Blacks and even a near lynching. It is in this context that Blacks have demanded that the Government take effective action against the racists, by sending troops.

What should revolutionists say? Our goal is to involve the masses of Black people and their allies in action against the racists. Such mass action will include self-defence.

Part of the process of building mass actions is to make demands on the Government. In this case, we should demand that the Government enforce the court desegregation order and ensure that the buses are not stopped. If federal troops



White racist mob in lynch attempt against Jean-Louis Andre Yvon, who was dragged from his car and beaten.

are necessary to enforce the court order, we favour that.

Does supporting the call for troops violate principles from a revolutionary point of view? Of course not. What is involved here is simply demanding that

the US Government enforce the laws against segregation.

American revolutionists have long put forward demands along this line. For example, in the 1930s, the American Trotskyists demanded the passage of federal anti-lynching legislation, to enable the federal government to intervene, with force, against the lynch mobs in the South. This was necessary, because at that time the lynchers operated with the open complicity of the state and local governmental authorities.

In Boston today, the local authorities are backing away from enforcing the law on busing. In this situation, revolutionists demand that the federal Government intervene to enforce the law.

It would hardly make sense to demand that civil rights laws be passed, and then refuse to demand that the laws be enforced.

While we would not be opposed to the nationalisation by the British state of Scottish industries as a partial step forward, the only real solution is progressive nationalisation under workers control of Scottish industry, by the action of the Scottish working class.

The creation of a workers state in Scotland would mean the socialist exploitation of Scotland's economic resources including oil, but the resources of Scotland would be held in trust for the world working class by the Scottish workers' state, pending the advent of world socialism. —NORMAN EASTON, (Press Officer, Scottish Workers Republican Party).

Comrade Easton's letter still fails to answer the basic question that we posed in the last reply — what are the specific national democratic tasks that the Scottish working class has to confront in the fight for socialism.

As we said, these tasks are clear enough in the context of the Basque country, Quebec or even Ireland: political discrimination on national grounds, persecution of national language and culture, suppression of national political institutions, even occupation by foreign armies. Comrade Easton can only find two such examples: The Gaidhlig (which is "...not a key problem facing the Scottish working class") and the disappearance of Scottish political institutions (which "we would argue against...historically").

Instead of an explanation of which political struggles we should take up, what initiatives we should launch, or what slogans we should raise, we are treated to a laboured tautology. Scotland is an oppressed nation...because it does not have self-determination.

A second problem arises when comrade Easton deduces from the right of Scotland to self-determination (a democratic right which we support) that therefore all socialists must be in favour of separation of Scotland from England. If the comrade is consistent he will argue that even an independent capitalist Scotland would constitute a step forward for the Scottish working class (as it would in Ireland).

We would argue that, generally speaking, socialists are not in favour of separation and dismemberment of large political units except under circumstances of 'intolerable nar-

Way forward for Scots workers

We of the Scottish Workers Republican Party feel we must take up the distortions and confusions in Colin Macpherson's letter (*Red Weekly*, 14 November).

Comrade Macpherson opens correctly by pointing out the specific economic problems of Scotland. However, we fail to see how 'demands' such as 'a workers enquiry into social expenditure' can be sufficient political basis for struggle against these problems. In any case, who would conduct this enquiry?

Comrade Macpherson asks what is the 'specifically political oppression of Scotland by England'. In our view, the specifically political oppression of Scotland by England is a denial of Scotland's right to self-determination. (By the way, as far as we are aware, the IMG recognises this right).

Comrade Macpherson is wrong to equate national oppression with political oppression — there are elements other than political ones in the national oppression of Scotland. Scotland did have a national culture that was suppressed by English imperialism. An example of this was the deliberate suppression of the Gaidhlig language — that is not to say that the defence of Gaidhlig is a key problem facing the Scottish working class, but nevertheless, it is essential to defend the Gaidhlig language's right to exist in those areas where it is spoken.

Historically, we would argue against the disappearance of Scottish political institutions which, by comrade Macpherson's own admission, were 'brutally suppressed'. That is not to say that we advocate the resurrection of a Scottish bourgeois parliament in Edinburgh — we are in favour of the suppression of bourgeois institutions by the Scottish working class.

The key democratic task which faces the Scottish working class is the same one that faces the Irish working class, i.e. national self-determination. We have never said that the SNP opposes imperialism per se. What we do say is that the SNP favours the construction of a 'national' capitalism in Scotland, and this leads to a clash of interests with imperialism, though it would be absurd



Teachers' Action Committees could launch workers' enquiry into social expenditure

quote Lenin). Of course this 'intolerable' situation may exist in Scotland in the eyes of comrade Easton, but it has to be argued out in terms of a concrete analysis of the Scottish situation.

The last problem concerns the real way forward for the working class in Scotland. During the recent strike wave, thousands of workers went through the experience of mass democratic control, regular mass meetings with recallable delegates, elected strike committees, and mass involvement in spreading the strikes. It is by using this type of organised working class strength that the very real social and economic problems of Scotland can be tackled.

Given the likely nature of the Houghton Enquiry (a rationale of the cutbacks in education) the local Teachers' Action Committee could organise a real enquiry into the crisis in Scottish education. It could be done by Action Committees collecting information gathered in the local schools by the teachers themselves, dealing with the cuts, conditions, and class size.

This type of initiative does start to confront the specific problems of the Scottish region, and starts to pose a perspective which goes beyond the traditional limits of social democracy and wage militancy. —COLIN MCPHERSON.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

A WOMAN'S LIFE

Kids, kitchen, work

Kids, kitchen, work

Kids, kitchen, work

During the 1945 general election the Labour Party produced a poster which undoubtedly helped to grease its path to power. It was a cartoon of a demobbed soldier and his young wife banquing on the counter of the Tory peace stores.

Under the counter were hidden the 'fruits of victory'—bags labelled 'jobs', 'proper medical attention', 'good homes', 'decent schools'—all marked 'reserved for the rich and privileged'.

Thirty years later, few members of the working class would doubt the accuracy of that last statement, or the failure of successive Labour Governments to rectify the situation.

The so-called welfare state—which, together with the commitment to full employment and the promise to keep fascism at bay, was the means by which the post-war governments staved off revolution in Western Europe—is presently tumbling all around us.

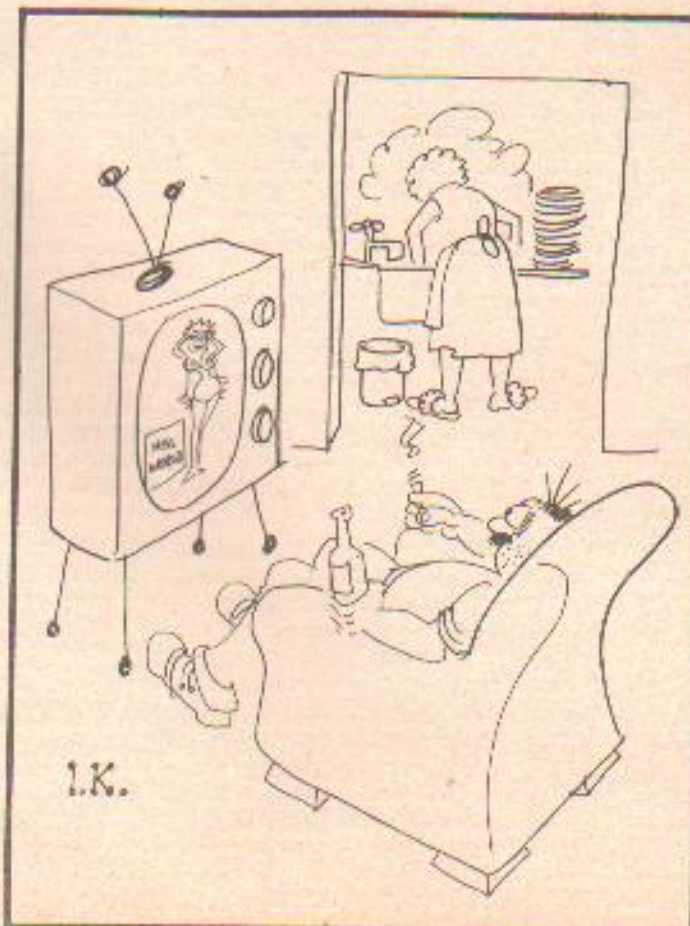
Coupled with the crisis of social expenditure—which has stripped hundreds of millions of pounds off the budgets for education, health, housing and social services—is the crisis of the family itself. High divorce rates and the recent 'discovery' of battered wives and babies are merely the outward symptoms of the instability of one of capitalism's most important props.

When William Beveridge came to draft the programme for the welfare state in 1942, he stressed the importance of the family as an economic and social unit in capitalist society: 'In any measure of social policy in which regard is had to the facts, the great majority of married women must be regarded as occupied on work which is vital though unpaid, without which their husbands could not do their paid work, and without which the nation could not continue....'

That unpaid work—the reproduction of labour power and the production and rearing of the next generation of wage labourers—is the cornerstone of

women's exploitation and oppression within capitalist society.

Women's supposedly secondary role in the labour market itself means that they are forced to work for wages which are on average barely half those paid to men. And their job opportunities, both on the shop-floor and in the white collar sectors, are almost exclusively restricted to the most menial tasks.



The labour movement has done little to challenge this situation. On such a basic issue as equal pay—which the TUC decided to fight for nearly a hundred years ago(!)—most male trade unionists have failed to lift a finger in support of the struggles of women workers to achieve even the limited benefits of the 1970 Equal Pay Act.

When 400 women production workers at Salford Electrical Instruments in Heywood, Lancashire, came out on a 10-week equal pay strike this summer, they were forced to go back with virtually nothing gained because the men were perfectly happy to cross the official picket line.

Yet until the labour movement begins to take up the question of the oppression of women, and stops regarding this as an issue solely for the parliamentary arena, then the struggle for equality will be completely hopeless.

There is no way women can begin to break out of the traps capitalism has set for them at home and at work until the labour movement takes a knife to the bonds which tie women to their family duties.

This means fighting for such demands as maternity benefits, adequate nursery provision, and freely available abortion and contraception. It also means challenging the chauvinism of many male workers—at work, at home, and in the unions. And all this must be seen as an integral part of the struggle for equal pay and opportunity.

These are the aims of the Working Women's Charter Campaign, which is proving to be a vital means of demonstrating the inextricable links between women's economic and social position in capitalist society, and of organising the solidarity which is frequently essential when women go into struggle.

On the next three pages, *Red Weekly* examines some of these links and describes the development of the campaign.

THE STATE THE FAMILY'S IN



Alexis
Wayne

EVERY DAY NOW the newspapers carry sordid details of yet another case of child-battering or wife-beating. Yet the 'great men' of Britain—like Sir Keith Joseph—combine their plans for 'national unity' with desperate calls to uphold the family.

In using the family in their war cries, these staunch defenders of the status quo attest to the fact that the family is still a crucial prop in the capitalist order.

It is quite easy to see how the calls for 'national unity' are used in the interests of the ruling class. But it's more difficult to see why appeals to save the family are made in the same breath. After all, family life might seem to many to be an all too brief escape from the depressing monotony and pressures of work.

But what is the state of the family when the government-funded Family Service Unit can write in its quarterly journal that they 'feel it important to differentiate between 'sporadic' battering, which can be regarded as part of a normal marriage, and more persistent beating'?

why these household chores should be done privately. Just think of the time wasted when in every street hundreds of women are doing their own washing and their own cooking! How much easier it would be if the work was organised collectively. This set-up is not only totally inefficient, it also means hundreds of women are wasting time doing boring, monotonous tasks which could be used creatively.

DEPENDENCE

The other central aspect of the family is that women are dependent on a man's wage, particularly when

'ESCAPE'?

The idea that the family is a welcome 'escape' is at best a half truth. Close ties develop between children and parents in the family, —but because they are forced to live together. The personal relations of both children and adults are restricted and twisted by the family. Often it serves to cut them off from wider social relations and narrows their view of society.

On top of this, the family has an economic task to perform for the capitalists. The woman does the work to keep the capitalists with a workforce: she cooks, cleans and launders the clothes of her husband (and herself). And she also prepares a new generation of workers for the capitalists.

From the point of view of the working class there is no reason

CHRISTMAS
AVAILABLE AT

LITTLE HOUSE
Laundry/w
CO

Toys like this work to educate girls that their role in life is in the home as wife and mother, a very early age.

they have children. The rules for social security benefits for single mothers are based on the assumption that women are financially dependent upon men. The SS inspector only has to prove that a woman is

Last week, figures produced by the Department of Employment showed that women's earnings are little over one half of men's earnings.

With only 12 months to the deadline laid down by the Equal Pay Act, women workers are right to feel sceptical about 'equality for women'. In engineering for example —where 30% of workers are women— it has been estimated that in July of this year the cash differential between women and men workers was greater than it was four years ago.

So, should we be consoled into accepting Labour's social contract in return for a promised land of women's equality? The answer must be a resounding no! The promises are a mirage which conceal the real roots of

the wave of unemployment hits the workforce in the new year.

More fundamentally, the Equal Pay Act is totally incapable of tackling the basis of the unequal position of women at work. As long as women are enslaved in their roles as mother and all-providing wife, the quest for equal conditions at work will be futile.

PRIMACY

The primacy of these roles for women means that educational attainment, satisfying jobs outside the home, and social responsibility for the raising of children are secondary considerations. They only surface when it serves capitalism's interests (for example in war time) or as a result of women's struggles.

During the war there were twice

Even where women do manage to get equal pay under the Act, it will be in the unskilled and poorly paid jobs— in areas like nursing, domestic work, or the distributive trades, where intensive fights have been necessary to resist low pay. In these jobs, the attitude that women's work outside the home is only for luxuries is coupled with the fact that this work is an extension of home tasks to justify poor conditions, mental work and poor pay.

Since the Equal Pay Act was drafted in 1970, these situations have been widely criticised. It was hoped that the Labour Party anti-discrimination proposals would help to fill in some of these gaps. But for those who had illusions in the Labour Government's commitment to women's liberation, the Government's White Paper will be a nasty shock.

The White Paper tackles sex discrimination as if it were merely a matter of 'tradition, custom and prejudice' (paragraph 16). It does not even ask the question —why this tradition, why this custom or this prejudice?

As a result, it completely fails to grasp the nettle: that these prejudices, customs and traditions are rooted in a general division of the sexes in society in which women come off worse and capitalism benefits.

In the real battle for equality, women don't come up simply against attitudes. They meet real material obstacles —like being a full time housekeeper or mother with no independent source of income, with no means to overcome the day to day responsibilities for childcare, and with restricted access to skilled and better paid jobs.

OBSTACLES

The White Paper proposes no solutions to get over these obstacles. On the contrary, it takes special care to distinguish discrimination on grounds of sex and marriage in the abstract and discrimination arising from these real material problems:

'It will not apply to differences of treatment made for any other reason e.g. because a potential employee is not suitably qualified for a particular job, or because a potential borrower lacks sufficient financial



standing or creditworthiness' (paragraph 33); and 'the fact that someone is a full time mother with no independent source of income' will be a legitimate ground for discrimination.

The anti-discrimination proposals are the Labour Government's response —a totally pathetic one— to the wave of women's struggles that has built up over the last few years. They are meant as little more than a vote-catcher for Labour, and will do little to assist the types of struggles which women will still have to launch if they are to break down the walls of sex discrimination which capitalism has so carefully erected.

But the Equal Pay Act is a slightly different kettle of fish, and should definitely not be ignored by militants. It is, as we have shown, totally inadequate, and women workers will have to rely on their own struggles to make any headway on this front as well. However the Act can be used to encourage such struggles and to help unify them on the widest possible basis.

LIMITED GAINS

A broadly-based national Charter campaign can be built up to organise action to ensure that the limited gains of the Act are put into practice now. Similarly, women trade unionists can be readily won to the need to take action to close up the loopholes in the Act through which the em-

ployers will try to wriggle. It will also be possible to extend the struggles which grow up to secure immediate implementation and strict enforcement of the Act to fight against problems such as the chronic low pay from which women suffer, which are not covered by the Act.

NURSERIES

Moreover a militant and united campaign around the question of Equal Pay would raise the whole question of women's oppression in the labour movement, and help educate both men and women workers about the necessity to fight it. It would create a favourable situation in which to get the labour movement to back struggles which strike at the root of women's oppression, such as the Ealing campaign for increased state-provided nursery facilities.

The key to all these struggles is direct action by the working class —but the Labour Government must not be let off the hook. Are they prepared to let the bosses exploit the loopholes in the Equal Pay Act? Or will they support the struggles women workers launch to seal them up? The Labour Government claims to represent the working class, and is in office because of the support of millions of working people.

Women workers —like every other section of the working class— must insist that it delivers the goods and places its weight behind their struggles against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Labour's
pie-in-the-sky
(and how to bring it to earth)

women's oppression.

The Equal Pay Act seeks to 'give equal treatment as regards terms and conditions for like or similar work or work rated equivalent'.

Already, many employers have taken a leaf from the book of their Common Market partners in trying to bypass the Act. Many have regraded jobs into categories like 'light' or 'heavy' work. With traditional prejudices about a woman's capabilities, women will end up at the bottom of the grading pile.

TECHNOLOGY

Other methods of lessening the impact of the Act are suggested by the latest Department of Employment News: 'to use existing employees more', and to benefit from job evaluation schemes which 'facilitate technological change'. So employers are being encouraged to hide behind the Equal Pay Act when

the present number of state provided nurseries. The proposed education cutbacks will place even the present meagre facilities under attack.

With a lack of social childcare facilities and inadequate contraception and abortion provisions, women are tied to child-rearing. Employers use these home commitments to stamp women as unreliable and in this way exclude them from the better paid jobs which are evaluated on the basis of responsibility.

Another area where the job evaluation schemes —so praised by the Equal Pay Act— give men a head start is in the sphere of education. Jobs are graded on the basis of skill, complexity and level of training required. With only 7% of girls who enter employment receiving apprenticeships (compared to 42% of boys) and with only 15% of day release places going to girls, the basis of

...ing regularly with a man—not even that the man is actually giving her money—to have her benefits cut off. A sexual and emotional relationship is automatically assumed to involve cash.

After the last war the booming capitalist economy had a massive need for labour, particularly in light industry, food processing, services and clerical jobs. Women were rushed into the workforce with the help of a massive propaganda job by the capitalist press. The proportion of women over 15 working outside the home leapt from 27% in 1951 to 51% in 1970.

The majority of these women are married. They thus do two jobs for the capitalists: one directly at their workplace, and the other—indirectly—at home. These two jobs can't really be separated.

When a woman demands equal pay at her place of work, for example, she is often challenging the

a 'dependant'.

Because the two jobs of women can't be separated it means that the capitalists were in a contradictory position in the war years. They wanted women to work in the munitions industry, but also recognised the importance of the job women did in the home. Under these circumstances, the state began to provide nurseries and subsidised restaurants so that women would be better able to move in to the workforce.

Of course after the war more than half of the nurseries and all of the restaurants were closed down. This was because they were never opened in the interests of the working class—but only because they served the immediate interests of the capitalists.

RECENT SURVEY

A recent survey has shown that London boroughs provide day nursery places for only 1% of children under 5. Employers who need female labour often find it far more convenient to organise the shift-work to suit women's home responsibilities, rather than providing facilities to ease the burden of those responsibilities.

So long as women are working part-time or on special shifts the question of security of employment, equal pay and other benefits can easily be avoided by employers. And the organisation of a complex shift system for women doesn't involve any major disruption of production—most women are on unskilled jobs, so it doesn't matter if the women on the job keep changing.

Only when women begin to think of themselves as full members of the labour force will it be more difficult for the bosses to keep them in neat 'industrial ghettos'. This will come more rapidly if

demands for equal pay are coupled with action to take the private tasks of household labour out of the family.

But the doors leading to women's freedom from dependence on the family have not been opened, in spite of the increasing numbers of

give women any more independence? Not at all. All it will do is to ensure that future generations of workers will be a bit more up to the current standards that capitalists require.

This type of state intervention in the family is not new. During the Boer War, mass medical inspec-

the best 15 years of employment. If a woman hasn't been in full employment for 15 years, her payment is based upon the best years of her husband! This may be a step forward for women in financial terms. But underlying it is a clear attempt to glue the family unit more firmly together.

More recently there is an indication that the welfare state is beginning to pull out of the family, but at the same time ensuring that the essential tasks get done. The economic crisis is making it impossible for the state to provide the finances. Thus through progressive sounding policies such as 'community care', the state is calling on community groups to tackle the care of the elderly, the mentally handicapped and the sick.

Women are thus being pulled in two different directions—into the workforce as cheap, flexible labour, and into the home as a safety net for all those who fall out of the disintegrating welfare state.

WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Any attempts by women to challenge this pull—raised either at the place of work or outside it—must therefore tackle both aspects of women's oppression and exploitation. And the workers' movement must give its full backing to these challenges—including struggles for increased state provided nursery facilities, abortion and contraception, as well as those around equal pay and maternity benefits.

Only through the combined weight of the organised working class—fighting alongside women's liberation groups, tenants associations, anti-fascist committees, claimants unions and any other groups willing to take action—will the fight for the liberation of women advance.



women in employment and higher education. The state has intervened in the family, not to free women from domestic burdens, but to prop up the family.

For example, at a time when skilled labour is necessary for the capitalists, it was realised that many school children weren't learning properly in schools because they hadn't been prepared at home. This waste of potential skilled labour had to be stopped. The Tory Government thus decided to step into an area normally the responsibility of the family.

Their scheme was to provide extra nursery school provisions in 'deprived' areas. But does this plan

tions were carried out to ensure the quality of army recruits. The 'un-workmanlike' state of the working class shocked the ruling class. More and more attention began to be paid to the 'efficiency' of the family, particularly of the wife.

WELFARE STATE

The welfare state is part of this. Its aim has been to aid the family, not to take over the family. Major aspects of legislation—including tax and insurance Acts—have been worked out to back up the family as a unit.

For example, the Labour Government's new pension plan calculates women's pensions on the basis of

AS TOYS
LARGER STORES

WIFE
ing-up/
ing sets each 45p

dea that her first responsibility is to the home and her job is only temporary (for 'pin money'). This kind of challenge thus rejects the idea that the man is the only breadwinner and that the woman is just



Women & the unions:

'Divide & rule' or united in struggle

'The men have actively worked against us. One of our own union members, one of the men, helped to break the sit-in by smashing down the door. It's been terrible; we're really disgusted!'

These are the words of a woman shop steward from the Salford Electrical Instruments (SEI) factory at Heywood, near Manchester, interviewed during the recent struggle for equal pay. It illustrates the frustration felt by so many women, sick of hearing from their fellow male workers that women are not militant enough; sick that when they take matters into their own hands, this action is not taken seriously by the trade unions or by the men.

A struggle by male workers at Ford's, for example, attracts national attention. But all too often women workers are left to fight in isolation, with large sections of the trade union movement ignoring their fight.

CHARTER

One of the main aims of the Working Women's Charter Campaign is to mobilise national support for such struggles. The best example of this so far is SEI. Here the Charter Campaign was instrumental in organising a mass rally to launch national support. Tragically, in this case, just when support for the SEI women was growing they were sold out by the trade union bureaucracy.

Most women workers bear heavy family responsibilities, and are often hampered in their efforts to organise in the workplace because of this. Employers are, of course, aware of this, and make use of the tactic of divide and rule. For example, employers have played on women workers' fears to undercut the struggles of the men, or have got the men's backing for redundancies by offering to sack women. The working class can be attacked and weakened in this way only so long as the attitude exists that women do not really have the right to a job.

LEARNING LESSONS

Trade unionists at Hoover Motors in Perivale, West London, are well on the way to learning this lesson. Understanding the importance of uniting the workforce, they have been fighting for equal pay for some years, and are on the brink of achieving it, along with the abolition of women's grades.

Currently at Hoovers 150 skilled toolmakers are in a furious dispute with the management. The employers have used this as a pretext to lock out the entire production workforce of 2000 workers—half of which are women. The bosses are attempting to use the women to turn the workforce

against the toolmakers by saying that they would not be out of a job if it were not for the strikers. The women have made it clear that they do not intend to be fooled. 'These men have supported us in the fight for equal pay, and we support them now!' stormed one woman worker in reply to the personnel manager.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the Hoover sister factory at Cambuslang in Scotland. There, many men feel that it was strong pressure from the women that forced them back to work after a long and bitter strike recently.

PRESSURE

This was true to some extent. But it has to be remembered that women's problems are rarely taken up by the official trade union machinery. If women often fail to get involved in the trade union movement it is not because they do not want a better deal, but because of family responsibilities and the brain-washing women are subjected to almost from birth. They do not have the time, and are rarely encouraged to take on union posts, or even to attend branch meetings, which are frequently held at times when the family responsibilities of women hit the hardest.

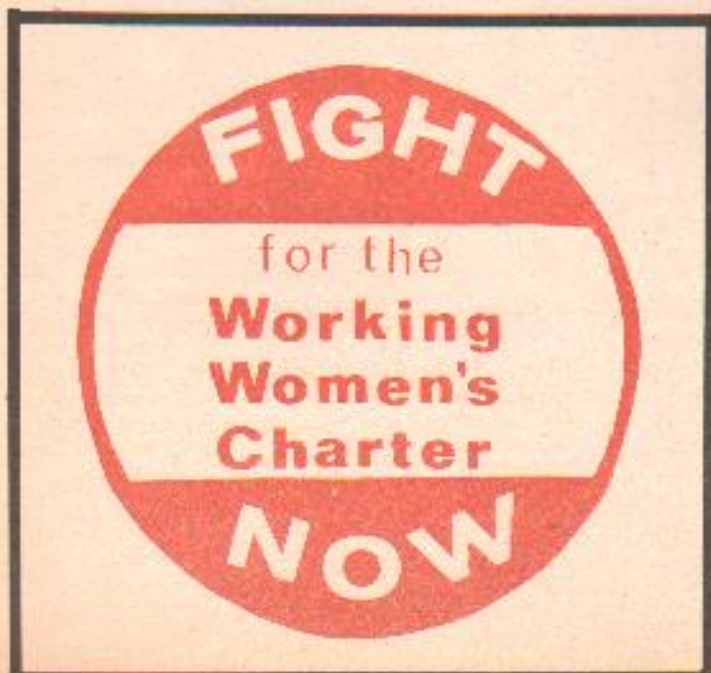
No efforts were made by the unions in the dispute at Hoover's Cambuslang to explain the issues involved to the women, to integrate them into the decision making of the strike committee, or to help out with child-minding so that more women would participate in the actual struggle.

The different stand taken by the women at these two factories has had an important effect on the unity of the workforce and their ability to resist the bosses. This contrast is a clear warning to the trade union movement of the price it will pay if it continues to leave women workers to struggle alone against the myriad of problems they face.



The struggle at Salford Electrical Instruments—women workers occupying part of the factory get their coffee through a hosepipe from supporters outside!

Story by
Ingrid Falconer



ABORTION:

WHEN the Working Women's Charter is discussed in the labour movement, the demand which most often seems to be controversial is free contraception and abortion on demand.

Reactionary, confused and contradictory ideas on questions relating to sex and reproduction hold sway in many sections of the labour movement.

Although the women's liberation movement has insisted on the importance of the demand for free contraception and abortion on demand, and for the right of women to control their own bodies, the labour movement has been slow to see the political relevance of these demands, much less to actively support them.

It is not surprising, then, that reactionary organisations have been able to mobilise considerable support, including in the working class, on the abortion issue in particular, and on a wide range of sexual and moral questions. The Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC), Life, and other anti-abortion organisations focus on opposition to the 1967 Abortion Act, which they hope to get repealed. This would make abortion almost completely illegal again. Through literature, films and talks they seek to 'educate' doctors, nurses, school students and the general public on the 'evils' of abortion. They play on real social and economic problems, and on fear, guilt and ignorance. To these activities

—including mass demonstrations against abortion—the Catholic church lends its support on a massive, but little known, scale.

In the last two elections, campaigns were organised to persuade people to support 'anti-abortion' candidates (of whatever political party). Seeing their chance, National Front candidates promptly proclaimed their anti-abortion commitment.

The anti-abortionists are important at this time not only because of their opposition to abortion, but also because of the way in which they link up with a whole reactionary current—the Festival of Light,

reactionaries rallying point

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)



Part of a counter-demonstration organised by women's and socialist groups in response to a SPUC demonstration in London

Mary Whitehouse's crusade, and, on the far right, the fascist National Front.

At the same time not all the supporters of contraception and abortion are progressive. Some people see these as the means of solving major problems of capitalism. According to them, massive 'family planning' programmes can overcome poverty and under-development in the third world.

The same arguments are now being brought home to Britain. According to Keith Joseph, if the poorest sections of the working class would stop having children,

then the 'cycle of deprivation'—the shortage of houses, the inadequacies of education and other social services, etc—could be overcome and the 'moral and physical degeneration of the nation' halted.

Socialists, on the other hand, see their support of the demand for free contraception and abortion as part of the fight against the oppression of women within capitalist class society. In the struggle to establish the conditions for true sexual equality the holy trinity of economic, emotional and sexual dependency of women on men, which is now

knotted into the relationships of marriage and the family, has to be broken.

In the process working class women must gain control of their fertility and their sexuality not in the interests of either the church, the state or the labour market, but in the interests of freeing themselves from the fetters of oppression in order to play their full part in the struggles of their class against capitalism. It is within this framework that we oppose SPUC and its reactionary friends, and support free contraception and abortion on demand.

B'HAM TC CONFERENCE CALLS FOR ADOPTION OF CHARTER

A Trades Council conference on Women's Rights held in Birmingham last Saturday agreed unanimously to recommend to the Trades Council that it should adopt the Working Women's Charter as official policy.

Addressed by Jane Cave from the local Charter Campaign Committee, Doris Fisher from Labour's representatives in the House of Lords, and Marie Patterson from the TUC, the conference was called as a result of mounting pressure from trade union branches affiliated to the Charter Campaign. Because of this, the local Charter Committee was invited to send not only a speaker but also ten official delegates to the Conference.

Despite Doris Fisher's spirited defence of 'the tremendous steps forward' taken by the Labour Government, the main discussion centred on the demands of the Charter and the need to change not merely attitudes but the material circumstances of women.

The Trades Council had originally decided that no decisions would be taken at the conference, but by the end of the discussion everyone present was so convinced of the value and importance of the Charter that they agreed unanimously to all the recommendations put before them by the local Charter Committee.

These were:

1. That delegates recommend to the Trades Council that it should adopt the Working Women's Charter as official policy.
2. That delegates recommend to the Trades Council that it should initiate an investigation into:
 - (i) Progress towards Equal Pay in Birmingham, with special reference to the degree of Equality of Job Opportunity open to women workers.
 - (ii) The provision of Nursery Facilities in relation to the needs of women workers in Birmingham.

That the results of these investigations should be published in the Trades Council Journal.

3. That delegates recommend to their branches that they should actively campaign for the demands of the Charter as a way of strengthening the whole trade union movement at the base, through making it possible for women to participate more fully in trade union activity.

Although these recommendations have yet to go before the Trades Council, it is clear that a real basis has been laid for taking the Charter campaign deeply into the local trade union movement, without any loss of autonomy by the local Charter Committee...and—who knows?—Doris Fisher may even take it to the House of Lords!

Lawrie White

CHARTER CAMPAIGN Where Communist Party goes wrong

The Working Women's Charter campaign has now been successfully launched in over 20 towns up and down the country.

But unfortunately, one of the major forces recently involved in the campaign, the Communist Party, has a conception of building the campaign which will severely restrict its growth.

We can best understand this strategy if we look at how the CP view the family and the fight for the liberation of women.

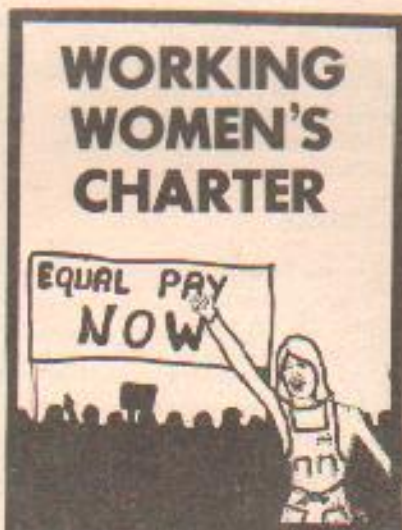
Although CP members have pledged their support for the campaign up and down the country, they have time and again insisted that it should be taken up only in the organised trade union movement. They have been unwilling to fight for the Charter in the women's liberation movement, in tenants' associations, or even amongst those women workers not yet unionised.

They have argued consistently that committees set up to organise the campaign should be restricted to bona fide trade union delegates, thus throwing to the winds the possibility of drawing in broader forces to the campaign.

FAMILY

Why do the CP fight tooth and nail to restrict the campaign in this way? In their theoretical journal, *Marxism Today*, they just completed a 13 month debate over the family which provides clues to understanding the strategy for the Charter campaign.

In this debate, it has become clear that the 'orthodox' CP position is to see the family as a neutral unit in car-



italist society. In fact, it is even at times described as a working class gain which needs to be defended against attacks.

The exploitation and oppression of women in the workforce is not at all linked by the CP to the oppression of women in the family. It is this gap in their analysis which means that the CP miss out a whole dimension of the Charter campaign. The importance of the Charter is that it can be used to build a campaign which ties together the problems of women as mothers and wives, and as workers.

The problems of women in the workforce will never be solved unless there is a fight to free women from the responsibilities of the home. But the CP refuses to acknowledge these links. For them, the Charter is either fought for by taking up each of the demands in a separate campaign—

and the demand for equal pay is often the one to be isolated because it is now a 'legitimate' concern for the trade union movement—or by simply passing a formal resolution at a trades council or trade union branch, and then dropping the campaign.

The success and impact of the Charter will depend on how forcefully it can challenge the views of many trade unionists that while equal pay, pensions, etc. are part and parcel of trade union business, the questions of abortion, contraception, and nurseries are simply 'personal problems'. To ensure that all these issues are taken up by the workers' movement means challenging the CP, who also share this view.

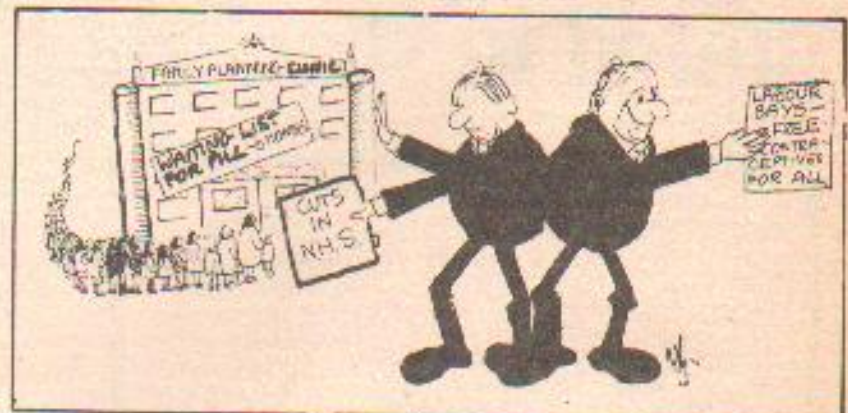
CAUCUSES

Women's caucuses set up within trade unions—which recognise their special needs—go hand in hand with a successful Charter campaign. Once again, however, these forms of organisation are completely outside the CP's understanding. Most CP members consider that the exploitation of women workers differs from that of men only in degree—and thus in their eyes there is no reason to cater for women's special needs. Yet it is precisely the failure of the trade unions here which has deterred many women from playing an active role in them.

Because the CP fails to recognise that the inferior position of women is rooted in the family, they hold a dismissive attitude to the women's liberation movement—which has been at the forefront in organising on issues relating to the family. Moreover, the CP is afraid that the involvement of women from the women's

movement would take the campaign out of their control. That is why they want to confine it to the areas where they hold influence—the trade union branches and trades councils.

The socialist wing of the women's movement has been crucial in building the campaign. These women have seen the necessity of drawing non-union women into the campaign around issues such as nursery prov-



isions. And the dangers of ignoring women outside the trade union movement were spelt out clearly by the experiences at Cowley. Here the wives of car workers—who did not understand the role of the union in fighting against the onslaught on workers' living standards—organised to get their husbands back to work.

The failings of the CP in relation to the Charter leave activists in the campaign with a number of crucial tasks. Firstly, we must build the campaign outside the ranks of the

trade union bureaucracy, where the CP would prefer it to remain. Secondly, we must extend the forces involved in the campaign to include non-unionised women workers, students, housewives, etc.

Finally we must ensure that all the demands of the Charter are taken up together. History has demonstrated—most notably in the failure of the suffragettes to link other aspects of women's oppression to the issue of the vote—the penalties of failure in this respect.

NHS

Victory won by victimised porters

Two victimised porters at Guy's Hospital in London have now been reinstated following action by union members in the hospital.

The two men—shop steward Charles Smallwood and COHSE branch chairman Sid Parsons—are responsible for distributing the incoming mail to all parts of the hospital. After the retirement of the Messenger of the Board of Governors, who had been responsible for collecting the mail bags and holding them until the mail was sorted, this part of his job was added on to Smallwood's and Parsons' duties.

The hospital management claimed this would only mean an extra 10 minutes work, but the workers pointed out that it in fact meant an extra hour's duty each day. The two men then refused to do the extra duty.

Within one hour the management had issued them with verbal and written warnings that they faced dismissal unless they

carried out the new duties. When they still refused, a letter of dismissal was given to each of them. No consultation whatsoever took place with the unions.

The response of the workers was quick and to the point. Several departments immediately stopped work. At the meeting of the COHSE branch it was decided that all the members would come out, and the strike was made official.

The Guy's workers see this attack as an attempt by management to introduce cut-backs, increase the work load, and break the power of the unions. Guy's is reported to be in severe financial trouble, and this has given added impetus to the management's attacks.

But the prompt response of the workers saved the day, and on 5 December the management were forced to climb down and reinstate the two men.

Richard Kramer

Ancillary workers fight union leaders' tricks

Area delegate conferences of NUPE members are now being held to discuss the hospital ancillary workers' wage claim.

The union leaders are trying to use these conferences to get their authority rubber-stamped, thus allowing the negotiators to accept the equivalent of the deal imposed on local authority workers.

But in London on 5 December, and in Swindon on 7 December, area delegate conferences of NUPE shop stewards gave this suggestion short shrift.

They called instead for a new series of delegate conferences to be held in January 1975.

This will give the members time to discuss the management's offer, due to be made on 13 December, and mandate their delegates on what position to take on it.

Meanwhile, Portsmouth & District Hospitals NUPE branch have called a conference for this Saturday, 14 December, at the Prince Albert Pub, Wharfedale Road—off York Road, London N.1. The aim of the conference is to prepare a campaign to ensure that a real fight is launched around the call for a 35-hour week and a £35 minimum.

BAKERS SLAM OFFER

STATEMENT BY BARTONS (BAS-ILDON) STRIKE COMMITTEE.

1. We are disgusted at the decision of the Executive Council and the general secretary in accepting the latest pay offer of £28.50 plus unconsolidated threshold payments of £4.40, which in our opinion in 1974 when inflation is running at an unprecedented rate is nowhere near a living wage.
2. We demand the re-call of Conference and the resignation of all the Executive Council members who voted to accept this offer. We also demand the resignation of Stan Gretton, the national secretary, and Chris Childs, the national president.
3. We give the EC four weeks to implement these demands or we shall take industrial action.



WHAT'S ON

S. E. ESSEX RED CIRCLE: 'Which way forward for the AUEW?' Wednesday 18 December, 8pm, at 39 Kennel Lane, Billericay.

IMG PARTY: Friday 13 December at South Bank Poly Students' Union (Rotary St.), 8pm till late, with disco. Admission 25p. Elephant and Castle tube.

PLOUGH FORUM: 'Ireland's British Problem—Origins of the Crisis', Friday 13 December at 8pm in the Small Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

CONDEMN CONTROL UNITS: Two demonstrations are being held on Saturday 14 December at 12 noon, outside Wormwood Scrubs (Du Cane Road, London W.12) and Wakefield Prison (Love Lane, Wakefield). All who condemn this sinister regime are urged to give their support. Further information from Liz at RAP, Eastbourne House, London E.2 (01-981 0041).

IMG GAY GROUP: Contact J.Mills, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds.

PICKET RAILWAY TAVERN: Come and oppose colour bar operated by racist landlord. Friday 13 December, 8pm, at the 'Railway Tavern', Grove Road, London E.3.

'NATIONALISATION or Expropriation' second edition of pamphlet produced in 1973 by the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. 10p per copy, send cash with order to 72 Cambridge Road, King's meath, Birmingham.

COMRADES (3 or more) seek cheap self-contained flat/house. South/central London preferred. Contact Val, 837 8954 (day).

SHEFFIELD RED CIRCLES: Every Wednesday at 7.30pm in the Lion Hotel (corner of The Wickar and Nursery Street).

WATFORD RED FORUMS: Fortnightly in the Green Man, Watford High Street. Next meeting, Monday 30 December: 'The Common Market and the Revolutionary Left'.



Some 40 doctors and medical students from London hospitals—including Charing Cross, Hackney, Hammersmith, St. Bartholomew's, and King's College—took part in a very successful picket against private practice on Monday outside the offices of the British Medical Association.

Actors fight for real trade union

Members of the actors' union, Equity, are engaged in a fierce struggle about who controls the union.

A group of right-wingers, led by Marius Goring and Derek Bond, want to take Equity out of the Trades Union Congress and stop moves by the union to adopt a branch and delegate structure.

DECIDED

Only last August the Annual General Meeting of the Union voted to re-join the TUC. The AGM also decided to divide Equity into local branches and hold an annual delegate conference to elect the National Executive.

Previously the Union held one meeting a year, always in London. None of the decisions at that meeting were binding on the Equity Council. The Council was elected on a postal ballot, mainly on the basis of personalities.

The right wing, led by a minority of Council members, have now got 100 signatures by using front runners like Danny La Rue, which means that the Union now has to hold a referendum of its 20,000 on these issues.

'STARS'

Goring and Bond claim that Equity is a professional association, not a trade

union, and would prefer it to be run by an elite of 'stars'. They also want to keep the power in the hands of the full-time staff—some of whom are equally dubious about the moves towards democracy inside the union.

The right's claim that actors do not need a normal trade union has a bitter ring at the present time. Cut-backs in government grants are forcing bodies such as the Arts Council to slash their subsidies to the big companies like the Royal Shakespeare and the National Theatre.

Local authorities are also chopping grants to repertory companies, and the BBC is threatening to cut down on programmes unless it gets an increase in licence fees. As unemployment sweeps this already precarious profession, actors are feeling less and less like 'special' people.

ORGANISED

A campaign is being organised against Goring and Bond by the broad left in the union. IMG militants have successfully proposed through the Campaign for Re-Affiliation and Progress for Equity (CRAPE), that actors be mobilised to vote down the right's proposals.

Meetings have been held in theatres up and down the country, and 10,000 leaflets have been mailed calling on the members to reject Goring's resolution.

Although this campaign has got a good response amongst most sections of the left inside Equity, the Workers Revolutionary Party has characteristically stood aside. The WRP say: 'we do not want to unite on the lowest common denominator'—meaning that they are not prepared to mobilise the members on the key issue of union democracy. Instead the WRP simply offers Equity members the solution of joining them.

If Goring and Bond win on the referendum, and Equity is turned into a tame professional organisation, it is the ordinary members who will suffer. Wages will be 'pegged', unemployment will grow, and conditions will further deteriorate.

For the small elite at the top of the profession this may not be serious, but for the bulk of the members it will be disastrous.

Chris Malcom.

New from Red Books

RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1 9BT.
Open: 10-8 weekdays, 10.30-5.30 Saturdays. 01-278 9528.



RED BOOK TOKENS:

Any value available. Each token costs 5p (+ 5p p&p if ordered by post). Red Book tokens are exchangeable for books to face value at Red Books (in person or by mail order).

ORDER NOW FROM:
Red Books, 97 Caledonian Rd., London N1

SPECIAL XMAS OFFER

Marxist Economic Theory (Mandel) £1.70—reduced from £2

Fascism & Big Business (Guerin) £1.20—reduced from £1.40

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (Riazanov) £1.25—reduced from £1.50

The First Three Internationals (Novack et al.) 90p—reduced from £1.05

This offer is only valid until 30 December or until stocks run out. Add 10p per book for mail order (20p outside UK).



CHRISTMAS CARDS FROM RED BOOKS:

25p for 5 (add 5p per set p&p for mail order). All proceeds to Red Weekly Fund Drive.



JAPAN'S BULLDOZER

— IN THE DITCH

KAKUEI TANAKA, proudly referred to as the 'bulldozer' by his supporters, has been forced to resign as Prime Minister of Japan.

The corruption and gangsterism which surrounded his early political life—and upon which his present wealth is based—were finally brought out into the open, and the Japanese capitalists had no option but to ditch him. Not even a visit by the imperialist chieftain Ford could save Tanaka—a reflection of the extent to which these revelations keyed into a much broader economic and social crisis.

ROOTS OF CRISIS

The rebirth of Japanese capitalism after its crushing defeat in the Second World War was a result of the economic boom which lasted from 1948 until 1966-67 and embraced the entire capitalist world.

It was also helped by the fact that the trade union movement which developed after the war was dominated both by Cold War politics and by a paternalistic structure based on companies rather than industries. Workers tend to remain tied to companies for housing, social security etc., and quite understandably become extremely reluctant to change jobs. Furthermore, when a worker retires he is paid a bonus by the company, and the wage-system itself is based on age: older workers get more money.

All these factors taken together explain the passivity of the Japanese working class for a whole period.

The end of the boom and the protectionist measures announced by the USA in 1971 went hand in hand with a rise of working class militancy. During the 'spring offensive' of 1973 even the steel unions (the most reactionary in the country) called for strikes, and a whole number of demands were won. Spring 1975 threatens to confront the Japanese capitalists with their most serious clash yet with the organised workers' movement.



Front cover of newspaper of the Japanese section of the Fourth International shows militants in one of the series of struggles which have recently broken out

The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of which Tanaka and the new premier Takeo Miki are members, has been the voice of Japanese big business for many decades. It has ruled the country uninterruptedly since the early 1950s by utilising an electoral law which allows it to govern while remaining a minority in the country as a whole.

Opposition within parliament has

been provided by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Komeito (a petty-bourgeois Buddhist party). But in the streets the mass opposition has often outflanked the parliamentary leaderships of these parties.

Japan has a long experience of mass movements. They started with the protest against nuclear weapons, reaching a peak with the Bikini tests in 1953. The

vacuum left by a passive working class was filled by the student movement, and anti-imperialist protests were soon to sweep the major cities of Japan. These culminated in mass protests against Eisenhower's proposed visit to Japan in 1958 to sign a renewal of the US-Japan Security Pact. The visit was cancelled, even though the pact was signed.

VIETNAM WAR

The Vietnam war provided the basis for the next wave of protests, which were probably the most militant and began to involve young workers. The defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam also began to have an important effect on Japanese politics as a whole. Since Japanese stability depended to a large extent on US stability, the economic crisis and political defeat suffered by the latter left its mark in Japan.

Tanaka's job when he became prime minister in 1972 was to prepare a complete overhauling of Japan—politically, economically, militarily—as a power increasingly independent from the United States. His dismissal and the crisis in the LDP show that it is not an easy task.

The growth of Japanese capitalism has brought with it an urban growth which has been totally unplanned. This has created problems of housing, transport and education, which coupled with pollution have provided the basis for yet another of Japan's mass movements, this time led by housewives and workers. Today inflation has to be added to the list.

DECLINE

The major support for the LDP originally came from the countryside, but the economic growth has whittled that down; in 1945 the peasantry was 50% of the population; in 1960 it was 40%, but by 1973 it was only 1% of the total.

This weakening of its base is beginning to be reflected in Parliament. In the 1969 general election the LDP reached its peak by winning 300 seats out of a total of 476, but in 1972 it only got 280, while the CP tripled its representation by winning 40 seats and the SP went up from 90 to 119.

Joint CP-SP candidates have also won the mayoralty elections in a whole number of cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, Kyoto and Nagoya.

The traditional left has also begun to capture certain trade unions, especially in the public sector. The CP is undoubtedly the major working class party, even though its electoral representation is less than that of the SP. It has a membership, for instance, of 300,000 compared to the SP's 50,000.

But politically the CP has moved rapidly rightwards. For it the lessons of Chile mean that the struggle for socialism must be deferred to an even more distant future while the CP attempts to create a bloc with the Komeito party in order to win electoral victories. Its main theoretician Teruzo has recently translated an article by Lenin in which 'a state of emergency' has been substituted for 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' to make it fit into 'Japanese conditions'.

REVOLUTIONARIES

The revolutionary left consists of three dominant groups; two of which are state capitalist groups who spend the bulk of their political energies attacking the other, on occasion physically. This degeneration reflects their



Exit for Tanaka

isolation from both the Japanese working class and the world revolutionary movement.

The third is the Japanese Revolutionary Communist League, the section of the Fourth International, which intervenes both in the working class struggles and in the mass movement. It has also played a leading role in the peasants' struggles in Sanriku to prevent the building of a new military airport.

As the traditional hold of capital over labour and its organisations begins to break down, Japan is coming more and more into line with the crisis confronting capitalist Europe. This crisis is bound to affect the workers' parties and the trade unions. The resulting explosion could be a big one and could aid the construction of a mass revolutionary party.

C. Howard

Spanish workers back political prisoners



SOME 30,000 SPANISH workers have given the ailing General Franco an unwelcome 82nd birthday present by defying the notoriously brutal police to strike in support of the country's political prisoners.

Most of the strikes took place in the northern Basque region, in response to a call from the Basque nationalist organisation ETA. A number of shops and schools were closed in sympathy with the strikers, and in at least one town police broke up a demonstration.

At present more than 150 political prisoners in jails across the country are on hunger strike to back up their demand for an amnesty for all political prisoners. This demand has gained tremendous popular support in Spain, so much so that those sections of the ruling class—including the Catholic Church—who want to 'liberalise' Spain's political set-up have been forced to take it up. A petition calling for amnesty and greater political freedom has so far gained 150,000 signatures.

But there has been no let-up so far in the repressive policies pur-

sued by the regime. In Valencia the prosecution is asking for minimum sentences of two years each for a group of militants—including a priest—accused of leading the local workers' commissions (trade union bodies that are illegal under the dictatorship). In Burgos a Basque militant accused of political bank robberies has been sent to jail for 23 years.

The most serious case is taking place in the capital city of Madrid. There two militants, Antonio Duran and Eva Forrest, are being tried in connection with a bomb that exploded in a Madrid cafe in September, killing ten people.

No organisation has claimed responsibility for the bombing, and the group on whom the Spanish police have tried to pin it—the Basque nationalists, ETA(V)—have specifically denied it.

Indeed, there are widespread suspicions that the bombing might have been the work of police provocateurs.

The police claim to have 'evidence' that Forrest and Duran were connected with the bombing. It

Save Forrest and Duran from Franco's butchers

The real crime committed by Eva Forrest and Antonio Duran, in the eyes of the Spanish police, is the mere fact that they are leading left-wing militants.

They were arrested three months ago along with six others, including two prominent women lawyers, and charged with providing help and shelter for the people who had carried out the bombing of a Madrid cafe in mid-September.

Duran is a long-standing activist in the workers movement. He was in the leadership of an important strike in Madrid in 1968, and a leader of the building workers' strikes in 1971 and 1972.

Eva Forrest is a psychiatrist and a well-known opponent of the Franco dictatorship, both in Spain and in France. She is married to one of Spain's best known play-

wrights, Alfonso Sastre. She has been in the forefront of organising solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, and more recently has been a major figure in the developing women's liberation movement in Spain.

The police held their captives for a week before even making public the fact of their arrest. All have been subject to torture, and one—lawyer Lydia Falcon—has been hospitalised because of her brutal treatment.

Eva Forrest was in police hands for more than a month before her lawyer was able to visit her. During that time she was ruthlessly tortured in order to make her confess. She has managed to smuggle out of prison an account of the experiences she was subjected to.

For nine days she was ruthlessly beaten for hours on end by a series of 'specialists' in torture, led by police chief Jose Sainz. When the beatings made her sick she was ordered to lick up her vomit.

To this physical cruelty was added psychological torture. She was told that if she didn't confess she would be thrown out of the window, and her death dressed up as 'suicide'. Her 12-year old daughter was arrested and imprisoned, and she was told that her husband had been wounded in a fight with the police and that they had 'finished him off' (in fact he was still alive).

It would be surprising if they did not have plenty of such evidence, for the Spanish police are among the busiest frame-up artists in the world. But they also seem to have rather poor memories, since they have at different times claimed that Forrest and Duran were members of two organisations with very different political positions—ETA(V) and the Communist Party. They are now trying to get themselves out of this bind by claiming Forrest and Duran are members of Earth/

at large). On at least one occasion she was raped by one of her torturers.

The prosecution has demanded the death sentence for the accused in this case—and there is every chance that the courts will oblige.

SACRIFICES

These militants are in grave danger of becoming the latest blood sacrifices on the altar of the Spanish dictatorship. Only massive solidarity—both in Spain and internationally—can rescue them from the hands of Franco's butchers.

An international committee has been formed to defend them, and in France it has received support from many left wing organisations and prominent individuals. Among its sponsors are writers Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Francoise Sagan, and actress Delphine Seyrig.

The labour movement in Britain must add its weight to the campaign to save these militants.

As a first step in building solidarity in this country the London Spanish Solidarity Committee has called for a demonstration outside the Spanish consulate on Saturday, 14 December. The demonstration will begin at 10am, at 3, Hans Crescent, SW1 (nearest tube Knightsbridge).

The labour movement in Britain must add its weight to the campaign to save these militants.

As a first step in building solidarity in this country the London Spanish Solidarity Committee has called for a demonstration outside the Spanish consulate on Saturday, 14 December. The demonstration will begin at 10am, at 3, Hans Crescent, SW1 (nearest tube Knightsbridge).



Jack Jones reports to Labour Party Conference on his expulsion from Chile. But will he give active support to solidarity movement here?

CHILE!

BUILD

SOLIDARITY IN THE UNIONS

THE CHILEAN JUNTA'S attempts to present itself to the world as being firmly in control of the situation inside the country have met with predictable failure over the last few weeks.

The much trumpeted statement of support for the regime by 27 right-wing politicians—mainly members of the bourgeois Christian Democrat party—provoked an ex-leader of that party, Renan Fuentealba, to reply by making a few minor criticisms of the junta. As a member of the 'left' of the Christian Democrats this was to be expected. But it was too much for the generals to tolerate and they promptly expelled Fuentealba from the country.

The Christian Democrats could hardly take the expulsion of their former leader lying down, and 67 of them responded by issuing a public protest to the junta. Most importantly, the letter was signed by ex-President Frei, whose support for the coup has in the past been completely uncritical.

Significantly, Frei chose to make this statement—in which he said that elements in the junta were 'seeking to promote a situation of irreconcilable conflicts'—just after returning from a trip to the United States. Junta chief Pinochet has replied by making open attacks on the Christian Democrat bourgeoisie for 'sowing discord'.

What this little cycle of events

shows very clearly is that the junta's social base has now narrowed to an unprecedented extent.

I.T.W.F. MISSION

A second problem for the generals was the visit of an International Transport Workers Federation mission to Chile, whose members included Jack Jones. The team was due to investigate trade union rights in Chile. The military, obviously wishing to spare the mission from arduous task of trying to find a single trade union right that has not been flagrantly violated, expelled the whole team after only 24 hours.

Such an action is hardly consistent with the junta's attempts to improve its international image. The Minister of Labour, Air Force Gen-

eral Oscar Santalucía, has never offered the comforting thought that trade union rights would be restored when inflation was controlled. With inflation running at over 1000% per annum and still rising, the meaning of such promises is obvious!

Of course there is a simple reason why the junta's efforts to present a new face to the world founder with such monotonous regularity. The plain facts of the matter are that its economic crisis is so severe and its social base so small that it is only by the most absolute and terrifying repression that it can maintain itself.

Every one of its publicity stunts runs slap up against this contradiction. Even the most minor concessions threaten to open the door to a wave of resistance against the junta. They are therefore quickly abandoned and replaced by new and more vicious repressive measures.

SOLIDARITY

It is against this background that the Chile Solidarity Campaign will hold its AGM this weekend. The immense importance of solidarity at the present time cannot be overemphasised. The military regime is becoming increasingly isolated, and militant solidarity from the working class all over the world can have not just a psychological effect on the struggle in Chile but can actually materially weaken the junta. But for that to be done the solidarity movement must be clear on its priorities and tasks.

The original programme presented to the CSC by the Communist Party a couple of months ago was completely inadequate. It presented no main focuses for the campaign, and most significant of all it postponed the 'trade union' work of the campaign until a Trade Union conference in May—with the build-up not starting till March.

Its central inspiration was the idea that the CSC had not tapped the 'wide field of liberal opinion' and that the issue of human rights should therefore become the main feature of solidarity work. This strategy is in line with that of the

Euro-pe who have adopted a similar orientation. Behind it lies their wish not to offend their prospective Christian Democrat allies in Europe and Chile by campaigning on issues which these bourgeois gentlemen might find unpalatable.

TRADE UNIONS

Fortunately, when the programme came to be discussed by the meeting of all the local committees of the CSC at Leeds last month, the CP's strategy for the campaign was defeated. A motion presented by the IMG which called for the prioritisation of campaign actions amongst the rank and file of the trade union movement (as opposed to 'liberal opinion') was easily carried.

The motion also moved the Trade Union conference forward to March with the build-up to start immediately. In addition, the motion stressed that the campaign should focus on three principal issues: the extension of the boycott of Chilean trade; continued pressure on the Labour Government to end its scabbing on the Chilean struggle; and around the issue of political prisoners and refugees.

The AGM must confirm this orientation and initiate the concrete steps necessary for its implementation. In particular, care must be taken to ensure that the Trade Union conference is not seen simply as a gathering of trade union bureaucrats who have no intention of launching any actions. Every effort must be made to get the maximum participation in the conference from the rank and file of the trade union movement.

Only if this is done can we hope to extend and support such excellent examples of solidarity as that of the Rolls-Royce workers at East Kilbride, who—despite strong pressure from the AUEW executive—have now taken the decision not only to continue but to extend their boycott of engines for Chilean military planes to include civil planes as well.

Gerry Hedley

CP RED-FACED AS STUDENTS BACK SOVIET DISSIDENTS

Delegates to the recent National Union of Students conference in Margate left no doubt about their solidarity with the struggle for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe. On the Sunday morning, (1 December) the conference gave a standing ovation to Jan Kavan, a Czech socialist oppositionist and a former leader of the Czech Students' Union (SVS), banned in 1969 by the Husak regime.

by
Joe Greenwood

This enthusiastic reception from the floor contrasted starkly with the stony-faced silence of the 'Broad Left' majority of the Executive and with the behaviour of the National Secretary, Steve Parry, who left the platform in solidarity with...the Kremlin. Later in the day, Parry was censured for his persistent failure to express the real feelings of the NUS membership in relation to the regime installed after the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

These deep divisions reached a climax in the debate on Soviet dissidents. The majority of the Executive produced a long delayed report. It tried to combine polite criticisms of the repression with 'understanding for'—and ultimate loyalty to—the Brezhnev regime. They did not hesitate to engage in the vilest slanders against Pyotr Griporakko—the courageous communist oppositionist who has fought for a real return to Leninism in the Soviet Union.

This is how the 'masters of Leninism' on the Executive describe such activity: 'What he has campaigned against is the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dual role of Party and State. He could not reconcile himself to the

concept of democratic centralism operative within the CPSU. It would, however, appear consistent to criticise the apparent use of psychiatry and detention for political motives.'

That, then, is the problem as far as the report is concerned: there are, unfortunately, a number of perverse dissidents who will not reconcile themselves to existing Soviet society; and instead of trying gently to persuade them, the authorities resolutely use administrative methods to solve the problem. This outline, we agree, is certainly consistent with the positions put forward since the 1960s by the leadership of the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Great Britain.

By rejecting this view, however, the delegates took a major step towards recognising that the real problem in Soviet society lies in the political domination of an uncontrolled bureaucratic caste and the systematic deprivation of the elementary democratic freedoms of the population as a whole. However, the minority report that was eventually passed had a number of defects that must be eliminated in future work.

Firstly, it attempted to tie support for dissidents facing repression to an analysis of Eastern Europe as an integral part of the world capitalist system, leaving aside its obvious taint, such a view clearly cannot provide the basis

We have just learned of the re-arrest of Ivan Demal, a former member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, who recently completed a two-year jail sentence. The conditions of interrogation and detention were such that he appears to have attempted suicide after his release. The 'cure' recommended by Husak's specialists was to draft him into the army. Just seven days later he was hauled in again and charged with subversion and anti-Soviet propaganda. We shall be giving further details in the next issue of Red Weekly.

for ongoing solidarity work that requires the maximum unity of all socialist forces. Secondly, it suggested that the main task of such work should be to get the bourgeois media 'to take up the cause of Marxist dissidents'. It did not make clear that the campaign should be openly conducted under the banner of socialism and workers' democracy.

UNITY

We believe that it will be possible to correct these mistakes, provided that other forces on the revolutionary left put the interests of principled unity first. At present, the NUS Executive is still able to explain its inaction by pointing to the lack of a formal mandate. It will be an important task for all revolutionary socialists over the coming months to fight to commit their respective unions and the NUS Executive to the defence of dissidents in Eastern Europe.

During the past weeks, Czech socialists Jan Kavan and Ivan Hartel have spoken in Hull, Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield, Oxford, Brighton and Glasgow at meetings organised by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and supported by the International Marxist Group.

Conference calls for campaign against complicity with racists

More than one hundred activists from the labour and student movements turned out in London on Saturday to discuss the current situation in Southern Africa and to lay plans for building solidarity in this country.

They were delegates to a very successful conference sponsored by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau (CFMAG). In addition to local groups concerned with the African struggle, ten student unions and a considerable number of trade union and Labour Party bodies were represented at the conference. The engineering union's white,



Jan Kavan—a leader of the Czech Students' Union (SVS)—speaking at a mass meeting in the Prague Congress Palace. He was given a standing ovation by the Margate conference as NUS leader Steve Parry stormed from the platform.

collar section, TASS, was especially well represented, with four divisional councils sending delegates.

The morning session was chaired by Jack Collins, Kent area delegate on the National Union of Miners' Executive, and in the afternoon the chair was taken by Dick Day, delegate from TASS Divisional Council No.10.

The morning session was highly informative. Reports were given by Bruno da Ponte, from the Portuguese Workers' Co-ordinating Committee, on decolonisation in the former Portuguese territories; by Rich First on the current situation in Southern Africa; and by Ken McMillan,

Secretary of Lanarkshire Trades Council Joint Committee, on the role of the multinational companies in the third world.

Several speakers, both from the platform and the floor, stressed the need to see the close interrelationship between political events in all the various countries of Southern Africa, and the need to organise coordinated solidarity actions with the struggles going on in the area as a whole.

After workshop discussions, a final plenary session dealt with the organisation of solidarity. The conference adopted a resolution calling for the organisation of a campaign against British Government complicity with the white racist regimes of Southern Africa, and the establishment of a co-ordinating committee of all groups prepared to back such a campaign. The resolution also suggested the organisation of a demonstration in March on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

Jobs at stake

SPECTRE OF COLLEGE CLOSURE HAUNTS ALNWICK

ALNWICK? Didn't he play inside right for Derby County in 1952 — or was it the scene of some battle or other?

A year ago those would have been the stock replies to any questions about Alnwick. Now most students know something about Alnwick.

Alnwick is in fact a rural market town in Northumberland. Thirty five miles north of Newcastle with a population of 7,000, it is in the heart of the depressed North-East. The town's present claim to fame comes from the fight students there are now putting up against the imminent closure of the college of further education.

The rot began to set into teacher training nationally in 1972 with the Tories' acceptance of the James Report, which proposed a 24% reduction in the number of teacher training places available. The Labour Government, far from making things better, simply made them worse. While they reversed only one sixth of the £182 million slashed from the education budget by Barber in December 1973, met only one seventh of the NUS grants demands, and refused to extend the rent freeze to students, they further proceeded to increase the cuts in teacher training to a massive 44%!

MERGERS

One way of introducing these cutbacks has been the moves to merge colleges. In this manner the state can lower its overheads — human overheads, like students and staff! So it was that in May this year a letter arrived in Alnwick from the Department of Education and Science stating that the college was to become an appendage of the polytechnic in Newcastle.

The merging, or more correctly the closure of the college in Alnwick will have grave repercussions on the working class in the town.

With forecasts that unemployment will reach the million mark next year the future is bleak in the North-East.

In Alnwick there are 196 men and 57 women on the dole — and with only six jobs vacant the chances of finding

work are not bright. Just a few weeks ago another 80 were laid off at a local quarry. If the college closes, 125 workers employed there can expect the same fate. In the event of the closure nearly 7% of the town's total population will be unemployed.

PITFALLS

When fighting the closures students have to avoid many pitfalls, for it is not the case that they should oppose mergers as a matter of principle. Many of these small colleges are tightly run by the principals, with the students' union weakly organised and hamstringed by petty rules like lights out or no visitors after 'time'. Joining with other colleges would actually benefit such students.

Thus students have to say: we are not opposed to your merger provided certain conditions are met. That is, they should demand: guarantees of no decrease in the rate of expansion; no redundancies or wage and salary cuts; an improvement in

But at Alnwick we see the state's policy of education on the cheap by merging at its worst, not just because of the unemployment it would cause, but also because a new building costing £250,000 has recently been completed. Alnwick will become the first ghost college.

Students in the Newcastle area have not been inactive in the fight against the cuts. Besides taking up the Alnwick case, they have been squatting empty property in Newcastle to highlight the housing shortage, while the polytechnic students occupied the administration block in protest against the proposed cuts in building programmes.

CONFERENCE

It was out of the polytechnic occupation that the call for a regional conference came. In this it is hoped to involve workers and school students in the struggle. The conference, which will be held at the start of next term on 18 January, offers the possibility of students — both in college and at school — and workers planning action to combat the cuts in all fields of education spending in the Newcastle area, including the Alnwick closure.

It is conferences like the one in Newcastle that can lay the basis for ridding the colleges of the spectre of closures that now haunts them. It is with the continuation of the direct action launched this term that students and workers can stop the authorities from solving their crisis at our expense.

Rick Sissons



British Leyland workers from the AEC plant in Southall on the march against one of a series of recent management attacks

BRITISH LEYLAND MOTOR CORPORATION, Britain's largest exporting firm, is falling apart at the seams. After pleading on their knees to their bankers for the last two months and getting an icy refusal, BLMC management have crawled to the Labour Government for cash to stave off bankruptcy.

Industry Minister Tony Benn has obliged with a promise of about £300 million. Sir Don Ryder, newly appointed overlord of the National Enterprise Board and noted for his tough attitude to the unions when he ran the giant Reed International firm, will oversee the Government stake in BLMC.

Ever since BMC merged with Lord Stokes' Leyland Motors in 1968, collapse has never been far around the corner. Until 1974, BLMC always declared a profit. But profit figures masked the reality. By sleight of hand, such as revaluing its stocks of materials and finished vehicles and calculating its depreciation of capital on old and not current costs of its assets, profits were artificially boosted.

The roots of BLMC's sickness go back several years. After the merger in 1968, the company was never able to turn a giant conglomerate into an efficient capitalist concern. While the giant European firms concentrated and rationalised production, building massive new plants to produce future profits far more efficiently, BLMC sat on its laurels and doled out huge profits to its investors instead of ploughing them back into more productive machinery.

By the time the slump in the world market for cars began in earnest, BLMC was already being overtaken by the competitive efficiency of French, German and Japanese producers. BLMC's investment was lower than its rivals. By the end of 1973, it was running an overdraft with the banks of over £100 million.

At the same time it was running cash bills to other companies to the tune of £360 million. The three-day week and the slump in car demand with the 'oil crisis' and rise in petrol prices nearly finished the company for good. It began to use bank loans meant for long-term investment to pay its immediate bills.

The gravy bucket from the banks began to run out. BLMC was pleading for new loans to finance its £600 million investment programme. The bankers, sensible capitalist gentlemen that they are, said no. BLMC shares dipped on the Stock Exchange to an all-time low of 7p.

CONCENTRATED

But Leyland workers can take only small comfort from Benn's promise to bale the company out of its immediate difficulties. For a start, the BLMC investment programme is concentrated in the top-price range Rover and Jaguar lines. The biggest number of workers in the company are concentrated on the middle range Marina and Allegro — exactly the lines management have tried to hit hardest with Measured

Day Work in the last few years to jack up falling sales and low profits.

Already, Fords, Chrysler and Vauxhall's are sacking workers. So far, BLMC has got rid of 10,000 jobs in the last two years by 'natural wastage' — that is, by simply not taking new labour on. But now the need of the capitalist is greater.

DELIGHTED

While Benn hands over the money with one hand and calms down workers worried about jobs with the other, Ryder at the NEB will be delighted that a Labour Government sees its way to stosh so much money in the direction of the employers.

But the 'accountability' the NEB will be demanding will be to the sacred capitalist market and profits. And the price of that will be jobs. The British car market peaked at 1.6 million models in 1973. Next year sales may well be under a million. Mr. Ryder's 'investigations' will take these things very seriously.

BLMC workers should demand they have every scrap of information and plans from the NEB before their eyes at every stage, and should exercise a veto against any plans that mean cutting jobs.

The fight for workers control over any Labour Government intervention into BLMC will not be easy. A mass meeting last Friday at the Cowley plant decided to raise a £12 pay demand to £16. That is a slap in the eye for Labour's social contract.

PROMISES

The other side of the social contract is Benn's constant promises that Labour Government money and nationalisation will guarantee jobs and help workers weather the storm of the capitalist crisis.

But the shop stewards at Cowley rejected the call from IMG militants in the factory for a 12-month job guarantee to be built into the pay claim to run to the end of 1975. The stewards narrowly defeated the amendment in their own meeting and then secured a massive vote against from the workers.

They argued that such a demand when the industry is in a mess, was unrealistic and impossible to secure. What this amounts to saying is that redundancy is inevitable at Cowley.

It's all very well to reject the social contract on the wages front but that alone will not stop the sackings which are on the way. The need for a strategy against redundancy in BLMC and the whole motor industry is needed.

STRATEGY

Such a strategy must concentrate on the fight for nationalisation without compensation under workers control. The first steps to such a common jobs policy throughout all BLMC plants can centre on demands for work-sharing and a cut in hours when redundancies or layoffs are threatened.

The BLMC Combine Committee should meet immediately to thrash out this policy and demand to see and know every stage of Labour's plans for the company. When the Combine Committee meets it must convene a national stewards' conference from all BLMC plants to discuss and decide the road out of redundancy and towards a nationalised industry under workers control.

Tim Hall.

PAMPHLETS ON BRITISH LEYLAND

Leyland in Crisis — produced by Cowley IMG
30p plus 5p p&p

British Leyland: An Economic Report — produced by Birmingham IMG
10p plus 5p p&p

From RED BOOKS, 97 Caledonian Road, N.1.

FUND DRIVE

Two weeks to go, and we've almost made it to the £2,000 target, with

£1,804

Our thanks in particular to: P. Barnes, £10; Edinburgh College of Art Labour Group, £15; Lancaster IMG, £10; Leeds IMG, £12.

A special note of thanks also to an Old Age Pensioner from Norfolk who sent us £1.

Rush in your donations to make sure we hit the target by Christmas, to: Red Weekly Fund Drive, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Subscribe to Red

Weekly!

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

DOMESTIC: £5 per year

£2-50p for 6 months.

FOREIGN: £9 per year surface mail.

£12 per year airmail.

Write to RED WEEKLY (distribution),
182 Pentonville Road,
LONDON N 1, England.

