

RED WEEKLY

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'NO' TO THE CAPITALISTS' COMMON MARKET!

BBRITAIN'S LONG-AWAITED REFERENDUM on the Common Market is now firmly on the calendar.

The Labour Government's 'renegotiations' with the other Market members are expected to finish by March, the 'new deal' will be served up to the electorate shortly after, and the referendum itself will take place some time in June.

Wilson's decision to hold the referendum does not imply some disillusionment of the Labour leadership with Parliament. It is simply that the feeling about the Common Market runs so high in the labour movement that the referendum scheme was the only way to prevent the differences in the Party blowing it apart.

Wilson and the majority of the cabinet will certainly accept the terms of the 'renegotiated' settlement—no matter what they are. They are devoted supporters of the capitalist system, and understand that staying in the Common Market is a life-and-death question for Britain's capitalists.

But this is exactly the reason that the working class should be opposed to the Common Market: it is a capitalist institution, designed to strengthen the power of the ruling classes of the different countries within it.

The working class must meet the challenge of an international class enemy by building its own international organisation—through link-ups between workers in the same industry or multi-national firm, international solidarity actions with workers in struggle, and co-ordinated industrial actions. But at the same time we should do everything in our power to block the capitalists' efforts to combine against the working class.

That means saying a loud 'No' to the capitalists' Common Market—every worker, and every supporter

vote *against* the Common Market in the referendum.

But it would be wrong to think that the economic problems of Britain would be solved by getting out of the Market. In fact, British capitalism would be worse off outside the EEC. The point is there is *no solution* to the problems of the working class under capitalism.

The fight to get Britain out of the EEC *can and must* be part of an all-round fight to get rid of the whole capitalist system in this country, and replace it with a planned, socialist economy run by and for the working people.

It is totally wrong for the workers' movement to flirt with sections of the capitalist class—often the most reactionary circles—in the fight to get Britain out of the EEC. Such co-operation only helps reactionaries like Enoch Powell and the National Front spread their poison among workers. These people are the deadly enemies of socialism and will divert the fight against the Common Market from the fight for socialism.

Both the TUC and the Labour Party have indicated that they will be holding special conferences to make their recommendation on the referendum. This is an important and useful step. The best move would be a joint conference of the whole labour movement which could speak out against the Market with a powerful, united voice, and could at the same time hammer out a socialist alternative

EEC.

In any event, united local meetings of this kind should be organised immediately to educate and mobilise the workers' movement. There is no need to wait until March—for the position of the workers' movement should be: 'No to the capitalists' Common Market—on any terms'.

Inflation is a fact - and it's hitting us hard

Last week our January Fund Drive reached the £250 mark. This means that we still need another £150 to make our January total of £400.

Readers tell us that the paper is essential to their political work. They say that both the content and design are improving. They are particularly proud of the consistent record of the paper on Ireland.

As one reader wrote: 'While the rest of the revolutionary press have jumped all over the place on Ireland, *Red Weekly* is the only paper which has consistently defended the struggle of the Irish people and fought to build a Troops Out movement.'

Good. We are pleased that recognition of the vital role of *Red Weekly* is growing. But we need more than words and verbal congratulations. All that capitalist inflation we keep writing about is a fact, and it's hitting your paper very hard indeed.

Every penny we can get is needed to maintain the paper. The capitalist system is in deep crisis. The opportunity to build a revolutionary movement has never been better, or more urgent. That means a bigger, better, *Red Weekly*.

We can only get such a paper if you make sacrifices and send us money. Rush in every personal donation. Take collections amongst the readers. Fighting capitalism means building the *Red Weekly*. We rely on you, our readers, to get the money rolling in.

Victory for 'Free Caprino' campaign

FRANCO CAPRINO, the imprisoned Italian militant threatened with deportation, has been released from jail and had the deportation order against him lifted. This is an important victory for the left and the whole labour movement.

Caprino was arrested five weeks ago and presented with a deportation order signed personally by Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, ordering him out of the country in the 'public good'. This step was taken under a little-known section of the Immigration Act which gives the Home Secretary sweeping and arbitrary powers. He need not give any reason for his action, and there is no legal appeal against his decision—only the right to ask three 'advisers' appointed by the Home Secretary to take a look at the case.

Only Caprino's decision to appear before the 'advisers' prevented him being put on the next plane to Italy and gave the left and immigrant groups a chance to publicise his case and organise solidarity actions.

NO EVIDENCE

In the end Jenkins reversed his order even before his 'advisers' had time to consider the case. This makes it obvious that the police had no evidence whatsoever against Caprino, and that they—and the Home Secretary—were engaged in a blatant attempt to victimise him for his left-wing views and trade union activity.

Caprino's employers—Selfridges—have not yet got the message, and have callously stated that as far as they are concerned Caprino 'left their employ on 18 December to go abroad'. It is important that the movement set up to defend Caprino should not let his bosses succeed where Roy Jenkins failed.

The Caprino case has revealed the dangerous powers which laws like the Immigration Act give to the state, and the willingness of Labour ministers to cooperate in their use against the labour movement. We must remain alert to prevent the state trying any more Caprino-style operations—whether they are under the Immigration Act or the Prevention of Terrorism Act—and fight to get all these reactionary and repressive laws out of the hands of the state.

Chris Balfour



Eamonn McCann speaking from the platform of the rally called by the Manchester branch of the Troops Out Movement on January 26, to mobilise support for the demonstration and rally this weekend in London. Over 250 people attended the meeting, which was chaired by Jennifer Dale of the Manchester TOM and the IMG. Other speakers included Pat Arrowsmith, Alastair Renwick of TOM, and Mike Walsh of Birmingham Trades Council.

TROOPS Out Now!



What keeps Stonehouse afloat?

Britain's champion swimmer John Stonehouse is still in Australia.

Meanwhile, the re-appearance of Labour's ageing whizz-kid has caused consternation in both the House of Commons and the 'liberal' press. After Poulson, Stonehouse is the last thing the Labour Government needs.

When Joan Lester, a Junior Minister at the Foreign Office, asked Harold Wilson if the Government Ombudsman could look into reports that £500,000 was missing from the Bangladesh Relief Fund, Harold's reply was a decisive no.

OFF-BEAT

The Government would like nothing better than Stonehouse's resignation. This would avoid another exposure of a Labour MP's off-beat business activities. Realising that the unpredictable Stonehouse has got his back to the wall they are afraid that he might blow the 'gaffe' on the

FROM OUR MAN IN THE OUTBACK

other MPs who were involved with him in his 'business' enterprises. Edward Short, Leader of the House of Commons and deputy leader of the Labour Party, has been particularly active in trying to have the matter quickly settled without any wide-ranging enquiry. After all, it is not so long since his own position was threatened with the revelation that he had been paid £250 by T. Dan Smith. Who knows what further skeletons may be lurking in Labour's cupboard?

'GUARDIAN'

The *Guardian*, the custodian of 'liberal' thought, integrity in public life, and all things moral, has also uttered its words of wisdom on the 'Stonehouse Affair'. Although Mr Stonehouse has arranged a fake disappearance, fiddled a fake pass-

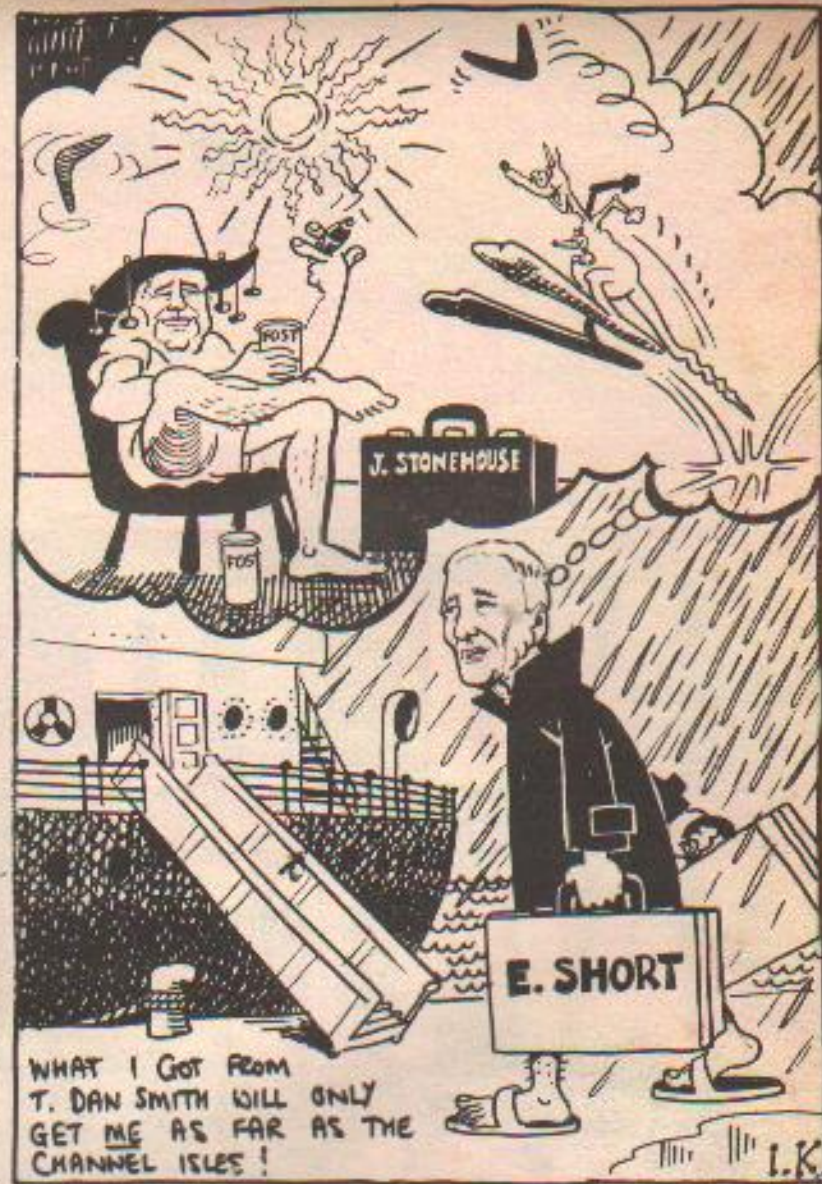
port—probably with the aid of another MP—has been running the most dubious business enterprises, and refuses to leave Australia but will not resign from the House of Commons, the *Guardian* is not keen on him being kicked out from his well-paid parliamentary job.

The *Guardian* explains: 'Mr Stonehouse is answerable to no one in his conduct as an MP except the people of Walsall North who elected him.' Now just in case the people of Walsall North get some strange ideas in their heads that they might have some right to decide whether or not the amphibious Mr. Stonehouse ought to keep on representing them, the *Guardian* got down to putting that arrant nonsense in its proper place.

The editorial writer says: 'Between elections they [the people of Walsall North] have no means of saying whether they like his conduct or not. Nor should they have. It would not be good for parliament if constituents could confirm or invalidate their member's election according to what he was saying or how he was voting at a particular time'.

WORKERS DEMOCRACY

That puts the issues clearly. Capitalist democracy lasts about seven seconds every five years—just about the time it takes to enter the polling booth, put a cross on the ballot paper, and get out.



Recessions can take place, the living standards of the working class can be attacked, measures like the Prevention of Terrorism Act can be introduced, and your MP can vote on every issue against your interests. According to the *Guardian* all you can do is grin and bear it. They understand that MPs are there to run the capitalist system, not express the need of the working class—hence their

defence of this charlatan.

Workers' democracy, which means all representatives being subject to recall by mass meetings of workers, would of course sound the death knell of the parliamentary system. People like Stonehouse would never be elected in the first place. Instead of sunning himself on some Australian beach he would be engaged on a useful programme of public works.

SHREWSBURY Law is not neutral

'The Home Secretary without violence to the rule of law cannot properly release these men now any more than he could properly release offenders in other categories equally harshly sentenced.' Mr Edward Lyons, QC, Labour MP for Bradford West, in *The Times*, 24 January 1975.

'We are concerned both with people and with principles, with mercy and with good law.'—Lionel Murray, TUC General Secretary, in the *Sunday Mirror*, 26 January 1975.

THE REFUSAL of Home Secretary Roy Jenkins 'to exercise his prerogative' and release the Shrewsbury 2 has sparked off two reactions inside the official labour movement.

The right wing, headed by Prentice and company, emphatically defend Jenkins' decision. Edward Lyons MP, for instance, claims in a letter to *The Times*: 'Many good trade unionists have been badly misinformed about the background to the case.' He goes on to quote how Lord Justice James 'described it as a "terrifying display of force and violence"'

CRACK DOWN

The Government has no doubt but that it is going to have to resort more and more to the law in order to crack down on the struggles of the working class.

The working class has shown a stubborn disregard for Labour's social contract on the wages front, and its more militant and better-organised sections have battered their way through Labour's thinly disguised wage restraint. The continuation of this situation is intolerable if capitalism is to be restored to health.

Like their Tory predecessors, the Government—particularly the Prentice-Jenkins wing—know that the use of mass pickets, like the occupation of factories, challenges the capitalist laws and has to be suppressed. Furthermore, they are deeply concerned that the use of 'illegal' methods of struggle will spread into fights over housing and in all the other fields where the crisis of social expenditure is ripping apart the Welfare State.

The TUC boss Len Murray, however, sees Shrewsbury as a lever to gain some concessions from Jenkins over the laws on picketing. He assures the readers of the *Sunday Mirror*: 'Unions

do not preach violence.' He pathetically complains that, 'the punishment for a brawl outside a pub... is not three years in jail'.

Speaking of assault, wilful damage, grievous bodily harm, Murray goes to some lengths to explain that, 'no trade unionists complain if another trade unionist is sentenced after being found guilty of crimes like these'. Like Lyons he thinks that the use of the conspiracy laws was a mistake—the Shrewsbury workers should have been charged instead with 'intimidation in an industrial dispute'. Then the sentence would only have been 'three months at most'.

The positions put forward by these two camps in the Labour and trade union leadership both treat the law as some neutral force above the class struggle. But the Lyons-Prentice axis are more realistic and see the law as a means of preserving the present system, while Murray and his supporters would like it to be fair to everybody.

DELIBERATE

To expect such people to lead an effective campaign to free the Shrewsbury 2 is naive at best, and in present circumstances downright treacherous. The jailing of the Shrewsbury workers was a deliberate blow struck by the ruling class against any attempt by other workers to challenge capitalist law.

If the Shrewsbury brothers are to be freed; if the workers' movement is to ensure more Shrewsburies do not happen; if the working class is to fight the ravages of the capitalist crisis; and if a socialist society is ever to be established—then we will have to prepare ourselves for a mass breaking of all capitalist law and order.

Jeff King

Killing - busworkers strike



Angry busworkers at London Transport's Merton garage, where murdered conductor Ronnie Jones was based

LONDON BUSES ground to a halt on Wednesday 29 January, as angry busworkers struck over the recent savage killing of black conductor Ronnie Jones. Twenty thousand drivers and conductors took part, bringing London's bus-service to a standstill.

Busworkers are bitter about the soaring number of attacks made on them—especially on late night crews. Last year alone there were nearly 1000 assaults on London Transport staff; 480 of them serious enough for sick leave.

The response of London Transport management, other than muted criticism of the strike, has been pathetic.

Seminars to discuss mugging have taken place in some London garages. Most of these broke up into general chit-chat after five minutes, because the only advice management could give was for busworkers to distinguish 'premeditated' from 'unpremeditated' attacks.

In the former case conductors were advised to stop the bus where customers were argumentative, and not to get into fights. In the latter—well there wasn't anything you could do

Busworkers are demanding that better warning systems be fitted to buses to attract police attention in the event of an incident. Although we support this demand it provides no long term solution: at best the police arrive after the attack has already occurred; at worse they aggravate the situation by picking on minority groups.

Much of the trouble is that busworkers are so hamstrung by the London Transport rule book that they can't even defend themselves when under attack. The right of busworkers to elementary self-defence must be affirmed.

Furthermore, many of these attacks take place on 'One Man Operated' buses—so the demand for self-defence should be coupled to that of the scrapping of OMOs in 'peak' mugging hours and the doubling-up of crews. London Transport should foot the bill and the transport unions work out a rota for when and where they believe such measures to be necessary. If necessary an extra conductor with a dog should be put on late buses.

PASSENGERS

Final responsibility for the defence of busworkers must rest with the public

factory trade unionists would allow a couple of thugs to walk up to a workmate and stab him or her. But this is what is happening regularly on London buses while passengers, many of them trade unionists, sit idly by.

Barbara Corfield, a conductress at Merton garage where Jones was based, summed up busworkers' feelings about violence on the buses. 'If the public were more cooperative when a conductor gets into trouble we would not need protection' she said. 'There were enough people on that bus of Mr Jones but they did nothing to help.'

The Transport Workers' Union should be forced to take this up and distribute thousands of leaflets to passengers explaining to them why they must defend bus crews.

London Transport is already in a chronic crisis: workers are leaving because of the appallingly difficult hours; while many vehicles are out of action because of spares shortages—or because crews are quitting in the face of abuse and indifference from the public.

Passengers should understand that if they want a bus service at all, then they must defend busworkers under attack.

IRELAND

At the

crossroads

The struggle in Ireland is today at the crossroads, with the forces on both sides shaping up for the decisive battle.

The question now is whether the liberation struggle will reach a new and higher level or whether that struggle will be set back and defeated. In Britain the 'Irish card' has once again been cynically played and events in Ireland are now a major factor in the developing confrontation between the classes in Britain itself. The danger facing us in the British labour movement is that Ireland and British chauvinism will turn out to be the Achilles heel of the working class. Our aim must be to turn the Irish issue back against the ruling class.

The loyalists demonstrated through their general strike last year that if British imperialism wanted to retain any kind of base in that section of the population, then it would have to deliver some goods. What the loyalists wanted were measures which would enable them to go on trying to solve their problems at the expense of the anti-unionist working class. The victory of that strike made even Rees' feeble protests about the need for 'power-sharing' disappear. The so-called 'Irish dimension' that Rees had blethered

about now disappeared into the fourth dimension.

Not only has the belligerence of the loyalist forces continued, but their confidence has been boosted by the massive concessions which the Labour Government has dished out to them.

Just consider the question of the hated Royal Ulster Constabulary police force. The reserves for this force have now been thrown open to the loyalists in a new way. Previously the ceiling figure on recruitment to this force was 4000; the new figure is 7000. There is no

trouble picking up recruits to this force because the old loyalist paramilitary organisations are recruiting direct to it. The RUC Reserve is just the other side of the see-saw to the paramilitary organisations: as the numbers in these groups decline so the numbers in the 'legal' repressive institutions of the state go up.

The British Government continues to compromise and accommodate to the loyalist forces. But at the same time it has to keep up its harassment and repression of the anti-unionist population. The presence of the troops was felt in these areas and ghettos just as heavily during the ceasefire, and lifting operations were only slightly abated. Of course repression is not enough. The British Government is also making a desperate attempt to bring together the 'middle ground' through a strategy of demobilising the anti-unionist population politically as well as militarily.

What the ceasefire showed was the realisation by the Provie lead-

ership that a certain demoralisation had taken place within the minority. After years of bitter and heroic struggle the armed struggle had not been integrated into a clear, over-all perspective for the struggle as a whole. This lack of any clear way forward other than the military campaign confused whole sections of the anti-

opments since the 'draconian' anti-Irish legislation was introduced by Jenkins. In the first place there has been an increase in the anti-Irish chauvinism of the working class on which that legislation was based. But there has also been an upsurge of sentiment for the withdrawal of troops, although it is true that this



Mass action must be organised and not simply spontaneous

A Sense of Our History

'BLOODY SUNDAY'... 3 YEARS ON



After Bloody Sunday—striking Irish workers march on British Embassy in Dublin

"Four or five armoured cars appeared in William Street and raced into the Rossville Street square, and several thousand people began to run away.... Paratroopers piled out of their vehicles, many ran forward to make arrests, but others rushed to the street corners.

"It was these men, perhaps 20 in all, who opened fire with their rifles... Army snipers could be seen firing continuously towards the central Bogside streets and at one stage a lone sniper on a street corner fired two shots towards me as I peered around a corner.

"Then people could be seen moving forward in Fahan Street, their hands above their heads. One man was carrying a white handkerchief. Gunfire was directed even at them and they fled or fell to the ground... the sound which predominated was the heavy, hard banging of the British SLRs, and this continued for about 10 or 15 minutes until about 4.30pm."

Thus Simon Winchester of the *Guardian* described the events of 'Bloody Sunday', 30 January 1972, when 13 civil rights demonstrators were shot down in cold-blood by members of British Imperialism's terror-squad, the 1st Paratroop Battalion.

What prompted British imperialism's to add one more mass-murder to its lengthy list of massacres up and down the world? What effect did those events have on the struggle in Ireland and the solidarity movement in Britain? And what lessons can we learn 3 years later?

Since August 1971, British imperialism had been under considerable pressure in the Six Counties from the catholic minority, both on the military front — with the growing guerrilla campaign against British troops, waged principally by the Provisional IRA — and the community-wide rent and rates strikes. These two struggles had been linked in a series of mass street-demonstrations, led nominally by the Civil Rights move-

ment, but aimed at bringing down the Stormont regime and smashing the whole sectarian Orange statelet. British Imperialism needed to inflict a decisive blow on this rising tide of struggle, particularly in Derry, where at that time resistance was strongest. The unarmed mass demonstrations were the obvious target — hence the bloody Derry massacre.

But the hoped-for subsequent demoralisation of the catholic minority did not take place. The Provisionals redoubled their armed campaign, the rent-strikes and mass civil disobedience continued and two months later Stormont, British imperialism's 'legal' prop in the Six Counties, fell and direct rule was imposed from London.

But chances were missed, principally by the leadership of the two wings of the IRA. Two nights later thousands of angry Irish workers stormed the British Embassy in Dublin and burnt it down. But the obvious potential for a mass campaign in the South in solidarity with

the beleaguered minority in the North was allowed to peter out.

For instance, when thousands of workers from the South wanted to come North a week later for the next mass demo in Newry, thus making links between the two struggles concrete, the Official IRA actually urged them to turn back 'to avoid trouble'.

In Britain, there were demonstrations and army recruiting offices were occupied all over the country in solidarity with those killed in Derry. Thousands began to question for the first time the 'progressive' role of the British army in the North.

However, partly because of the opportunist and sectarian positions of most of the revolutionary left in Britain, it took another two years for a Troops Out campaign to begin to flourish. When the Officials bombed Aldershot army camp two weeks later in retaliation for Derry, killing six civilians by mistake, this provided the excuse for many sections of the left to drop the Irish issue for the time being.

Three months later, the infamous Widgery Report appeared to provide the whitewash with which to bury the whole embarrassing affair. But those still fighting British imperialism in Ireland have not forgotten, and those of us in the heart of the monster which ordered those killings, can not forget either. We must not let up our campaign for the withdrawal of British troops until the day when the last British soldier steps onto the boat home. Then we will know there can be no more 'Bloody Sunday'.

unionist population.

The Provie leadership needed to get a grip on this situation. With the ceasefire they were saying in effect that they recognised the military campaign alone to be insufficient, and acknowledged that a political initiative was needed.

What is wrong with all this is that the politics still have not been revealed. To launch a ceasefire when the British Government is using the force of its army to make more and more concessions to the loyalists, and not make the removal of that army and the preparation of adequate self defence the main issue, is a big mistake. But to make the main slogan, as the Provie leaders have, 'Peace with Justice' was even worse. It just gives political cover and credibility to collaborationist forces like the SDLP.

MASS ACTION

Many Republicans realise that although the anti-unionist population is confused, it is not defeated. The events after the burning of Long Kesh prove that the basis is there for a new way forward. They also understand that in a situation where the British army is not on the verge of being kicked out, but where the loyalists increasingly call the tune, mass action is the number one priority.

But a realisation that the population needs to be involved and drawn into the running of their own lives through new institutions outside of the British and Orange state means that the question of self defence is posed very directly. After Long Kesh was burnt the army launched a reign of terror in the camp. Their reaction to any direct threat to the state would be even more ferocious.

That is why militants in the British labour movement have to show solidarity with those sections of the anti-unionist population who see the need to prepare, through the mass opposition to internment and repression, mass self defence against any British Government attempts to hand over to the loyalists.

upsurge is not based on anti-imperialist feelings in the working-class, but is often reactionary.

Significant in terms of what they reveal about the situation within the British labour movement are the declarations of various Labour MPs, and the reports that as many as 80 of them want a break with Labour's 'bi-partisan' policies. This is a clear signal that sharp divisions are developing within the Labour Party and the trade unions on this question.

The Trade Union Conference on Ireland which is being organised is a reflection of this situation. But it is also a fundamentally important event for all militant workers' movements — a body forged in the with a real opposition to the balance of forces in the labour movement: against the interests of imperialism. Success in this would be a major blow against imperialism — in Ireland and in Britain.

The attempt of the National Union of Students to forge links between students and the labour movement in a campaign against internment is a step in the right direction in this situation. But the fight cannot be seen simply as against internment. The internees exist because of the struggle against British imperialism in Ireland. Rees has made it clear that internment will only end when the anti-unionist population is defeated. The labour movement must reply that we intend to end internment by getting British troops out of Ireland.

THREAT

The playing of the Irish card is a massive threat to the British working class. The vicious legislation embodied in the Prevention of Terrorism Act is a clear warning. The activities of Powell and his cohorts is another.

The situation is now at the crossroads, and that is why the British working class has to be won to opposition to any handover to the loyalists, for troops out now, and for self-determination for the Irish people.

RHODESIA - IMPERIALISM'S MILLSTONE

The white racist regime of Rhodesia has once more moved into the political spotlight in Africa, and once more a British Government has its fingers firmly planted in this sordid pie.

The recent trip of Labour Foreign Secretary James Callaghan to Africa has committed the Labour Government to taking part in the latest attempt to sort out the Rhodesia situation.

The publication of Martin Loney's book thus comes at a very appropriate time for the British labour movement in need of a sharp reminder of the role of British imperialism in the creation of this despotic regime and of the thoroughly rotten record of the Labour Government's past dealings with Rhodesia.

Like all colonial conquests the settlement of what is now Rhodesia was carried out by a combination of lies, con-tricks and straightforward thuggery against the native population.

In 1888 Cecil Rhodes, both head of the British South Africa Company and Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, engineered a treaty with Lobenguela, king of the Ndebele (the dominant group in what is today Rhodesia), most probably by lying about its real contents. This treaty acknowledged British influence over the area - indeed in their enthusiasm Rhodes' representative had Lobenguela granting them rights in areas over which he had no authority. As part of the bargain Rhodes' company picked up the mineral rights in the area.

This gigantic fraud was promptly ratified by the British Government, despite the fact that Lobenguela repudiated the treaty and sent emissaries to London to inform the Government that he had made no such concessions.

Over the next decade the British South Africa Company and the settlers who followed them into the territory consolidated their hold through the simple use of violence and terror.

Despite attempts by the British authorities (for their own reasons) to grant them some protection, the native

population were then ruthlessly plundered of their land and cattle, and driven to work as labourers on the white farms. Thus the basis of the modern Rhodesian state was laid.

Even at this early date there was developing the main theme of later Rhodesian politics: conflict between the unfettered rapaciousness of the white settlers and the more subtle political policy of British imperialism, concerned with protecting and advancing its much wider interests.

EXPLOSIVE

Half a century later this conflict reached explosive proportions, as British imperialism embarked on a policy of making deals with middle-class nationalist leaders throughout Africa to grant formal political independence, on condition that the material interests and economic stranglehold of British imperialism over her former possessions should remain untouched.

But Southern Rhodesia presented a big problem for this strategy. It had become a self-governing colony in 1923 with its own Government and armed forces, and the Rhodesian state had been used systematically to foster the privileges of the white settlers and ensure the subjection of the Africans. So independence for Rhodesia on the same basis as it was being granted to other British possessions - black majority rule - would therefore mean a loss of all these

carefully fostered gains by the white settlers.

But for Britain to grant independence to a white supremacist Rhodesia would be to entrust British interests in the country to the sort of do-or-die strategy that it had deliberately abandoned elsewhere. Moreover it would threaten to disturb the happy relationship that Britain had so painstakingly constructed with the middle class regimes of black Africa.

In 1964 the federation of Southern Rhodesia with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland fell apart as the latter two were granted independence under black African Governments (and became the present-day states of Zambia and Malawi). But no agreement was reached between Britain and Southern Rhodesia on its application for independence. In 1965 the right-wing Rhodesian Front swept the polls with a policy of declaring independence unilaterally if no agreement could be reached with Britain.

LABOUR

The ball was now in the court of Britain's newly elected Labour Government, and their conduct of the negotiations was in the best tradition of racism and imperialism. Labour openly accepted the white racists' basic arguments that Rhodesia's blacks were 'not ready' to govern themselves and assured them that there was no question of force being used on Britain's part.

As Loney points out '... the Rhodesia Front never at any time wavered from its commitment to minority rule. The negotiations were, rather, a series of alternative face-saving formulae which Smith was prepared to allow the British so as to help them sell his cause to the world.' Certainly Wilson and the Labour Government bent over backwards to cooperate in this reactionary game. Even after the Rhodesian Government had issued its Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 Labour continued to propose new schemes to satisfy the Rhodesians - finally suggesting one in 1968 that would have put majority rule off until 1999. But even this was not enough for the Rhodesian whites, who have a very sharp sense of history indeed!

It took the Tories to come up with a plan acceptable to Smith - one that put off the 'doomsday' of majority rule for 65-100 years! But this gentlemen's agreement foundered on an unexpected rock - the implacable hostility demonstrated by Rhodesia's blacks, despite the intimidation and gerrymandering of the Smith regime.

Today the Labour Government has a new bedfellow in its efforts to settle the Rhodesian question - the white racist regime of South Africa, now concerned to save its own skin in the wake of the defeat of colonialism in the Portuguese colonies. And - the other side of the coin - Rhodesia no longer has any reliable allies on the continent.

But neither South Africa nor British imperialism have any concern for the mass of Rhodesian blacks. All they want is a quiet settlement that will allow their own interests to remain undisturbed. Such a settlement would be a sell-out of the mass of Rhodesian blacks, perhaps along the lines of the schemes put forward by Labour in the 60's.

Once again there are two powerful forces standing in the way of such a sell-out: the entrenched resistance of the privileged whites, and the determination of the oppressed and exploited blacks.

In this confrontation the British Labour movement must *take sides*; it must take the side of the exploited and oppressed, and demand that the Labour Government stops playing footsie with Vorster and Smith, and offers full support to those who are fighting for an end to white supremacy now.

Demo planned against Labour's South African policy

Moves are underway to organise a mass demonstration in protest at the Labour Government's Southern African policy.

The demonstration is being planned for 23 March to coincide with the fifteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre when South African police opened fire on a peaceful crowd of African demonstrators, killing 70 and wounding another 150.

A '23 March Mobilising Committee' has been set up to prepare for the demonstration, supported by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, the National Union of Students, the International Marxist Group, the International Socialists, and the Communist Party, among other groups. Individual sponsors thus far include Ray Buckton (General Secretary, ASLEF), Alan Fisher (General Secretary, NUPF), Alan Sapper (General Secretary, ACTU), Ken Gill (General Secretary, AUEW-TASS) and Alex Kitson (TGWU).

For further information contact the Committee, c/o 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ; tel: (01) 580-5311.

From our Indian comrades

Larai, the Bengali organ of the Communist League (Indian Section of the Fourth International) will come out in a new name, *Bhaini-Del-Biplob*, i.e. *Party of Revolution*, from January decision. Subscribers and readers, claims in *Reverse*. Obviously this change is due to some reasons beyond our control.

Larai had a long tradition of struggle for Trotskyism in India. It fought imperialism-capitalism on the one hand and against Stalinism on the other. It is perhaps known to many that West Bengal happens to be the bastion of Stalinism.

When almost all the so-called left parties were swayed away by the current of United Front politics (Popular Frontism) we alone raised the banner of revolutionary Marxism by pointing out the left deviation of those parties, even risking the physical annihilation of ourselves. Again, during the time of the liberation movement of Bangladesh all the traditional left parties became easy prey of bourgeois propaganda of ultra-nationalism.

The Larai did successfully analyse and pointed out that the real motive of Indira Gandhi's support to it was to instal the Awami League and Sheikh Mujib to the throne of Bangladesh. We even predicted that Sheikh Mujib would gradually side with the American Camp.

However, we appeal to the friends and readers of our paper to give serious thought on the political conditions and situation of India, particularly the eastern zone and West Bengal including Bangladesh. A large number of Bengalis live in Assam, Orissa, Bihar, Tripura and other parts of India. Even outside India a small number of Bengalis are showing interest in Larai. Now to rise up to the situation

CAMPAIGN BUILDS TO SAVE DOMINICAN MILITANT



Demonstrators demand that visiting Dominican Premier Patrick John release framed-up opposition militant Desmond Trotter at once

ership the *Class-Party-Revolution* can be the best weapon to build up new leadership in the coming revolution. Also we do hope and believe that our friends and readers will help us the best they can. And the best way to help us is to subscribe to the paper and to contribute generously to build up our paper to make it bigger in size and a regular fortnightly one.

For information and help write to us or our friends in Europe and America.

I. AZAD, Bengali, Box No. 5946, c/o Internationales, Bethesda, Box 3274, Maryland 20014, 10385 Stockholm.

A Picket of the East Caribbean High Commission in London last Saturday by over 100 demonstrators marked the arrival in Britain of Dominican Premier Patrick John.

Whilst John is here negotiating trade deals, Dominican militant Desmond Trotter is awaiting execution on the island on a frame-up charge. Members of the campaign now underway here to get Desmond released intend also to picket the rest of John's itinerary to exert maximum pressure on him whilst in this country, and to draw attention to the increased repression within Dominica and through-

Trotter, a 20 year-old activist who has spent his life organising amongst the unemployed youth and workers, both in the towns and on the land, is being used as a public example and as a scapegoat against the sporadic but increasing militancy throughout the island. A key 'witness' at his trial, who spent eight weeks at Police Headquarters during the time of his arrest and trial, admitted later that she was used to frame him, and has now disappeared. This shows the lengths to which the John Government is prepared to go to stamp out all opposition.

to Dominica, a small British colony in the Windward Islands. The Prohibited and Unlawful Societies Act, passed by the John Government last November (which effectively bans all opposition movements, and makes it lawful to kill a member of an illegal organisation on sight) is only one example of a wave of increased repression throughout the Caribbean.

Arrests of militants and seizure of 'subversive' literature have long been the stock in trade of the colonialist and neo-colonialist regimes in the Caribbean. But the numbers now imprisoned, harassed by the police and beaten up by paid government thugs bears witness to a marked increase in repression.

This is the backdrop to Desmond's sentencing, and the campaign for his release. If he dies, he will have been the scapegoat for resistance against the 400-year-long imperialist and neo-colonialist yoke. At the same time, his execution will be a green light for further and more savage repression.

Desmond is not the first, and he won't be the last. An international solidarity movement must be built now - both for his immediate release and for the release and defence of all victims of repression in the Caribbean, for the repeal of all repressive legislation and disbandment of the Special Police, and for an end to the neo-colonialist, repressive regimes in the Caribbean.

Picket Eastern Caribbean High Commission, 10 Haymarket, London S.W.1, this Thursday 30 January, from 12-2pm. Contact Caribbean Peoples Solidarity Campaign, 37 Tollymore Park, London N.4 (272 0594) for further information on pickets.

Photo: MIKE SHERIDAN (I&L)

POLICE AND ARMY JUST STAND BY

Portuguese reactionaries break up women's march

DESPITE THE OVERTHROW of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal on 25 April 1974, the final victory over reaction is still far from assured. Apart from the continuing political manoeuvres, the survival and perpetuation of reactionary ideas on social questions such as the family, the position of women, etc. also threatens the ability of the working class to launch a united struggle in defence of its interests.

This was brought home most forcefully on 13 January, when a group of women in Lisbon decided to organise a small demonstration to mark the start of International Women's Year.

In a letter sent to a London women's group, one of the women who took part in the demonstration describes what happened then:

"We were no more than 15 when we left home. We were dressed in different ways to symbolise the position of women in this society - a bride, a pregnant woman (with a

poster saying: 'Children yes, but only if we want them!'), a typical sex object (with long eye-lashes, a violet wig, high-heeled red shoes, etc.), a housewife, and one dressed in a sheet on which was drawn a naked body with prices on various parts just like a cow. Others carried posters with slogans calling attention to job discrimination against women, sexism, etc.

"We also had ten children with us - the youngest one was only three! They were supposed to burn toys whose purpose is to impose a sex role on children (dolls, little pots and pans, irons, etc. for girls; guns, tanks, 'action man' types etc. for boys).

"But thousands of men were waiting for us. As soon as we arrived they saw us and started running and screaming: 'Here they are. Let's get them!' Then they jumped on us, and after a struggle destroyed all the posters we were carrying. Then they undressed the ones who were masked, and we heard all sorts of insults: 'Women are only good in

bed'; 'Go home and do your cooking'; 'Burn them' . . . and so on. Some of us managed to escape, but the others really had to fight. The worst treatment was reserved for a black woman militant. And this lasted for more than two hours!

"Later we found out that they had also beaten an old lady who had brought a broom to burn, as well as undressing a young girl of 17 who was probably just coming from a school nearby.

"There were about five or six thousand men, and only about two hundred women at most. We called the police several times, and even the the CopCon (a special military unit which is supposed to 'maintain public order'), and finally they said that if there were many people involved they couldn't come!"

This incident underlines just how important it is for the workers' organisations to launch a campaign against such reactionary ideas - and particularly against the repression of women - among their membership. Otherwise they are offering the right wing a golden opportunity to use this means of gaining a wide hearing for a whole range of anti-working class ideas - in the same way as organisations like SPUC and the Festival of Light over here act as front-runners for the fascist



Three of the women who took part in the demonstration explain what happened

National Front.

In Portugal this is an immediate question for the working class movement as the economic crisis deepens. As the letter points out:

"The condition of working women is now worse than before, due to the crisis of employment. Several letters have been published in the newspapers asking the Government to fire all the women so that they can make room for 'heads of the family'."

"None of the work-contracts formulated since 25 April gives equal payment to women. The average is

40% less. In some places, like factories, they get less than the minimum established by law."

She concludes: "The only way of being able to do something in Portugal is with international help. We ask you, please, to give all the publicity you can and if possible to demonstrate and picket the Portuguese Embassy and other government offices."

This appeal must not go unheard. The implications of what happened on that demonstration in Portugal are too important to be ignored by the workers' movement here.

The last few weeks have seen a massive wave of working class struggle in Spain, similar to that which took place in the years leading up to the Civil War of the 1930's. This turmoil is beginning to trouble the ruling class, and recent news indicates that unease is even spreading among the army officers - one of the main props of the present set-up. The heads of both the army and navy have recently had to warn officers against having anything to do with liberal opposition groups.

The political prisoners in Franco's jails - a living symbol of the repression on which the dictatorship is based - have played an important part in recent events. Even from the depths of their cells these courageous militants have taken part in the struggle by launching hunger strikes. Their action has made the demand for an amnesty for all political prisoners the rallying cry for the opposition to the dictatorship, and a central demand in many recent strikes.

The following is part of an appeal issued by militants of LCR-ETA (VI), Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International, imprisoned in Segovia prison, calling for an international campaign of solidarity with their struggle.

In many of Franco's prisons the political prisoners took part in a hunger strike last October, as part of a struggle against the system of physical and moral destruction to which they are subjected. The balls and chains used by the dictatorship in its efforts to silence the revolutionaries have been turned against it to denounce a regime whose existence is based on the most open repression.

This denunciation has borne its fruits: stoppages of work in the CAF, Bilore and Palmira factories; workers' demonstrations at General Electrica and Babcock-Wilcox; demonstrations also in Renteria and Saragossa; mass meetings in the engineering factories in Madrid. These are a tribute both to the determination with which the working people have taken part in the defence of the political prisoners, in the struggle to free them, and also to their own desire to free themselves from the yoke of this totalitarian capitalist regime.

The historical period through which we are passing is being transformed into a battlefield on which will be played out the overthrow of this regime, whose '35 years of peace' have consisted of terror and mystification . . . 35 years of bourgeois peace, in fact. Francoism is caught today between the hammer of the economic crisis and the anvil of the masses' struggles, and is therefore in a state of crisis to which there is no solution.

The struggles at SEAT, el Ferral, Nabarra; the way in which they have gone beyond legal channels (official 'unions', Labour Courts); the establishment of mass meetings as decision making bodies; the election of workers' delegates to take part in negotiations; the elaboration - going beyond the limits of purely trade union struggle - of democratic demands; and the first steps towards transitional



Franco (right) makes a new reactionary acquaintance—Chilean admiral Jose Merino

ANDONI ARRIZABALAGA (sentenced to death by a military court, sentence commuted, in prison for 6 years); JULIAN ARREGI (arrested after being wounded, sentenced to 12 years by a military court, imprisoned for over 2 years); ANDONI PEDIAL-AUNETA (sentenced to 25 years by a military court, in prison for over five years); JOSU BILBAO (sentenced to 15 years by a military court, in prison for 6 years); JOSE LUIS EGIREUN (sentenced to 20 years by a military court and 6 years by the Public Order Court, in prison for over 3 years); CARMELO GARI TAOMAINOIA (sentenced to 25 years by the Public Order Court, in prison for over 3 years); INAKI GARZIA (arrested after being wounded, sentenced to 20 years by a military court, in prison for over 6 years); JOSU LORONO (sentenced to 14 years by a military court, in prison for over 5 years); INAKI VIAR (sentenced to 20 years by a military court and 5 years by the Public Order Court, in prison for 2 years); JUAN MA ZUBIGARAY (sentenced to three years by the Public Order Court, in prison for 2 years); PEDRO MA ZUGABE (sentenced to 16 years by a military court plus another year for 'lack of respect', in prison for over 5 years).

Spanish prisoners call for solidarity

demands which attack capitalist property rights - all this confirms that the vanguard role in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship is being taken by a working class which is educating itself in socialist democracy and learning how to run its own future organs of power.

Alongside this working class offensive, other sections of the people are also beginning to come out more clearly against the dictatorship. The oppressed nationalities are stepping up their struggle against the centralising oppression; in Euzkadi (the Basque country) the struggle is of a particularly dramatic nature because of the ferocity with which the dictatorship is repressing their aspirations for national liberation. The university and school students are fighting against plans which aim to make them during their studies into unalaried workers, to the profit of the capitalists. The liberal professions - particularly doctors and young lawyers - are refusing to allow their activities to be submitted to political control. The peasants have shown, through their struggle over the price of milk and peppers, how they view the dictatorship, which has neglected them and done nothing to assist them technically.

The sacking of Pio Cabanillas - Minister of Information - and the resignation of Herrera Irujo - Finance Minister - are the most recent events in the disintegration of the bourgeois political bloc, a process which was accelerated with the execution of Carrero Blanco - who was responsible in his position as President of the Tribunal against Freemasonry and Communism, for the murder of thousands of workers. This process of disintegration goes further with each event which rocks the country. The capitalist class, united in the past under the protective wing of the Dictator, looks today like a chicken-run into which a snake has found its way.

The execution of Salvador Puig Antich [anarchist militant sentenced to death by the dictatorship last year and executed by grotting] the murders of revolutionary

nationalists in Euzkadi, the attacks (with fire arms) against popular demonstrations . . . show the role of the dictatorship: to stamp out any response to the arbitrary dictates of the capitalists, and liquidate all those who oppose the class rule of the bourgeoisie.

But if bullets are the last resort of repression, they are not its only tools: prison sentences of 12 to 20 years for the leaders of the National Coordinating Committee of the Workers' Commissions [underground trade unions] - a body which the working class forged in the course of its struggles; the monstrous sentences which military courts impose on those who resort to direct action against a state which uses the methods of civil war; the steady increase of the number imprisoned for political offences, requiring the opening of new prisons and the packing of political prisoners into the old ones . . .

The conditions of political prisoners in the jails of the dictatorship are another link in this chain of repression: monstrous penalties, bad treatment, censorship by the prison authorities in addition to the Spanish state censorship, denial of any medical treatment, denial of any private contacts with their families.

All these repressive policies, in the final analysis, will only serve to dig the dictatorship's grave even deeper. The murders, the imprisonments, the persecutions, only add to the debts of the dictatorship which, we are sure, will have to be paid very soon.

Faced with this situation, the political prisoners consider it their duty to take part in the offensive against 25 years of dictatorship in the struggle for:

- *The rights to freely assemble, demonstrate and strike
- *Freedom for the peoples oppressed by Francoist centralism
- *Freedom for political prisoners and return of all exiles
- *Dissolution of all special repressive state forces
- *The overthrow of the dictatorship

ANDONI ARRIZABALAGA

Why was the EEC set up in the first place?

 The large-scale destruction of the capitalist economies of Europe during the Second World War left United States imperialism in a position of near total domination over the capitalist world. The American press was full of statements to the effect that the coming decades would be the 'American century'.
 The very size and speed of the expansion of US capitalism, however, made it economically necessary for the United States to rebuild the economies of Western Europe and Japan on a capitalist basis. This would provide outlets for trade and, above all, investment of the massive sums of surplus capital generated inside the US economy.
 At the same time, vast areas of the world in Eastern Europe and China passed out of the world market striking hammer blows—both economic and political—to the shrinking capitalist world. This situation also made it politically vital for the strongest capitalist power, the United States, to rebuild its future competitors in Europe and Japan against the threat of 'communism', and in doing so strengthen the capitalist system as a whole. This was the era of the Marshall plan, by which the United States pumped vast resources into the crumbling Western European economies.

With the recovery of European capitalism in the early stages of the 'long boom', longer term solutions had to be found. No European capital alone was strong enough to play a significant role in the defence of the imperialist system.

This is why the United States supported the creation not only of military defence pacts like the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), but also the European Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market.

It was by this system of military, political and economic alliances that imperialism on a world scale sought to 'contain' communism. Thus the Common Market was not just the response of the European capitalist powers to increased inter-imperialist competition and the onslaught of American capital, but a necessary complement to the US in strengthening the imperialist system as a whole.

Why didn't Britain join in 1954 at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Rome?

 The fact that the British ruling class emerged victorious from the Second World War had important repercussions. For a time the imminent political break-up of the British Empire, which began in earnest in 1948 with Indian independence, was papered over. The attitude that the British ruling class took was that so long as the Empire existed, Europe itself was not of decisive importance, and, anyway, why finance the reconstruction of your potential European rivals?

Britain had escaped the worst ravages of physical destruction and occupation during the war. So despite its problems, British capitalism appeared strong. But this temporary superiority of British capital in relation to its European allies and the defeated Axis powers in the immediate post-war period was based on an archaic, declining industrial structure which would eventually be exposed as grossly uncompetitive.

What led the British ruling-class to change its mind?

 As soon as European and Japanese capital rebuilt and became competitive, the underlying weaknesses of British capital came to the fore. The

African independence dealt further blows to British capitalism.

The strategic financial sector—banking, insurance, the special role of sterling and so on, centralised in the City of London—was particularly hit. For a considerable time these 'invisible' items of trade had carried the balance of payments—now they were also being undermined.

It was this forced shift from financial to industrial capital and to the concentration and monopolisation of industry that led decisive sections of big business to support the return of a Labour Government in 1964.



Demonstrator on a rally organised by the 'Get Britain Out' campaign—the chauvinist body whose supporters include both Enoch Powell and the Communist Party.

Labour, in Wilson's words, were to put the 'white heat of the technological revolution' through British industry. This coincided with the 'turn' towards the EEC.

The British ruling class needed the Common Market not simply as a larger market for its produce. British capital itself could only survive as part of the general integration and interpenetration of European capital against the American multinationals.

For a time the post-war boom had submerged the relative strengths of European and American capitals. In 'what was essentially a sellers' market, competition was never very pronounced. Now, in the early 1960's it began to re-emerge.

In this situation British capital realised that the appearance of 'European' firms capable of reaching the size of the American corporations, through the interpenetration of capital in the Common Market countries, would ultimately squeeze Britain out of an independent place in the world market. The merger of the two giants of the European photographic industry, Gevaert of Belgium and Agfa of Western Germany, or the steel combine made up between Hoogovens IJmuiden of Holland, Dortmund Horder Hutten Union and Hoesch of West Germany, were examples of the European integration of capital without any particular nation predominating.

There was no possibility of under-sized British industry being able to cut out an independent field of activity in the United States or the so-called 'Third World', which were both dominated by the giant American corporations. Britain was thus forced to



The Tory architects of Britain's entry in 1972

apply the old maxim - 'If you can't beat them, join them.'
 This was made absolutely clear in a pamphlet, published by the bosses' union, the Confederation of British Industry, prior to Britain's entry: 'Many large firms have... reached the point at which further national

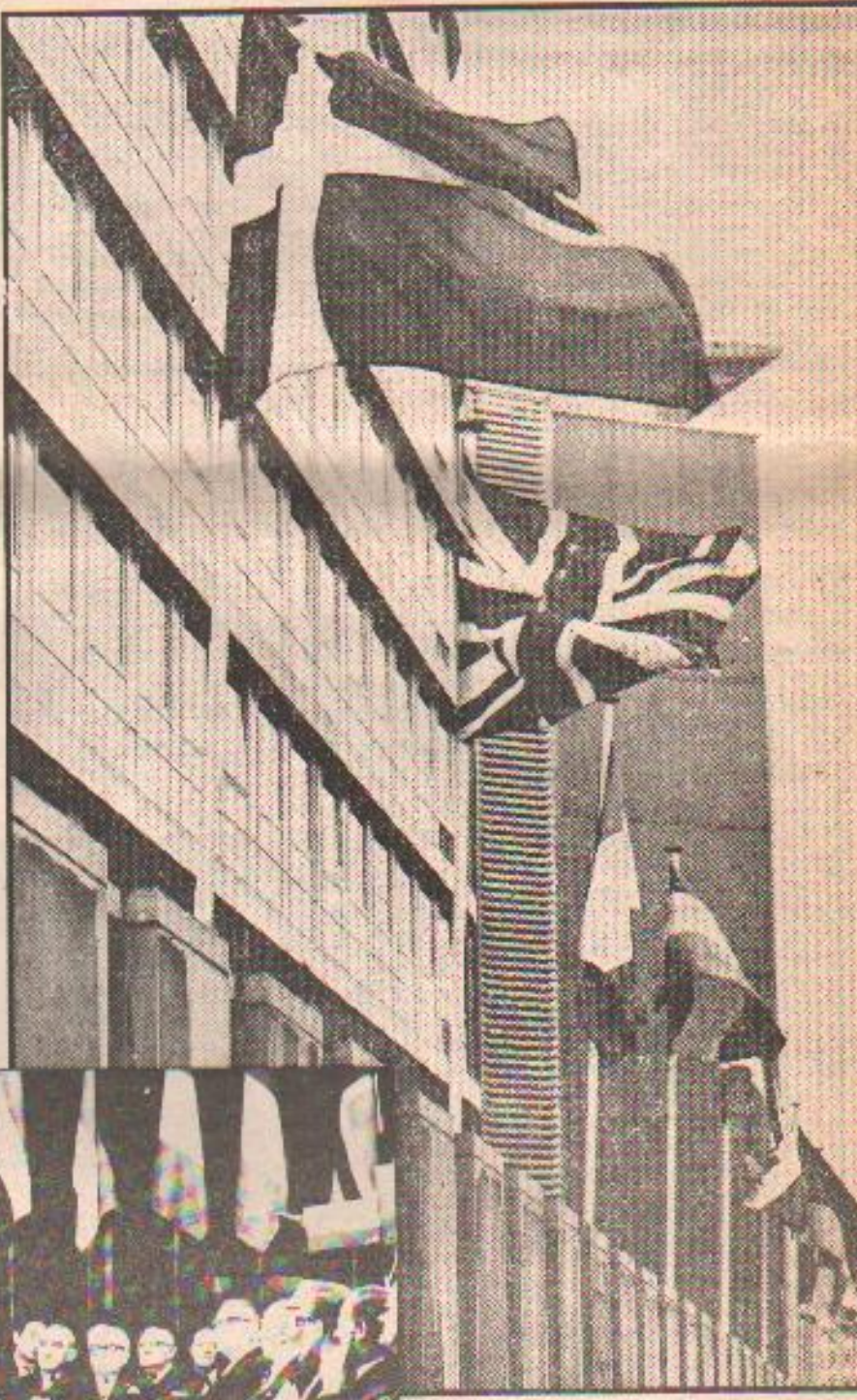
A MOST UNCOMMON MARKET

As the debate over the withdrawal of Britain from up within the Labour Party, Mick Gosling and Steve look at the issues involved and put the revolutionary on Europe.

restructuring is impossible because of the present scale of the enterprise in relation to the market...If Western Europe is to compete effectively in world markets, restructuring on a sufficient and European basis is essential. Only in this way can it create units of the number and scale necessary to meet world competition.'
 (Britain into Europe, pp 13-14).

Why does the Fourth International oppose the EEC? Surely the Common Market is a progressive development because it helps break down national boundaries?

 Although the role of capitalism in the creation of an increasingly international economic system was once progressive in a historical sense, in that it produced a world market and a world division of labour which enormously increased the productive potential of the world's resources, thus laying the material foundations of socialism, this does not make the Common Market itself a progressive development. The starting point of revolutionary marxists in determin-



It not only strengthens imperialism as a whole but, by encouraging the free flow of capital and flexibility of cheap labour, it simultaneously strengthens the capitalist class of each member country in relation to its own working class.
 The Treaty of Rome by which the EEC was founded allows for the use of the armies of the member states against the working class in any one country; it serves as a cover up for the concentration of power in the hands of the capitalist class behind the backs of the European working class. Above all, alongside NATO, the EEC constitutes the European component in a system of global alliances by which the imperialist powers attempt to protect themselves.

ing their attitude to the Common Market is the role the EEC plays in the class struggle.
 No political institution, whether it is a national state or an international body with supra-national pretensions like the EEC, is neutral in the class struggle. Just as the British state puts

its weight behind the capitalist class—whether through hand-outs to big business or the jailing of the Shrewsbury pickets—so the EEC is an instrument of the capitalist class. It is part and parcel of the tendency towards the imposition of a 'strong state' on a European scale.

ON

The EEC hots Kennedy socialist pos-

against the spread of world revolution.

This is why the Fourth International opposes the Common Market. Even though the EEC lacks the necessary state power to satisfactorily implement the tasks set it by the European ruling class, anything which weakens it tilts the relation of class forces in favour of the working class on both an international and national level. It is for this reason that the International Marxist Group will be calling for a vote against British membership in the forthcoming referendum.

How will your opposition differ from that of the Labour left and the Communist Party?

Although in common with the Labour left and the Communist Party we call for a vote against British membership, our reasons for doing so are very different. We oppose the EEC as an embryonic attempt by the European ruling class to centralise its attacks on the working class and impose a capitalist solution to the present economic and social crisis.

Unlike the chauvinists of the Labour left and the CP, who look at the EEC in terms of its effects on the British 'people', the IMG does not believe that the British working class is better off being exploited by its 'own' capitalists as opposed to 'foreign' European capitalists. These arguments only suggest that the working class has more in common with its domestic oppressors than with the oppressed classes of the other Common Market countries. The ruling class will attempt to exploit this in its fight for a strong state solution to the crisis in order to drive a wedge between the British working class and its potential European allies.

In any campaign against the EEC in which we are involved in common activity with the Labour left and CP we will struggle against all such nationalist and chauvinist positions, and for opposition not just to British membership but to the EEC as an institution.

Rather than allow such a campaign to be defeated on the very basis of its chauvinism, as was the case with the campaign against German rearmament in the early 1950s, we must extend opposition to British membership into a genuine struggle to create international links with the European workers movement, laying the basis



Leaders of capitalist Europe—Helmut Schmidt of Germany (left) and Giscard d'Estaing of France.

for the future United Socialist States of Europe.

The present chauvinism of the Labour left allows the right wing of the Labour Party to pose as the real internationalists. We must be clear, however, that it is only through the joint activity of the European working class that a European federation of workers' states will be built. The strengthening of an international capitalist institution like the EEC can only set back such a development.

Why not launch a campaign for a United Socialist States of Europe in opposition to the campaign of the Labour left and the CP against membership of the EEC?

Some socialists see the Common Market as simply an institution of European capital in its competition with American imperialism. They argue that since we don't take sides in inter-imperialist rivalry, we should abstain in any referendum.

This position is wrong in two crucial respects. Firstly, as we have explained above, the EEC is not simply a weapon of European capitalists against their American counterparts; it is above all an institution of imperialism on a world scale.

The most important objection, however, is that to fight for a United Socialist States of Europe in the abstract leaves any campaign against the Common Market in the hands of the chauvinists. The job of revolutionaries is to intervene to transform the actual struggle against British membership into a fight against the EEC itself, and in this way lay the basis for a real campaign for a United Socialist States of Europe.

What about Enoch Powell and the National Front? Won't they benefit from a campaign against British membership of the EEC?

Of course the EEC provides an excellent opportunity for Powell and the National Front to make up for the defeats they suffered at the hands of anti-fascist forces last summer. They will seek to develop their implantation in the working class on the same fertile groundswell of national chauvinism which they have been attempting to exploit in the case of Ireland.

The fact that the extreme right has much to gain from a campaign against British membership of the EEC is no reason for revolutionaries to abstain on the issue. Quite the reverse! There is all the more reason to fight against the chauvinist positions from

which they can feed. Revolutionaries must carry the anti-fascist campaign into the Common Market debate, and fight as before to deny them a platform.

It is our task to prevent Powell and the fascist scum from building their support by speaking on the same platform as the trade union bureaucrats and Labour MPs opposed to the Common Market. Nothing could better suit the purposes of the extreme right than to be able to hide their anti-working class politics behind a veil of anti-monopolist rhetoric in a 'peoples front' with members of the Labour movement.

In opposition to this we must fight for a united front of workers' organisations against the EEC, and for the exclusion of all capitalist forces from the campaign - particularly Powell and the National Front.



Enoch Powell—aims to use Common Market issue to fuel his anti-working class campaign

How do we fight the Common Market?

What does all this mean in practice? It means that militants should be working in every area to form local committees of trade unionists, Labour Party members and all socialist organisations against the EEC. These bodies should build local conferences, organise in the factories, and campaign for the policy of the special Labour Party conference on the EEC to be made binding on the Labour Government.

The central political axis of the anti-EEC campaign must be to counterpose an international working class solution of the capitalist crisis to the pseudo-internationalist solutions of the ruling class. Attempts should be made to build international links with the rest of the European working class and develop solidarity with struggles against particular multi-national firms. A Congress of European Labour should be called to decide an alternative to the Common Market.

Local committees should also fight for an emergency TUC Congress to be convened on the question of the EEC, and link the struggle against British membership of the EEC with the fight to get Britain out of NATO and develop links with the Soviet Union and the other bureaucratised workers' states. The call of the Tribune Group of the Labour Party (Tribune, 24 January) for increased trade with COMECON (the 'Soviet bloc' trading organisation) as an alternative to the crisis-ridden imperialist world should be taken up in this respect.

The fight to exclude all forces of the extreme right and transform the anti-EEC campaign into a real anti-capitalist movement will be a central task of socialist militants in the coming months.

Many lessons for the current debate in the Labour Party over the Common Market can be learned from the debates which took place in the 1950s over German re-armament. JAMES DUCK-WORTH looks at that period and the implications for the present discussion.

Originality has never been one of the virtues of the Labour left. Faced with the crucial question of the Common Market, Benn and Foot and their Tribune cohorts have based their opposition on the same old combination of petty nationalism and chauvinistic clap-trap.

As the debate over EEC membership hots up, the last of the Little Englanders will find themselves driven into a corner for their lack of internationalism by none other than the pro-marketiers of the Labour right wing.

For all Benn's talk about 'loss of national sovereignty' the right understands much better that continued membership of the Common Market is a matter of life and death for British capitalism - and indeed for the ailing institutions of parliamentary democracy which Benn champions like a latter day Don Quixote.

As Roy Hattersley, the right-wing Minister of State at the Foreign Office, put it recently: 'To turn our back on the EEC, and pursue a Victorian chimera, might turn out to be the right to have the lowest growth rate in Western Europe and the freedom to have a Gross Domestic Product which averages per head of population half that of the Federal German Republic.' (Financial Times, 7 January)

There's nothing new in this strange line-up, in which the left seeks to outdo the right by the amount of red, white and blue that it waves. During the big debates on German rearmament in 1954, the left and the Communist Party opposed it purely on the chauvinistic grounds that Germany had twice waged war against Britain and could not be trusted.

The whole coverage of Tribune, paper of the Labour left, was presented in these terms, and great play was made of the 'justifiable fears' of France, occupied three times in eighty years by the German army. 'In 1945,' screamed the drum beating 'Tribune' of 22 January 1954, 'Frenchmen, alongside British, Americans and Russians, stood in the ruins of Berlin. They swore that never again would the Germans be allowed to menace Europe.'

Just as it is doing today with the Common Market, the Labour left failed to see that German rearmament was a fundamental class question. Behind the policy of American cold-war warrior John Foster Dulles, backed by Tory Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, lay the imperialists' need to rearm the German capitalists against the potential threat of revolution posed by the very existence of the Soviet Union - despite its suffocating domination by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Thus, in 1954, under cover of the so-called European Defence Community (EDC) - forerunner of NATO - Dulles and Eden were quite willing to give the right-wing Chancellor of West Germany, Dr Adenauer (who had four ex-Nazis in his cabinet and made no secret of his desire to re-unite Germany by any means necessary), an army of half a million men.

NAZI WEHRMACHT

Despite the fact that the German TUC denounced Adenauer's proposals as inevitably meaning 'the restoration to personal power and authority of the old officers and N.C.Os of the Nazi Wehrmacht' - and were to vote against them by 391 to 4 in October 1954 - the Labour right supported the EDC plan.

By the middle of 1954, under the leadership of Herbert Morrison, they had begun a remarkable campaign to win support for German rearmament. No less than 34 secret regional conferences using 17 different speakers were held. A special pamphlet, *In Defence of Europe*, was issued.

Tribune's reply, *It Need Not Happen*, was written by Aneurin Bevan, Barbara Castle, Richard Crossman, Tom Driberg, Ian Mikardo - and Harold Wilson.

Despite this galaxy of 'left' social democratic talent, the Tribune campaign, backed to the hilt by the Communist Party's paper, the *Daily Worker*, failed to crawl out of the gutters of chauvinism and even racism. Tribune printed a cartoon which showed Dulles presenting a machine gun to a gorilla dressed in German uniform.

INTERNATIONALIST

This lack of a class understanding, an internationalist understanding, meant the Labour left could pose no real alternative to German rearmament. Only the Trotskyist *Socialist Outlook* (proscribed by the Labour leadership in 1954) had a socialist position: no arms for the German capitalists, arms for the German workers!

As a result Morrison was able to

HOW NOT TO FIGHT THE EEC!

make hay out of the Labour left's chauvinism. At a private Labour Party Conference in July 1954, he branded his opponents as 'the anti-German school of thought'. By the September Conference of the Labour Party the left - defeated as much by its own chauvinism as the campaign of the right - lost the vote when the Woodworkers' Union delegation scabbed on union policy and voted for rearmament.

LESSONS FOR TODAY

The debacle of the Labour Left and the Communist Party over German rearmament carries vital lessons for the fight against the Common Market today. The EEC must be opposed on a class basis: it is designed not simply to strengthen European capitalism in relation to U.S. capital, but to play a vital role for world imperialism as a whole by creating an integrated European capital in which each individual ruling class will simultaneously be strengthened in relation to its own working class.

Thus the collapse of the Common Market would considerably weaken world imperialism, and it is on this basis alone that socialist campaign for Britain's withdrawal.

So long as the Labour 'lefts' and the Communist Party lead the workers' movement up the dead-end alley of defending 'national sovereignty' and 'parliamentary rule', the fight against the Common Market will be an inglorious failure. And not only that: by raising the whirlwinds of nationalism and chauvinism inside the working class the Labour lefts and CP will bring down the roof over their own heads - for it is Powell and the extreme right who will benefit eventually from such reactionary currents.

WOMEN IN THE IRISH

STRUGGLE



Irish workers strike over prisoner

One of the first political strikes in the South of Ireland since the time of the arrest of IRA leader Sean MacStiofain in late 1972 took place on 5 November last, when a UCATT shop steward who is also a member of Provisional Sinn Féin led 150 workers off his Dublin building site. They marched to the Dail (Irish Parliament) to demand government intervention on behalf of Frank Stagg, an Irish political prisoner then on hunger strike in a British jail in support of demands for better conditions.

So effective was this action that by 4.00 pm on the same day the Irish Minister for External Affairs, Garret FitzGerald, was on his way to the site to assure the men that the case was being taken up. Below we reprint from our Irish sister paper *The Plough* an interview with the steward in which he draws some important lessons from this action for the whole relationship between the Republican movement and the working class in Ireland.

On 5 November you succeeded in persuading 150 of your fellow workers to march to the Dail in support of Francis Stagg. How did you organise this?

Some days before, the previous Wednesday, I'd put up an issue of *An Phoblacht* (Provisional Sinn Féin paper) with an article on Stagg in it. There was a lot of interest in it, but the management pulled it down. I put it up again the next day.

Then on Friday I made a short speech appealing for sympathy for Francis Stagg, stressing how conspiracy laws were used to suppress union activity in history. This was received well.

I also rang the Irish embassy in London, but was given a poor response by them. The following Monday I put up another press cutting, 'Stagg at point of no return', and contacted Stagg's relatives in England. They told me that he was in a very serious condition and that the prison authorities were indifferent to his case.

On the morning of Tuesday 5th, I rang the Irish embassy again. They told me there was no further progress, so I phoned the General Secretary of UCATT and prepared placards and the coffin for the march.

At lunch time I spoke again in the canteens on the site, the response in general was good and about 150 men came out onto the road, with the exception of a group of 'Officials' (Republicans) on the site who boycotted the march. We wrote our statement on the way to the Dail and collected signatures, this was handed in at about 3pm.

Why do you feel they were prepared to support your call for a march?

The response was in many ways an emotional response to a sharp situation. Stagg's case hit on a live nerve. But it was also because the men on my site trusted me. They'd seen me in action before on trade union issues, when we'd won them, and so they were prepared to accept my judgement on this one as well.

It's no good expecting an immediate response from people in a crisis situation, unless you've worked for it before. I feel that this is something that the Republican Movement isn't really aware of. They were for instance impressed by the march and realised its worth, but only afterwards, and it hasn't pushed them, so far, to reconsider their attitude to work in the working class.



Building workers walk off site in support of Frank Stagg

Do you feel that the Republican Movement has neglected the importance of this work, shown perhaps by their attitude over the arrest of Sean MacStiofain in 1972, when they called for working class support at the last moment?

Yes, I don't think they see the significance of the working class and they don't have a perspective of work in the class as such. They have a good base in terms of numbers, many isolated militants, but they don't organise them.

How do you feel this should be done?

It's necessary for the Republican Movement to organise its trade union members as militants, to give them a way of intervening in everyday struggles, so that they are seen not only as members of the Republican Movement, but also as the most militant workers there. The movement should also encourage its members to put forward its ideas where they work in an organised way, so that it would be possible to mobilise large numbers of workers in an emergency situation, if for instance there was an acceleration of the situation in the North.

You mention the question of an upsurge in the North, how do you

feel the situation is developing for the Provisional Republican Movement?

The danger at the moment, coming up to the Convention elections, is that the Provisionals will be outflanked by the Officials, or possibly even the SDLP, if they can't give the Catholic working class political leadership. I feel they should challenge the SDLP in the context of the election while they still have the military strength and capability on such questions as troop withdrawal and the end of internment.

It's doubtful, however, whether the present leadership will be able to meet the challenge, shown I think by for instance, O'Connell's approach to the bombing campaign in England. This is more inclined to alienate the English working class, rather than encourage them to support demands for withdrawal of the troops. There is also a danger that they will be in favour of the 'conference' build up the political strength of the minority.

What do you feel should be done in the present situation?

Through the base it already has, the Republican movement should try and organise a united front, possibly with other republican/socialist groupings, on issues like anti-internment in the South. This of course brings us back to the question of changing its whole attitude to its working class members and organising their work. There is also a need to clarify what it stands for. *Eire Nua* (the Provisionals' programme) is incomplete and represents much more the situation in the 1920's.

WOMEN HAVE ALWAYS been involved in the struggle for a free Ireland. But according to Maire Drumm, Vice-President of the Provisional Sinn Féin, the current war has brought this involvement to new heights.

She told me that without women's participation the fight against the forces of British imperialism would not have been as successful as it has been to date.

Another Provisional member in Belfast explained: 'Nowadays more young girls are realising that they are equally capable of using a weapon - if not more capable in some cases.'

But although women are coming to this realisation, their Irish brothers have been less than ready to accept these moves towards equality on the military front. Bernadette McAliskey even goes so far as to say: 'The classical remark of the Provisionals was: "We don't need to send our women out to fight, we can do it on our own" - and this caused a great uproar from their women members.'

QUESTIONING

However, increasingly women have been drawn into the struggle at all levels. Four years of harassment by British soldiers have changed life dram-

And because they are independent, it means that all the best people have left Sinn Féin to join the IRA. In this area, Sinn Féin is just a shell. It represents nothing.'

Another woman, however, while agreeing on the lack of political education in Sinn Féin, thought it was possible to begin such discussions.

'We need political education to see where we are going. We can't only involve the people through the military wing. The Officials have painted zebra crossings on some of the estates - so they have a presence in the day-to-day life of the people on this estate. But zebra crossings aren't enough.'

'A new club has just been opened and we want to show political films there every week and then have discussions about them. Also we want to organise creche facilities for women who want to go to the Kesh to visit and can't take children along. And we want to set up a co-op on the estate where we can sell political books and other things.'

CONSERVATIVE

However, in spite of the fact that on the military front the women have been forced increasingly into the front lines, it is clear that on both a

A special report by Shelagh Conway

atically for most women. If a brother hasn't been lifted, then a next-door neighbour or a husband or father has been. These things have forced women to harden their attitudes not only against the British armed forces, but increasingly against any figure of authority. For example, one woman who lives in the Dermott Hill Estate told me: 'It's strange, because once you start questioning one thing, you begin to challenge everything.'

I never questioned the Church before. But when the trouble started, we went on a rent and rates strike here. We weren't going to pay rent and rates as long as our homes and roads were being ruined by the British army. And with most of the men lifted we women couldn't afford it anyway. But then I thought, everyone is giving money so that we can re-decorate the church. Yet we can't even afford to live in decent homes.

'So when the priest came round for the donation I questioned him for the first time. I even told him that he didn't really have the interests of the people at heart. We only saw him when he wanted money for a start.'

But the actions that have taken place as a result of this radicalisation have been for the most part spontaneous. For example, at the time of the prisoners' revolt in Long Kesh, it was left up to the women from many of the estates to stage spontaneous marches. 'If women do want to take part in the struggle', I was told by one ex-Sinn Féin member, 'they generally join Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin is supposed to be the political wing of the IRA. But really there is little connection between the two.'

'Sinn Féin is almost exclusively a women's organisation now, because all the men are inside. It's supposed to provide political education for the members, but all it ever taught me was how to make a cup of tea - and that not very well.'

'We used to have weekly meetings to help organise marches and other activities. But anything we may debate about never influences the military operations of the organisation.'

political and social level there has been a great lag. For the vast majority of the Catholic population, the doctrines of the Church still retain a firm hold.

As Bernadette McAliskey explains: 'Socially, the community tends to be very conservative. As the situation changes economically and socially, individual women and families will see the need - their own personal need - for a change in their attitude. You see this very much in Ireland at the minute, for instance on the question of contraception.'

'If you ask them they will trot out the Church's position. But then if you ask them honestly, do they take the pill, they will say yes. And I think this is very widespread - in both the North and South.'

'It's because there is a rational need to regulate their families. An economic necessity determines that they take the pill, and the hangover of the moral issue means that they simply justify it to themselves. You know - they say, "It's still wrong for everybody else, but I'm different", and that attitude will change.'

URGENT

It is clearly urgent to wage a fight on these questions in those organisations which have the support of the Catholic population. But this means that the relationship between the struggle for the liberation of women and the national struggle must be worked out very clearly.

It is not simply enough to say as does Bernadette McAliskey that 'the liberation of women stems from the class struggle'. We have several examples of how the class struggle was waged - indeed, often due largely to the efforts of women, as in Algeria - and yet the liberation of women in no way followed.

Gains will never be made unless right from the beginning of the struggle this relationship is worked out, so that an integral part of the strategy developed for waging the national struggle is an understanding of how each step taken lays the foundations for ultimately freeing women from their class and sexual oppression.

CONSULTANTS GET THEIR TEETH IN

THE CONSULTANTS' work to rule is now entering its fourth week, and their action is beginning to bite.

In Greenwich, for example, nearly 2000 people are now waiting for operations, and in Coventry, the large neurosurgery and heart units are only taking emergencies. This shows the situation in many hospitals throughout Britain, where admissions have generally been cut by half, and waiting lists doubled.

The working class is bearing the burden, as the consultants continue their sabotage of the NHS in defence of private practice.

WEAKENING

There are signs that the consultants are weakening, as they realise that they do not have the support of the mass of people. At the last BMA council of war, the ranks were in disarray, following Barbara Castles' repeated refusal to go back on the principle that full time services for the NHS should be financially rewarded.

Dr B.E. Lewis, chairman of the Negotiating Sub-committee, suggested they should abandon the discussions for a new contract, and just try to get as big a pay rise as possible in April. But Dr R.J. Sellick was 'astounded by this turn around', and said he 'dared not go back to East Anglia with the message as it apparently stood'.

There was even disagreement about why they were working to rule in the first place! Eventually it was decided that sanctions would not be lifted until the negotiators were satisfied that they had the 'goodwill' of the Government. Talks have now been resumed at their request along these lines.

There is a danger that Barbara Castle will be taken in by this apparent cooperation. She should have refused to resume negotiations until the consultants were brought to heel and sanctions lifted. She must now demand that the principles of the new contract be implemented immediately.

There should be no pay increase for any doctor doing private practice, and other doctors should put in a claim in line with the nurses, who need a £15 across-the-board increase to bring their minimum wage to £35.

PRIVATE BANS

Now the consultants are beginning to retreat, it is even more necessary that the working class steps up its attack and drives home the final body blow. Health workers are already operating private practice bans in the North West, Bath, Nottingham, Derbyshire, Manchester, Crewe, Hampshire, Lincoln, Bury, and London.

The fight against private practice and the defence of their health service must however be the concern of the whole labour movement. The Medical Committee against Private Practice is organising a mass rally and picket on 22 February in London against the consultants' action and private practice. This is being supported by trade unionists like Brian Nicholson (T&GWU), Jack Collins (NUM), and Ernie Roberts (AUEW), as well as trades councils (e.g. Harrow) and the Socialist Medical Association.

In South London, building workers are calling a meeting in the area to raise these issues in the labour movement and mobilise for the demonstration. Hammersmith Trades Council is holding a public meeting on 18 February around the crisis in the NHS and a workers' enquiry sub-committee has been set up to investigate the effects of private practice on the local health services.

Similar initiatives should be taken in other parts of the country, with local action on 22 February in support of the London demonstration. Now is the time for united working class action to smash the consultants' stranglehold on the NHS, and put an end once and for all to all forms of private practice.

IMG Health Workers

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WORKING WOMEN SUFFER FROM HOSPITAL CLOSURES



Nearly 200 people—health workers, ex-patients, trade unionists, women's groups—demonstrated on 25 January against the closures

Two London hospitals are threatened by closure—closures which will strike a blow particularly against the health care of working class women. The Camden and Islington Health Authorities plan to shut down the Liverpool Road branch of the Royal Free and the Elizabeth Garret Anderson Hospital.

The Elizabeth Garret is one of only three hospitals in Britain which is staffed entirely by women for women. Its 90 beds have been in constant use by local working class women. In 1973 21,600 women attended its out-patient department.

The Liverpool Road Hospital provides maternity care—1000 births a year—with a gynaecological service which provides 2000 operations and 400 abortions a year.

It is planned to move out all the facilities to the newly-built Royal Free five miles away, and only the present 20 private beds will remain. There are strong indications that the private practice group BUPA will move in for the kill and offer to take over the site.

The closure of this hospital will mean that local women will have to make long tedious journeys for maternity care. Abortions will become almost impossible to get—the nearest hospital with a 'liberal' abortion service is in a different district.

Waiting lists for gynaecological operations will lengthen. About 120 workers—nearly all women—will be made redundant, and two-thirds of these who are resident will become homeless.

The closures are taking place because the Labour Government has no intention of finding any more money for the NHS. The first concern of the Government is to prop up the near-bankrupt capitalist firms who are stood outside Downing Street with begging bowls in their hands.

Only a campaign in the area directed against the closure plans can save these hospitals. Unless the working class movement gives it support—backed up by strike action if necessary—another crippling blow will have been struck at the NHS.



Private Practice going up - NHS going down

The Leeds General Infirmary—a large teaching hospital—is having its building programme cut back. This despite the fact that the plans for its expansion are now 13 years out of date.

For 13 years the authorities have been getting together the money for a new medical school, a power station, plus further additions to the LGI. Work on the medical school and the power station have already started. Phase 2 of the project will not now see the light of day, and Phase 1 will be lucky if it ever gets finished.

Some £13 millions has already been spent or committed, much of which will be wasted if Phase 1 is cancelled. Blaming cut-backs in NHS expenditure, the Yorkshire Regional Health Authority say that they are unable to allocate any more money.

PRIVATE HOSPITAL

At the same time as the LGI building plans are being savaged, plans are going ahead to build a new private hospital in Leeds. In this instance there is no shortage of cash. The new £750,000 private hospital is being financed by Allied Investments Ltd, and will be run by one of its subsidiary companies.

The idea behind the new hospital is that it will replace the private beds which will eventually be phased-out of the National Health Service.

Although the Leeds Labour councillors opposed planning permission for the private hospital, they were defeated by a coalition of Tories and Liberals. The opposition of the Labour group was mainly based on the argument that the new hospital would be sited in a green-belt area.

OPPOSITION

Opposition to the extension of private practice has been voiced by the local unions. Both COHSE and NUPE have said that they will fight against private hospitals

staff shortages in the National Health Service.

Eddie Lawton, north-west secretary of COHSE says: 'We are opposed to giant new hospitals dangling like carrots before nurses. No doubt they will use agency nurses, and we will advise our members not to belong to agencies.'

This cut in the NHS and the growth of private pay-beds shows again that private practice cannot simply be opposed in the NHS but must be opposed both inside and outside the health service. For the Leeds working class, the cuts in the LGI will mean bigger waiting lists and a decline in medical care.

TEMPTING

The new private hospital will simply service those who can afford to pay. As long as the NHS pays rotten wages to its overworked staff then nurses will be tempted to take better-paid jobs in the scab agencies. The consultants who are fighting to have the right to continue with private practice will be much more interested in looking after wealthy fee-paying patients than giving their undivided attention to their working class NHS patients.

A joint campaign by the Leeds labour movement is very necessary to fight both the cuts in the LGI and oppose the new private hospital. There is no point in the Labour Group just opposing the private hospital because it is in a green belt. It has to be opposed because it is an attack on the NHS. This means that the workers should put an embargo on all work and services for this hospital.

The Trades Council has condemned the cuts at the LGI, but this will have no effect if it is simply left at the level of protest. Union members should be instructed to take all steps to sabotage the work and the functioning of the private hospital, which means a policy of non-cooperation beginning at local government level right up to the provision of staff, power and fuel.

At the LGI, consultants have set up a committee to oppose the cuts. This must be broadened into an action committee which will include all hospital workers with the aim of...

DEMO PLANNED AGAINST ATTACKS ON ABORTION

James White, Labour MP for Glasgow Pollok, has presented to parliament a Private Member's Bill to restrict even further the grossly inadequate provisions of the Abortion Act of 1967.

White ignores the recommendations of the Lane Committee which studied the Act for three years, and wants to restrict the social grounds which allow women to have an abortion. White has put a clause in the Bill to ban the experiments on live foetuses. This is done with the aim of getting religious support for his Bill.

White's Bill is being put forward at a time when an increasing number of anti-abortion groups - SPUC, LIFE and the newly formed WOMEN FOR LIFE - are banging the drums against abortion. MP's have been deluged with the crudest propaganda from anti-abortionists, who are putting enormous pressure on them to vote for a restrictive Bill.

These reactionary forces make pious noises about the 'rights of the foetus' ignoring the rights of the

her own body. The right to abortion is a pre-condition for women to organise politically and socially against their exploitation. Most of the reactionaries who shout the loudest for 'the protection of life' are completely silent when it comes to protecting the rights of unwanted children. Nor do they show much interest in protecting the lives of women who die from the back-street abortions which are bound to increase if the Abortion Act is tightened or repealed.

The White Bill comes at a time when the welfare facilities, such as nurseries and child-day care, which give women some sort of choice when it comes to abortion, are being savagely cut back by the government's cuts in social expenditure. A feature of these cuts is the closing down of women's hospitals and clinics. Sections of the Royal Free Hospital in London which deal with many abortion cases are being closed. Hospital consultants are cutting back on NHS abortions as part of their work to rule.

groups have been able to mobilise thousands of working class people makes it even more important for the trade union and labour movement to take up the fight for free abortion and contraception on demand, and an end to all restrictive legislation.

Brent Trades Council has set an example in this respect, in response to an appeal by the local Working Womens Charter Campaign. The Trades Council has written to the two Labour MP's in Brent urging them to vote against White's Bill when it comes up for its second reading on 7 February. It has also agreed to circulate petitions against the Bill, and to support the demonstration to be held on 7 February which the London Charter Organising Committee have called.

FRIDAY 7 FEBRUARY, ASSEMBLE 12.30pm, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS and March to Westminster.

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST WHITE'S BILL!
 DEMONSTRATE FOR FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND!

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

REFORMISM & HYSTERIA

OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY has gone through a series of expulsions and defections.

The much vaunted industrial base at British Leyland in Cowley has been torn to shreds. Branches in Reading, Swindon and Oxford have almost disappeared. Nor are these defections restricted simply to the south west midlands. WRP members — often leaders in their local branches — have left in London and Yorkshire.

The internal dispute in the WRP has spawned the Workers Socialist League and at least 200 members have either been expelled from or left the WRP — most of them joining the WSL.

Foot and Bevan for people breaking from reformism and moving in the direction of revolutionary politics they wrongly characterised the *Tribune* movement as centrist.

expected to recruit forces from the MNA's French grouping. The WRP was forced to deny the reality that the FLN was leading the struggle and reduced to championing the cause of the Messali Hadj rump. When the MNA openly supported De Gaulle against the FLN, the WRP quietly buried its support for this discredited pro-imperialist outfit.

Its attitude to the Cuban revolution has forced it into the most remarkable 'theoretical' contortions where it is forced to argue the bizarre position that the Cuban

is to re-group these forces. The task however is to win the new vanguard which will often mean replacing the old leaders with these new forces.

Even though the WRP is outside the Labour Party it still directs its demands to the Labour Party. This leads it to put forward slogans around government which are openly reformist. Their demands in late 1973 against the Tory Government were for a General Strike to force a General Election. In 1974 during the upsurge around the public sector wage claims the

Movements like the Women's Liberation, anti-imperialism, Shrewsbury, the anti-racist struggles of black workers — often in conflict with groups of traditional trade union militants — also become a diversion in the eyes of the WRP. They disturb its schema. They are neither turned towards social democracy nor are they directly recruitable to the 'party'.

The WRP has two simplistic positions. Its catastrophism — early in 1974 it was forecasting millions of unemployed within weeks — drives it into the position that workers dominated by the ideas of social democracy will simply pack their bags and join the WRP. When this fails to take place it snuggles back towards the Labour Party and relies on exposing the Labour leaders. This finds expression in the demand 'Labour to Power on a Socialist Programme'.

The time lag between the growth of mass revolutionary organisations and the disintegration of capitalism means that a new vanguard which is breaking from reformism and stalinism is emerging outside the control of the revolutionary left. It is from this vanguard that the forces can and must be assembled to construct mass revolutionary parties.

This is not some diversion as the WRP believe. Without intervening in these struggles it is not possible to defeat the CP and social democracy. In practice the WRP capitulates to both stalinism and social democracy because it can only confront them with the 'timeless' programme. It has no analysis of how the crisis of capitalism is creating a new vanguard — which is of course centrist, ie oscillates between reformism and revolution.

By abstaining on these struggles they prove themselves incapable of winning these people to a revolutionary programme. More important they have no line for how the vanguard can organise the mass movement towards challenging capitalist power by creating their own forms of power.

The WRP counterposes itself to the self-organisation of the workers' movement. Its position is reducible to: 'we are the party — join us'. But the construction of a party with a base and prestige inside the working class is not dependent simply on the correctness of its programme. It is also determined by how that party works inside the mass movement towards organs of dual power — independent forms of workers' power — which ensure the victory of the workers' movement in its struggles against capitalism now and lay the basis for a party with a real base inside the mass movement.

The demands for elected strike committees subject to recall by mass meetings of the workers; the building of action committees around campaigns such as Shrewsbury; the campaign for the Working Women's Charter involving not simply trade unionists but women in the home and breaking across the sectoral boundaries which stifle and thwart the independent organisations of the working class are not only necessary to win immediate struggles. They also educate the working class and other oppressed groups in society on the forms of organisation that they need to establish their own role.

REFORMIST PRACTICE

The WRP has no answer on these problems, hence its combination of ultra-left rhetoric and reformist practice. Forced back into the ghetto of abstract propagandism it takes on the form of 'marxian Fabianism' combined with a Salvation Army type recruiting programme.

For currents such as the WSL which have emerged from the WRP the problem is to now break from their ideological ancestors. Healyism 'with a human face' is not the solution. What these comrades have to address themselves to is what has led the WRP into its political impasse.

The comrades of the WSL by involving themselves in struggles over Shrewsbury, by helping to build a powerful Troops Out of Ireland movement, by taking up the struggle against fascism can help to play a decisive role in winning the vanguard from stalinism and social democracy.

The fight for the revolutionary programme has to take place on the terrain of struggle. The would-be philosophers of the WRP have only interpreted the world — and that rather badly — the task is to change it!

ABSTENTIONISM

Inevitably — as with all disputes inside the WRP — accusations of bureaucracy and undemocratic practices have been rife. The leadership of the WRP have been accused of being 'sectarian' and putting forward 'a maximum programme'. There is ample evidence of the bureaucratic nature of the WRP, while illustrations of its sectarianism are manifold — being generally expressed in abstentionism from the main struggles of the working class, and a refusal to take up serious anti-imperialist campaigns. Its 'maximum programme' is its cover for non-intervention within the broad struggle.

However these 'deviations' of the WRP are not blemishes on an otherwise healthy body nor are they the failings of a leadership which 'has grown old and cannot grapple with the changing circumstances of the upsurge in the class struggle.'

The crisis in the WRP has been sharpened by the current economic and social crisis exposing the political degeneration of this organisation, which reaches right back to its formation in the late 1940s.

Contrary to the expectations of the Trotskyist movement the end of the Second World War did not result in the immediate demise and discrediting of stalinism, nor did it lead to an immediate economic crisis of world imperialism. Stalinism survived the War and expanded its control into Eastern Europe. In many capitalist countries the Communist Parties, particularly in France and Italy, became the major working class parties.

PROLONGED CRISIS

Stalinism went through a prolonged crisis which only burst to the surface with the revelations of Khrushchev in 1956.

The stalinists by collaborating with the imperialists helped to save capitalism in Western Europe and thereby effectively throttled any working class challenge to capitalist power. The basis was laid for an unprecedented boom and an enormous expansion of the capitalist productive forces.

The effect of the post-war boom in Britain was to strengthen the hold of reformism over the working class and give currency to the idea of the 'mixed economy'. Workers did actually get real improvements in their living standards and the boom provided the economic basis for the Welfare State.

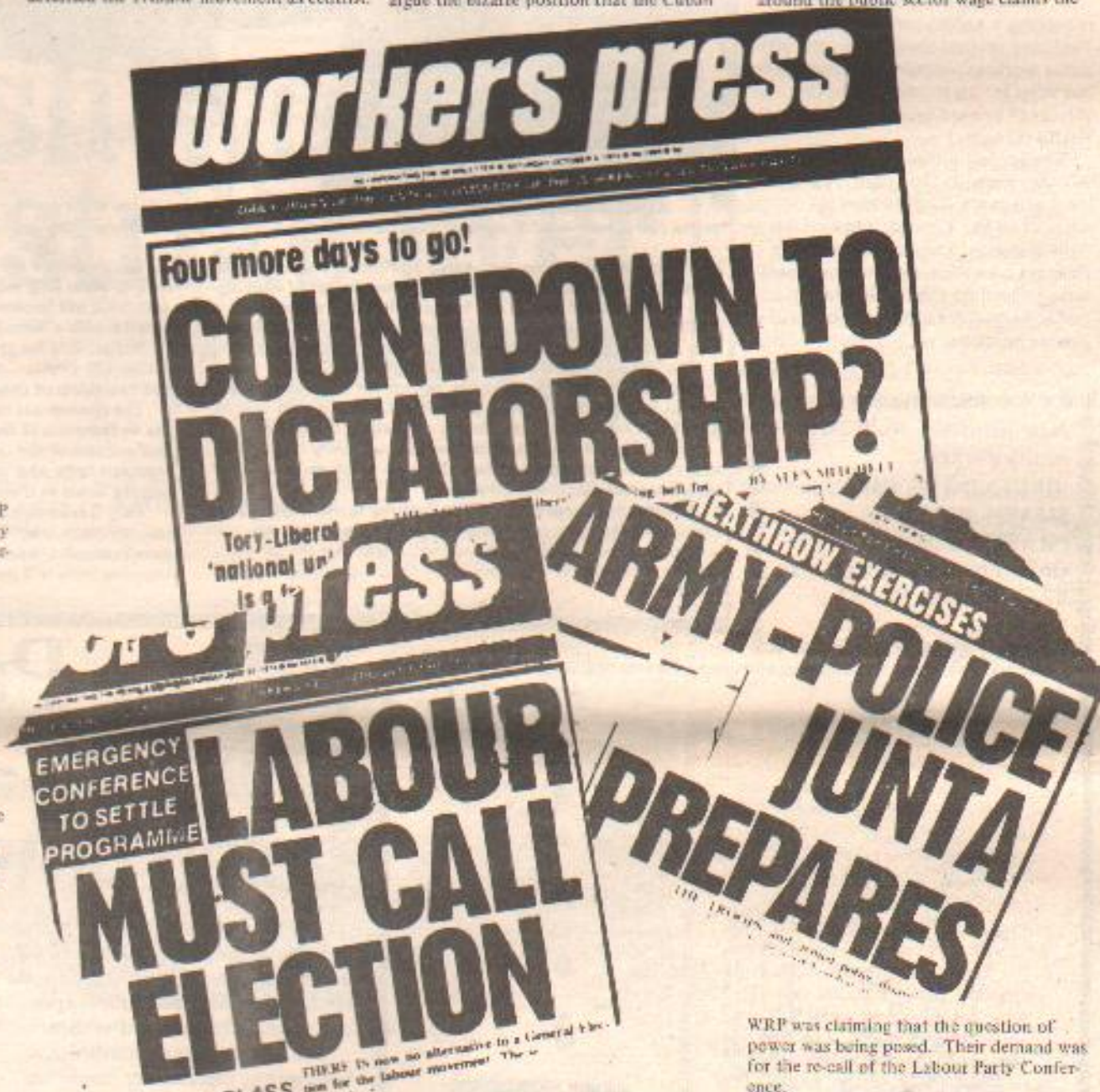
Trotskyism — a movement born out of the defeats of the international working class and as a reaction to the betrayals of stalinism — had not been able to gain a decisive base in any key sections of the working class. Its expectations of growth in the post-war period were delayed by the slower than expected tempo of the twin crisis of imperialism and stalinism. Its isolation was perpetuated and it became subject to the pressure of the organisations which dominated the working class.

PRESSURE

In Britain the pressure exerted on the revolutionary movement was that of social democracy. The small, politically isolated and theoretically ill-equipped revolutionary organisations were sucked into the whirlpool of reformism.

The defence of a 'timeless' programme became its theoretical life. Its practice became that of clinging desperately to the coat-tails of left social democracy. Its main perspective was based on the idea that a centrist current would develop inside the Labour Party which would break with social democracy.

The forerunners of the WRP, in order to strengthen their identification with this so-called centrist current, sold *Tribune*. Mistaking hardened 'left' reformists like



Worker contacts were recruited to the Labour Party and the industrial struggle was turned towards demands on the Labour Party leaders. As the thesis was that the working class had to go through the experience of breaking with social democracy, workers who were not members of the Labour Party had to be recruited so they could be broken from it!

The WRP has remained trapped in this contradictory position between reiterating the 'programme' rather in the manner of a well-rehearsed litany and tailing behind reformism. It has completely failed to address itself to the main question of how it can gain a base in those forces which are breaking from both stalinism and imperialism.

The national liberation struggle in Algeria, the Cuban revolution and fight of the NLF in Vietnam pushed the WRP onto the sidelines. Beginning from the dogmatic assertion that because these struggles were not led by Trotskyists they could not lead to the overthrow of capitalism the WRP resorted to propagandistic denunciations of these victories.

Failing to recognise them as the first upsurges in a new upturn of the world revolutionary forces they failed to understand the effect that these struggles would have on developing a new vanguard in the metropolitan countries. Nor did they grasp how in the early stages this would have its greatest impact on forces not located in the mass organisations of the working class.

On Algeria they became super-apologists for the MNA — the movement led by Messali Hadj — and bitter opponents of the FLN which was leading the armed struggle against French imperialism. Their support of the MNA was dictated by purely organisational reasoning. The French supporters of the MNA were collaborators of the WRP's sister organisation in France which

revolution represents a consolidation of capitalism. This no doubt brings nods of approval from the people who argue the theories of state capitalism, but has nothing in common with revolutionary marxism.

The large movement — evoking a radicalisation of thousands, mainly outside the traditional organisations — around Vietnam was not only ignored by the WRP but actually denounced by it. When 100,000 people marched in 1968 against the war in Vietnam under the slogan 'Victory to the NLF' the WRP produced a leaflet: 'Why we are not marching'.

Against the Communist Party, the small forces of the revolutionary left had won over the vanguard around the Vietnam Solidarity Committee to the position of calling for the victory of the NLF. The CP had argued for a 'negotiated peace' position. Instead of seeing this as an opportunity to mobilise in support of a revolutionary struggle, develop an anti-imperialist consciousness in these new forces and win them to revolutionary politics against the semi-pacifism of the CP the WRP opposed the march.

The only time that the WRP entered into serious activity on the war in Vietnam was when Wilson made his visit to Nixon which caused opposition inside the Labour Party. This was the scenario the WRP understood best. It gave the WRP a chance to expose the Labour leaders and allowed them to make propaganda inside social democracy.

DEGENERATING

What the WRP does not understand is that the long boom of the post-war years has had a politically degenerating effect on the traditional local leaders both inside the Labour Party and in the unions. The WRP's strategy for building the revolutionary party

WRP was claiming that the question of power was being posed. Their demand was for the re-call of the Labour Party Conference.

In both instances they located their demands within parliamentary solutions, failing to recognise that the burning question if a revolutionary situation did exist (which was patent nonsense) or a general strike was possible would be the need to break from the capitalist state. The WRP does not understand that the depth and immensity of the crisis will produce struggles where workers will challenge the capitalist institutions. Unfortunately for the scholastics of the WRP, the working class cannot and will not wait until the party has been built. It only is by *intervention* in these struggles that the revolutionary party will be built.

Instead the WRP is reduced to warring of the impending betrayals and urging the Greek and Portuguese masses to build sections of the International Committee. This provides no line on what the Portuguese and Greek workers should do now. Nor does it enable the WRP to influence the political vanguard here in Britain.

Chile was for the WRP an ideal opportunity to demonstrate for the *sancti* time the betrayals of stalinism. However, it took no part in the work of the Chile Solidarity Campaign where an important struggle took place against the attempts of the CP and the social democrats to keep the campaign within the limits of pressure on the Labour 'lefts'.

The revolutionary left were able to defeat the CP — no thanks to the WRP. The consequences of this were that important sections of the vanguard were brought into conflict not only with stalinism but against the Labour Government.

In November 1973 as 10,000 people demonstrated in solidarity with the Chilean masses the WRP was ensconced in Hammersmith Odeon declaring the revolutionary party and denouncing the Chilean demonstration, not allowing

BUREAUCRATS BACK BUILDING BOSSES

SIR ROBERT McALPINE & SONS LIMITED Eldon Square Contract STATEMENT BY BUILDING TRADES UNIONS AND EMPLOYERS ORGANISATIONS

With two-thirds of the members of the National Federation of Building Trade Employers working at three-quarters capacity or less, the building bosses have gone on the offensive with mass sackings and victimisation.

In Manchester, building workers fought back against redundancies by occupying the Pochin's Polytechnic site. At the prestige project at Eldon Square in Newcastle, scaffolders have been out for eleven weeks following the victimisation of 14 men who clocked off after a union meeting held in company time with management permission.

SMASH

The company involved is one of the most vicious in the trade - McAlpine. This is the same outfit who spent thousands preparing background 'evidence'

against the Shrewsbury pickets after the nation's building workers strike in 1972.

The '72 strike did much to smash the lump in the trade. Now McAlpine are using the cutbacks in building to launch a frontal attack on the right to organise in the industry.

Scaffolders in Tyneside, whether in building sites, firms or shipyards have now come out on indefinite strike in support of the 14 men. This is despite the open scabbing of the leaders of the local Transport and General Workers Union of which the scaffolders are members. TGWU full-time official, G. Maclean, has refused to meet the men and has even issued joint statements with the management denouncing the strike.

T&G union cards were issued to scaffolders from Foremost Scaffolding Supplies Limited who were shipped in, probably without their knowledge, as strike-breakers from London!

Vast amounts of public money has been poured into the Eldon Square project by the Labour-controlled Newcastle Town Council, which has remained mute about the dispute.

A recent 'Fight the Cuts' Conference at Newcastle Polytechnic, attended by a number of strikers, discussed why such projects are launched while house building is shelved and construction workers sign on.

The Conference overwhelmingly passed a resolution supporting the strikers. Their fight is not simply an anti-victimisation struggle, but part of an ongoing fight to rid the building trade of the McAlpines of this world and produce a building programme suited to the needs of the working class and the workers in the industry.

Newcastle IMG

Pickets at Eldon Square, faced with a united front of bosses and bureaucrats against them



Cathy Kosrovi, a teacher at Garret Green Comprehensive School and Convenor of the April '75 Salaries Campaign Committee, speaking in favour of the IMG-sponsored motion which was passed at the strikers' meeting on 23 January.

NUT VOTE - A BLOW TO WORKING CLASS

The Special Salaries Conference of the National Union of Teachers meeting at Central Hall, Westminster on Saturday 25 January, voted by an overwhelming majority to accept the Houghton Report.

But Houghton is not just a pay deal - its impact will be felt in the teachers unions and by the working class as a whole. A mass lobby of over 300 teachers greeted the delegates with chants of 'Heads you win, Scales we lose' - a caustic reference to the £40 for headteachers.

GRAVY FOR SOME

Houghton gives to the school adminis-

trators, headteachers and deputies, rises which in many cases are greater than the starting salaries of teachers (£28 per week). The Labour Government know that the crisis in education is going to get worse. The aim is to get these administrator-teachers to continue to run the schools whatever happens.

This will mean less teachers, further cut-backs and a worsening education system. As always it will be the working class children who will suffer the worst.

STRIKE

The decision on Saturday represents a blow to the whole working class, because once again the professionalist 'teacher knows best' approach won the day. Communist Party and Labour Party executive members joined hands to urge the acceptance of Houghton despite opposition from a growing number of teachers, especially in London, where the revolutionary left led a strike of over 300 teachers.

The strikers on Thursday overwhelmingly passed a resolution moved by International Marxist Group militants (which had already been adopted at the conference held at Holland Park a week before). The resolution called for a rejection of Houghton and the Social Contract, and established an April '75 Salaries Campaign Committee to thrash out basic demands for the NUT's next claim and to fight against the education cuts.

The importance of the need to prepare for April was brought home to teachers by the absurdity of the Special Conference. Despite the fact that the report will structure teachers pay for the next seven years, the conference lasted only 2 hours - one hour of which was taken up by General Secretary, Britton's report to conference, the other hour by four speeches for Houghton and only two against.

The task now is for the Campaign Committee to draw together the disparate struggles which have emerged in Leicester, Liverpool and elsewhere into a national campaign. This task places a heavy responsibility, particularly on the revolutionary left, to weld united action to fight this betrayal of the interests of the working class and of teachers.

Bernard Regan



Tate & Lyle's pre-tax profits last year jumped by 139% to £40.8m (news item, 24 January)

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IRELAND - Troops Out Now, Self-Determination! Public meeting supported by TGWU convenor, Tarmac site, Brixton; Norwood Labour Party councillors; South London Troops Out Movement; SinnFein; International Marxist Group; International Socialists, Friday 31 January, 8pm, Clapham Library, Old Town (Clapham Common tube)

REMEMBER BLOODY SUNDAY: Troops Out Now! Public meeting organised by the LSE Troops Out Committee. Speakers: Bernadette McAliskey, Eamonn McCann, and speakers from IMG and PD. Friday 31 January, 7.30pm in Old Theatre, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London W.C.1.

TRANSFER the Irish Political Hostages back home! British troops out of Ireland! Picket of Durham prison at 1pm on Saturday 1 February followed by rally at 2.30pm in Durham University Students Union. Speakers include: Albert Price (father of Price sisters), Ray Challinor (editor, Workers' Chronicle).

RADICAL ALTERNATIVES to prison general meeting: Andrew Mann of the Children's Rights Workshop on 'Schools

'NATIONALISATION and Workers Control - the Crisis in the Car Industry'. Birmingham IMG public meeting, with speakers Bob Pennington (IMG National Secretary) and IMG carworker from Cowley. Sunday 2 March at 7.30pm in Digbeth Civic Hall, Lecture Theatre II.

MARXIST DISCUSSION GROUP in Bradford: held at Albion Hotel, Leeds Rd., Bradford (opp. DAF garage), beginning 7.30pm, upstairs. Friday 31 Jan: 'Reform or Revolution?' Plus Marxist social first Friday of every month at same address.

DAY CONFERENCE: 'Socialist Perspectives on Ireland', 15 February, 10am, Chelsea College, Manresa Road, S.W.3. Further details contact: Socialist Society, Chelsea College. Organised with the help of TOM.

LEEDS IMG public meeting: 'The Crisis of the British Government's Strategy in Ireland'. Thursday 30 Jan in Trades

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

IS THERE A SOCIALIST SCIENCE? Conference organised by British Society for Social Responsibility in Science: Friday 31 January, 7-10pm; Saturday 1 February, 10am-6pm; Sunday 2 February, 10.30am-1.30pm. NUR Assembly Hall, Unity House, Euston Road, W.C.1. Entrance fee £1.00. Crèche available. Further details from BSSRS, 9 Poland Street - 437 2728.

ABORTION LAW UNDER ATTACK: Demonstrate 7 February for defence and extension of Abortion Act against attempts to restrict it in James White's private member's bill. Assemble 12.30 Lincoln's Inn Fields for march to House of Commons.

WATFORD RED FORUM: Fortnightly meetings in the Green Man, Watford High Street. Next meeting Monday 10

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

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUP public meeting, Tuesday 4 February, 7.30, to launch 'Revolutionary Communist', the theoretical journal of the RCG. Speaker: David Yaffe on 'The tasks facing revolutionaries today'. The first issue of the journal (40p) contains articles by Frank Richards on the International Socialists, Stephen Parker on Meriden, David Yaffe on Value and Price in Marx's 'Capital', and the RCG's founding document. Annual subscription (4 issues) £1.50. Cheques: RCG Publications Ltd., Ground Floor, 78 Parkhill Road, London NW3 2YT.

LONDON RANK AND FILE Technical Teacher: Next meeting Sunday 2 February, 7pm, in the Roebuck, Tottenham Court Road (Warren Street tube). Les Brooks will speak on 'Professionalism'.

COLLEGIATE, 15 Gordon Street, Euston, W.C.1. (734 8508). Sunday 2 February only: 6.30 - Solzgas' 'Hour of the Fur-

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

WORKERS FIGHT FORUM 'Why socialists should oppose the "Get out of the EEC" campaign'. Speaker: Simon Temple, Sunday, 2 February, 8.30pm, at the 'George', Liverpool Road, N1 (Angel underground).

'CAPITAL' READING GROUP - organised by supporters of Workers Fight, but all interested socialists welcome. Just started - meeting Friday, 7.30pm, at 'Centerprise', 126 Kingland High Street, E8. For details contact D Russell, 15 High Ridge, Sydney Road, N10.

LATIN AMERICAN Conference at Birmingham University, 15-16 February: sessions on Mexico and Brazil. Sunday: discussion on Chile since the coup. For details write to Latin American Society, Students Union, Birmingham University.

'SEXISM, SEXUALITY and Class Struggle' - a new pamphlet looking into the crisis in relations between men and women. Includes interview with French women bank workers after their strike last year. Published by Bristol IMG for Red Weekly Fund Drive. Send to K. King

Police defend fascists in Manchester



Police hem in anti-fascists while NF chairman Kingsley Read 'and a few of his mates' (in the words of one high-ranking police officer) are allowed to march as they please

Last Friday, 24 January, the National Front were allowed to march through the streets of Manchester for the first time. Their march of about 250 was organised in support of Kingsley Read, NF chairman, who was appearing in front of the Race Relations Board for distributing leaflets in Blackburn calling on white people not to sell their houses to black people.

A picket was organised at very short notice which mustered about 200 anti-fascists. When the picket arrived outside the Race Relations Board it was met by about 250 police with horses, who quickly forced the picket onto the far side of the road. About an hour later the NF turned up and were allowed to mount an undisturbed picket whilst Kingsley Read disappeared inside.

The whole event was significant in three ways. Firstly, by calling their demonstration on a Friday the NF succeeded in marching without mass opposition from the labour movement. But in any case, what was also significant was the absence of even representatives of large sections of the local labour movement and the Communist Party from the anti-fascist forces. This was in contrast to two previous occasions when the mass mobilisations of the local labour movement prevented the fascists from organising in Manchester.

A final important point was the preparations made by the forces of the state to defend the fascists. In the words of one high-ranking officer: 'As far as I'm concerned, this bloke is coming to the Race Relations Board and decided to bring a few mates with him. This other lot [the anti-fascist forces]—well, they just oppose everything'.

As a token gesture the police allowed the anti-fascists to march away from the Race Relations Board to a rally by the University Union. Here speakers from Intex, Pochin's and the Manchester Anti-Fascist Committee stressed the need to fight fascism whenever it appeared.

Manchester I/M/G

THREE THOUSAND WORKERS AT IMPERIAL TYPEWRITERS' LEICESTER and Hull factories have become the latest victims of the capitalist crisis. Part of the giant American multinational, Litton Industries, Imperial Typewriters have given their workforce five weeks' notice before closure plans go into operation on 21 February.

As late as 14 January Hull shop stewards were told by management that 'there was no cause for panic'. Three days later the closures were announced.

Workers with the company for ten years have been offered the princely sum of nine weeks redundancy pay plus a measly £90 'golden' handshake. Litton has assets of almost £1 billion.

and Hull. This shutdown is the **BIGGEST CLOSURE**

The mass sackings will have severe repercussions on the worsening job situation in both Leicester

biggest to hit the Hull area since the closure of Earle's shipyard in the twenties. At a stroke it will add another 20 per cent to the dole register.

The Leicester area has already been hit by a rash of redundancies which has led some workers to refuse pay rises for fear of losing their jobs. This recently happened at Checkmate Fashions—much to



Thousands of anti-fascist demonstrators turned out in Portugal last weekend to protest against the holding of the congress of the right-wing CDS party. Their militant protest upset Tory delegates, while the press moaned about 'attacks on democracy'. But the CDS serves as a rallying point for all the discredited reactionaries in Portugal, although it tries to tart itself up as a 'defender of democracy'. It is the CDS which really threatens democracy, while the demonstrators are its staunchest champions.

the delight of the bosses' newspapers.

Given the swingeing increase in unemployment nationally—which soared to 740,000 last month—the fight to defend the jobs at Imperial is a fight for the whole working class.

NF LIES

Claims are being made by Leicester National Front that it was the Asian workers' strike last summer which has caused the closure. If anything the failure of many white workers to support their Asian brothers' strike has strengthened the company's hand in the present situation.

The NF lies can only further split the workforce at a time when it has the greatest need for unity. The reasons for the sackings lie in the state of capitalism and the cut-throat business methods of Litton Industries.

All Litton Industries are interested in is making a quick buck. They claim to have lost £9 million since they started operations in Britain in 1965, and £5 million in the last two years alone, and so have repeatedly received generous state handouts. In 1973 they made an operating profit of £186,000 and what turned this into a loss was interest payments to the banks and moneylenders totalling £1,317,000. After exploiting cheap labour in Britain they now want to boost their profits by exploiting cheap labour elsewhere.

Labour MP for South Leicester, Mr. Jim Marshall, has revealed that in 1973 the company had been accused of tax evasions to the tune of 250,000 dollars in the United States. In the same year they had courted the Greek colonels in order to make a bit of quick money. A monopoly investigation is currently being carried out into Litton's affairs by the US Federal Trade Commission.

OCCUPY!

There is only one way to fight this vicious capitalist employer—occupation of the Hull and Leicester factories now!

*an occupation can stop the company moving the £1.7 million worth of plant machinery in Leicester and Hull;

*an occupation can establish the militant focus for a national campaign by showing the workers mean business;

*an occupation can seize the company's books for trade union inspection;

*an occupation, by involving the mass of workers and operating through a democratically elected occupation committee, unites the workforce in the most effective method of struggle against factory closures.

NATIONALISATION

The local trade union leadership in both Hull and Leicester have so far failed to organise this sort of decisive action. Rather than demand outright nationalisation under workers' control, as has Leicester and District Trades Council, they have confused the issue by introducing talk of workers' cooperatives. At the closed Triumph Meriden factory in Coventry the workers have waited 14 months for the promised cash from Benn's department. And even if they get it there may well be lay-offs in order to make the co-op competitive in the capitalist market.

SUPPORT

Support is growing both inside and outside Imperial for the fight. Leicester Trades Council has already set up a special sub-committee. The fight against redundancies is a fight for the whole working class.

The International Marxist Group will be fighting to build this movement, and urging militants to unite around the demand of nationalisation of all firms declaring redundancies, under workers' control and with guarantees of no loss of jobs.

Roger Teal

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