

RED WEEKLY

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STOP POLICE STATE MOVES TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

Warley Labour Party opposes police state moves

THE CONSTITUENCY LABOUR Party in the Warley district of Birmingham has come out against Labour's 'anti-terrorist' law.

A resolution adopted by the General Management Committee on Friday 6 December, which will be forwarded to the Labour Party National Executive, condemned the Birmingham bombing but went on to say: 'A return of capital punishment and massive extension of police powers would not prevent such atrocities. Instead these measures would be a step along the road to a police state, and such powers would inevitably and quickly be used against the organised labour movement.'

Speaking in support of the motion the Constituency secretary, Dave Miller, said:

'Attacks on Irish workers by their workmates disgrace the British trade union movement and reveal the racial prejudices of many British workers. These prejudices continually divide and weaken the labour movement. We totally condemn attacks on Irish workers as attacks on the unity of the labour movement.'

We condemn the new laws because there is every likelihood that they will be more difficult to remove from the statute book than is at present thought. We also condemn the laws because we believe they may be used against the labour movement before long.

We reject the idea that a return of capital punishment will lead to a reduction of terrorism. Of all people a man or woman who is willing to take the risk of being blown up while planting a bomb will not be deterred by the prospect of capital punishment. Instead the reprisals following an execution would become even more bloody and lead to an escalating Northern Ireland situation being imported to Britain.

British involvement in Ireland must stop. The price of continued involvement will be that Northern Ireland standards of justice will be imported here.'

In another useful development in the Birmingham area a leading Labour member of Birmingham City Council, Teresa Steward, has written to the Birmingham Troops Out movement stating her support for the convening of a trade union conference on Ireland. It is hoped that several other Labour councillors will add their names to this call in the immediate future.

As economic crisis bites

LABOUR RIGHT SAYS- 'WORKERS MUST PAY'

As Britain's battered economy crashes into the most severe recession it has faced since the thirties, right-wing Labour Cabinet Ministers are calling for an incomes policy.

Last month the trade deficit reached a record £534 million. Inflation has reached a frightening 18 per cent—and is heading upwards. Next year it could be running around 25 per cent: at that rate prices will double every three years.

Then the pound took a terrible hammering when Saudi Arabia threatened to stop taking payment in sterling.

In 1974 Britain's trade with the rest of the world will be in the red to the tune of £4,000 million. With the main exporters like British Leyland verging on bankruptcy there's little hope of things getting better next year.

As the situation goes from bad to worse even Healey's budget gift to big business is seen to be not enough to save British capitalism. So Shirley Williams backed by Reg Prentice, Edmund Dell and the 'financial wizard' Harold Lever are now openly calling for compulsory wage control through new taxation measures and use of the prices code.

The 'new' plan is that wage settlements in excess of the 'social contract' should be clawed back by additional taxation. Williams and co. know full well that the use of legal powers to ban wage increases would smack too strongly of the Tories' detested Phases 1, 2 and 3. They hope therefore to bring in 'Phase 4' wage restraint by the back door.

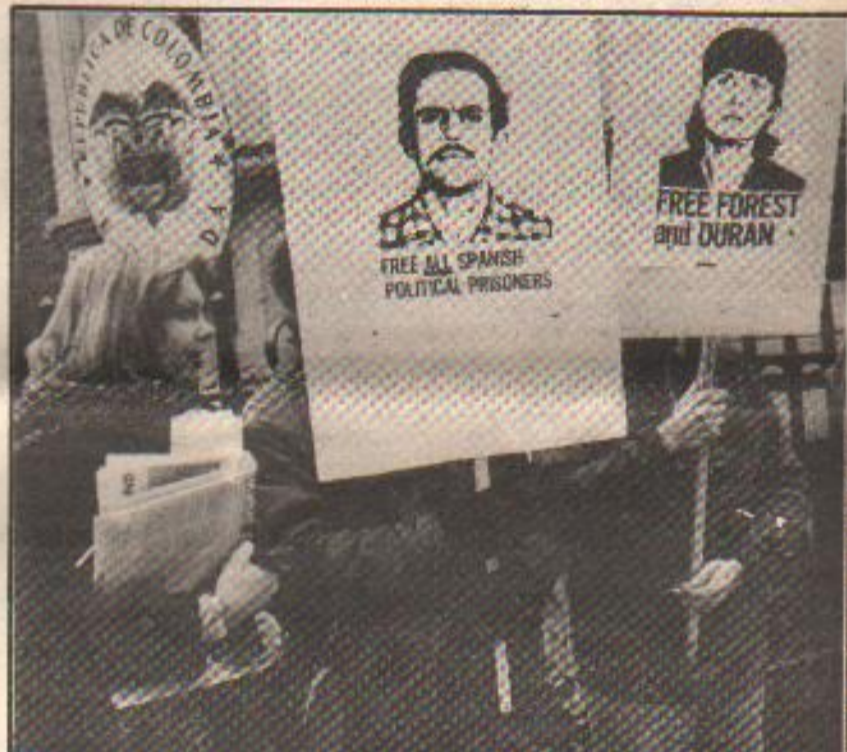
The Labour Government has no intention of challenging capitalism. It is irrevocably committed to the system and in a situation of capitalist crisis it has no alternative but to drive down living standards. Eventually it must move to some form of incomes policy.

The working class must reject this course and refuse to pay for the capitalist crisis. Unless a fight is begun to impose a workers solution the crisis will explode into a catastrophe for the working class. Even the modest gains which it has made in the post-war years will come under sharp attack as prices rocket out of control and dole queues grow longer every day.

A united struggle is needed throughout the trade union movement around the following immediate demands:

*For a sliding scale of wages with a nil-norm threshold guaranteeing full protection of wages against rising prices.

*For the nationalisation without compensation and under workers' control of all firms threatening redundancies and closures.



Some forty Spanish and British militants picketed the Spanish consulate in London last Saturday in solidarity with hunger-striking Spanish political prisoners. They were demanding the immediate release of Eva Forrest and Antonio Duran—two militants who the dictatorship has tortured in an attempt to frame them up in connection with a bombing in Madrid—and an amnesty for all political prisoners.

The demonstrators were from the recently formed Spanish Solidarity Committee, and further solidarity actions are planned in the new year. Further details of the committee will be available at the Red Weekly offices: ring (01)-837 6954.

Anti-fascists jailed

BRITISH JUSTICE has its triumphs. This month two young anti-fascist militants have been sent to languish in jail while the violent fascist thugs they opposed go scot-free.

First to go under its hammer was Ian Coleman, arrested in Leeds opposing a meeting of one of the most vicious neo-Nazi groups yet to emerge. He got 18 months. Two others tried along with him were fined £75 each for 'causing a disturbance', a 'crime' that normally carries a £5 fine.

The second is Tony Young, a Ferds worker arrested at Hyde Park on 7 September when a police column attacked anti-fascists who had stopped the National Front from having Speakers Corner. A London magistrate last week sent him to a remand home to await sentencing on 30 December.

If Ian Coleman and Tony Young stay in prison, the way will be open for dozens, perhaps hundreds, to be jailed in the future struggles against fascists.

On 18 January, the Leeds Anti-Fascist Committee is holding a demonstration for which it is appealing for support from all anti-fascists. It is now vital that a demonstration and picket of the Home Office be held in London the same day to demand a pardon and immediate release for both Young and Coleman.

Donations to pay legal costs and help the campaign to free Ian Coleman should be sent to: Leeds Anti-Fascist Committee, c/o 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2

The following letter has been sent to the Yorkshire Evening Post:

We are very concerned to read of the vicious eighteen month sentence passed on a young anti-fascist demonstrator, Ian Coleman, at Leeds Crown Court on 6 December last (and covered in the *Evening Post*). One lesson we must learn from history is that we must openly take sides with those engaged in the struggle against racism and fascism.

The Court which passed sentence on Coleman acted blindly. He is a first offender, the fascist National Democratic Freedom Movement (NDFM) supporters had previous convictions for incitement to racial hatred and admitted inciting violence against minority groups, yet they were only fined.

We feel most strongly that Coleman's sentence should be immediately quashed and demand that the Labour Councillors who banned the NDFM from using public meeting places must now support Coleman, who was arrested whilst attempting to stop the growth of this fascist group. We are pleased to note, incidentally, that at least in Leeds the NDFM here subsequently collapsed.

Yours faithfully,
E. Jacques (AUEW shop steward)

- M. Hurst (AUEW shop steward)
- B. Sales (AUEW Ties Divisional Organizer)
- T. Jacques (Leeds District President AUEW)
- C. Burton (AUEW shop steward)
- P.J. Fawcett (AUEW shop steward)
- G. Schöber (AUEW shop steward)
- S. Marsden (Leeds District Committee AUEW)
- A.T. McGuire (AUEW convenor)
- M. Freedman (AUEW shop steward)
- P. Hudson (AUEW Leeds 3 branch)
- J.H. Clark (AUEW branch president)
- W. Innes (AUEW shop steward and Leeds District Committee)
- E.J. Cran (AUEW junior workers committee)
- R. Wright (AUEW junior workers committee)
- E. Waller (AUEW shop steward)
- Elizabeth Hancock (AUEW shop steward and District Committee)
- J. Schwarz (EEPTU shop steward)
- B.M. Woodham (EEPTU shop steward)
- R.T. Thompson (EEPTU shop steward and GEC combine)
- D. Madgey (AUEW convenor Leeds)
- G. Davies (AUEW shop steward)
- I. Steels (President Leeds Polytechnic Union)

The next issue of Red Weekly will contain an exclusive interview by Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn with Philip Agee, who spend 12 years in Latin America as a CIA officer and who has just written a book describing the operations of the CIA. Agee appeared on BBC's 'Midweek' on Wednesday.



CHILE CONFERENCE THWARTS CP

Gerry Hedley

The AGM of the Chile Solidarity Campaign last Saturday took two important decisions which effectively blocked the manoeuvres of the Communist Party to gain complete control over the campaign.

First, a resolution was passed making the coming Trade Union conference the major priority for the campaign, and stating that the Conference must be focussed around three issues: a fight against the Labour Government's appalling position on Chile, the extension of the boycott of Chilean trade, and the adoption of political prisoners.

This clear policy is in direct contradiction to the rest of the programme of the campaign produced by the CSC Executive. The latter not only fails to prioritise any issues for the campaign, but also talks wistfully of how we must concentrate on winning 'liberal opinion'.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Some delegates were so enamoured with this line that the AGM had to put up with considerable talk about how to win over arch-bishops and nuns. It is quite obvious that it is only the active presence of revolutionaries inside the campaign that prevents the CP from following this strategy to its logical conclusion and reducing the CSC to campaigning only on the question of 'human rights'.

Communist Parties in other countries of Europe have already

adopted this line, and are now attempting to use its innocuous content to snuggle up to the bourgeois Christian Democrat parties in search of an alliance with them.

The decision of the AGM to fight for an extension to the trade boycott (which, as an IMG delegate pointed out, is not even mentioned in the CSC programme!) and to fight against the role of the Labour Government by mobilising the organised working class, has put the campaign on the right road. The task now is to ensure that this policy is actually put into practice.

BOYCOTT

We must be particularly clear that a Trade Union Conference on its own cannot do this. It will certainly not achieve anything if, as some delegates seemed to want, it confines itself to issuing a call to the TUC to organise a boycott. The Conference must take as its first priority the immediate job of nationally co-ordinating and fighting for a boycott of Chilean trade regardless of whether or not the TUC has agreed to support it. Indeed, it is only if such steps are taken that there is any chance that the TUC will respond to the call.

The second important decision of the AGM concerned the structure of the campaign and the power of the Executive. The CSC has always operated on the basis that between AGMs the national meeting of all the local CSCs is the policy

making body with powers over the Executive. This provision has ensured some measure of control for the activists over the direction of the campaign, and led, for example, to the important decision by the CSC to support the 5 May demonstration despite the Executive's earlier refusal to back it.

A motion from the strong Merseyside CSC re-affirming this position was passed, despite vigorous protests by the CP, who wish to see all power concentrated in the hands of the Executive.

Earlier, a resolution which among other things called for the pages of the Campaign's paper, *Chile Fights* to reflect the debate taking place amongst the Chilean working class organisations on the way forward in Chile was also passed. This was another defeat for the CP, who have done their best to stifle all such political discussions.

Indeed, all in all it was rather a bad day for the Communist Party. The strain finally told when CSC Chairman and prominent CP member, George Anthony, made an open attack on the official Labour Party delegate for having dared to vote against the platform.

This attitude was carried a step further when Monday's *Morning Star*, in true Stalinist fashion, simply omitted to mention the Conference.

It seems that 'left unity' is rather rapidly thrown out of the window if the Labour Party votes with the revolutionaries!



The four militants arrested on 16 November in the course of a picket of Islington estate agents Prebbles, just after the High Court had ruled that such pickets were 'illegal.' Two were fined for obstruction and the cases against the other two were dismissed. The magistrates, unlike the High Court, did not comment on the 'illegality' of the picket.

Their arrest and the attack on the right to picket led to a mass demonstration outside Prebbles office on 7 December. Out of this a committee for a united campaign to defend the right to picket is being set up, along with a trade union inquiry into housing and speculation. (For information contact 17 Clouesley St., London, N.1. phone: Srs, 359 0056).

Further opposition is now emerging inside and outside the Nottingham East Constituency Labour Party to the bureaucratic control exerted by the 'Dunnett/Carroll machine' (Jack Dunnett is the local MP, and Carroll is his agent).

Earlier this year a writ was issued against the chairman of Lenton Ward Labour Party for certain remarks made by him at a private Labour Party meeting. Then another activist, Dieter Peetz, was expelled for organising a meeting at which Eddie Milne (then Independent Labour MP for Blyth) spoke on the corruption inside the Labour Party in the North-East.

Now the pro-machine chairman and secretary of the Market Ward Labour Party have simply refused to resign after a vote of no confidence in them by the members.

'CLEAN UP LABOUR'

The opposition to the Dunnett/Carroll machine is emerging at a number of different levels. On the one hand, Dieter Peetz is now discussing the possibility of forming a new 'Clean Up Labour' party. He stood as a 'Clean Up Local Labour' candidate in the general election, polling about 750 votes.

However, the effect of his candidature was actually to distance himself from those activists who wanted to remain in the Labour Party and could not support him without being expelled. As it was, the Dunnett/Carroll machine tried to use Peetz's campaign to move against the left. About 20 people were summoned for disciplinary hearings on charges of helping him, though only two have so far been expelled.

Forming a new party at this stage will have the same kind of distancing effect, especially if its main thrust is to win at the elections on the basis of attacking the (undisputed) evils of the local Labour Party leadership. What is more important at this stage is, in fact, to make common cause between people inside and outside the Labour Party on those key political issues currently confronting the workers' movement nationally and locally. In this way an opposition can be welded together on a firm political basis.

CAMPAIGNS

Moves in this direction have already had some success in embarrassing the machine, particularly on the question of the Council's housing policies. The campaign here was sparked off by the Council's decision to allow the development

of a 140,000 sq.ft. office block by a private developer on a Corporation-owned site, at a time when there is already surplus office space in Nottingham and a massive housing shortage.

Various ward Labour Parties, the Trades Council, a UCATT branch and the Tenants and Residents Association were among those bodies which came out against the plan, and a 'Theatre Point Action Committee' was set up to co-ordinate the opposition under the slogan of 'Build Homes Not Offices'. Now the Council have announced that

FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPT LABOUR MACHINE HOTS UP

they do not intend to go ahead with the office block after all.

Another success has recently been scored on the question of Ireland, with an overwhelming vote at a recent Market Ward meeting in favour of the withdrawal of British troops and recognition of the right of self-determination for the Irish nation. This was especially important since there was a unanimous vote for the motion by a number of Pakistani workers cynically recruited as voting fodder by the machine. These workers are, in fact, highly class conscious and have quickly realised what they are being used for.

The importance of these campaigns is that they begin to challenge the hold of the Dunnott/Carroll machine on a political basis, welding together a coherent left that can carry forward the class struggle locally and nationally. This will enable the opposition to avoid the fate of previous such groupings, who placed all their eggs in the Labour Party basket only to see them trodden on by the intervention of Transport House against the left.

Private armies grow & grow

The national press has now dropped all mention of the 'private armies' after treating them essentially as a joke. Nor has the attitude of the Labour Party and the TUC been very different.

But in the meantime recruitment to these anti-working class bodies goes on. They will not be affected by the 'Anti-Terrorist' measures because they are part of them. The Civil Assistance private army of General Sir Walter Walker in particular has been steadily growing, building up its chain of command and recruiting 'volunteers'.

Walker's strongest area of support is the West Country, but he now has 44 County Co-ordinators. The organisation is divided into regional, county and area groups, with a co-ordinator in charge of each. Thus the Co-ordinator for the Upper Thames Region - including Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire - is George Morris of Blenheim House, Watlington. The Berkshire County Co-ordinator is Colonel William Geffers, 70-year old councillor for the Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead.

Following in the footsteps of General Walker, former Commander in Chief, Allied Forces-Northern Europe, Geffers too has a long and 'distinguished' military career behind him. He has served with the Territorials, infantry, engineers and gunners, and on the general staff with the 7th Armoured Division. At the end of the Second World War he was the British Liaison Officer to the American general, Patton.

Geffers is quite pleased with his new lease of military life; he has a 'company' of 20 volunteers in Reading, who met recently in the Cavensham Bridge Hotel; a group of between 20 and 30 in Windsor; and others in Wokingham, Maidenhead (run by a barrister) and Ascot, with the best response so far from Newbury.

Colonel Geffers is, of course, 'strictly non-political'. He modestly decl-

ares his aim to be 'to bind together men and women of goodwill, whose sole aim is the well-being of their fellow countrymen and the prevention of a breakdown of essential services and law and order.'

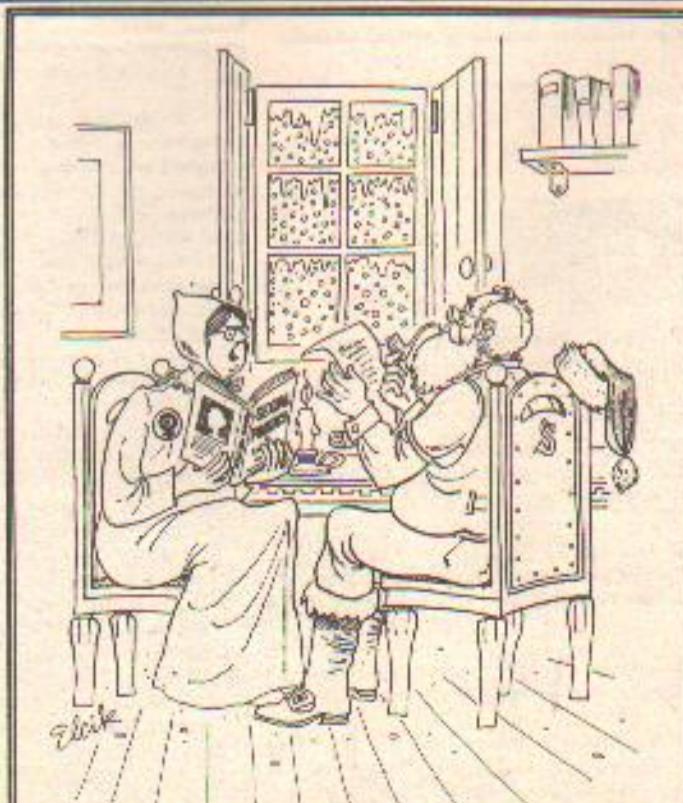
A similar 'non-political' anti-working class organisation was founded in July 1925, called the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies (OMS). Its President and Council too were men officially retired from the various arms of the State, like the President - Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, former Viceroy of India. Such 'public-spirited'

organisations are very useful to the ruling class; they are unofficial, yet operate with the knowledge and sympathy if not actual collusion of the Government.

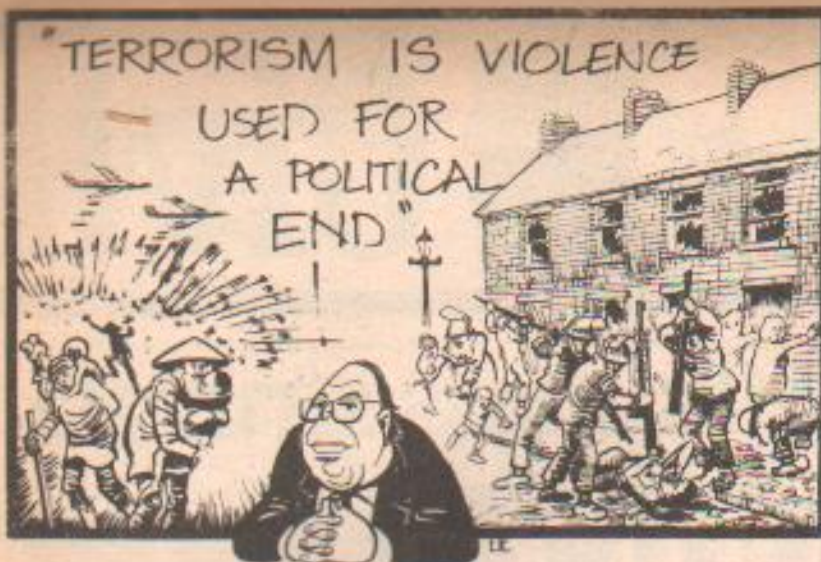
The OMS too was ridiculed and dismissed by many working class leaders. Yet just before the General Strike began in 1926, the OMS and its register of some 100,000 volunteers were placed at the disposal of the Government, which used them as the core of its strike-breaking forces.

Robert Pearce

THIS CARTOON IS OUR ONLY CONCESSION TO CHRISTMAS EXCEPT FOR THE FACT THAT WE WILL NOT BE APPEARING NEXT WEEK.



STORY BY BERT ROTHSCHILD



THE 'BLACK AND TANS'

The 'Prevention of Terrorism Act' has been in force now for nearly three weeks. In this period, countless homes have been searched, Irishmen have been deported, and a number of IMG members have been picked up and their flats raided.

Eddie Caghey, a member of Provisional Sinn Fein, was detained for 36 hours by the police but couldn't be deported as he had lived here for more than 20 years. The police were eventually forced to release him.

The fact that they had no other option shows that there is not a shred of evidence to link Caghey with any bombings. Why then was he being detained? Because he is an Irish republican and that is enough these days.

But this is only the beginning. These are early days and before long we will see other measures. Once there is no mass protest at a handful of deportations, their numbers will gradually increase. Patricia Hewitt, the general secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, registered their apprehensions in a recent meeting with Roy Jenkins.

One point which she discovered in the small print of the Act related to the powers conferred on immigration officials. They can now detain a suspect for five days at any port of entry, and for a further five with the permission of the Home Secretary. This amounts to longer than the police are allowed to hold a suspect.

Our 'civilised' Home Secretary has also created a new precedent. Those served with exclusion orders

entirely explained, to everyone's astonishment, that 'the Forces of the Crown had saved Cork from destruction' and that the Irish had burnt their own city in order to discredit the government's policy in their country!

These then, were the methods of the Black and Tans, which Lloyd George declared would 'command not the condemnation but the admiration of posterity.'

At that very moment, militants in the labour movement were demanding an end to the Terror in Ireland, and the Irish resistance fighters were later to pay tribute to the importance of this agitation. We must do everything in our power to build a similar campaign for the immediate withdrawal of the present-day Black and Tans from Ireland.

Stephanie Cronin

Cork city was systematically burned and looted by the 'Black and Tans'

'Innocent persons may be shot...but you are bound to get the right parties some time. The more you shoot the better I will like you.'

—Colonel Smyth, DSO, addressing the Black and Tans in Ireland.

The attempt of the Irish people to win independence from British rule in the Easter 1916 uprising was brutally crushed. But in 1919 the struggle began once again.

The Westminster Government responded by speedily dispatching, in addition to an increased number of regular soldiers, batches of armed thugs recruited from every nook and cranny of British society. These special forces were known as the 'Black and Tans' because of the colour of their uniforms.

Lloyd George—then British Prime Minister—stated that Ireland should 'be made mincemeat of by the military.' The Dublin Police Journal was equally clear about the task of the Crown forces: to make 'Ireland hell for rebels to live in.'

The history of the Tan war is a list of atrocities perpetrated on the Irish people in an attempt to terrorise them into submission. 'Pacification' began mildly enough with internment and court-martials. These measures were followed by the imposition of martial law. Then came the policy of official reprisals against the civilian population.

During that year, the Tans went berserk. For example, one patrol in Cork, firing wildly, killed 3 children playing hurley in a field.

In November Tans invaded the sportsground at Croke Park where a football match was in progress and fired indiscriminately into the ground, killing 12 people and wounding 60. This behaviour was explained by the Irish secretary Balfour, at Westminster as being the result of heroic men, 'engaged in a heroic struggle...sometimes hitting back'!

Probably the most notorious incident of the war occurred in December 1920. Tans poured into Cork city and, beginning by simply beating up random individuals, proceeded systematically to burn and loot the entire City centre. The Crown forces broke into the City Hall and the Library and, after one unsuccessful attempt, soon had them blazing well. The Tans cut the hoses of the Fire Brigades and police guarded the hydrants, turning the water off every time the firemen turned it on. Miraculously, they left only 4 dead that night.

After threatening to shoot investigators sent by the Labour Party, these gallant heroes further distinguished themselves by parading through Dublin with burnt corks in their caps, indicating their pride in razing the City. Meanwhile a government spokesman complac-



Terrorism Act - only the beginning

will not be told the evidence against them. Jenkins will be judge and jury, and his Tory henchman appointed to listen to appeals, Lord Alport, refuses to allow solicitors to attend the appeal.

The fact that Jenkins is under pressure to allow still 'tougher' methods is a sign of the desperation now felt by many Tory and Labour MPs in relation to the situation in Ireland. In its final phase of occupation, imperialism always becomes more desperate and brutal—witness the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong in Vietnam in December 1972, or the torture of nationalists in Aden by Britain.

The *Tribune* MPs who supported the Jenkins measures have with few exceptions completely failed to break

from British imperialism's involvement in Ireland. It is, after all, the Tribune Stan Orme who acts as an imperialist sub-consul in Belfast, constantly defending the terror of the British army while leaving the Catholics helpless against the murder-squads of the Orange thugs.

In the months and years to come, many supporters of *Tribune* will discover that the laws they allowed even encouraged the Labour Government to pass will be extended until they are used even against them.

For socialists, the struggles against these new laws and for the right of self-determination of the Irish people are interrelated, and have to be pursued relentlessly in the coming months. Terry Kelly



Another sign of the future is the introduction of 'maximum isolation' control units at Wormwood Scrubs (above) and Wakefield jails, both picketed last Saturday

NICK MULLEN, President of Middlesex Polytechnic Students' Union, unsuccessfully moved a pro-IRA amendment to the motion opposing the new 'anti-terrorist' laws at the recent National Union of Students conference. Here *Red Weekly* talks to him about how the press sensationalised the whole debate, and how he sees the situation now.

'We should be building a broad unity against the measures'

What actually happened in your interview with the press at Margate after the NUS conference?

Well, as expected, the press seized upon the most sensational sections of our amendment, which were in support of the IRA. They totally ignored the bit where we said that we didn't believe that the IRA was responsible for the Birmingham bombings, but that even if they were we still found the new measures reprehensible. They completely ignored our total condemnation of the measures introduced by Jenkins.

What sort of reaction has there been? I noticed a sign on the union office door advising people not to leave any baggage.

We've had a series of bomb threats against the union, and a series of threats personally against me. Most of these have been anonymous letters and threatening phone calls, but most of the signed letters, while not supporting us, have genuinely asked why we took the position we did.

Do you think that union policy could be changed next term?

Unfortunately, I think that it is quite likely that our policy on Ireland will be reversed. Following the hysterical outburst the rest of the Executive have in fact publicly dissociated themselves from my remarks without much opposition except from the branch of the Poly which elected me. The Communist Party, in particular, has caved in to populist hysteria.

But we shouldn't be too surprised. What we're seeing in the union is a reflection of what is happening in society

as a whole. Before Birmingham the majority of students was quite happy to pass pro-IRA motions, but now that we've got this adverse publicity and the war is closer to home, they are running as fast as they can.

What do you think the left should be doing to organise against the Labour Government's measures?

Only yesterday a student from this Poly was picked up and harassed in relation to one of the London bombs. I think we should be building a broad unity against the measures. The whole left seems to be opposed to the new Act, and we should carry an attacking line and state our policy of support for the Republican movement quite openly.

I think that the whole left has been lacking in effort to build a real movement on Ireland, and now they're confronted with measures which are directed against them as well. A broad united front is the only way to defend the Irish people and mobilise support against Jenkins' measures. I support the IMG's Open Letter as one way of building this campaign.

What is your attitude on the NUS policy on Ireland?

I think it's totally meaningless. They call for a Bill of Civil Rights without specifying who should enforce it: should it be the British Government or the RUC, both of which are unacceptable to the oppressed authority? Secondly, to call for the withdrawal of troops to barracks and imagine that this will settle things is absurd. It accepts that British troops have the right to be there in the first place.

BATH: IMG MILITANT HARASSED

The recent bomb explosion in Bath provided the police with an opportunity to test their new powers. Despite the fact that there are few Irish people in Bath, and no Republican organisations, the police claimed that it was an IRA job.

Almost the first move by the police was to pick up an IMG comrade who is a student at Bath University, and accuse him of being involved in the bombing. Despite the fact that the Special Branch is perfectly aware of the IMG's positions on bombings,

spite of his denials his flat was raided and his friends closely questioned.

All this merely confirms what the IMG has argued in opposition to the 'anti-terrorist' measures introduced by the Labour Government. They will be used to harass socialist militants.

Bath University Students Union has now demanded that the Labour Government investigate the way the police have conducted their enquiries, and has called upon the National Union of Students to take the matter

The Republican movement and the mass struggle

Part 1 THE PROVISIONALS

IN THE WAKE of the Birmingham bombings most of the British left have fallen over backwards in the rush to take their distance from the Provisional IRA. For *Socialist Worker*, paper of the International Socialists, the problem is a class one. 'The Provisional IRA, like middle class leaders everywhere, encourage the view that the workers of one country have something to gain by physical attacks on the workers of other countries.'

Such a position only reinforces the chauvinism of the British working class. It is true that the Provisionals lack a class analysis—but they have managed to lead the mass struggle against British imperialism for the past five years. It is true that they lack a clear internationalist understanding—but then the British workers' movement is not noted for its internationalism.

Little wonder that the Provisionals have not gone beyond the 'ghetto consciousness' of the Catholic masses when the British working class has in no way extended a hand of solidarity or even raised its voice in protest against the terror campaign waged by the British army for the past five years.

Serious criticisms must face up to the real problems involved in the struggle to advance the cause of the Irish people. We disagree with the bombing campaign in Britain because such a campaign does not help to carry the struggle forward beyond the stage it reached in 1972 with the collapse of Stormont, the Northern Ireland Parliament, and the introduction of 'direct rule' by the British Government. The bombing campaign is in fact a product of the failure of the Provisional strategy since the introduction of direct rule.

PROVOS

At the beginning of the struggle in the north of Ireland, the Provisionals were alone in recognising that the struggle for democratic reforms would challenge the very existence of the six county state. By focusing on the need to bring down Stormont, the Provisionals were able to develop the struggle from one about civil rights into one about national liberation.

The traditional idea of Republicanism—that the problem of Ireland was one of domination by Britain—found a ready echo inside the Catholic ghettos shortly after the British troops were sent in in 1969. Coupling this with the IRA's 'physical force' tradition, the Provisionals were able to first extend and then take the leadership of the emerging self-defence organisations which had sprung up in the Catholic ghettos.

The existence of these self-defence bodies, and the tying down of the troops in the city centres through the bombing campaign, allowed the masses to mobilise through their own organisations and to create in the Catholic areas alternative organs of power to the institutions of the Orange state. The consequence scrapping of Stormont was a massive victory for the Catholic masses.

WEAKNESSES

Traditional Republicanism was able to answer the immediate problems of the Catholic masses because of the direction the struggle was moving in. But beyond these first steps the weaknesses of Republicanism began to come out into the open. The task now was to mobilise the nationalist population north and south around the alternative power established in the Catholic 'no-go' areas. But this brought up the relationship of the Provos to the southern Irish ruling class—for what was

posed was the reorganisation of the Irish people in a different form of state.

But the decline in the mass struggle stems from the fact that the

masses don't see a clear way forward, rather than an actual historical defeat of the struggle. The upsurge around internment and its aftermath showed that.

But the only 'ways forward' which are of concern to the Provisionals are military ones. Today, what does this military campaign amount to?

Basically, it means a new campaign of attacks across the border, and a campaign of demoralising the

The development of these actions could have spelled the end of the internment system; they could have tipped the balance back against the loyalists; they could have sharpened the crisis of British imperialism in a way which was favourable to the Catholic minority; and they could have revived the struggle in the south. But the obvious willingness of the Catholic minority to struggle was not given any focus so the actions burnt out in isolation

their complete and immediate withdrawal. The Provisionals' position that there should be phased withdrawal to prevent disruption and civil war, completely disorients the masses about the actual direction in which imperialist strategy is moving: withdrawal on the basis of a hand-over to the Loyalists. This strategem has to be completely exposed.

The bombing campaign in Britain falls into the same trap. It may indeed promote a 'troops out' sentiment amongst the British people. But such a sentiment is more than likely to be a reactionary one. This is indeed what has occurred since the Birmingham bombings (whether or not the Provisionals were responsible). Such a reactionary sentiment can then be used as a cover to 'Ulsterise' the war and hand things over to the loyalists. At the same time such actions can only hinder the moves towards a progressive troops out movement which will solidarise with the struggle of the Catholic masses in the north.

RANK-AND-FILE

Things are not so bleak, however. Developments are taking place at the base of the Provisionals. It has been known for some time that the leadership in the north is much to the left of the traditional leadership in Dublin. Much of the northern leadership is actually opposed to the bombing campaign in Britain.



Loyalists on the march—victory of Ulster Workers' Council strike in May passed initiative to them

British troops by hitting their rest homes and recreational centres. This is where the campaign in Britain comes in: the enemy is not to be allowed to feel at home even in its clubs in Mayfair, fair.

SUBSTITUTE

Even in military terms, this is a retreat, for it signifies the inability of the Provos to continue their campaign in the town centres of the north. But the more important thing is that such a military campaign is actually a substitute for the political struggle to mobilise the mass of the Irish people.

Although the Provisionals have had mass backing for their military campaign—and even today have a substantial following in the Catholic ghettos—they have never had any notion of how to integrate armed struggle into the mass struggle. At first, because of their lack of strength, the Provisionals did play a role in the mass organisations. But as soon as they gathered mass support, they began to counterpose the Provisional army itself to the mass organisations. The way forward that they offered was simply to join the Provisionals. Consequently, the mass of the people were left completely unorganised.

A striking example of this was the recent prison revolt in protest against internment. The magnificent organisation of this action, which more or less paralysed the whole of the prison system in the north, and the courage of those involved (who were well aware that they would be brutalised and tortured by the British Army for their actions) aroused mass actions in the Catholic ghettos. These actions were the biggest since the hey-day of the struggle in 1972. But they were not organised by the Provisionals.

from each other under the hammer blows of the British Army, out for revenge.

LOYALISTS

The victory of the loyalist strike in May of this year has passed the initiative to the loyalists in the north. British imperialism is politically unable to move against the loyalists. Its increased repression of the Catholics heightens the likelihood of a hand-over to the loyalists, which would bring in its train either complete prostration of the Catholic masses or civil war. At the same time the collaboration of the southern ruling class in increased repression against the Republicans grows daily.

It is clear what is needed: preparation of the masses north and south for the hand-over to the loyalists and, in the course of this mobilisation of the southern working class against the collaboration of the southern Government with British imperialism.

The Catholic working class in the northern ghettos is not beaten. Its resistance must be organised and developed towards the goal of alternative institutions of power for the masses north and south—in opposition both to any return to Stormont in the north and the existing Dail (Parliament) in the south.

SELF-DEFENCE

The self-defence of the minority in the north is vital. This cannot be done for the Catholics by the Provisional IRA, but must be mass self-defence. The powerlessness of the Provos in the face of the present sectarian murders is testimony to that. This means organising at the base in the ghettos and building resistance committees which seek to involve the mass of the Catholics.

This defence necessitates the removal of the British troops and



In the vacuum left by the Provisional leadership during the anti-internment upsurge, a new group emerged—the United Workers Group—based on the building sites and small factories in West Belfast. Rank-and-file Provos operate in this committee alongside rank-and-file supporters of the Official IRA. This group organised the most militant demonstrations, and has managed to hold a large rally in Belfast city hall.

Such a development illustrates the desire of the rank-and-file for unity and for mass involvement. These moves, together with the debate that is opening up inside the Provisionals, can lead to major leaps forward. In this task, the revolutionary marxist groups in Ireland—like the RMG (Irish section of the Fourth International) and People's Democracy—have a big role to play.

Brian Grogan,

war on the horizon

THE OUTCOME OF LABOUR'S POLICIES CIVIL WAR

Interview with Mike Farrell of People's Democracy



Mike Farrell speaking at rally in defence of political prisoners in the South

What are the implications of this for the South?

Members of the 26 Counties Government such as Conor Cruise O'Brien and Garret Fitzgerald have acknowledged the likelihood of civil war. The Government is worried that in this event, and given a major upsurge of sympathy among the people of the 26 Counties, there would be a serious prospect of mutiny by sections of the southern armed forces.

The Government could be toppled. Their present position of outright collaboration with British imperialism and appeasement of the loyalists—including Cosgrave's meeting with representatives of the Ulster Defence Association [sectarian protestant armed group], stage managers of the assassinations—would be untenable. The Government con-

siders its best chance of survival is to come to an agreement with the loyalists in the Six Counties.

What is the British Army up to at the present time?

Again, the formal position differs from reality. Statements that the British Army is a peace keeping force between rival factions are a sick joke. Their real role is indicated by internment figures—500 Catholics as opposed to 23 loyalists. In a swoop last weekend, allegedly against sectarian assassins, 16 republicans and two loyalists were detained, despite the fact that murders over the past few months have been overwhelmingly carried out by loyalists. This makes a mockery of the official reason.

Since Sunningdale [the agreement that established 'power sharing'] collapsed, the role of the British Army has been to crush all resistance in preparation for the setting up of a loyalist state. Under the cover of combatting assassinations they have been arresting leading figures in the Republican movement, people who have absolutely no connection with the murders. The British Army is concerned with removing all leadership elements from the anti-unionists.

They have made little effort to prevent anti-Catholic murders. We had the case, for instance, of two brothers shot down from a passing car at the foot of an army observation post on the Falls Road, in clear view of the sentry. Nothing was done. Yet Catholic rioters are shot on the least excuse. The effects of the murders have been to panic the

Catholic middle class into appeals for surrender by anti-imperialist forces to imperialism, in the hope of saving their own skins.

How do you see the Provisionals and the Officials facing up to the situation?

The Officials at their Ard Fheis [conference] totally abandoned anti-imperialist struggle. This was marked expressly by the decision to take seats on local authorities in the North, breaking their pledge not to take seats until internment ended, and took them to a reformist stance of parliamentary action in a situation when such tactics are irrelevant, and when it is doubtful if there will even be a parliament.

The organisation persists in deluding themselves that the loyalist para-military groups are progressive, and that there is common ground with them, in the face of the constant and vehement denials by the loyalists themselves—and objective reality. All these factors have led to demoralisation within the membership, and fragmentation.

There is no doubt that, in the past, the Officials have contained genuine Republican militants. But these have now become disillusioned with the politics of the organisation. Fragmentation may lead some of these elements to set up organisations of an almost purely military nature, while others may be expected to gravitate politically towards Marxist organisations.

Elements of the Provisional IRA leadership also appear to be waiting to achieve some sort of deal or alliance with loyalist para-military

groups, despite the increase of sectarian violence from this quarter.

Paradoxically, some in the leadership seem to be turning away from the national question. They fail to understand the nature of the Northern state—a sectarian state based on imperialist domination but with its own local base, the protestant ascendancy.

They offer a purely mechanical solution of forging agreements with loyalists. Elements of the leadership do not realise the imminence of a civil war situation and the need for an absolutely firm commitment that there should be no compromise with reaction. The nationalist population of the North sees the situation on the ground and cannot understand why the Provisionals are talking to those behind the assassination campaign.

We feel it is essential at this time that all anti-imperialist military and political organisations come together to prepare for the defence of the minority against pogroms and the possibility of a coup. The need for this is accepted in the anti-unionist population.

What do you see as the main tasks facing the revolutionary left in Ireland in the coming period?

Groups on the revolutionary left—and in particular People's Democracy—have been the only organisations to understand Britain's strategy for the coming period, and the danger of a loyalist take-over. Given the lack of leadership coming from the Republican Movement, the importance and urgency of the primary task of developing the strongest possible Marxist party within the coming period, is increased.

Our aims must be to agitate north and south on the danger of a loyalist take-over in the six counties, and to increase our political work in the south. This is crucial to ensure that with confrontation in the north the resulting southern upsurge cannot be contained by petit-bourgeois elements, such as is represented by the right wing of Fianna Fail [main capitalist party in Ireland—the Government until 1973], but is given a revolutionary content. Our major task is to prepare the defence of the nationalist population of the north, and to seek united action by all anti-imperialist movements to this end.

And for the left outside Ireland?

I would like to stress the urgency of the situation, and that solidarity and aid is required now. We can be helped by international demonstrations against British imperialism and in solidarity with the struggle for Irish self-determination. These must expose the strategy of the British Government. Material aid for the anti-imperialist forces in Ireland is also needed.

These should be started now. We do not want to be another Chile. Solidarity and aid with the Chilean revolutionaries only gained momentum after the military coup. But we need support and solidarity now—to help us prepare against our right wing coup.

The Ulster Workers' Council strike in May disrupted the British strategy centred around power sharing. How do you see the situation developing now?

The British Government has little confidence in its current position of formally backing power sharing. Rees has admitted there will inevitably be a loyalist majority in the forthcoming convention elections.

Even bourgeois commentators have recognised that the politicians' aim of breaking away support from the loyalists does not match up with reality. With the increasing demand within Britain for withdrawal from the North of Ireland, the Government is faced with the task of disengagement while retaining imperialist domination over the six counties. The most realistic way to do this is to reinstate loyalists in control.

The loyalists have made clear their intention to back up demands for a return to the old ascendancy structure with the industrial force available to them through their position as a labour aristocracy, if it should prove necessary. As in the UWC strike earlier this year, the British Government could not oppose them.

At the same time, the massive loyalist victory in the last Westminster election shows the protestant ascendancy elements are completely dominant in loyalist politics. Clearly, the tensions within the unionist camp are not between working class elements and bourgeois sections, but between right-wing conservatives and fascists.

All this points to a restoration of protestant supremacy in the coming period. And given that this can only be met with resistance on the anti-unionist side, the outcome would be civil war.

In practice, there is quite a serious danger of the loyalists short-circuiting this process by staging a coup, possibly with British connivance. The nature of such a regime has been described by Rees. At the Labour Party Conference he stated he would not like to be responsible for the lives of Catholics in Belfast after a withdrawal of British troops. Yet he plans to hand over security in the North to the sectarian Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC).

Shirley Williams has asked if other countries would stand aside if there was a massacre of their co-religionists in the North. While we can't visualise some sort of 17th century religious war, these statements show that British politicians realise the likely outcome of the restoration of protestant ascendancy. If restoration is met with mass anti-unionist resistance, we can expect large scale massacres. If resistance is limited to political opposition, then extermination of political groups. But either way we will not submit to reaction without a fight.

PRISONERS' APPEAL

Dear Comrades,

We are a group of political prisoners in the Curragh Military Barracks, and because of financial difficulties we are unable to obtain socialist literature that would give us a better understanding of the present crisis of capitalism and the problems of revolutionary leadership for the working class. Therefore we are appealing for any socialist literature that would help us in study.

We fully understand that most comrades are struggling to keep their organisations out of financial difficulties, so the contributions—no matter how small—will be appreciated.

The task of preparing the working class for its historical mission is crucial. The present leaders are unfit to represent the working class, as their class collaboration, cowardice and treachery can only bring defeat as it did in Spain, Germany and most recently Chile.

While we are in prison our duty as socialists is to politically educate ourselves for the coming battles. Therefore, comrades, we are asking for your help to assist us in this task. Yours fraternally,
Seven political prisoners.

Please send all literature for forwarding to: Finbar O'Doherty, c/o 66 Norwood Road, Stretford, Manchester.

A woman's work is never done — even in the Soviet Union

Women in the Communist Party of Great Britain have for some time been playing an active part in the women's liberation movement. This is despite the fact that the press in the Soviet Union originally made fun of it — equating it simply with the bra-burning image— and has since maintained a complete silence on the question.

The attitude of the Soviet press is no accident, as TAMARA VOLKOVA points out below. For while the Communist Party claims to support women's liberation in Britain, it simultaneously champions a regime in the Soviet Union which actively encourages the retention of fundamental aspects of women's oppression.

In the Soviet Union, 5 December is a public holiday. Everyone stops work to celebrate the constitution Stalin presented to the nation in 1936. Among the benefits promised in this document, and among the benefits only enjoyed in modern Soviet society to a limited degree, is full equality for women.

One only has to observe how this holiday is celebrated. Over the preceding week the shops are more crowded than usual. It is customary to put a few good things on sale before public holidays — a few of the special food items that usually only find their way into the 'paiki', the food allowances for the 'special people'.

December is the month the mandarins ripen along the coast of Georgia and the queues, forty to fifty persons long, shiver a couple of hours in the cold. There are endless lines curling round even the closed kiosks where rumour has it that crates of the fruit might be brought. The queues are queues of women. Queues are nearly always of women. Even for their own International Holiday — 8 March — it is they who have to collect in the holiday fare.

And shopping is no easy trip to a supermarket. Acquiring the ten ingredients of a borsch soup may mean visiting as many shops and standing in as many queues. Then in her small kitchen, which lacks even elementary facilities, she has to prepare the meal. After the feast the dishes need washing. Then the flat must be tidied.

As for the two days of the week-end that follow, there is a lot of washing to do, the children to be looked after, and her husband needs a new pair of socks.

REPETITION

Her 'holiday' is in fact merely a repetition of all the other days of the year. According to statistics, the average Soviet woman spends from three to four hours every day on her housework, and six hours on Saturdays and Sundays. She does 75% of the housework and plays the main role in bringing up the children. She has over one hour less sleep a day than her husband.

Of course, she never doubts that she is better off than her grandmother. She is better fed, better clad, better housed and better educated. Even queues are not as bad as they used to be, and families are beginning to buy refrigerators and washing machines.

But although she is no longer the illiterate peasant woman of the early 1920s, she no longer strives for the new life-style of which her grandmother dreamed. She may take her role in social production, crèche facilities and maternity leave for granted — but she also takes her domestic role for granted.

Her government sees to that. Though now the economic funds exist to abolish the private kitchen, to separate marriage from the kitchen, and to realise in practice all the other proud slogans of the '20s, still only 2% of Soviet washing goes through the public laundries and 95% of evening meals are cooked at home. Only 5% of domestic work is socialised; progress at this rate makes the 'road to communism' a 2000 year journey.

And if the daily round of her

millions of compatriots is not enough to convince her that the domestic load is right and honourable, the propaganda-machine is there to teach her where her duty lies.

Women's inequalities are spoken of in enraptured tones; women are praised for managing to do everything at once (the praise they obviously deserve, but praise is no substitute for anger and concern).



'Even for their own International Holiday—8 March—it is the women who have to collect in the holiday fare.'

'Women', cooed one newspaper, 'are absolutely equal with men and not only carry a huge weight in production but are the educators of our wonderful children — our future; they are amazing housewives...they create comfort and atmosphere in the family and their smiles and charm force us men to forget the little misfortunes and unpleasantnesses of our lives.'

The ideology-makers never doubt that whatever else a woman may be she is always the housewife. 'I took my overall home for mum to wash', remarks a character in a typical Soviet short story. 'It's my turn to wash the corridor', remarks the hero of the same story to his mother come on a visit from the North, 'so you've come just at the right time.'

MARXISM

Soviet publishing houses have so far forgotten the basic principles of Marxism that with a clear conscience and without any embarrassment they translate their ideas on women's place into foreign languages to be sent abroad.

'Women', emphasises a booklet

written for overseas consumption, 'by their very nature are endowed with certain qualities. For example many like to sew, to knit, and to think up recipes. And the mother, of course, spends more time with the children than the father. It seems to us that at all times in the future the mother will want to sew her daughter a dress or prepare a favourite dish for her children. One would not like to see such pleasant tasks die out.'

Alexandra Kollontai wrote in *Communism and the Family*: 'Capitalism has placed on women's shoulders a crushing burden: it has made her a wage-worker without having lessened her cares as a housekeeper or mother. Woman stagger beneath this triple load.' The workers' state, she promised, would do all it could in every way to help women.

As the Soviet working woman, bleary-eyed, squeezes into the crowded bus to go to work after her holiday, she does not even have time to think that she is still burdened and that the workers' state has still not done that much to assist her.



WOMEN AG INTERVIEW TROTSKYIS MILITANTS

The political repression being unleashed by the Franco dictatorship in Spain includes among its victims an increasing number of women. Eight women are among those whom the dictatorship is currently trying to frame-up for the bombing of a Madrid cafe last September.

Two of these — Eva Forest and Lydia Falcon — are well known as activists in the newly emerging women's movement in Spain. Both have been ruthlessly tortured by Franco's police, and are in danger of receiving the death penalty if the frame-up succeeds.

The following interview with two militants of LCR-ETA (VI) [Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International] first appeared in *La Breche*, paper of the Swiss section of the Fourth International.

It seems that women are increasingly among those being arrested in Spain today. Does this reflect their growing radicalisation and participation in the struggle against the Franco dictatorship?

ISABEL: The involvement of women in struggles is not entirely new, but it is something that is growing. About five years ago there were strikes by women in those sectors which mainly employ women workers. For example, in the textile factories in Barcelona in 1970. There have also been strikes of nurses.

But very few women have jobs. Workers' wives, however, play a part in their husbands' strikes by organising material and moral support. For example, they organise hunger-strikes. This is a very common type of solidarity action in the Basque country.

LAURENCIA: The involvement of women in the organisations of the revolutionary left is also quite important. It's really this which explains the number of women political prisoners, almost all of them members of ETA(V) [Basque nationalist organisation], FRAP

[far-left group], or the LCR-ETA (VI).

The women's prison at Alcaide Henares has conditions that are said to be harsher than those in the men's prisons. What's more women who are arrested are almost always tortured... This is not the same sort of torture as for men. It's perhaps not so tough physically — but its aim is to humiliate women as women.

Whenever the Francoist newspapers bother to write about a woman who has been arrested it's only in order to say that she was living with two or three men in the same flat. The regime always tries to pin the label of 'prostitute' on women militants.

The regime bases itself on a whole set of ideas about the family. Women are only supposed to exist to become mothers... In Spain the situation of women in the home allows the regime to deny them jobs and thus to avoid the dangers of social explosion. As a result many women emigrate abroad... where they work as domestics or get assembly line jobs.

ISABEL: The Franco regime has built up a whole body of discrim-



The ideas of the Spanish ruling class have always kept women locked away in the fascist struggle of the Civil War women played their full part in the fight — as they place in the ranks of those fighting the dictatorship.

AGAINST FRANCO DICTATORSHIP

WITH

STATEMENT ON TORTURE

'No part of her body is spared'

atory laws. The 'age of majority' for women is 23 years, but is only 21 for men. A woman cannot buy anything important without the approval of her husband.

Voting for the Cortes [Spain's one-party Parliament] is organised by family: only the head of the family—the man—is able to vote. This is not very important, since no one is interested in voting for the Cortes, but it shows the sort of ideas on which the regime is based: only a man who has set up a family is considered a first-class citizen.

LAURENCIA: The sexual repression which women have to undergo is unbelievable. Only a married woman can obtain the pill, and even then only if her doctor agrees. There are almost as many abortions as births in Spain each year. But this doesn't stop the courts sentencing anyone having carried out an abortion, or having assisted in one, to thirty years in prison.

Of course unmarried mothers are vigorously condemned by the dominant social standards. In the clinics which look after them they are required to give the name of their child's father. Often they give the first name which comes into their heads. This creates incredible legal tangles!

Isn't the question of an independent women's movement—which Eva Forest and Lydia Falcon tried to encourage—an urgent one then?

ISABEL: Certainly the objective conditions exist. But the radicalisation of women specifically around their own problems so far only affects middle class women—those who have jobs and a certain amount of education. Women workers still have a long way to go to break with the dominant ideas and taboos...Moreover the nature of the regime means that any attempt to organise on these questions is vigorously suppressed.

Radicalisation over the oppression of women is just beginning. But I think that an increasing number of people—especially on the extreme left—are becoming aware of the interest that exists in propaganda on the question, and of the need for women to start organising themselves.



The following account of Eva Forest's torture at the hands of the Spanish police was published in the French paper Le Monde. It is based on the statement she managed to smuggle out of jail, and was written by Gisele Halimi, a friend of Forest and prominent figure in the French women's liberation movement.

'Arrested in Madrid at her home on September 16, by the political police. Dragged down to the headquarters of the chief of security after the methodical ransacking of her apartment. Turned over to a dozen "young athletes with their sleeves rolled up", Eva later reported [in her letter].

'Insults, obscenities. She is flattened

against a wall and the "athletes" work on her. Punches, kicks, butts with the head. No part of her body is spared. "You'll tell the truth, then we'll throw you out the window. You'll have committed suicide, that's all..."

"'You'll lick up your vomit.' Eva refuses. She receives a blow worse than any previous one. She loses consciousness. Buckets of water, slaps, and an "official doctor" force her to her feet again.

"The sessions were repeated, for hours on end. Eva passes out again. "Speak, slut, speak..." For Eva, half unconscious, a flash of understanding: no question had yet been put to her. Simply a softening up, then, for the next stage.

"For this 'next stage' a new setting. A luxurious office, with thick pile furnishings. Up front two very dignified looking officials and a secretary ready at her machine. Eva is again beaten, but, it seems, in a more systematic way: a type of 'rabbit chop' (delivered repeatedly on the nape of her neck) at the same time as the cops are crushing her temples with their hands. Her hair is pulled out in tufts. Her skull feels as though it will burst. From time to time a question: "Shit, how could you be a member of the Communist Party and of ETA at the same time?"

"For the official referred to as "Robert" it's time for the sexual interludes. "I love you, you're pretty, let me make love to you" with which he throws himself on Eva. A particular torture inflicted on women who take part in struggles in a dedicated way.

"Altogether, nine days of interrogation at the security headquarters. Mental torture supplemented the physical. Eva is informed that her husband (in hiding at the time but since arrested) had been wounded in a clash with the police. "We had to finish him off," the inspectors explain regretfully. Evita, her twelve-year-old daughter, was going to be imprisoned, and they offer legal arguments backing up the threat.

The following are excerpts from a leaflet published by the London Spanish Solidarity Committee:

Franco's dictatorship, in order to survive, makes use of vicious repression, which seeks to break the working class and the Spanish people who are fighting in their own interests. A day doesn't pass without evidence of the repression: dismissals of workers in factories and shipyards, and of teachers and students in the universities. Strikes and demonstrations by the workers and the people are violently broken-up by the police, causing a great number of injuries and sometimes deaths.

Among the political prisoners held at the present time there are eight whom Franco's dictatorship accuses of being involved in the bomb-attack on the Cafe Rolando in Madrid, where 13 people were killed and more than 50 injured.

Apart from the statements obtained under torture, the police have no evidence either of who took part in the Rolando attack or of what means were used. The police and the press at first put the blame onto FRAP, afterwards on GARI (two far-left groups), and finally onto the Spanish Communist Party and ETA(V) (Basque nationalists). All the left-wing parties have condemned the attack and denied that they participated in it, accusing fascist groups of being responsible.

Eva Forest was tortured for at least 10 days; another of the accused, Antonio Duran, was twice taken from the prison to the police station for further questioning in order to extend police interrogations beyond the 72-hour legal limit.

Therefore, we should not pay the slightest attention to what a gang of professional torturers forced its victims to confess. The picture that the police and the press are putting out is false and scandalous. Antonio Duran, the

leader of the Pegaso car factory strike in 1968, and leader as well of construction building workers in Madrid in 1971-2, who was savagely tortured on several occasions, is a fighter for the rights of the working-class and not 'a terrorist without principles' as he has been made out to be by the Spanish Government, who for 35 years have assassinated hundreds of Spaniards. Eva Forest, who is an international fighter, who pioneered Spain's unrelenting solidarity with the Vietnamese people, leader of the first groups to protest against the oppression of women, is a shining example of solidarity with all those persecuted by the dictatorship.

Over Antonio Duran, Eva Forest and their comrades, hangs the threat of capital punishment for their involvement in the revolutionary solidarity against the enemies of the working class. But their fate depends on the working class and the people of Spain, the workers and peoples of the world, on the struggle which must be launched for their freedom. Join in the fight for their freedom and that of the political prisoners, which is beginning in Europe.

STOP THE ASSASSINATIONS OF WORKERS, STUDENTS AND NATIONALIST MILITANTS!

DISSOLUTION OF THE REPRESSIVE CORPS AND SPECIAL INSTITUTIONS!

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...carrying out the tasks of mother and housekeeper. But in the great anti-tortures show. Today Spanish women are once again taking their rightful

SPECIAL XMAS OPENING HOURS: Tuesday 24 December—close 5.30pm. Then closed until Wednesday 1 January—open midday to 6.00pm. Then open as normal.

A FEW MONTHS AGO THE WHITE RACIST REGIMES OF SOUTHERN Africa were still arrogantly announcing to the world that they would never talk to black nationalist leaders and that white rule had never been so solid.

But now they are singing a different tune, as is shown in the recent agreement between Ian Smith of Rhodesia and the leaders of the main political organisations which represent Rhodesia's black majority. This agreement is not just a result of the serious problems that face white Rhodesia, but was in large part engineered by the manoeuvres of South Africa.

Up until April of this year white supremacy in Africa was supported by a three-way alliance: South Africa, Rhodesia and Portuguese colonialism. Together these three partners controlled the bulk of Southern African territory and had at their disposal sufficient economic resources, and the necessary transport network, to spit in the eye of the black African states and international economic sanctions.

SNAG

The snag has always been the growing guerilla war that the Portuguese faced in 'their' territories. This particular chicken finally came home to roost when the Portuguese dictatorship was overthrown in April of this year. The former Portuguese colonies then began to move towards independence and the whole system of white racist security was up for grabs.

Worst off was Rhodesia, where some 250,000 whites lord it over 5.5 million blacks. Moreover Rhodesia is ringed by black African states (only a small part of its border is shared with South Africa), and is dependent on the railways and ports of Mozambique to get its main products onto the world market. Rhodesia has also had to contend with at least the beginnings of guerilla warfare within its borders.

South Africa was much more secure, but could see which way the wind was blowing. South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster hopes to persuade the black African states of Southern Africa that his regime is a 'special case' and cannot be treated like the other white racist regimes. But to do this he has to first sort out the 'ordinary cases' of white racism—like Rhodesia.

It was as part of this strategy that Vorster set up talks between the Smith Government and the heads of the black states of Zambia, Tanzania and Botswana. Rhodesia knows that it must depend on South African military and economic support to survive (at the moment the South African army has about as many soldiers in Rhodesia as the Rhodesian army itself), and so went along. To help get the ball rolling Smith agreed to temporarily release the imprisoned leaders of the Zimbabwe African National Union and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZANU & ZAPU—Zimbabwe is the

nationalists' name for their country) so that they could be present while the talks were taking place.

DEADLOCK

Smith laid down two conditions before he would discuss directly with the Zimbabwe nationalist leaders: that 'terrorism' should cease; and that Rhodesia's 'civilised standards' must be maintained. In the double-talk of white racism this meant that



White luxury and African poverty. These are the 'standards of civilisation' from which Smith is 'not prepared to deviate'.

guerilla warfare must be called off and that there could be no question of allowing the same rights as whites.

The nationalist leaders then stated their demand that any talks should be based on acceptance by the Smith Government of the principle of majority rule. Smith rejected this and the talks broke down.

In the next few days tremendous pressure was brought to bear on both sides. Vorster tried to whip Smith into line, and the black Governments insisted that the Zimbabwe nationalists had to make concessions. It is virtually certain that the right-wing Zambian Government told the nationalists in no uncertain terms that they would withdraw support from guerilla operations. More disturbing, however, are reports that the FRELIMO Government in Mozambique took a similar line with the militant ZANU group.

ZANU is the force behind the most important guerilla front in Rhodesia, based in the 'tribal trust'

land of the north-east which have been allocated to the blacks. This operation is heavily dependent on their ability to move men and supplies across the Mozambique border.

In any event, on 11 December—three days after the collapse of talks—an agreement was announced: a constitutional conference involving black and white Rhodesian representatives would be held 'without any preconditions', and in exchange for a ceasefire in the guerilla operations Smith would release imprisoned nationalist leaders and their followers.

PUT OFF

Basically this agreement was no more than an 'agreement to disagree'. Neither side had budged on the question of their attitude towards majority rule—they had just put off the showdown.

From Smith's point of view the settlement is quite a bargain. It not only allows him to patch up relations with South Africa, but also

delivers a pledge that the nationalists will call off guerilla activities. All he has to grant in exchange is the release of imprisoned nationalists, and a certain toleration of their political campaigning among the black population.

The nationalists, on the other hand, have come off badly. It is not yet clear whether a deal will involve simply a ceasefire, or whether guerilla operations will actually be wound up altogether. Smith will certainly push for the latter and will try to use the pause to strengthen his military position in the north-east region. It would certainly be difficult to have guerilla forces doing nothing but sitting on their guns for months on end.

It seems impossible that the promised constitutional conference can result in anything but another deadlock. The nationalists are firmly committed to immediate equality of representation in Parliament between blacks and whites and a clear timetable for majority rule. Smith revealed the whites' attitude in a TV statement on 11 December when he said 'we are not prepared to deviate from our standards of civilisation'. In case there was any doubt what this meant he spelt it out two days later in an interview with the BBC, whom he told that ideas of parliamentary parity and majority

rule had 'never entered my head and I don't believe they ever will.' He added, '...if we ever got to a stage of having black rule then our policy would have failed.'

The coming months are unlikely to bring a settlement in Rhodesia. But they will almost certainly bring a massive explosion from the country's black population. Their hopes of ending the ruthless system of white privileged domination will be revived by the agreement and the agitation of the nationalist groups, only to be dashed once again. At the same time there will be all sorts of forces—including both South Africa and several of the black states—trying to engineer a sell-out of the black liberation struggle.

It is urgent that the workers' movement around the world begin to organise the sort of solidarity that will encourage the black people of Zimbabwe and all of Southern Africa to reject all compromises and to go on to the offensive against all the manoeuvres of white racism and imperialism. The decision of the delegates to the recent conference of the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (CFMAG) to start a campaign in this country in solidarity with the Southern Africa liberation struggle must be translated into action immediately.

Invasion threat in Timor

Information from South East Asia and Australia indicates that the Portuguese colony of East ('Portuguese') Timor is threatened by a military invasion from Indonesia.

Following the success of the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal, it seemed that, for the first time in 400 years of colonial rule, the Timorese people would be able to determine their own political future. Over the last few months, a large independence movement has developed in East Timor, and there can be little doubt its 650,000 people are overwhelmingly in favour of political independence from Portugal.

From press reports and other reliable resources in Timor, Indonesia and Australia, we have received information that important sectors of the Indonesian Army are planning to annex Timor into the Republic through a military invasion from the Indonesian-controlled part of Timor. In this, it has been encouraged by the attitude of the Australian Government. During Prime Minister Whitlam's recent visit to Djakarta, a foreign affairs spokesman, speaking on his behalf, argued that an independent Timor would 'pose a potential threat to the stability of the region'.

The effects of an Indonesian invasion of East Timor would be disastrous. A regime that has held at least 70,000 political prisoners without trial for nine years, and denies basic political rights—of speech, of the press, of association—will have little

respect for the wishes of the Timorese people, who will once again be subjected to colonial control.

A rapidly growing campaign is underway in Australia to support East Timor's right to determine its own political future, and to oppose any attempt by the Indonesian military government to annex Timor into the Republic.

If you would like to receive any further information on the situation in East Timor, on the Indonesian Government's reaction to it, or on any other issue raised in this

release, please contact the **British Indonesia Committee** at 21 Solon Rd., London SW2, tel: 01-274-5945.

Signed:
The British Indonesia Committee;
Iapoi (The British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners);
Liberation (Movement for Colonial Freedom);
Committee for the Freedom of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau (CFMAG);
The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

West Indian militant sentenced to death

Desmond Trotter, a 22-year-old Dominican militant, was sentenced to be hanged on 1 November 1974, Dominica, a West Indian island with a population of 70,000, is still a British colony. Totally dominated by owners of large landed estates, the island's population live in grim poverty and unbelievably bad housing conditions.

Desmond first helped to organise an oppositionist paper called *Black Ory*. Later, he was active in the Movement for a New Dominica, and became editor of its paper, *Tweedy*.

His popularity on the island increased, but the eyes of the rulers were on him.

The shooting of a white American tourist provided the 'law' with an ideal opportunity. It was pinned on to Desmond Trotter and Roy Mason: a blatant frame-up.

Mason was acquitted, but Trotter was sentenced to death. School students took to the streets in protest and people wept openly. A campaign is under way to prevent the sentence from being carried out and all possible financial support is needed.

Two thousand pounds is needed for an effective defence. Further information can be obtained from: Campaign Committee, 37 Tollington Park, London N4. (tel: 01-272-0595).

WHAT'S ON

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

SHEFFIELD RED CIRCLES: Every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. in the Lion Hotel, corner of The Wicker and Nursery Street.

'BRITISH LEYLAND—An Economic Report,' pamphlet on the background to the present crisis inside BLMC. 10p per copy, send cash with order to: 72 Cambridge Road, King's Heath, Birmingham.

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

COMRADES (3 or more) seek cheap self-contained flat/house. South/central London preferred. Contact Val, B37 6954 (day).

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

THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITY is very much needing more people to live in it. This is a very alive and useful experience for all involved. Please phone 01 677 1811, or write to Elisabeth Winkler, c/o Moonfleet Bookshop, 39 Clapham Park Road, London, SW4.

The IMG and the Kurdish solidarity movement



On Saturday 30 November, Brunel University Students Union (of which I am a member) sponsored a demonstration in support of the Kurdish people's struggle for the right of self-determination. One of the few groups to actively support the demonstration was the IMG. It appeared that the IMG agreed on the need for building solidarity in Britain with the Kurdish revolution and saw this demonstration as a first step in this direction.

However, the leaflet distributed by the IMG on the demonstration was a tactical blunder of the highest magnitude. In the final paragraph we read: 'If however, sections of the Kurdish leadership in Iraq begin to make deals with Imperialism, Iranian reaction or Zionism..... then it is the duty of our Kurdish comrades to fight to take away the leadership of the Kurdish struggle from those who, by their actions, serve only to betray it'. (Original emphasis). This statement has already begun to have an effect.

Kurds who were wary of IMG involvement in the demonstration have, correctly, interpreted the above as an attack on the whole of the Kurdish leadership (since in external affairs the Kurdish leadership has never acted in a factional way, as implied in the statement). Thus, in one swift movement the IMG has probably ensured no official recognition by the Kurdish movement in Britain (all Trotskyists are now attacked by the Kurdish right) for any Kurdish solidarity movement in which they are involved, and has isolated any Kurds previously willing to work with the IMG.

This represents a setback for the 'left' in its struggles within the Kurdish movement. Due to the fluid balance of forces within the Kurdish revolutionary move-

ment and the strong links with all Kurds outside of Kurdistan, the IMG's error will not simply mean attacks on individual Kurds in Britain. It is possible that certain Kurds in Britain and their allies in Kurdistan will all be 'isolated'. Historically, the highest human price has been paid for such 'isolation'. The IMG has thus wrecked present attempts to officially gain Kurdish support for the solidarity movement in Britain and has, by this, negatively affected the balance of forces within the Kurdish revolution.

The IMG has every right to criticise the Kurdish leadership. It does not have the right to indulge itself in the type of stupid, destructive and irrelevant comments made in its leaflet.

All comrades should know that one week before the demonstration, representatives of the IMG in private discussions, agreed on the need for extreme caution, because of the delicate situation, in the choice of slogans supporting the Kurds - let alone in the criticisms of the Kurdish leadership!

The IMG has, therefore, deceitfully misused the trust placed in it. I suggest the IMG clarify its position on the Kurdish question so that those who agree in their solidarity campaign can continue their work without the destructive influence of the IMG. Already the IMG's statement has forced some people into inactivity. The damage done by you has set back the solidarity movement and negated any work done. We are now in an inferior position to any previous position.

Thus, I totally dissociate myself from the statement issued by the IMG in its leaflet, seeing this leaflet as being counter-productive and counter-revolutionary. -N.C. HUDSON

OUR REPLY

Your criticism of the IMG's conduct during the demonstration is solidarity with the Kurdish movement is completely unwarranted. You mention in your letter that the 'IMG has every right to criticise the Kurdish leadership'. Surely this obligates you to locate the political basis for our so-called 'destructive influence' in the particular formulations employed in the leaflet.

Such a basis would have existed if either the IMG had made its support for the Kurdish movement in any way conditional upon the programme of the Kurdish leadership, or if the IMG's critical remarks had been based on incorrect factual evidence. We plead not guilty on both counts.

The IMG wholeheartedly threw itself into this slowly emerging solidarity movement with the struggle in Kurdistan. Furthermore, the spirit in which the criticism was formulated clearly demonstrates that whereas the IMG is deeply critical of the political evolution of the Kurdish leadership, it in no way allows this to inhibit the objective task of participating in building a Kurdish solidarity movement in the organisations of the British working class.

It is imperative that such a movement be quickly constructed on a basis of total and unconditional support to the Kurdish revolution, regardless of the political differences that various organisations may have with the Kurdish leadership. Only in this way can the tragic isolation of the Kurds be broken. -SALEH JAFFAR

The irresistible weed

I am very concerned at the apparently unrecognised threat that the tobacco habit injects especially to the parties of the Revolutionary Left in the critical months that lie ahead. I would in fact go so far as to predict that success in our objectives can only be achieved if the general addiction is eradicated from our ranks.

At meetings, vision of speakers is often blurred by smoke clouds, and hearing is interrupted by the incessant coughing. The audiences, although mostly quite young, sound by their coughing as if they are well on the way to their coffins.

Now, with the implementation of Jenkins' new repressive law, a further frightening element is introduced. All Revolutionary Socialists are threatened by this Act. The Fuzz may be bastards but they are not fools. How many of you reading this could withstand 24 hours interrogation if the irresistible weed was withheld? You know you

would sing like canaries. And they can hold you for seven days now.

I suggest an urgent national campaign should be inaugurated now to help our addicted comrades to free themselves of this the very strongest chain that enslaves them to the exploiters.

Have you ever thought that if ten members of every branch gave it up, and donated half they saved to their branch, no longer would they suffer from lack of funds. And you would feel better, smell better, speak better, live longer and above all, you would be an asset instead of a liability to the cause.

There is only one way to do this, and I can tell you it is not easy. Get about ten comrades to sign a paper pledging never again to indulge, then you can help each other to stand firm. Hand in all cigarettes and matches etc to be destroyed forthwith, which is the psychological positive action against the enemy. For the first two or three weeks it is hell, and then the pressure gradually subsides. Then, with a little help from your friends, when you are pulled in for questioning, you can with confidence tell your inquisitors to take a running jump. -L.S. CHELL, Brighton.



Stardust - Stardoomed?

Stardust is the glossy story of the making and breaking of a pop idol. Set firmly in the rock and roll era, it both cynically exposes the calculated manipulation of musicians by the pop managers and impresarios, and cleverly plays on the audiences' voyeuristic horror for the dangerous fruits of stardom—idolisation, drug trips, freely available canned sex, and big cars.

David Essex (the star) is picked out of a fairly run-of-the-mill band of ambitious capitalists, and groomed for the new mass market of eager rock and roll fans. With obvious parallels to the Beatles story, we are conducted through the orchestrated destruction of his personality and alienation from the other musicians in the band, the managers themselves and the world in general. The end finally comes in a drugged freak-out in front of the TV cameras, before he finally pops off from an overdose Hendrix-style.

Though there is a considerable list of pop tragedies—Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and Otis Redding, to name but a few (one wonders how anyone at all can stand such stresses)—the reality of the pop music business is if anything obscured by such personal histories. The pop industry will be demystified not merely by exposing the personal suffering of individual performers (though this is necessary) but also by revealing economic realities of the industry, i.e. the relations of production.

For every star there are a hundred underpaid and exploited musicians of comparable ability. Behind the shiny black disc spinning on the pub juke box are the rows of women workers sorting and packing endless such discs in the EMI factories. Oil not only means cars and petrol, it also means plastic. Every long playing record that we play partly originates from the battle fields of the Middle East.

The same international capitalist monopoly that produced 'All you need is love' by the Beatles, also makes radar scanning devices and weapon guidance systems used against communists in Oman and other outposts of British imperialism.

CONTROLLED

With this in mind we can see that pop music and the mythology surrounding it is mystified in the interests of the bourgeoisie. The lyrical content of pop music is rigorously controlled by bourgeois owners of what is saleable. Potentially 'offensive' material is edited out, or if produced

is blandly ignored by the essential publicity outlets—radio, discos, juke boxes—without which no record is going to achieve high sales.

A recent example of this is what happened to the *Summer in New York City* album by John Lennon and Yoko Ono. This included a number of songs with a specifically left wing political content, such as 'Woman is the nigger of the world', 'Sunday Bloody Sunday', and 'The luck of the Irish'. Strangely enough for such popular artists this album received virtually no plays on radio anywhere in the English speaking world, and was largely unobtainable outside the big urban centres.

Consequently its world sales were only 200,000 in comparison with their usual sales of more than a million.

No matter how personally prestigious the performer, if EMI don't like what you're saying then there is little hope that they will produce your music. Ideas of political struggle through the medium of rock music are thus strangled at birth by the power of the monopolies.

Music, however, can be a powerful part Pat Byrne

of a revolutionary subculture outside the capitalist pop network. It can communicate political ideas in a few lines that a thousand printed words cannot convey. The songs of the IWW (Wobblies), Irish revolutionaries and recently of our comrades in Chile are a magnificent record of peasant, worker and student struggles which must be preserved by the revolutionary movement.

As the tempo of the British class struggle sharpens we will be presented with more and more opportunities, in factory and college occupations, mass rallies and demonstrations to perform revolutionary songs and to strengthen this tradition. We must show musicians that there can be no 'Stardust' so long as the throttle-hold of the monopolies and capitalist impresarios remain unbroken; encourage their self-organisation (Equity, Musicians Union etc.) to demand legal contracts, security of tenure, and an end to political censorship of artistic expression; and win their talents for the working class struggle.



Why not vote for the CP?

I have sent all I (as an OAP) can spare—I hope your Fund Drive is a success.

Incidentally, I am worried about your Letters column—there have been two interesting letters whose important questions you haven't answered. One was about why you don't vote for Communist Party candidates, even where fascists stand; and the other was about socialist alternatives.

I hope you will take these up in your next edition. -T. FLEMING, Needham.

Red Weekly called for a vote for Labour, except where revolutionary left candidates were standing.

We said it was vital to defeat the Tories and that a victory for Labour would increase the confidence and combativity of the working class.

But this cannot be said of the Communist Party, and so we did not call for a vote for their candidates. Despite the decline of Cold War hysteria plus years of leading all kinds of struggles, the CP has failed to command a significant following amongst workers at election time in any area of the country.

This is because most workers cannot see any real difference between its policies and those of left-social democracy. They do not think the CP offers any kind of alternative way forward which would justify having MPs in Parliament who are in practice little more than social-democrats with a different name.

Even Jimmy Reid, whose candidature might be seen by many workers to stand for militant, mass and extra-legal struggle against redundancies, lost votes between the February and October elections.

On the NF, readers have written in suggesting that we should have called for anti-fascist candidates in constituencies—candidates drawn from an anti-fascist united front of CP/IMG/WRP!

IS:

However, experience has shown that the Labour Party, which refused in the election to speak on joint platforms with the NF, is not unprepared to take up the issue of fascism, so it is not a matter of anti-fascists having to use the electoral arena against the Labour Party to get a hearing.

Secondly, the CP, whom one writer wanted us to vote for wherever an NF candidate is standing, does not have a political position on fighting fascism different from that of anti-fascist Labour MPs, both believing in stopping fascists by parliamentary, peaceful and legal means rather than by the only effective way, on the streets.

-BOB PENNINGTON

Imprecor



INPRECOR is the fortnightly information organ of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International published in English, French, Spanish and German. The first issue of 1975, appearing on 10 January, will be a special double issue on the world economic crisis, including two articles by Ernest Mandel—price 30p. But subscribers will get it as part of their subscription. Rates are £4 for 25 issues—order now from INPRECOR, 97 Caledonian Rd., London N.1.

CAR EMPIRES CRUMBLE

NATIONALISATION ONLY SOLUTION

FALLING SALES and rising prices are hitting the entire British car industry causing a crisis of epidemic proportions.

BLMC, forced to beg for a £100 million cash injection to stop the company falling apart, have already axed 7,500 jobs this year.

Chrysler and Fords are both planning new redundancies. At Fords, 11 per cent of the 10,000 staff workers will lose their jobs.

DESPERATE STRAITS

The car component side of the business is in desperate straits. At Wilmot Breeden, Birmingham—one of the country's biggest car component suppliers—the management have ended the night shift, and 500 workers are to be sacked.

Lucas, the other big car component firm, is planning to give its workers an extended Xmas holiday. Three Lucas factories will then go on short-time in the New Year. And Goodyear have announced plans to lay off 3,700 production workers for two days after Xmas.

For every worker engaged in the car factories there are at least four

other workers in the ancillary and component industries. No wonder pessimism is spreading like wild fire throughout the economy at the near collapse of BLMC and the crisis which is wracking Vauxhall, Fords and Chrysler.

FOR REAL

The employers and the Government know that this is not some temporary recession. This time it is for real. Throughout America and Europe, car sales are running between 20 to 25 per cent down. The European car market faces a picture of black gloom and despair. The car bosses predict a market of not more than 7.5 million for 1975, and more cautious observers predict it will not get beyond the seven million mark.

As the *Sunday Times* woefully commented: 'At this level, the British industry and a large part of the Italian industry could shut down for a whole year and still leave the industry with over capacity.'

IN STOCK

European car makers have over 800,000 cars in stock. Britain's total production for 1974 is expected to

be roughly double that figure.

All over Europe peoples incomes are being eaten up by the locust of inflation. Production costs, however, are climbing upwards. Only one year ago car prices averaged about £1 for one cc. That has now gone up to £1.50 a cc, and it will soon reach the staggering figure of £2.

Only a series of disputes and the three-day week earlier this year have masked the worst effects of the world-wide depression on the British car industry, so that it has not built up its stocks to the same extent as its overseas competitors.

But the rickety, under-modernised and under-invested British car industry is worst equipped of all to face the recession. The 10p a gallon on the price of petrol is another severe blow to the car manufacturers.

UNIONS

But as the recession deepens and the employers begin preparations for further lay-offs, the unions are making no centralised response to the attacks of the employers. They appear to live in a cloud-cuckoo land of make-believe that it's all a temporary nightmare and things will probably get better.

INTEX - Workers vs bosses, bureaucrats and NF

Striking workers at the Intex textile factory in Ashton-under-Lyne are confronting the bosses, the trade-union bureaucrats and the National Front.

The struggle, in which both black and white workers are involved, is over the sacking of Dave Hallsworth by the Intex management. The day after he was sacked the union told him that he had also been expelled from the union, the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers (NUDBTW).

As a result, strikers from Intex occupied the NUDBTW headquarters on 29 November in protest at the behaviour of the union bureaucrats (those *Morning Star* readers who disputed Colin Welland's account in *Leeds United* of how union bureaucrats behave should study this situation very closely). But they were rapidly thrown out by a large number of Bradford textile workers, led by shop stewards alleged to be members of the National Front, who shouted 'Get out, you black bastards!'

Then a member of the Union executive, Claude Lavender, was also expelled from the Union for daring to disagree with the executive.

APPEAL

The actual appeal of Dave Hallsworth and Dave Rhodes, another victimised worker, could well have been taking place in a bourgeois court. Leading bureaucrat Fred Dyson refused to call the witnesses brought by Brothers Hallsworth and Rhodes. He insisted that the EC had heard enough witnesses, wrapped up the hearing, and left for

a week-long visit to the Soviet Union as a member of a trade union delegation.

In the Intex factory itself two white shop stewards backing the strike have been physically assaulted by racist gangsters. One received a knife wound and the other was slashed with a razor as well as having his family threatened. He has had to send his family away.

Fifty militants from other areas attended a strike picket last Friday, and the Manchester Anti-Fascist Committee (AFC) has called for further action to help the strikers. One of the major problems has been the predominantly white women workers, working on day shifts, who have been scabbing on the strike because of various threats from the bosses that with the change to continental shifts they could well lose their jobs.

SUPPORT

Manchester district executive of the IMG is calling for the setting up of local and national support committees to build support for the Intex workers around three key axes:

1. The necessity of developing self-defence to defend all workers under attack from fascists and racists.
2. Propaganda and agitation aimed at the women scabs, explaining the importance of the strike and why the expulsion of Hallsworth and Rhodes affects all the workforce.
3. The importance of support committees and national solidarity, possibly culminating in a mass demonstration to show our support for the workers and our contempt for the management and the union which defends it.

Norman Jones

BRADFORD: TEACHERS VOTE FOR ALL-OUT ACTION

A Rank and File motion calling for 'rigorous and vigorous' action in support of the Scottish teachers and an across-the-board wage increase of £15 back-dated to 24 May 1974 has been passed unanimously at an emergency meeting of the Bradford NUT. The meeting voted to demand that the NUT Executive call an all-out strike if the £15 is not achieved by 9 January 1975.

We have to ensure that the mass of teachers are mobilised in the fight for the claim, and that rank and file teacher control the struggle. In this respect the Scottish Action Committees provide the best model for struggle.

Bradford NUT member.

Locked-out workers occupy labour exchange

The monotonous routine of the counter clerks at Willesden Labour Exchange erupted into chaos last Thursday when 200 workers from the Associated Automation factory staged an occupation in support of their claim for unemployment benefit. The decision to occupy was taken at a mass meeting last week by 600 workers, mostly women, who have been locked out of the factory for a month now.

Despite repeated attempts to claim benefits, they have not received a penny. This is due to the bosses at Associated Automation, part of the GEC empire, persuading the Department of Employment—with 'amazing' ease—that these workers are engaged in an industrial dispute and are therefore not eligible for benefit.

FACTS

The facts of the matter are different. The management, annoyed that the production workforce had the audacity to work to rule in support of their claim for the £2 balance of a threshold payment which the management was withholding, took out all the clock cards one day, stopping the employees from going in to work.

The Associated Automation plant has, in the past, been one of the poorest organised, in an area where factories are thick on the ground and the local labour movement is strong. However eighteen months ago the present convenor was elected and the fight began as the workers hit back against the GEC bosses who

had exploited them for years.

So it was in militant mood that the workers converged on Harlesden House Social Security offices bringing with them miscellaneous children and dogs. After a few quick rounds of 'Why are we waiting?' and 'We shall not be moved', the police moved in. One or two of the police bully boys attempted to clear the occupation by trying to intimidate various individuals.

Meanwhile a delegation of shop stewards demanded to see the Department of Employment manager who had rejected all claims for benefits. At first, he refused to even meet the delegation. But after hours of persistence on the part of the shop stewards he was finally forced to listen to their demands. The best he could offer was a promise to reconsider their claim.

ANGER

There was anger at the strikers' mass meeting when it became apparent that the North London District Committee of the AUEW was dragging its feet in this dispute. McLaughlin, a leading full-time official of the union, did not even bother turning up at the meeting as promised. Angry questions were asked from the floor about why it had taken the District Committee a whole month to even begin thinking about instituting a district levy. 'Well you see', explained a district official apologetically, 'we have to get the permission of the Executive Committee of the AUEW to hold a ballot for a levy; and it's not their fault but they've had their hands full with this APEX



Sitting-in on the DHSS — locked-out workers from Associated Automation occupy Harlesden House.

thing at the headquarters.' There were shouts from the floor for more positive action to be taken.

The Brent Trades Council has called for a demonstration on Friday 20 December in support of the workers in struggle at Hoovers, the

neighbouring Rolls Royce workers who are in dispute, as well as the Associated Automation workers. The Brent Working Womens Charter Campaign has put out a call to all Charter groups in London to support this demonstration. It will start from

the Brent Trades Council Hall, 375 Willesden High Road, at 2.30pm.

Money and messages should be rushed to Brother A. Ford, 21 Starley Park Drive, Wembley, Middx.

INGRID FALCONER

MINERS DEMOCRACY

CAN SMASH RIGHT

WITH MEN LIKE THIS TO RELY ON THE PATIENT MUST PULL THROUGH



Jeff King

The ferocious battle inside the National Union of Mineworkers continues. The £30 claim was overturned when the sick Mr. Gormley 'gallantly climbed out of his bed' to save the social contract.

The return to the formula of a 'substantial claim' was intended to buy time for the right wing and the Labour leaders. Everyone knows—including the right wing—that the miners will not settle for much less than £15.

TROUBLE

If Gormley and company accept any sum below that amount they may find themselves in deep trouble with even the 'moderate' coal fields, never mind the militant areas like Yorkshire, Scotland, Kent and South Wales.

If a settlement is made strictly within the terms of the social contract, all hell will be let loose in the union. What Gormley hopes is

that some means can be arranged whereby the miners will get more money as a 'special case'.

There is little doubt that Eric Varley, the Minister of Energy, has made some re-assuring noises in that direction. The Labour Government dreads a battle with the miners, as it knows that it would lose. Furthermore, it realises that the price of losing that battle is the tearing apart of the already tattered social contract.

What preoccupies the Labour Government is, just how much can it give to undermine the base of the left in the coal fields without causing a revolt in other sections of the working class?

ONUS

This places a heavy onus on the left in the NUM. Once again the miners are to the forefront in the battle against incomes policy. The issues are clear. Either the workers pay the price of the capitalist crisis—which is the essence of the social contract—or they impose a work-

ers' solution.

The problem for the left is how to organise and unify the great majority of the NUM members around the idea of a £30 claim, and how to get support for that claim within the rest of the working class.

MISTAKE

To date the left has not made the most promising of beginnings. The idea being floated by the left is that Cumberland, which is represented on the executive but has only one pit, should be amalgamated with Lancashire. This would deprive the right wing of one vote. A number of the left have also suggested dropping the 15,000 strong clerical section of the NUM from the main pay claim, and telling it to go its own way.

The anger of the left at the bureaucratic manoeuvres of the right is understandable. However, it would be a mistake to split the union in this manner, and to try to outdo the right wing at its own



game.

It is correct of the left to insist that the numbers of members that executive members represent be taken into consideration. But the real way to fight the right is by mobilising the rank and file, and insisting that all members voting on this crucial question be mandated by mass meetings of the members.

The tenuous grip of the right wing can be broken, providing that the left organise a campaign in the coal fields—that was clearly shown in the ballot over the productivity deal. The left must challenge the right wing barons like Nottinghamshire leader Len Clarke in their own fields.

OPEN APPEAL

Last week a number of the TUC bosses were muttering ominously about not giving support to the miners in the event of a strike which would lead to a breach of the social contract. The most effective way to meet that threat is for the NUM left to make an open appeal to members of other unions over the heads of these bureaucrats.

Such an appeal, however, cannot

rest simply on moral calls for solidarity. The miners have to pledge that they will also give their support to other workers fighting the social contract. This would tear the ground from under the feet of those leaders who are prepared to see their members' living standards driven down to save British capitalism.

The NUM left must prepare a claim that not only offers the miners a real way of fighting inflation, but can act as a model to the rest of the working class. It is important to write into that claim the demand for a sliding scale of wages, which is an effective way of ensuring that the inevitable increases in the cost of living do not eat into the gains made by the new claim.

The defeat of the Government's social contract and the securing of the demand for a sliding scale could act as a guideline for the rest of the working class. It would have an even more powerful impact if the miners unified with other sections of workers around that demand.

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Union holds back on Asian workers' strike



OVER EIGHTY WORKERS, most of them Asians, have been on strike at Delta Mouldings in Leicester for over five weeks. The strike was originally called over a wage dispute, but the threat of lay-offs and the role of the Transport & General Workers Union in the wake of the Imperial Typewriters strike are also issues now.

The workers originally put in for a £3.25 increase on their

£22.25 a week basic. They wanted this as a six-month interim payment until negotiations could take place on an annual claim.

But the final offer made by the directors amounted to only £2.85 for eight months. As the firm were in any case due to make a threshold payment of £1.20, this simply meant an increase of £1.65. So the management were given seven days' notice that labour would be withdrawn unless their offer was im-

proved.

The T&GWU had no alternative but to support the wage demand, and as the management made no approaches to the works committee during the seven days the workers set up pickets. The strike has now been made 'official at district level' by the T&GWU.

However, the skilled workers, most of whom are members of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, are crossing the picket line. What particularly incenses the strikers is that a number of the skilled workers are doing jobs normally done by the strikers.

The other unions claim that until the strike gets approval at national level it does not have proper official status.

LAY-OFFS

This is very serious, since the management recently announced that they were losing orders because of the dispute, and that even if the strike ended they could not take back all the labour force immediately. The strikers, on the other hand, correctly insist that whatever the outcome of the wage dispute there will be no return to work unless everybody goes back.

Management's claims about the need to lay off workers because of falling orders are in any case blown sky high by their attempts to recruit labour for their Melton Mowbray factory. A recent circular

states: 'We require personnel under a number of different shift systems...' But the TGWU official responsible for the dispute, Ken Hampstead, has boosted management's manoeuvres by telling the workers that if they stay out on the issue of reinstatement, while accepting a wages offer, then official backing will be withdrawn.

This fits in with the T&GWU's general reluctance to campaign in support of the strike. No collections have been organised by the district office. No real attempt has been made to get the other unions to act. In fact, the T&GWU has bestowed its 'official blessing' rather like a benevolent kiss of death.

IMPERIAL STRIKE

A number of the workers at Delta feel this indifference is the pay-off from the bitter feelings aroused by the strike earlier this year at Imperial Typewriters, where the workers had to fight not just the management but also against racism on the shop floor. Reg Weaver, the T&GWU convenor at Imperial and an important figure in the union both nationally and locally, along with George Bromley, the district full-time official, fed that racism.

The militant Asian workers at Delta gave considerable support to their brothers and sisters at Imperial. This caused tremendous embarrassment to the T&GWU bureaucrats, who did everything they could to weaken the Imperial strike.

The local T&GWU has tried to

break up the militant 5/323 branch, to which the Delta workers belong. On one occasion they suggested to the convenor of HJV Plastics, whose workers are also in 5/323 branch, that he could take out the HJV workers to form another branch with himself as branch secretary. The convenor rejected this proposal, recognising that it was a manoeuvre which would weaken all militants in the area.

Over the past period it has been the Asian workers in the Leicester area who have been at the forefront of militant struggles on issues such as wages and conditions.

This has jolted the local T&GWU—a number of whom are left-overs from the old Deakinite regime—and upset the cosy relations that they have enjoyed with the local employers.

PICKETS

Pickets have nevertheless been held each day, with the support of a number of members of Leicester Trades Council. Each Friday there is a mass picket of all the workers on strike at Delta, and this has also been supported by workers from other factories.

A week ago a mass picket was also held at the new Delta factory at Melton Mowbray. A number of workers there refused to cross the picket line and stayed out.

But unless the support of the skilled workers is won, there is a danger that the strike will be defeated. Financial aid is also urgently needed. Please send all donations to: P.J. Patel, 113 Canon Street, Leicester.

RED WEEKLY

The Railway Tavern in London's Mile End Road once more received the attentions of anti-racist militants last Friday. The picket—one of a series—was held as part of a campaign to end the colour bar operated by landlord Gerald Byrne. East London Teachers' Association is also moving to contest his licence with Charrington's. Local militants regard this campaign as particularly important because the National Front stood a candidate (an ex-policeman) in the area for the first time in the last election.

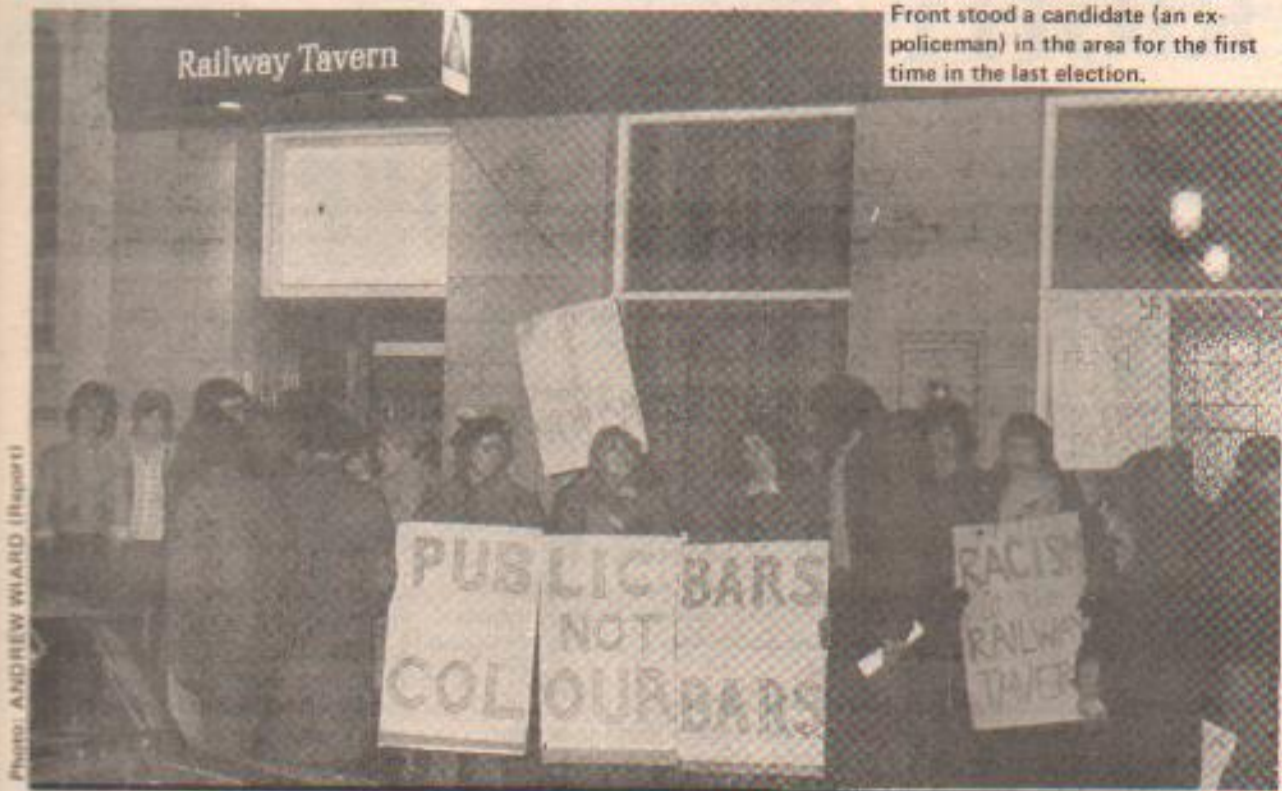


Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

HUNGER STRIKER DIES IN SPANISH PRISON

A HUNGER STRIKER HAS DIED in a Spanish prison cell—that is the news to have seeped out of Spain over the last week.

158 political prisoners—including a number of priests—have been on hunger strike for nearly five weeks. For some it is the fifth hunger strike they have launched this year.

Most of Spain's industrial centres have recently been racked with strikes, many of which have centred around a combination of demands for increased wages and demands for the right to free assembly and trade union rights.

Last week a general strike call in solidarity with the political prisoners was issued by a wide range of left-wing groups—including the workers' commissions (illegal trade union) and the Basque nationalist group ETA. Nearly 200,000 workers in the Basque provinces of north-east Spain responded to the strike call. There were numerous street demonstrations and 60 arrests were made. Police opened fire on demonstrators and one student in the small town of Hernani was taken to hospital suffering from serious bullet wounds. The cops claimed they were 'firing in the air.'

The Franco regime is in a serious political crisis, toing-and-froing between the introduction of reforms that would lead to more 'normal'

bourgeois democracy and the adoption of a hard line against political opposition. It is hardly surprising that important sections of the working class are beginning to exploit this crisis in a concerted attempt to win basic political and economic rights.

These reforms, once won, could open the way for the development of new political and economic struggles which would call into question the existence of Spanish capitalism. The main roadblocks on this road in the coming months will be the revamped Spanish Communist Party and its 'Democratic Junta' which will try to have the workers' struggles take a back-seat to the manoeuvres of 'liberal' capitalist politicians and will constantly try to direct all activity towards reformist ends. Actions like the Basque general strike and similar actions against the dictatorship today are an excellent training for Spanish militants in the problems which will confront them tomorrow.

Moment of truth - 3 quid a week!

The moment of truth came for National Health Service ancillary workers last Friday. At the final official meeting of the Ancillary Staff Council and the official trade union negotiators, the union bureaucrats calmly accepted the management's offer.

This amounts to nothing more than a paltry £3 a week on the basic wage and the retention of the 40 hour-week.

One of the full-time officials in the negotiating team told workers picketing the Department of Health and Social Security that Barbara Castle had given the word 'not a penny more than the official claim of £30 a week basic.'

NO QUESTION

She had made clear that there was no question of granting the claim on thresholds, reducing hours or abolishing grades A and B.

The story put out that this latest pay offer represents a rise of 19 per cent is nonsense. Some 70 per cent of the ancillary workforce are women who work no more than 40 hours and often less. They will get a £3 rise on top of the

old non-consolidated basic of £26.68—equivalent to a rise of about 9 to 10 per cent. Those workers—mainly men—who put in 70 or 80 hours a week to get a living wage will get more because overtime will be paid on their total consolidated rate of £30.

The social contract which was supposed to help the low paid has ensured that ancillary workers remain at the bottom of the heap. All they can look forward to is a declining real wage packet, harder work and even longer hours as they struggle to keep pace with rising prices and soaring living costs.

FURTHER DECLINE

The effects will again be seen in a further decline in the NHS. Rotten pay will lead to severe staff shortages. The increase in overtime, arising from both staff shortages and the need to work longer and longer hours to make ends meet will mean a further worsening in patient care.

The union bureaucrats of NUPE, COHSE, T&GWU and the G&MWU who have worked so hard to save the social contract and the Labour Government, have helped to drive another nail in the coffin of the NHS.

Militant rank and file workers are

urging that the offer be rejected. They are calling for a series of delegate conferences which they say should mandate their representatives to demand £35 for 35 hours; a 60p threshold for every one per cent rise in the cost of living; equal pay with the abolition of grades A and B and free 24-hour nurseries.

These demands must be supported by all workers both inside and outside the NHS. Unless workers rally to the support of the workers inside the health service it will simply continue to disintegrate and fall apart.

UNION ENQUIRY TO GO AHEAD?

The executive of the National Union of Journalists is to consider a recommendation from its general purposes sub-committee for an NUJ inquiry into state interference in the work of journalists, at its meeting on 4 January.

The Action Committee for the Defence of Journalists, which first formulated the proposal—now backed up by 10 NUJ branches—has informed the executive that it welcomes this response. It points out, however, that the inquiry should not be solely carried out by executive members; that other media unions should be involved; and that the inquiry's report must include recommendations for action by media and other workers.

Ten Labour MPs are now supporting the campaign, and the Action Committee has been invited to hold a meeting at the House of Commons.

At a public meeting held by the Action Committee last week, numerous examples were given on the nature of

State interference in the media, including the deliberate planting of false information by the police and the army.

SOGAT organiser Maurice Suckling stressed that journalists must demonstrate to other workers that they regard themselves as sharing the same class interests. He said that the present campaign is an important step in this direction.

Referring to the attacks on Mary Holland, who committed the indescribable offence of interviewing David O'Connell, Ron Knowles—editor of the NUJ's journal—said that a situation is being created 'whereby any journalists who value at least their income, let alone their reputa-

tion, will not be able to talk to anyone who strongly dissents from accepted views of society.'

The case of *Time Out* editor David May, who went on trial this week, was also highlighted by the meeting. The ACJ has made it clear that it regards action both inside and outside the courts as essential if journalists are to be adequately defended against attacks by the State. If May is convicted, the Committee will immediately call a meeting to discuss necessary action. This meeting will be advertised in the *UK Press Gazette* and *Time Out*.
Dick Brinsley

FUND DRIVE

Nearly there! Only £60 to go to reach our target of £2,000 by Christmas. If you're spending your hard-earned wages on Christmas presents, don't forget to include us. That way Red Weekly can get off to a really good start in the New Year.

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militant maggie



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