

# RED WEEKLY

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP

9 JANUARY 1975

No 83

PRICE 8p

INSIDE - Interview  
with Six Counties  
Provisional  
leader

NEXT WEEK - Interview  
with Bernadette  
McAliskey



## Jenkins expels Italian militant

NOT SINCE the German socialist Rudi Dutschke was expelled from Britain by the Tories, has there been such a blatant use of police state methods as those now demonstrated by Labour Home Secretary Roy Jenkins in ordering the deportation of Franco Caprino.

Caprino, a member of the London branch of the Italian organisation *Lotta Continua* (Fight On), is officially regarded as a 'threat to British national security'.

Fight On has been active along with its Italian parent organisation in building solidarity with the Irish struggle against British imperialism. This is obviously why Franco Caprino has been singled out and deported—to teach the foreigners a lesson and frighten them off issues such as Ireland.

### WITCH-HUNT

When Jenkins introduced his 'Anti-Terrorism Act', *Red Weekly* pointed out that its purpose was far broader than its stated aims. And while Caprino is threatened with deportation under the Immigration Act (even the *Guardian* described this as 'unprecedented'), there can be little doubt that the necessary atmosphere of witch-hunt had already been created by the 'anti-terrorist' measures.

Caprino has appealed against the deportation, but since the appeal tribunals are usually a joke, it is unlikely that they will overturn Jenkins' decision. It is vital for all socialist organisations to unite in demanding that the deportation order be overturned, and to prepare effective solidarity with the comrades of Fight On. The refusal of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the International Socialists to respond to our appeal for a united front against the 'anti-terrorist' measures now begins to reap its dividend.

### IRELAND

Not satisfied with expelling Caprino as his good deed for the week, Jenkins has been up to further antics in relation to the Irish deportations. The latest case is that of Charles Devine, who was freed from Long Kesh internment camp just before Christmas on condition that he left Ireland.

Devine accordingly found employment in Germany, and it was agreed that he should first spend Christmas with his family in Cheshire. But no sooner had he arrived in Liverpool than he was arrested by the Special Branch, kept in prison over Christmas, and is now being deported back to Ireland. Isn't it time that our nice, civilised Home Secretary was awarded a knighthood?

# NHS IN DANGER FROM CONSULTANTS' SABOTAGE!



The shape of things to come — there will be many more empty, abandoned hospital-wards if the consultants carry through their work-to-rule.

As the National Health Service totters on the brink of disintegration the consultants are threatening to bring it crashing down.

Rejecting the Government's proposals, which they see as an attack on their 'right' to hawk their services on the open market, they are operating a work-to-rule. Their call for mass resignations of doctors from the BHS is a challenge to the whole idea of a free health service.

The national press have gleefully seized on this issue and are giving enthusiastic support to the consultants, defending the phony capitalist idea of 'free choice', which in reality means the right of a few to make a profit at the expense of the rest.

At the same time the private medical agencies are building up an alternative service outside the NHS. Outfits like BUPA, Allied Investments and American Medical International are going ahead with their plans for a rapid expansion of

even boasted that money for the £60 million building programme is being raised from the 'pension funds of the big unions'.

In face of this attack on the NHS the Labour Government stands mute. Basing itself on a chronically ailing capitalist system which can no longer afford a free health service it can neither meet the legitimate demands of the ancillary workers, nurses, para-medics and junior doctors, nor can it fight the consultants' attacks.

Private practice has leached off the NHS for years. It has distorted

and debarring the great majority from the treatment that they are entitled to expect. Now even the timid proposals of the Labour Government have sparked off a struggle over the very existence of a free, comprehensive NHS.

Unless the consultants' action is defeated then we will find ourselves with a private health service for those who can afford the exorbitant fees charged by the top medics, and a second rate service for the working class.

It is not enough just to phase out pay beds. The whole system of private practice must be abolished. Labour Councils must refuse planning permission to the private companies who want to build hospitals. Where Councils fail to do this then all work on such hospitals should be 'blacked' by the building workers' unions.

Trade unionists must demand that

private health schemes.

The Government should meet the demands of the junior doctors and appeal to them and other health workers to take over the consultants' duties, in order to smash their reactionary work-to-rule.

The National Union of Public Employees has called on its members to 'take positive action to minimise the effects of the dispute'. It has told them to give 'priority' to the 'directly employed medical staff' against the £8 an hour scab labour from the agencies. This is a good first step forward. It should be reinforced immediately by withdrawing all facilities for private patients throughout the health service.

Only such measures can break the consultants' sabotage and prevent the collapse of the Health Service.

J. KING

(See p.10 for full story on consul-

# How not to fight against the Common Market



INDUSTRY MINISTER BENN'S ATTACK ON THE EEC IN A LETTER to his constituents has infuriated the pro-Europeans inside the Labour Party.

Dr. Dickson Mabon, chairman of the right-wing 'Manifesto Group', accused Benn of 'straying from Government policy'. Eric Moonman, the right-wing Labour MP for Basildon, said: 'The time has come when people should observe a certain silence or get out.'

The openly pro-EEC group inside the Labour Party are now confident that Wilson, Callaghan and company have no intention of taking Britain out of Europe. What they want to do is muzzle all opposition so that the Cabinet can work out a formula for selling the EEC to the electorate.

Benn's broadside threatens to disrupt the conspiracy of silence which the Labour leadership has carefully built up and encourage anti-EEC MPs, particularly those in the Government, to come out openly against Britain staying in the Common Market.

The pro-Europeans are well aware that Britain has no chance of securing agreement on the eight points demanded by the Brightside resolution, carried at the 1974 Labour Party Conference by 3,007,000 votes to 2,849,000. They are frightened that Benn will organise enough trade union and Labour Party support to disrupt their plans. The Manifesto Group dreads a majority of the constituency parties and the big unions like the TGWU and the AUEW campaigning openly for a no vote on the EEC.

The leaders of the Labour Party, ranging from Wilson to Jenkins and Shirley Williams, are all clear on the need for British capitalism to stay in Europe. They understand that the diseased and ailing capitalist economy of Britain has no chance of survival unless it can be shored up by joining with the capitalist economies of Western Europe. But Benn's opposition to the EEC is based on the pathetic plea that continued membership 'would mean the end of Britain as a completely self-governing nation and the end of our democratically elected Parliament as the supreme law-making body in the United Kingdom.' Bowing to chauvinism raises the 'horrifying' spectre of Britain losing its 'national sovereignty'.

The right wing, more ruthless and logical in their adherence to the interests of British capitalism, are for staying in the Common Market. Benn, and the other left social democrats, with a Canute-like obstinacy, nostalgically revere the utopian dream of an independent

Britain resting on a 'mixed' economy. How this 'independent' Britain, which remains capitalist—because that is what a mixed economy means—can stay immune from the crisis which is now eating away at the entire capitalist system, Mr. Benn never explains.

## APPEALS

Draped in the red, white, and blue of a so-called sovereign Britain, Benn appeals to all the instincts which bind the British workers to their own ruling class. A 'sovereign' and 'independent' Britain rested upon the old supremacy of British capitalism. The economic 'viability', the 'gradual change' and the 'national ideal' were only possible because of British capitalism's domination of the world markets and its rapacious plunder of its colonial territories.

The wealth of British capitalism enabled it to meet the threat of the class struggle by granting reforms and by integrating the Labour and trade union leaders into the social system. Blinded by the wealth and power and seeming omnipotence of capitalism, the leaders of the labour movement became infected by the virus of chauvinism and mesmerised by the capitalist parliament. The Labour Party leaders have always believed that Britain is something special. The MacDonalds, the Lansburys, the Attlees and the Wilsons always defended the ideas of 'gradual' change, claiming that reasonableness and an innate sense of fair play were an essential part of the British temperament.

Benn has his political roots in those traditions, traditions which are rooted in the now departed supremacy of British imperialism. It is with a genuine cry from the heart that he bemoans that in the EEC Britain will become the province of a West European State and says that this would undermine 'Britain's parliamentary democracy'.

He fails to realise that it is the crisis of capitalism which is undermining the traditional institutions of bourgeois rule, simply because he cannot conceive of politics except in the terms of parliamentary collaboration with the ruling class.

Benn is wrong. The pro-market-ers want to go into Europe to find a new role for British imperialism. If they are not able to keep Britain in the EEC then the crisis will become even more intense striking a reverberating blow at all the political and social institutions through which the capitalists rule, weakening even more Mr. Benn's revered parliament.

## UNDERMINE

But staying in the EEC won't protect 'stability' and parliament either. Whether Britain is in the EEC or not, the capitalist crisis will begin to undermine all the institutions of bourgeois democracy. We must defend all the democratic rights and organisations of the working class within capitalism, but to base a policy on defending the rotting institutions of capitalist rule is absurd. If the working class is to impose its own solutions, which it can only effectively do by establishing its own forms of rule based on workers' democracy, then it has to replace, not preserve parliament.

The opposition of Benn and his cohorts to the EEC is reactionary, dangerous, and utopian. It fans the flames of nationalism and encourages the most dangerous sentiments within the working class.

Other forces are also opposed to Britain staying in Europe. The National Front, Enoch Powell and sections of the Tory Party are against Britain being in the EEC. Like Benn they sound the tucsin, warning of

the political menagerie at the last big anti-EEC demonstration, where the Labour left and the Communist Party trooped behind the Union Jack, accompanied by right-wing Tories and the fascist National Front.

During the big debates on German rearmament in 1954, the left and the Communist Party opposed it on the chauvinistic grounds that Germany had waged war twice against Britain and was therefore not to be trusted. The Labour right wing, and Herbert Morrison in particular, scathingly denounced the left for its lack of internationalism and with

by Bob Pennington

withering verbal sallies painted the 'left' opposition as chauvinistic.

The Labour leadership will use the same arguments against Benn and Foot, hypocritically claiming that membership of the EEC is a step towards building some European socialist commonwealth.

Equally dangerous is Benn's belief that the choice is capitalist Europe or independent Britain. The supremacy and 'independence' of capitalist Britain are gone forever. If a capitalist Britain stays out of Europe it will simply head for the broker's yard, becoming wracked by crisis, shattered by insolvency and rendered impotent in the face of world competition.

The Labour right wing recognise this, hence their determina-

Benn and the CP are leading the working class along the shoddy path of nationalism—a path that leads right into the arms of the ruling class. They ignore the interests of the European working class and thereby divide the British labour movement from its real allies in Europe.

With their grotesque defence of parliament they help to bolster the illusion that all would be well if Britain was only run by patriots and devotees of Britain's sovereignty and there is no better qualified candidate for that task than Enoch Powell himself!

To fight against the plans of the ruling class, the workers' movement must break from nationalism and reject the parliamentary road. Benn and the CP have no socialist alternative to the 'realpolitik' of the pro-Europeans, and their solutions can only lead to defeat and demoralisation.

If the labour movement is to fight for withdrawal from the EEC it must insist that there can be no joint action with the NF, the Powellites and the Tories and their organisations. The anti-EEC forces in Britain must seek allies within the European working class not amongst the racists and anti-working class groups of the British right.

Of course, any attempts by the right-wing Cabinet leaders to suppress Labour Ministers opposing their manoeuvres to keep Britain in the EEC must be resisted by the trade union and labour movement. But that def-



Heath signs the Treaty of Accession to the Common Market in January 1972—now capitalists are desperate to stay in

our loss of 'national independence' and are opposed 'to foreigners running Britain's affairs'.

Powell, the NF and this motley group of Tories represent most reactionary and dangerous forces. Above all they are characterised by their deep and unremitting hostility to the working class. Racism is a strong and potent weapon in their poisonous armoury. By playing the nationalist card and by appealing to chauvinism, Benn opens the door to the extreme right wing, who are only too pleased to drape the Union Jack around their anti-working class attitudes.

The Labour left by using nationalism helps to legitimise the racist propaganda of the extreme right and helps it to get a base within the working class.

It was this reasoning that led to

ation to stay in the EEC and their fury at Benn who threaten's British capitalism's only life-line. They know that the alternative to the Common Market is an all-out fight with capitalism. But they are not in business to challenge capitalism. Their concern is how to make it work.

Unless the working class movement presents its own solutions to the crisis and fights the right of the employing class to solve their problems at the expense of the workers, it cannot present a real alternative to the EEC. What is needed now is a strong working class movement that can begin the fight for a socialist Britain, linking that fight with the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe. Socialists must oppose the EEC because it is a key instrument of world capitalism, but

ence has to be made in the context of opposing the openly pro-capitalist policies of Labour's right wing. In no way should it be an endorsement of Benn's reactionary positions.

The fight to weaken and break up the EEC cannot be left to the Labour 'lefts' and their friends in the CP. In every area trade unionists, militants and local members of the Labour Party must come together to discuss how to campaign on the referendum. A broad working class opposition to the EEC must be built, but that opposition must insist that there can be no platform for fascists, Powell and other capitalist forces.

The fight for breaking all links with the extreme right and turning the anti-EEC campaign into a genuine anti-capitalist movement is a key task of socialists in the coming year.

# 1975—Year of Crisis

As one bourgeois 'expert' said in the *Financial Times* at the end of the year: 'The Two main questions for the year are when will the crisis come? and what form will it take?' Certainly no one doubts any longer that 1975 will be a year of crisis.

Almost every major element in the economy—profits, investments, the balance of payments, the pound—will be pointing towards economic disaster. Among the results of this will be:

- \* an almost totally stagnant—if not declining—total output from the economy;
- \* a rate of inflation of around 25%—(i.e. prices doubling every three years);
- \* a level of unemployment of at least 1 million—much more if Labour decides to encourage unemployment in an attempt to damp down wages.

This crisis will unleash a major attack on working class

living standards, but it also represents a grave threat to the capitalists. Each class will try to solve the crisis in its own interests. For the capitalists this is a question of fighting to defend their system and shifting its burdens on to the backs of the workers, forcing them to pay the costs necessary to revive it.

For the working class the crisis can only be solved, and their interests defended, by fighting against the whole logic of the capitalist set-up. This means fighting for particular measures which force the capitalists to bear the cost of the crisis in their system. But the fight for individual remedies can only be generalised and gains consolidated through a united struggle of the whole working class to break the power of the capitalist class, expropriate capitalist property, and replace the bankrupt capitalist system with a planned, socialist economy. For that reason the economic crisis places the fight for socialism on the agenda for 1975.

The presence in government of a Party which claims to represent the working class, and which depends on the support of the workers' movement and millions of working people's votes, should facilitate this struggle. But both history and present experience show conclusively that the Labour leadership are dedicated defenders of capitalism.

However, as the coming upheavals throw millions of workers into bitter struggles to defend their hard-won gains they will begin to demand ever more insistently that the Labour Government serves them, and not their bosses. If workers come together to ram this message home they can make things too hot for the Labour bureaucrats to carry through their sell-out policies. And, more importantly, they can build the sort of fighting unity within the working class that can actually launch the fight for a workers' solution to the crisis — for socialism — in 1975.

## WILSON'S COLD WIND STARTS TO BLOW

THE COLD WINDS of 1975 began to blow through the workers' movement last Friday with Harold Wilson's speech denouncing 'unrealistic' pay demands and irresponsible strikers.

Gone were the warm words to coax workers into the 'social contract', backed up by sunny promises of the better world awaiting us all if we would just 'pull together'. Instead Wilson had a stark new message — 'Knuckle under or we crack down.'

### CONFRONTATION

Wilson's speech represents much more than just another 'betrayal' by this arch-misleader of the workers' movement — it is the first step in a sharp turn of the Labour Government away from *persuasion* and towards *confrontation* with the rank-and-file of the working class.

Throughout 1974 the Labour Government tried to perpetuate the myth that the crisis of British capitalism could be solved without either the capitalist class or the working class having to make major sacrifices. All that was required, they said, was for workers to accept that their standard of living would have to stand still for a year or two, and all the troubles would blow over. Meanwhile Labour would make sure that the burdens were evenly distributed *within* the working class and reward this spirit of sacrifice by taking steps to solve some of the most pressing social problems of inequality, bad housing, inadequate health care, and education.

But the logic behind the 'social contract' was to tie the fate of the working class securely to the capitalist system. And what this system demands is not just a freeze in working class living standards, but *swinging cuts*. It demands that the refloating of bankrupt British capitalism must be financed out of workers' pockets.

In case the Labour leaders had forgotten this truth (which they were frantically trying to hide from the working class) a series of economic blows came as sharp reminders at the end of the year: a gigantic trade deficit, the plummeting of the pound, and the tottering of the British Leyland empire (to be followed in rapid succession by Aston Martin and Birmah Oil).

At the same time the latest fig-



Wilson has beaten Benn to the punch on schemes to revive failing industry

ures from the wages front indicated that the working class was far from swallowing the pie-in-the-sky of the 'social contract'. With wages rising at an average of 26%, most workers were managing to keep their heads above water, even if with growing difficulty.

But this good news for the working class inspired nothing but gloom in the Labour cabinet. For it meant that the workers were successfully clawing back a big slice of the £3000 million which Healey's budget planned to filch out of workers' pockets to fill the coffers of the bosses. At the same time the bosses were screaming that they needed almost twice Healey's proposed hand-out just to scrape through. The time had clearly come for a change in approach.

American President Theodore Roosevelt had a famous recipe for maintaining the power of US imperialism: 'walk softly and carry a big stick'. But so far Wilson has had to stomp up and down in the hope that no-one would notice that his hand were empty. But since Labour have failed to convince the working class to commit hara-kiri they must move quickly to equip themselves with the 'big stick' necessary to do the job some new form of incomes policy. Wilson's speech is just laying the ground for such a move.

Labour's next major step has already been mapped out by Denis Healey in his last budget: a series of measures that will try to cut back on inflation by allowing unemployment to rise. This policy has the additional advantage that Labour can avoid the impossibly exp-

ensive business of bailing out the flood of firms that will be thrown into financial trouble over the next year, and, at the same time, blame it on the 'irresponsibility' of the working class.

### INCOMES POLICY

But increased unemployment alone will not be sufficient to black the combativity of the working class. So the Government as a whole is certain to adopt one or another of the incomes policy schemes which the Labour right has had on the drawing board for some time.

This new incomes policy will not be a repeat of the Tories' — for that would meet with terrific resistance from the working class and the mass of Labour voters, who remember the oft-repeated pledge never to return to such a policy. Instead some scheme of using a combination of the price code to penalise employers who grant wage rises above some fixed figure, and the taxation system to claw back such rises from workers who receive them, is likely to be adopted.

Such a scheme would place a considerable share of the burden for policing the incomes policy on individual employers, and involve a big hotting up of the level of the class struggle. This is undoubtedly the reason why the authors of such schemes are also the most steadfastly opposed to any relaxation of the picket laws or the granting of any concessions to the Shrewsbury 2: they understand that the employers are going to need the backing of the police and the courts in the coming year, and that the power of the state must not be eroded one jot in the face of such a prosp-

## Neither heat nor light from the 'lefts'

WILSON'S attack on strikes—and the turn in Government policy it heralds—is a direct challenge to the 'lefts' both in the Labour Government and the trade union bureaucracy.

It is these gentlemen who were given front-line responsibility for selling the social contract to the working class and giving Labour policy a phony 'socialist' veneer.

### RESPONSE

So far their response has been a mixture of boot-licking and silence. Top trade union 'left' Jack Jones, charged, among others, with the delicate job of inspiring confidence within the workers' movement in Labour's 'conciliation and arbitration' machinery, has replied by asking for a meeting with Wilson. Jones has already made it clear what he wants to say: 'We need to get an improvement of industrial relations rather than talking about wage restraint ... we should be discussing the expansion of the conciliation and arbitration service ... I believe workers should use it as an alternative to the strike weapon ...' In other words, Jones intends to plead for a second chance to stab the workers' movement in the back before Wilson embarrasses him by setting about bashing them over the head.

While it is being said that the one-

For a long time Benn has put forward a vision of socialism being built bit by bit, as the National Enterprise Board sails along buying up slices of the big capitalist firms, strewing the path behind it with the blooms of 'workers' democracy'. British Leyland was the first ripe plum to fall into Benn's hands and should be a test case for his schemes.

But Benn has been heated to the punch by Wilson, who has spelled out in no uncertain terms what government support for failing industry will really mean.

'Whether this loss of production was acceptable or not with private capital involved ... is a matter now for historical argument. What is not a matter for argument, for the future, is this. With public capital, and an appropriate degree of public control involved, the Government could not justify ... the subsidising of large factories ... which could pay their way but are failing to do so because of manifestly avoidable stoppages of production.'

It would appear that it is not workers' democracy that is going to get a boost.



Only way is for workers to take matters into their own hands—as at IPD, Kirkby last year

time hero of the Labour left, Michael Foot, will 'confound to echo the Prime Minister's words,' nothing but a deafening silence has come out of the office of Industry Minister Tony Benn. This is particularly revealing, because the brunt of Wilson's attack was directed at part of Benn's patch — Government support for British Leyland.

ect.

In any event, Wilson's speech sounds the keynote for one sure prospect for 1975: a renewed assault on working class living standards. Wilson has made it clear what side he and the Labour cabinet intend to take in this fight. But a united working class movement, determined to fight by any means necessary against every form of incomes policy, could force the Labour Government to change direction—unless, that is, they want to commit political suicide.

but capitalist autocracy!

The new year will bring with it a rash of factory closures and redundancies as efforts are made to push another million workers on to the dole queues. It is clear that no answer to this threat will come from within the Labour Government—neither from Wilson, from Foot, nor from Benn.

Labour will beg-off from giving financial aid to all but those firms where it thinks redundancies and speed-up can be engineered without resistance under government sponsorship. But 'intervention' on these terms benefits only the bosses.

The only way a solution in the workers' interests can be won is by workers taking matters into their own hands and meeting closures and redundancies with strikes and occupations, and confronting the Labour politicians with a united workers' movement demanding the nationalisation of all companies declaring redundancies, under workers' control, and with a clear guarantee for the protection of all jobs.

Photo: RON MCCORMICK (IFL)

# CALL FROM SPANISH TROTSKYISTS

AMONG THE MANY political prisoners languishing in the jails of the Spanish dictatorship are two militants — Eva Forest and Antonion Duran—whose lives are in grave danger.

Arrested last year supposedly in connection with the bombing of a cafe in Madrid's Correo Street, they have now been charged with involvement in the assassination in 1973 of the Spanish Prime Minister, Admiral Carrero Blanco.

Militants and organisations of the Fourth International are in the forefront of the world-wide fight to save the lives of Forest and Duran. The following are excerpts from a recent statement of the Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International, the LCR-ETA (VI):

Eva Forest and Antonio Duran will soon be brought to trial by the War Council [military court] that is to deal with the 'Correo affair'. This will be the culminating point in one of the most sinister political farces staged by the dictatorship in its whole history.

The first act of the farce was the police propaganda campaign around the Correo Street attack. The BPS (Political Social Brigade, the political police), with the extensive collaboration of the bourgeois news media and the silent complicity of numerous workers' organisations, presented Eva and Antonio as being responsible for these acts.

Today we know that this was nothing but lies, the crudest slanders launched against a handful of militants and against the Spanish Communist Party and the ETA - V [Basque nationalist group]. The Correo Street attack does not even figure in the pre-trial hearing opened against Eva Forest and Antonio Duran.

In their statement to the police neither they nor any of their comrades have acknowledged the slightest participation in these acts, or in the assassination of

## 'Solidarity with Forest and Duran'

### save the lives of



## Eva Forest



## Antonio Duran

Carrero.

It was only through the pressure of terrible physical and moral torture, which gravely affected the health of these comrades and especially Duran's health, that the BPS was able to establish the existence of 'hiding places', that is, perfectly legitimate instruments for projecting revolu-

tionary action from the repression of a bloody and tyrannical dictatorship. But what is the use of evidence when it is the Francoist army that is in charge of 'justice'? The Francoist army - this potential instrument of civil war, this active instrument of the colonial war in Spanish Sahara, this apparatus for beating in-

to line, humiliating, and repressing Spanish youth. What good is evidence when the laws, judges, and courts are just auxiliaries in the repression of revolutionaries, when the news media is controlled and manipulated with impunity!

Few, very few voices, ours among

them, were raised against this force in defence of all its victims. We say all and we stress the word all.

The Spanish Communist party's total absence of responsibility for these acts has been affirmed and defended by all the workers' organisations, which were agreed in denouncing this aspect of the campaign of the dictatorship. But in the defence of the ETA - V - whose responsibility in the affair has never been proven itself - a defence that was just as necessary and justified as the defence of the CP, there was much reticence on the part of certain organisations, if not silence or even implicit accusations. As for those who have been the main victims, those who most directly suffered and continue to suffer the effects of the police campaign, only two or three organisations assumed the responsibility and honour of defending them unconditionally against the bourgeoisie... sticking to the principle that has guided the revolutionary solidarity of communists in all epochs: *Against bourgeois repression a revolutionary is always right!*

If today the lives of Eva Forest and Antonio Duran are threatened in the 'Correo affair', it is because solidarity with them was insufficient, because the dictatorship thought that they had been abandoned, left without any support... There is now an attempt to make of them a bloody 'retribution' for the execution of Carrero, a retribution demanded and required by the most reactionary political sectors, those who for that very reason had identified themselves most closely with 'the admiral'.

To abandon these comrades to their assassins would not only be a crime, it would also be an encouragement to new crimes, an encouragement to repression, it would strengthen the effects and impunity of these new crimes. And this increased strength would end up by hitting all those fighting against the dictatorship, including those who are now encouraging the dictatorship by their silence.

If anyone thinks that we are exaggerating, that the death penalty will not be requested in the 'Correo affair' or that if it is requested it will not be granted, let them recall Salvador Puig Antich [Spanish anarchist militant executed by the dictatorship last year]. If anyone believes that the danger of the death penalty exists but that it can be averted by gathering signatures on protests and petitions, let them also remember Salvador Puig Antich!

If anyone thinks that nothing can be done, that if the dictatorship wants to murder Eva Forest and Antonio Duran it will do so, let them remember Izko and his comrades [Basque militants sentenced to death by a Spanish military court in 1970, but saved by a massive wave of protest strikers both inside and outside Spain].

Yes, it is possible to save the lives of a wave of protest strikes both inside and minute costs. Not a second must be lost: the broadest and most combative campaigns of national and international solidarity must be organised!

Right now we must begin organising a united struggle of all parties, all workers' organisations, all bodies of the vanguard in the factories, universities, institutes, liberal professions, in the workers' commissions around the slogan: *Down with the Carrero trial!* Let us struggle for the freedom of Eva Forest and Antonio Duran!

Let us thus move forward to the formation of a United Front Against Repression in order to begin a permanent struggle against the War Councils, the bloodiest instruments of Francoist repression, the most striking example of the role played by the army in the dictatorship, the most tangible evidence that the mass movement can expect nothing from the army but the most brutal repression...

The struggle against the repression will take the important place it deserves in the struggles of the mass movement, in the present preparation of the general strike leading to the revolutionary general strike that will overthrow Francoism.

The struggle to save the lives of Eva Forest and Antonio Duran can and must be an important step in this direction. The Carrero trial is a new challenge to the working class of our country thrown at it by the dictatorship. Let us rise to the challenge. Let us organise the response and call for international solidarity!

Who will intervene to defend these 'terrorists', the dictatorship asks itself. We answer, and we will answer in action: We will, the workers, students, doctors, professors, teachers, women!

Eva Forest and Antonio Duran are our comrades. We do not believe your lies. We have seen them at our sides in the struggle. We have seen them in the 1968 strike in Pego, in the solidarity struggles with the Vietnamese revolution, in the construction strikes, in the struggle against the Burgos War Council four years ago. We will not abandon them!

# BANGLADESH IN STATE OF EMERGENCY

Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's New Year gift to Bangladesh was the declaration of an official state of emergency. New draconian laws were passed and Bangladesh, like India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, is now governed by emergency regulations. The vice of the strong state has the whole of the South Asian sub-continent in its grip.

For some time now the ruling Awami League has been beset by serious political problems. Apart from the endemic corruption which has mainly benefited Awami Leaguers, the Government has lost some of its senior members - such as the Finance Minister Tajudin Ahmed, who resigned on 26 October last year after making public criticisms of the Government and the Awami League.

For several months Sheikh Mujib has been discussing with close advisers the possibility of making Bangladesh a presidential republic and dispensing with parliament. The state of emergency, which gives the Government unlimited powers to arrest, detain and sentence dissidents, could well be designed to provide the legal backdrop to more permanent constitutional changes.

### MASS OPPOSITION

The chronic crisis confronting the country has begun to drive important sections of the masses towards the left. Five leading trade unions have called for a movement to overthrow the Government, with the threat of strikes to launch it on 18 January.

The recent one-day general strike

called by the JSD (National Socialist Party) - a breakaway from the Awami League, whose leaders, all heroes of the liberation struggle, are now in prison - was a big success despite intimidation and harassment by the thugs of the Awami League.

The JSD has now decided to organise clandestinely, and no one disputes its experience in this field. What worries the Government further is that many of the JSD militants have direct links with the masses, and also

have underground arsenals containing weapons which they refused to hand back after independence. The state of emergency and what follows it could well provide the spark for a new war - a civil war.

The fact that even the pro-Moscow groups are distancing themselves from Bangladesh's Chiang Kai Shek shows how far the mass discontent has now developed. By their tail-ending of the Awami League over the last three years the pro-Moscow 'communists'



Corruption of Awami Leaguers contributes to starvation in Bangladesh

have contributed to the repression now being carried out against the left as a whole. As a result the pro-Moscow student organisation recently suffered a split when some of its leading cadres left in disgust to join other groups on the left.

### SOCIALISM

What will be decisive in the coming period will be the programmatic basis of the struggle which will develop. The JSD have up till now had the correct position that the struggle must be for socialism, and not for some vague, ill-defined, 'democratic revolution'.

The Maoists and the pro-Moscow groups, fighting each other, but still bound together by Stalinist ideology refuse to acknowledge this fact. In that sense both the isolated armed struggle carried out by the Maoists and the tail-ending of the Awami League by the pro-Moscow groups lead to the same impasse.

A struggle against the Mujibist strong state can only be successful if conducted within the framework of a fight for socialism. Moreover, at a certain stage the struggle for a socialist Bangladesh will have to be linked with the struggle for a united socialist Bengal, which means that it is necessary to develop broad links between socialists in both East and West Bengal. The links between the Indian and Bangladesh ruling classes should explain the need for this, if nothing else.

The declaration of the state of emergency is a sign of the weakness of the Bangladesh regime. But the left will have to take account of its own weaknesses in order to be able to mount a successful challenge.

When this challenge begins to take shape, there will be many Bengali workers in this country who will lay the basis for a solidarity movement with the struggle of the Bengali masses for socialism.

by  
Ibne Azad

# ZAMBIA PREPARES SELL-OUT TO WHITE RACISTS

An uneasy—and unstable—truce reigns in Rhodesia in the wake of the agreement signed last month between the white racist Government of Ian Smith and the main black nationalist groups.

In this special report from Lusaka, Zambia, John Blair looks at the background to the agreement and the future prospects for the liberation struggle.

It is no secret that if South Africa's Prime Minister Vorster is anxious for a settlement of southern African questions so is Kaunda, President of Zambia. For the past two years the natural economic links of Zambia, developed over the previous 80 years, with Rhodesia, have been effectively severed by Smith's precipitate closure of the border in January 1973. At a time when the Zambian economy is suffering increasingly from the general 'stagflation' of the capitalist world, and copper (which counts for 98% of exports) is slumping in price, the reopening of its southern transport and trading links would provide sweet relief for the Government. But the political situation in Zambia and in Africa as a whole makes such a step quite impossible until some sort of settlement of the Rhodesian question is arranged.

The desperation of the Zambian Government to achieve this, and their consequent willingness to jettison the struggle of the black masses inside South Africa itself, could not be shown more clearly than in the editorial in the government-owned *Daily Mail* of 10 December:

'Rhodesia is the last bastion of the white man's haven for racial supremacy in southern Africa... Furthermore it is the only country in southern Africa where the white leadership is short of reasons for disengagement. It is the only country today in southern Africa where the whites refuse to accept the fact that they have soon to be the casualty of history.'

In other words—settle on Rhodesia and we'll forget about the 20 million victims of the apartheid state

proper.

## UNIFICATION

There can be no doubt that pressure from the Zambian Government was the key to the announcement made on 8 December of the unification of the four Rhodesian nationalist movements. It is a complete negation of the most elementary principles of democracy that delegations of six from supposedly mass organisations can agree to such a step without any discussions whatsoever amongst their memberships.

But the picture is even more incredible when one considers the differences between the organisations concerned. The fundamental divide is that between Muzorewa's ANC, which has continually held up the illusion of peaceful change in Rhodesia, and the other three groups, all of which have been committed to guerrilla warfare. There are also profound differences between the two most important of the organisations backing armed struggle, ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union).

*Zimbabwe News* (monthly organ of ZANU) of August 1974, for instance, attacks ZAPU for 'irresponsible and counter-revolutionary behaviour' in presenting false claims of successes in guerrilla war. ZAPU is also attacked for its close connections with the Soviet Union and with 'pseudo anti-imperialist white liberals'.

Centrally important in relation to present developments is ZANU's consistent arguments in favour of armed struggle. An editorial in the September issue of their paper entitled

'Armed Struggle is the Only Way to Resolve the Zimbabwe Issue' attacks those people who believed a new constitutional conference could settle the Rhodesian question satisfactorily:

'The only way to resolve the Zimbabwe conflict is the intensification of armed struggle. The object of intensifying it at this psychologically optimum moment is not simply to take advantage of the enemy's psychologically weak moment. It is also in order to forestall the enemy's strategy of promoting this or that African party in an effort to dilute genuine revolutionary forces in Zimbabwe'. Such a line applied to latest developments would lead ZANU totally to dissociate itself from the present manoeuvring, which precisely justifies the fears expressed in this article.

There are already signs that the newly released leaders have varying approaches. On his arrival in Salisbury on 13 December, Sithole, President of ZANU, was asked if he was hopeful of a settlement. In reply he said: 'There is no way we can reach an accommodation with the Rhodesian Government because it is dedicated to minority rule and I cannot see how we can reach an accommodation'. The *Zambia Daily Mail* of 17 December contained an unsigned report from Salisbury saying 'nationalist elements said yesterday they were afraid that the outspoken political stand being taken by Mr. Sithole might jeopardise the nationalist unity position in the build up to the planned constitutional conference with the Government'.

Hopefully these are straws in the wind which indicate that the movement is not united in a willingness to do some kind of deal with Smith, and that sections will be ready to apply the lessons of Mozambique by seizing this time of weakness and isolation for the Rhodesian Front regime to deal death blows to the white racist domination of Rhodesia.

But if this is to be done it is now more vital than ever that an international movement of solidarity be built, particularly on the African continent: a movement whose strength is capable of outweighing the manoeuvres of the sell-outs, both within and outside Rhodesia. Only on this condition will the liberation of Zimbabwe from white minority racist rule, so often spoken of in the past few months, become a reality.



The life of the African under apartheid—yet Zambia proposes to forget about its 20 million victims in South Africa

## China turns a blind eye to imperialist foothold

By HO YEN

On 1 December, 17 refugees from China who had managed to swim across to the British colony of Hong Kong were handed back by the Government. This marks a new phase of Chinese-British collaboration.

Over the past three years more than 70,000 young people have left the People's Republic of China. Even according to official Hong Kong estimates, the figure for 1974 alone was 30,000. Hong Kong is today the only place which escapers can reach, since Macao, formally a Portuguese colony, has agreed since 1966 to hand any escaper back to the Chinese authorities.

### WHY THEY LEAVE

Why do these people leave China, and why has the number of escapers, predominantly youth, shot up over the last five years? The answer lies in the political situation inside China itself.

According to the Maoist bureaucracy in Peking, all has been well since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution definitively smashed 'revisionism'.

But the bizarre campaign presently being conducted against Lin Piao and Confucius belies even this claim. It is obvious that there are currents in the Chinese masses which remain politicised despite the decision of the Maoists to 'end the cultural revolution'.

The other argument that is used is that the youth leaving for Hong Kong are those who are attracted by

capitalist society. However this is hardly credible since many of the prominent escapers - former Red Guards - are playing a prominent part in the movement against the Hong Kong Government.

The real reasons are pinpointed by a number of escapers to whom I have spoken. They claim to have fled from China because the cultural revolution failed to end the rule of the bureaucracy. Indeed, it was Lin Piao who was overthrown, and it was old

bureaucrats like Teng Hsiao-ping who reappeared up and down the country.

Prevented from participating in the political life of the country, many Red Guards were imprisoned and others were sent to the countryside. Even here they were prevented from having regular political discussions with the peasants. Confronted by an immense bureaucratic machine, and with no real perspective or possibilities for struggle, these youth have fled to Hong Kong.



The expulsions on 1 December were no accident. They simply demonstrate the present cosy relationship between China and Britain on the question of Hong Kong.

Another indication of Peking's passivity here has been the failure of the Maoist trade unions to provide any real leadership in the recent wave of workers' struggles in Hong Kong. Those Marxists who did intervene in these struggles and gave them a political direction, such as the *Daily Combatting Bulletin* comrades (sympathisers of the Fourth International) were slandered and attacked by the Maoists.

For the first time the Maoist papers in Hong Kong printed attacks on Trotsky and Trotskyism reminiscent of the Soviet Union in the 1930s. Slander is the only weapon the Maoists can use, as they have no political answers.

### COULD BE ENDED

Can anyone seriously doubt that if China wanted to end the colonial occupation of Hong Kong it could do so overnight? Surely no-one seriously believes that Harold Wilson or Ted Heath could send gunboats up the Yangtse river to intimidate the Chinese Government?

Macao, the Portuguese colony just up the coast, is an even better example. It could easily have been incorporated into China long ago,

just as the Portuguese colony of Goa was incorporated into India in 1961. Certainly the new Portuguese Government, which has accepted the independence of the African colonies, would be only too delighted to let Macao go.

But the Chinese prefer it as it is. After all, the millionaire who owns the famous Casino in Macao is a leading member of the Chinese Communist Party, and no doubt a number of bureaucrats spend pleasant days on the island.

On Hong Kong the Maoists dominate the unions and control several front organisations. There would be overwhelming mass support for a revolt against the colonial Government. But in recent months the Maoists have denounced those struggling against the Government as provocateurs. They themselves have no proposals whatsoever for getting rid of the British, except to say that 'the time is not yet right'.

The Association of Radical East Asian Scholars (AREAS) is in the process of organising a teach-in on Hong Kong where we hope to discuss some of these issues with British socialists and develop solidarity with those in the vanguard of the anti-colonial struggle in Hong Kong.

Ho Yen is a member of the *Daily Combatting Bulletin* group. For further information see the latest issue of *International* in which a former Red Guard is interviewed, *Inprecor* no. 10 on the Lin Piao-Confucius campaign, and the latest *New Left Review* for an account of British interests in Hong Kong.

## Interview with Seamus Loughran

### Provisional Sinn Fein organiser for the Six Counties

On what basis has the ceasefire been extended until midnight on 16 January? Have there been any negotiations with the British Government itself?

No, there have been no direct negotiations. However, I hope that these will be forthcoming in the near future. There is not an awful lot to be seen in the New Year message from Merlyn Rees. But there was a certain amount of ground on which he was flexible, and one must take advantage of any flexibility that is shown by any establishment.

What sort of flexibility? There doesn't seem to have been much response with just 20 internees being let out.

People place too much importance on the release of internees. There are 2,000 political prisoners in Ireland at the moment. Internees only represent approximately 25% of that. And while as an ex-internee myself I can sympathise with all of them, one must keep the whole context of Republican prisoners in mind. There is no yardstick by which the terms of a response can be measured by the number of releases.

What kind of response are you looking for?

What we are looking for is a political response, the opportunity to manoeuvre to obtain a proper standard of negotiations where the voice of the Republican movement and its aims and objectives can be fairly and squarely placed in front of the British Government. Part and parcel of that is the release of *all* political prisoners.

So you are looking for a declaration of intent for a British withdrawal?

We must, naturally. This is our first pre-requisite for a permanent truce, a permanent ceasefire which could lead to the end of the war.

What kind of withdrawal are you talking about?

Withdrawal of the British way of life from this island. This is Ireland. The British way of life has no place on this island. All things British we are talking about—not just the withdrawal of the British army, which is necessarily a first step. We must have the occupation forces out of the country before anything else can be obtained.

What do you mean by 'the British way of life'? The economic control?

Yes, the economic control, the influences even of the British way of life. Why should we have a King Street or a Queen Street? We haven't had a people who can't at the moment years. A simple thing, but it shows the influence of the British occupation of this island.

The whole system, the whole structure of the social services, the whole structure of the economy, the *capitalist* monolith which is in this island of ours at the moment—on both sides of the border, I might add—it needs a complete change of life. We are looking for a democratic socialist republic, and there is nothing democratic or socialist about what is across the water from this island.

There have been some Sinn Fein statements that seem to indicate that certain things less than what you are saying would actually be sufficient for a permanent ceasefire, in that the main emphasis has been on this

declaration of intent to withdraw the troops.

Somebody's got this mixed up. Let me re-emphasise for you quite clearly and quite categorically what the terms of reference are for a permanent ceasefire:

1. A declaration of intent from the British Government to withdraw from Ireland, with (a) the immediate withdrawal of British troops from the streets to their barracks pending their removal from the island, (b) an end to *all* harassment.

2. The recognition of the right of the Irish people to negotiate their own future destiny.

3. A general amnesty for *all* political prisoners and *all* those on the run because of the present situation.

Now that declaration of intent is not a declaration of intent for the British army to withdraw. It's a declaration of intent for the British *Government* to withdraw which is an entirely different concept altogether.

What steps would be sufficient to extend the ceasefire beyond the two weeks?

Well, I think the most immediate thing would be the recognition that negotiations must take place at the very highest level. Without that recognition there is no sense in going any further.

At this stage the British Government is still refusing to negotiate with the Provisionals.

So they say, and unless they change their mind on that point. I don't hold out much hope for any further extension.

What role have these churchmen been playing over the past weeks? Haven't they in some ways acted as mediators between yourselves and the British Government?

They were never instrumental in anything. You must understand, the churchmen came to us. They wanted to talk to us to put across their side of the story for peace and to hear our side of the story. This was accomplished at Feakle in Co. Clare. They were very sincere, very honest, and sometimes a little *too* frank. But nevertheless it was a very harmonious and very enlightening discussion—it's a pity that the Free State Special Branch had to break it up so early.

As a result of that, an 11-day truce was declared, for three main reasons:

1. To show that we recognise the courage of the churchmen, to show that a direct approach gets direct results. Better than all this flannel and all these peace groups who *talk* about giving us this, that and the other thing.

2. Because we thought that our people needed the break for the Xmas holidays, and we decided to give them the New Year as well.

3. To give the British Government time to come up with a response to our initiative. Because it was our initiative—it was an initiative of the Republican movement that caused the peace.

What is your attitude to their response then, which as I was saying before doesn't seem to be very much?

We can only work in optimism. There *has* been a definite lower profile displayed by the British army in the areas. In some cases it's been more than others, and in some cases the harassment is still maintained. But all in all we get the impression that there has been—I wouldn't use the word *sincere*—but there has been an attempt anyway at showing a lower profile. It remains to be seen whether that will continue—the de-escalation of the presence of the British army on the ground.

There has also been no attempt to reintroduce the Royal Ulster Constabulary and we are quite adamant that no progress will be made with that crowd. They stay on their side of the line and we stay on ours.

The third thing is freedom of movement, and shall we say, the 'de-escalation of pursuit' of known IRA men by the so-called security forces. Now these things have *de facto* occurred. We would like to see a lot more of it. We would like to see the people who can't at the moment move freely around being able to do so, and get a better feeling themselves from the areas rather than being dependent on reports from people like myself.

There has been, again, the recognition by the British Government that there is a need for urgency. Rees stated categorically on three occasions during his Christmas message that a new situation would prevail with the ongoing process of peace. Now he's got another 14 days. That gives him a straight 25 days. It's unbelievable. You know two months ago I would have just laughed if anyone had suggested to me that there would be 25 days of peace. But there's been 25 days of peace. With the continuation of this peace, they've got basically a month to make up their minds on what initiatives *they* are going to take.

What sort of initiative are you looking for?

Well, I've already expressed that. We need to get to a stage where we can say: 'OK, that's fine, and now let's get down to the hard stuff following this declaration of intent. What about the removal altogether of the British way of life?'

We are not saying to Britain, get the hell out of here tomorrow—not because we fear a civil war, but we need someone there to sort of keep a watching brief. And when we are ready to tell the Brits to go—we, the Irish people that is, not just the Republican element—when we are ready, we'll turn around to the Brits and say 'Right, thanks very much, you've done your 800 years' time, now get the hell out of it and stay out.'

What sort of time-scale for complete British withdrawal are you looking for?

That's a difficult one. It depends on the processes, how quickly they develop. It could be anything from six months to two years. One would not like to think they'd remain any longer than that. But their presence would only be shall we say a 'veiled' thing rather than an actual oppressive thing. We would know they were there, but we'd have to go looking for them rather than fall over them.

That's the military presence?

That's the military presence. The other thing is a slower process, which is going to take time. We don't want to do a General Amin, although sometimes some of the things he did were quite rational. But that would be the obvious way, just boot them all out. But that would only cause *economic* chaos. Let me put it to you this way. Britain has been responsible for the morass that exists in this country. Britain's going to have to pay the bill. The economy of this country, when this country goes on its own, is going to have to be stabilised by Britain. They are going to have to pay for the damage they have caused, in *hard* cash.

How would you see that happening?

That Britain would be prepared to withdraw certain business interests and economic interests from here, if necessary even subsidise them until we were in a position to run them ourselves, properly. There's all sorts of things like that. The British subsidies that exist now, both North and South, on the agricultural economy—that would have to stop. Because we will deal with whom we want to deal, on *our* terms. We're not going to be

dictated to so that we sell beef to Britain on Britain's terms. Those days will have to come to an end.

Another important thing coming up is this question of the Constitutional Convention. What is the attitude of the Provisional Sinn Fein going to be to that?

Let's qualify that. You say an important thing coming up is going to be the Constitutional Convention. It's not the slightest bit important to us. It's on a Six County basis. It's on a parochial basis. It's not going to achieve anything. It's going to result in a massive mandate for the extreme Loyalists—the UUUC is going to walk in with 85 per cent of the seats and the SDLP and the Alliance Party will split the other 15% between them. And then you're back to the executive, the new Assembly, which won't last—because the last one didn't last.

So can you say that Sinn Fein will definitely not take part in any way in the Constitutional Convention?

I can't say anything because it has not been discussed yet. But as a Sinn Feiner, my personal opinion would be that it's another non-event. What does it mean? What would happen if



we all got elected and everybody had representatives there? Inside a week there would be a punch-up. It's a British solution, and British-imposed solutions have never worked and never will work.

The only solution that will work on this island is a solution arrived at, negotiated by, and agreed to by the Irish people. That covers it—lock, stock, and barrel.

But the fact remains that if the Loyalists win 85% of the seats in the Constitutional Convention, that's a problem that can't be sidestepped. How do you propose to deal with the Loyalists?

What you've got to do is create the right climate. OK, you have peace at the minute—temporary though it may be. You create a situation where you say to them: 'Look, here we've got peace. We have given you this peace in an attempt to get you to listen to us, to understand what we're talking about.'

Then we produce on the table all of our programme, our social and ec-

## TROOPS OUT - Remember Bloody Sunday

Demonstration in London on Saturday 1 February to demand withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and to mark the third anniversary of Bloody Sunday.

Provisional arrangements: assemble 12.30 at Speakers Corner. Rally from 2.30-5.30 in Conway Hall—speakers invited include Jeff Rooker MP, Mike Knowles (Hackney Trades Council), Mike Cooley (past president AUEW-TASSI).



# 'S BEHIND THE CEASEFIRE ?

conomic policies, and we say: 'There, what do you think of it? What would you like to see changed in it?'

How would you see these talks coming about? You wouldn't use the Constitutional Convention for this?

No, because you're eliminating the Irish people. Any dialogue which takes place must take the form of community politics first. The community problems must be discussed. The so-called peace line must be discussed. Working committees that can communicate with each other for many reasons on each side of the peace line must be organised.

But isn't Britain going to hand over to the Loyalists through the Constitutional Convention?

From a public opinion point of view that's the one thing that Britain cannot afford to do. They cannot hand the North back to the status it had before. Because they are only going to leave a situation where there is going to be war. And nobody likes war except those who make money out of it. We don't want a civil war. We don't see the need for it. What we do see is the need for discussion—but with Britain out of it rather than



in it. It's got to be a discussion among all the factions in Ireland, and not just in the Six County context, because there are problems in the 26 Counties too.



## Brian Grogan explains the IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL RESPONSE BY REPUBLICANS

**THE PRESENT CEASEFIRE** in Ireland is now the longest since the war began—the last one in 1972 broke down after only thirteen days.

It is of course extremely fragile. And although we might see a further short extension, it is almost ruled out that it will be transformed into a more permanent truce.

Despite this, however, the whole undertaking marks a major turn on the part of the Provisionals—a response to the ongoing effects of the Loyalist strike in May 1974. In a number of ways, it has now become clear to the Provisionals that the British Army may indeed withdraw from Ireland—but only to hand things back to the Loyalists.

### BRITISH HOPES

However tortuous the initial contacts were, there is little doubt that it was the British Government that initiated the talks which led to the ceasefire. The official Provic view is that it was the 'sincerity' of the Protestant church leaders which led the Proxies to make such a positive response. But few are really under the illusion that the church leaders were more than intermediaries for the British Government.

The British Government now thinks that it has the measure of the Proxies. It thinks that a few miserly concessions will draw them into a permanent truce. In such a context the Constitutional Convention might then produce a 'moderate' power-sharing bloc, which would make the outcome satisfactory to the Catholic middle class in the North and the Southern Irish ruling class.

### PROVISIONALS

The Provisionals in their turn think that they have the upper hand militarily against the British army—especially with the campaign in Britain. But by placing the military question at the forefront of their thinking, the Proxies are unable to assess the true balance of forces accurately and frankly.

To be sure, from the material and manpower point of view, the Proxies are quite able to continue their campaign for some time yet. But the balance of forces is gradually moving against them and has been for the past two years. The war-weariness of the Catholic population, caused by the lack of any clear perspective, has taken its toll.

This is not to say that the overwhelming majority of the anti-Unionist people do not give tacit support to the Provisionals. But politically, the Catholic population is under the influence of the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

So, in the Ardoyne for instance, which used to be a major stronghold of the Proxies, nearly every window over the Christmas period boasted posters sponsored by the Catholic Church calling for peace. The negative impact of the Birmingham bombings has reinforced this feeling.

### POLITICS

Any guerrilla campaign—depending as it does on the intimate, if passive, support of the local population

very quickly feels such moods. It is this empirical recognition which the Proxies are responding to. A ceasefire, they reason, will at least give them time to win back their base in the ghettos—and the Proxies are actually engaged in constructing community self-help projects to do this.

What is more, the Provisionals are beginning to see the need for involvement in politics to strengthen their ties with the masses. Ruari O'Bradaigh, President of Sinn Fein, made a big point at their last Ard Fheis (conference) of the need to popularise the policies contained in their *Eire Nua* programme.

This is an important development for the Provisionals, who tend to look on politics as a corrupting influence in itself. Indeed, it was partly to overcome the fears of the rank-and-file on this score that John Joe McGill was sent up from the South last year to make a funeral oration—for which he was duly interned. As a veteran of many earlier IRA campaigns and a councillor in the South, he was to be the image of the Provic uncorrupted although participating in politics.

Such a campaign would be necessary for the participation of the Proxies in elections—and the possibility of taking part in the Constitutional Convention elections as a way of popularising their programme is now under active consideration. Of course there is no question that they would take their seats.

Such a development by the Provisionals could be very positive. In calling their ceasefire, and putting out a call for a more permanent truce, the Provisionals are groping towards an understanding of the need to mobilise the anti-Unionist population in the fight against British imperialism. They are empirically realising that the bombing campaign is not doing that at the moment.

Insofar as this signifies a move towards political action, the ceasefire could be a step forward.

However, posed in the way the Provisionals pose the question, the ceasefire could be a serious setback.

It is a complete self-delusion to think that the Provisionals are on the point of kicking out the British army, or are even in a position to dictate terms to the British Government. Not only is that not the case, but it is the Loyalists who are ruling the roost at the moment.

In this situation the British Government is hardly likely to go out on a limb for the Provisionals. The Loyalists have already knocked out the tentative moves towards accommodation with the Southern Irish ruling class. And if Rees cannot have them, then he would much rather plump for the Loyalists than for the Provisionals.

### MASS ACTION

This is the present drift of British policy at the moment. Rather than toying with the wild notion that Britain is about to be kicked out by their bombing campaign, the Proxies should be seriously preparing the anti-Union-

ists for such a hand-over.

A fight against this policy will require the mobilisation of the anti-Unionist people outside British or collaborationist institutions, and the creation of alternative organs of power born out of the experience of the mass struggle. Such a perspective of mass action also demands self-defence and armed action—not simply the self-defence proclaimed by the Officials against attacks, but the defence of offensive mass actions.

Even the small-scale actions after the burning of Long Kesh were brutally repressed by the army. So one can imagine what would happen to actions which were a greater threat to the state. Calling a blanket ceasefire excludes the possibility of organising such actions.

### ARMY OUT—NOW

What is more, this fantastic over-estimation of the balance of forces is leading the Provisionals to make great concessions to the British Government. To talk about the British army staying one more day on Irish soil, let alone two years as Seamus Loughran does in the accompanying interview, covers over what the British army is actually up to—strengthening the hand of the Loyalists. Part of preparing the anti-Unionist population for a hand-over is to explain this crucial role of the British army.

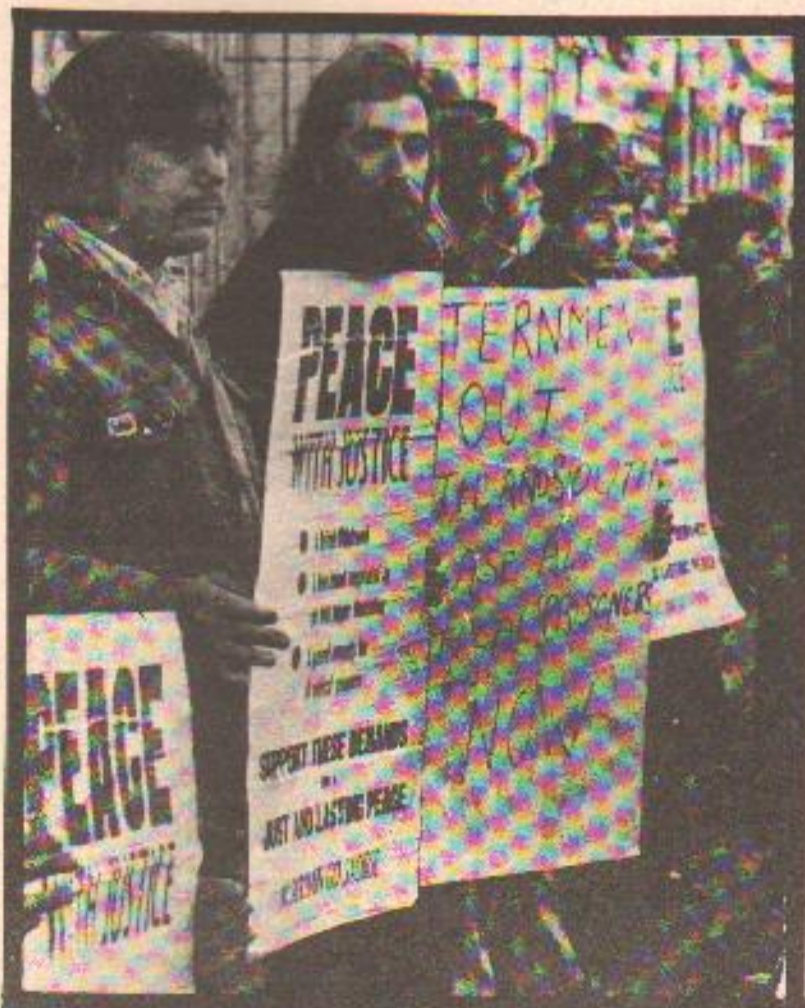
Finally, to pose the ceasefire in terms of 'peace' is a serious political concession to the reformists. It is the SDLP which has been organising under this slogan, and for the Provisionals to give credence to it—even under the rubric of 'Peace with Justice'—gives political credibility to these forces. The really crucial question is still the withdrawal of British troops.

### WHAT NOW?

The possibility that the British Government will give concessions to the Provisionals sufficient to secure a permanent truce are non-existent. Even the fact of the talks had led to an uproar amongst the Loyalists, and any concessions would create a mobilisation of the type seen during the Loyalist general strike last year.

Glen Barr, who led this strike and is a great hope of the Provisionals as a 'working class leader', says that 'we will not stand by and allow Mr. Rees to step on the people of Ulster' by making concessions to the Proxies. The UDA has promised a campaign of violence, and already there have been two sectarian bombings by the Loyalists.

Without doubt the Provisionals could restart their bombing campaign. But it would of course be much more difficult politically after having called the ceasefire. This may mean that the Provisionals will maintain the ceasefire in the Six Counties for a while longer but restart the bombing campaign in Britain. But in any case the significance of the break-down of the ceasefire will not be lost on the ranks of the Provisionals as the need for a political response will become increasingly obvious.



Provisional Republican picket in Dublin just before Christmas — to press the ceasefire in terms of 'peace', even under the rubric of 'Peace with Justice', is a serious political concession to the reformists of the SDLP. The really crucial question is still the withdrawal of British troops.

# FRENCH TROTSKYISTS IN CONFERENCE



**THE FIRST** congress of the Front Communiste Revolutionnaire (FCR-French section of the Fourth International) was held from 19-22 December with the participation of over three hundred delegates representing more than 5,000 militants and sympathisers. The congress decided to change the name of the group to Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR).

The debate before and during the congress reflected the major developments which have taken place in France in the recent period, and the great expansion of the work and influence of the FCR. The deep disarray of the Gaullist state, the approach of economic crisis, and the near victory of the 'Union of the Left' electoral bloc between the Communist and Socialist parties in the presidential elections last year should be seen in the context of the new dimensions of class struggle that have been shaking the foundations of French society since May 1968.

## UPSURGE

Among the most notable examples of this new upsurge have been the national response to the struggle of the LIP workers and the eruption of advanced forms of struggle in other industrial conflicts, the mammoth mobilisation of youth and school students against the conscription laws, the fight for democratic rights for

soldiers, the emergence of a women's liberation movement and a movement for the legalisation of abortion, the development of the CFDT trade union federation to the left in response to pressure from the base, and the emergence of leftward moving currents in the Socialist Party.

Militants of the FCR were in the forefront of those organising solidarity for these and other social struggles that have developed in the recent period. Last summer the FCR held a conference of its *Taupe Rouge* (Red Mole) workers' groups at Lyons attended by over 1200 militants.

The postal workers' strike and the big mobilisations around it in November reflected this advance in the FCR's industrial influence: the *Taupe Rouge* bulletin became the focus of those advocating the most militant tactics for conducting the struggle and opposing the trinity of the trade union leadership.

The growing strength and changing alignments on the far left were seen as placing vital tasks before the FCR. Especially important is the refusal of the majority of PSU (Unified Socialist Party—a centrist group) militants to follow the old PSU leadership into the Socialist Party, and the emergence of a split in the *Lettre Ouvriere* group after its failure to follow up and consolidate the big impact of its presidential candidate in the elections last year.

The vigorous and open discussion within the FCR leading up to the conference has had a considerable impact on the whole French left, since the urgent tasks facing the French workers' movement are not debated in this fashion within the other formations of the far left. (The most important documents of the different tendencies were all published in *Rouge*.) This vital internal democracy also enabled the FCR to confront squarely its own internal problems stemming from the banning of the Ligue Communiste by the Government after its leading role in the anti-fascist struggle, the need to renew its leading cadre, and to intervene in the new political conjuncture.

## TENDENCIES

Four tendencies developed during the pre-congress discussion, known simply as tendencies 1, 2, 3, and 4. Although it is impossible to do justice to the conference debate in a brief report, the main divisions that developed can be outlined roughly. They concerned above all the attitude the LCR should adopt towards leftward moving centrist currents, and the



MIR spokesman Edgardo Enriquez brought fraternal greetings to conference

governmental slogan it should project. Tendency 2, comprising the majority of the outgoing leadership, argued that the prospect of left currents emerging at the base of the Socialist Party and the refusal of the bulk of the militants of the PSU to join it creates the possibility of a far-reaching restructuring of the far left with the emergence of a qualitatively stronger revolutionary pole if the French section proves capable of linking up with and clarifying these leftward moving currents.

To assist this process Tendency 2 advocated that in the first instance political discussions should be initiated with the PSU to establish areas of common work and explore the long-term possibilities of eventual fusion. Tendency 1 led the opposition to this position, arguing that it could involve a dangerous accommodation to centrist politics and urging instead an orientation to the contradictions between the Communist Party and its base.

## GOVERNMENT

The differences over governmental slogans were linked to these differing evaluations of centrist trends. Tendency 1 put forward a resolution to the effect that the LCR should advocate a Socialist-Communist Government in order to expose the capitulation of the traditional workers' parties to bourgeois forces and to exacerbate contradictions between the leadership of the CP and its base. Tendency 2 argued that this Governmental slogan would place unnecessary limitations on the development of the class struggle and urged instead that the LCR should project the necessity for a workers' government, breaking with capitalism and based on the struggles of the working class.

On most points Tendency 4 rejected the whole framework of discussion between the other tendencies and argued consistently against the framework adopted by the majority of the Fourth International for the intervention of its European sections in the document 'The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe' (see *International*, vol. 2, no. 1). Tendency 3 generally supported the positions of Tendency 2, but argued that the latter had failed to grasp the political opportunities presented by the proletarianisation of new layers of the work-force.

The Political Theses of Tendency 2 received 59% of the votes cast at the conference and a new leadership was formed with a working majority for Tendency 2, with representation for the minority tendencies. The Congress was addressed by a number of fraternal delegates from other sections, and Edgardo Enriquez addressed the Congress on behalf of the Chilean MIR.

James Wilcox

## DEATH OF JABRA NICOLA

# A grievous loss to the Arab working class movement

Jabra Nicola, a former leader of the Palestine Communist Party (PCP), a long-time member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, and more recently a leading theoretical contributor to the Israeli Socialist Organisation, died in London on Saturday 28 December.

For over three decades comrade Nicola, better known to many as Abu Said, held high the banner of revolutionary marxism in the Middle East. This, in such a total bastion of reaction as Zionist Israel, was no mean achievement.

His death comes as a grievous loss to the Arab working class movement and to the Fourth International. An assessment of this loss must take as its point of departure the historical context that produced and was in turn produced by ... Abu Said.

## COMMUNIST PARTY

The PCP was born in 1922 out of a split within the Zionist Workers' Party. Following the split it affiliated to the Third (Communist) International. A significant layer of this early revolutionary leadership was deported to Russia in the late 1920s and 1930s by the British Mandate authorities, who then governed the area. With the degeneration of the Third International they all fell victims to Stalin's purges.

A new generation of working class leaders, more firmly in tune with Stalinism, then picked up the reigns of the PCP. Similar processes were happening in other parts of the Arab world.

Abu Said was the sort of exception that did more than just prove the rule. For in his isolated person was concentrated not only the voice of political opposition to the equivocations of the PCP—between Zionism and Arab nationalism—but also the living spirit of what once was a revolutionary International. In the 1940's he was removed from all functions of leadership within the PCP. His evolution to Trotskyism

and to the ranks of the Fourth International in which he remained till his death, followed closely after this.

## MATZPEN

In 1963, Said joined the Israeli Socialist Organisation (Matzpen), which had been founded in 1962 by a small nucleus of Jewish revolutionaries expelled from the PCP. Matzpen, largely as a result of Said's influence, completely rejected Zionism and came to the fundamental recognition that objectively the principal political division in Israeli society revolved around acceptance or rejection of Zionism.

Furthermore, Said brought into Matzpen the conception of a single Arab nation (artificially fragmented by imperialism following World War One) in opposition to the then prevailing Stalinist conception of different Arab nations in Iraq, Syria, Egypt, etc. In so doing, comrade Said drew a direct link with the PCP's revolutionary past. For it was only in 1927, and despite the opposition of the early revolutionary leadership of the PCP, that the degenerating Comintern reversed its stand on the question of the objective unity of the Arab world.

Both these facets of the ISO programme were integrated within the perspective of a socialist revolution throughout the Middle East as the only historical solution to the problems of that region, including the national question. Upon these foundations an authentically Jewish-Arab organisation emerged in Israel that was qualitatively different from the old PCP, in that it firmly rejected—while never equating—both Jewish and Arab forms of nationalism. These were tremendous steps forward far surpassing in their importance the limited number of cadres who constituted the ISO.

However the radicalisation that swept the Arab world following the 1967 defeat in the Six Day War, and that which occurred throughout Europe following the May 1968 uprising, combined to exert their objective pressures on the situation in Israel. A programme for the Middle East revolution, isolated from a total world perspective, was no longer tenable. In 1971 the ISO split into two

main groupings, and Abu Said—in accordance with the logic of his whole life's work—joined the ranks of the ISO (Marxist) Israeli section of the Fourth International.

## PROGRAMME

In England, comrade Said was probably best known for an article jointly written with Moshe Machover entitled 'Arab Revolution and the National Problems in the Arab East', which appeared in the Summer 1973 issue of *International* (vol. 2, no. 2).

We draw attention to this article because it summarises another of comrade Said's central theoretical contributions to the development of a programme for the Arab revolution. Said was literally the first Arab ever to realise that it was in the objective interests of the struggle against Zionism and for a socialist Arab East to recognise programmatically the right of the Israeli nation to self-determination, within the framework of a socialist Middle East. Although much subsequent debate has raged over this question both inside and outside the International, what counts above all is the fact that comrade Said creatively applied the marxist method to the concreteness of the national question in the Middle East. This has resulted in an enrichment of the theoretical heritage of marxism on the national question.

In conclusion, to appreciate the significance of our loss in the death of Abu Said, it is not necessary to agree or disagree with this or that point. It is enough to realise that Abu Said, like a stubborn, tenacious and immovable rock, never flinched from the side of the working class. It is to this quality in the man that we pay our deepest and humblest respect.

Sarah Jaafar

## MEMORIAL MEETING FOR JABRA NICHOLA

Friday 17 January at 7.30 pm in Small Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square  
Speakers include: Charlie Van Gelderen, Tony Cliff, Moshe Machover, Akiva Orr

## DOCUMENTS OF THE 10th WORLD CONGRESS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

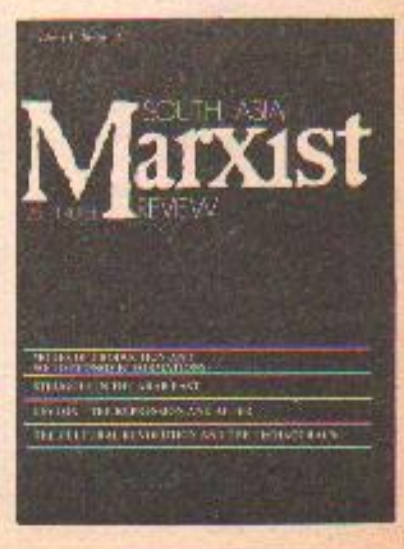
(144 pages)

plus next 7 issues of *Intercontinental Press* for only £1. Special offer closes 15 Jan.

Rush cheques/POs made out to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL

THE SECOND ISSUE of *South Asia Marxist Review* is now out, and contains an important article by Brian Davey on the debate currently taking place in India on the question of the mode of production which exists in the sub-continent; the beginning of a lengthy analysis of the Chinese Cultural Revolution; and articles on Sri Lanka, the Naxalites, and the struggle in the Arab East.

All orders to Upali Cooray, c/o 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. — cost 25p plus 5p p&sp. 10% discount on all orders of 10 or more; 20% discount on all orders of 50 or more.







# Review

Lenny Bruce: the comedian as social critic and secular moralist by Frank Kofsky (Pathfinder Press, 80p)

## 'If communism cooks for you, solid, man.'

Lenny Bruce — the comic the state drove to death.

In an age when Bob Hope does all in his power to further the American imperialist war-effort in Vietnam, when the Alf Garnetts and the Charlie Williams of this world propagate open racism with every joke, when a dozen 'camp' comedians such as Larry Grayson and Frankie Howard debase and ridicule homosexuality with their oppressively sexist acts, we need more Lenny Bruces.

We need even one Lenny Bruce. But today it's doubtful if the ruling-class would let him live as long as the slender forty years he had reached in 1966, when he was hounded and persecuted into an early grave.

Lenny Bruce was arrested nineteen

*One rabbi to another:* 'You know, someone had the *chutzpah* (nerve) to ask me the other day—they said "Tell me something, Doctor of Law, is there a God or not?" What cheek to ask this in the temple! We're not here to talk of God—we're here to sell bonds for Israel! Remember that! A pox upon you, Christ and Moses!'

times mostly on charges of 'obscenity' arising from his stage act. He was banned from entering Britain in 1964 ostensibly for the same reasons. But what was the real reason he was harassed and had his performing freedom curtailed by court cases and bad publicity?

Because he used the words 'fuck' or 'cocksucker' occasionally? No, because he used his humour in the service of

by  
**Carl Gardner**

the oppressed, because he attacked the corruption of the Establishment, because he refused to swallow Cold War ideology and increasingly ridiculed it (He defended the Rosenbergs in the face of an hysterical anti-communist frame-up which sent them to the electric-chair.)

He was critical of the repression of children's sexuality, he attacked the hypocrisy of established religion, he violently opposed capital punishment. He even attacked the mawkish impotence of white American liberalism, and its integrationist dream, at a time when even liberalism was thought to be as good (or bad) as being red.

### DEBUNKING

He took up a whole series of debunking, radical positions, and managed to be extremely funny too. That made him doubly dangerous, so he was driven into semi-silence, drink and ill-health, and finally death, by the persecution of a state which feared him and the effect he might have, particularly on the young.

It's surely no coincidence that the US build-up in Vietnam — an event a million times more obscene than

all of Bruce's jokes put together — was getting under way in the mid-60s, while he was being physically eclipsed. As he put it, demanding consistency from a so-called Christian establishment: 'The Tenth Commandment doesn't say "Thou Shalt Not Kill, Sometimes"'. Or as he dared to question the cardinal principle of US imperialism, with its 'Better-dead-than-red' philosophy: 'If communism cooks for you, solid, man.'

*First convict:* I'm a strung-out junkie. I started smoking pot, that's the way I started. By the way, cellmate, how did you get to be a murderer of eighteen people and the horrible gambler that you are?  
*Second convict:* I started gambling with bingo in the Catholic Church.  
*First convict:* I see.

It's difficult to sum up the phenomenon of Lenny Bruce in a short review. We can't say that he was a Marxist or consistent revolutionary. We could be critical of his pacifism and traces of male chauvinism. But if there are some critical, progressive, liberating elements in popular culture which we must defend and nurture, he was surely one of the most important to have emerged in the twentieth century.

### SUBCULTURE

In this short book, Kofsky gives a fascinating analysis of the many

'Goddamn the priests and the rabbis. Goddamn the popes and all their hypocrisy. Goddamn Israel and its bond drives. What influence did they exert to save the lives of the Rosenbergs—guilty or not? ... The Ten Commandments doesn't say, "Thou shalt not kill sometimes".'

facets of Lenny Bruce's personality and humour. He analyses his roots in the subculture of the outsider—the criminal, the downtown Jew, the black. In particular he attempts an interesting comparison of Bruce's creative comic art, constantly in the process of change from performance to performance, with the improvisation and timing of the jazz musician.

He also sketches the beginnings of an analysis of the many trends in the underground and protest cul-

'And people talk about freedom. You know, I can go anywhere in Europe tonight, I'd walk in any country, I don't need a visa. But I would shit to walk in Mississippi with a sign on my back: "I'm from New York, Ha, Ha, Ha".'

ture of the late '60s and early '70s which Bruce foreshadowed and upon which he acted as a seminal influence.

In particular he examines in detail the various radical themes of Bruce's humour, illustrating them with long quotations from Bruce's recorded stage-acts. Unfortunately his humour loses much in print—the delivery, the inflexion, the accent, the timing. But equipped with this book, Bruce's autobiography *How to Talk Dirty and Influence People* and one or two of his best LPs, as recommended in Kofsky's excellent discography, we can begin to rediscover the persecuted brilliance of one of the funniest satirists and social critics we have seen.

'You believe politicians, what they say? It's a device to get elected. If you were to follow Stevenson from New York to Alabama you would shit from the changes. It's like two syndicates, man ... But morals don't enter into it.'

# A Sense of Our History

**JANUARY 11 1892:** The first English edition of Engel's classic *Condition of the English Working Class* was published. This study of the appalling conditions of Manchester workers and their families during the 1830s and 40s, was one of the main influences on Engels, in his conversion to revolutionism. It also provides an excellent antidote to those bourgeois theorists who claim that the conditions of the working-class got better and better under capitalism and that the bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century was a humane, benevolent class. It provided much of the empirical material which complemented Marx's theoretical studies of political economy.



Rosa Luxemburg

**JANUARY 15 1919:** In the aftermath of the unsuccessful Spartacus uprising in Berlin, which was brutally suppressed by the army, commanded by the Social Democratic ministers, Ebert and Noske, two of the ablest and most popular Communist leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, were assassinated. A squad of troops arrested them in their hiding-place and took them to a requisitioned hotel for interrogation. After being beaten, they were taken off to the civil jail. On the way they were cold-bloodedly shot in the head and their bodies disposed of. Their murderers eventually received sentences of two years and four months respectively. Luxemburg was one of the finest political economist and propagandists the German movement had produced. In killing her and Liebknecht, Social Democracy revealed clearly for the first time, to what bloody lengths it was prepared to go, when in government, to defeat the revolution and defend capitalist interests. Since that time it has revealed itself again and again.

## Enquiry into Lennox frame-up called for

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation have called on the Home Secretary to initiate an independent investigation into the case of George Lennox.

George Lennox is the ex-soldier who was jailed in 1972 soon after he had repeated allegations of British army torture in Aden.

In 1966 Amnesty International published a report alleging the use of torture by the British Army at Ras Morbut. Lennox sent an open letter to the *Sunday Times* backing up the truth of Amnesty's allegations. He was arrested by the Special Branch and subjected to 'in depth interrogation'.

In 1971 during growing controversy over reports of British army torture in Ireland, he repeated his allegations of torture in Aden and they were published in the magazine *Seven Days*, together with an account of his own interrogation. He was arrested on the day of publication and was faced with a number of witnesses to robberies which had taken place during the previous year. Only one witness, to an attempted robbery at a Cooks Agency, 'identified' him. He was charged with that robbery. The identification, plus police testimony of verbal comments not in his signed statement and denied by him, were sufficient to secure his conviction, despite

alibi witnesses. Lennox was sentenced to three and half years imprisonment.

Following pressure from Members of Parliament and others, the Home Office set up its own internal enquiry which has recently reported and found no fault with the conduct of this case. But we cannot regard this enquiry as at all satisfactory since it failed to take evidence from George Lennox or his defence witnesses and lawyers.

The Foundation have requested the Home Secretary to release George Lennox on the original date that his sentence would normally have terminated, 2 January 1975, pending the result of the independent investigation.

## LETTERS

### Stonehouse

We were surprised that the last issue of *Red Weekly* ignored the Stonehouse affair, with the exception of a passing reference in Terry Kelly's article on Labour and the CIA.

Fleet Street, having avoided following up facts known to some reporters for two years, even now failed to pinpoint the real issues. Instead we were given absurd speculation about Australian immigration laws and the status of passport forgers who turn out to be British MPs, irrelevant photos of his 'pretty' secretary and steadfast wife, and constitutional gibberish about Chiltern Hundreds. No doubt the editors will hold these up as examples of the wonderful investigative role of the Press.

But the fact is that scandals such as this, like the Poulson corruption case and the enquiry into former Labour minister Lord Brayley's business affairs, are absolutely inevitable for any party of the working class which makes itself responsible to Parliament, rather than to the work-

ers on whom it depends for its existence.

The media, Labour MPs and Stonehouse's secretary all explained that the cause of his antics was 'business pressures'. But why is it possible for the labour movement to be led by people like Stonehouse, more influenced by his own business interests than by the interests of the working class?

Parliamentary controls on MPs are not democratic controls at all. They are a scarlet curtain of procedure and myths behind which the love affair between Parliament and Business is pursued, either willingly or through seduction, by MPs of all parties, out of sight of the working class. What angers the bourgeois commentators and Labour cabinet backs is that Stonehouse forgot to draw that curtain, and the result is that workers may see the red light in Stonehouse's boudoir and wonder about the even more lavish chambers of his superiors.

It was also interesting to see how the TV deplored Stonehouse's knowledge of his deceased constituents' affairs mainly

in terms of his invasion of dead men's privacy, or the lack of security at the Passport Office, instead of probing how an MP can use his position for his own ends and not in the interests of the workers he is supposed to 'represent'.

Finally, in contrast to the mealy-mouthed appeals for Stonehouse to 'apply for the Chiltern Hundreds' (rather like offering a respectable but greedy diner the dessert to cover his embarrassment at having vomited up his third helping of the main course), *Red Weekly* and the labour movement should call for his immediate sacking and the setting up of an enquiry into all his affairs by an elected committee of rank and file trade union and Labour Party delegates from his constituency.

— JACK LEWIS, MIKE STEWART, London

### South Africa

Some attention should be given to the 'Bantustan' policy of South Africa. An attempt will probably be made to mollify the 'liberal' West and the black leaders of independent Africa by granting these absurd puppet states some degree of 'independence'. Socialists should be ready to combat such tricks by the South African regime which is, of course, trying to preserve capitalism in the last analysis. — L. Holley, Bath.

## WHAT'S ON

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

**'WOMEN WORKERS** in the Communications Industries'—London conference on Saturday 18 January from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. at the Royal Veterinary College, Royal College Street, London, N.W.1. (near Mornington Crescent tube). The conference, open to non-union members and men, will discuss women's wages, conditions, and opportunities throughout the media, how women's issues should be taken up within the unions, and the implementation of a code on the presentation of women in the media.

**'BRITISH LEYLAND'**—An Economic Report', pamphlet on the background to the present crisis inside BLMC. 10p per copy, send cash with order to: 7 Cambridge Road, King's Heath, Birmingham.

**MANCHESTER Bloody Sunday Rally** on 'British Troops Out of Ireland' with Joan Maynard, MP; Ernie Roberts, AUEW; Eamon McCann; Alasdair Renwick, TOM. Sunday 26 January, 2.30. Small Hall, Barnes Wells Building, UMIST (near Piccadilly Station). Details from TOM, c/o 178 Oxford Road, Manchester.

**LONDON Rank & File Technical Teachers meeting:** 'Houghton and after.' Speaker: Marilyn Moos. Sunday 12 January, 7 p.m. in the Roebuck pub, 108 Tottenham Court Road.

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

**'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.

BRITAIN'S HOSPITAL CONSULTANTS are incensed at the new proposals put forward by Mrs. Castle regarding their terms of employment.

The consultants' anger has been aroused because they see the new proposals as interfering with their right to sell their services to the highest bidder. The 4 January issue of the *British Medical Journal* complains, 'that outside the time consultants have contracted to work for the NHS they must be free to engage in other work as they see fit'.

### DESTROY

The *BMJ* claims acceptance of the new proposals would 'ultimately destroy the independence of doctors in the profession'.

What the consultants are really arguing about is not just the number of hours worked or even the cash terms offered. The British Medical Association admits, 'that the offer made by Mrs. Castle is so tempting that 80 per cent of the consultants will find it irresistible'.

The consultants are casting envious eyes in the direction of the American medical system, where their counterparts are paid a separate fee for each operation or single treatment given.

David Owen, Mrs. Castle's deputy, actually agreed to their demands on this matter, and suggested that they should run a pilot scheme on 'item of service payments'. Even the conciliatory Mrs. Castle could not stomach this outrageous proposition and tossed it out.

Judging by the consultants' fury one would imagine that the new proposals involved a direct threat to their privileges. In fact, none of the present consultants have to sign the new contracts, but will be allowed to operate on their old contracts until they retire.

### TERMS

The terms being offered by the Labour Government are simply meant for people now being made consultants. Instead of being full-time in the NHS and working 11 sessions a week of 3½ hours each, the full-time consultants will now have a contract for 10 four-hour sessions and not be allowed to do any private work.

The part-time consultants will be allowed to do private work, but must undertake to work a minimum of eight sessions a week of four hours each. Previously they had the option of working anywhere between three and nine sessions of 3½ hours each.

The original terms were negotiated by the consultants when the NHS was formed in 1948. At first the consultants refused to join the NHS. It was only when Bevan, then Labour Minister for Health, caved into their demands that they be allowed to carry on with their private practice, that they graciously agreed to join.

### LINE POCKETS

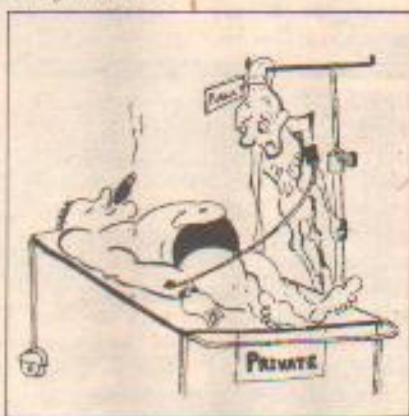
Since then the consultants have used their position outside the NHS to line their pockets. There have been many cases of the 'hardworking' consultants doing three operations at the same time. This prodigious effort was made possible by the fact that all three operations were performed by junior doctors working under the consultant's jurisdiction.

Often the consultants will make sure that waiting lists are kept long so that they can offer their worried patients the chance of queue-jumping by becoming private patients. For this 'humane' service they naturally charge a fee.

A nurse tells how at an out-patients clinic in Leeds the consultant would see a private patient and use NHS equipment to examine the patient. Of course the private patient got longer time—after all he or she was paying for it—whilst the NHS patients waited hours.

### ON NHS TIME

Another nurse, from Lancashire, reports how the consultant radiologist would tell the nurses not to book any appointments for a particular afternoon. This enabled him to get one of his private patients X-rayed using not only the time of the NHS patients, but also the time of both the radiographer and technician. This exercise would cost the NHS £40, but the money went into the consultant's pocket.



This same consultant always took a great interest in the state of the X-ray machine, and had a rather arbitrary habit of condemning what appeared to be good equipment as scrap. Being 'public spirited' and not wanting the hospital to lose all its money, he would then kindly buy it back at a greatly reduced price, installing it in his private clinic. He would then use the student radiographers to work in his clinic during their normal NHS working hours.

Inside the hospitals the consultants have been running a good racket around the merit award system. Bodies set up by the Royal Colleges, the Joint Consultants' Committee, the Government, and the BMA have been dishing out £10.3 million a year in merit money for what is described as 'outstanding work and contributions'.

### SECRECY

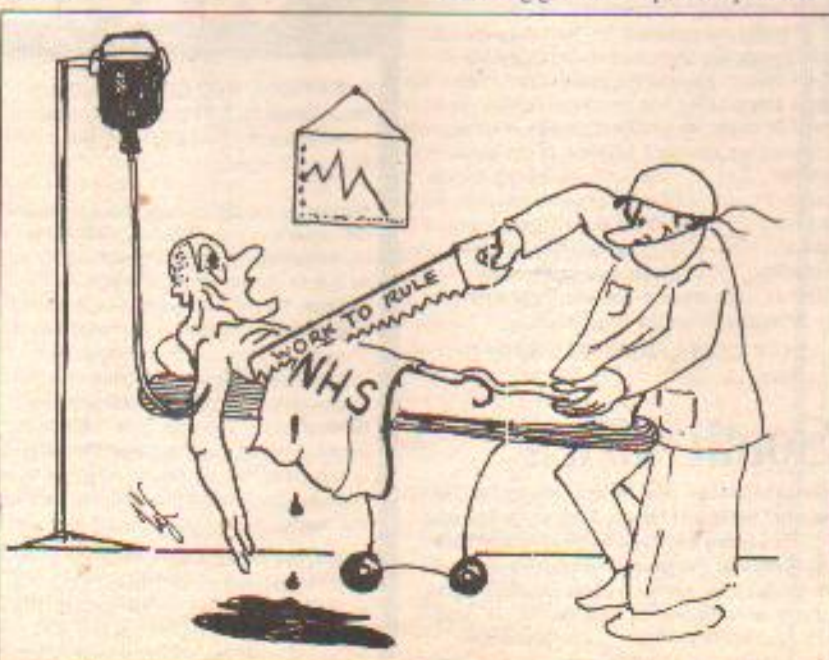
These unelected bodies, meeting in secrecy, decide in a completely arbitrary manner who is to get the 'merit' money. When the consultants decide which consultant deserves extra money, the lucky recipient has his or her name kept secret.

Mrs. Castle proposed the end of the merit award system and its replacement by increments payable for experience and service. At first the Government insisted that only full-time consultants doing the ten four hour shifts would be eligible for these increments.

However following protests from the consultants the Government backed down and agreed they can also be paid to part-time consultants but that they must be deducted from their private practice earnings.

The Government had also originally proposed that overtime would only be offered to the full-time consultants, but again have backed down and agreed that part-time consultants will also be offered overtime.

The Government has also retreated on its first insistence that the full-time consultants could not revert to part-time status. They are now prepared to let consultants, after a number of years as full-time workers in the NHS, re-negotiate their contracts. This means that 'having made their name', and boosted their possible earning power, they can leave full-time NHS work and cash in on their status.



# CONSULTANTS' SABOTAGE - Private practice put before public health

Mrs. Castle is still sticking to her insistence that an extra lump-sum payment above the normal fee paid for doing a session will only apply to the full-time consultants. She has also insisted that the new ten session per week consultants will not be allowed to do any private practice.

### PAY-BEDS

In order to reassure the consultants, the Government has announced that it will take five years to phase out pay-beds. The first moves to phase out private beds began on 1 January. From that date those hospitals with more than six private beds, providing that they have an occupancy rate of less than 60 per cent, must turn over 20 per cent of their beds to the NHS.



Consultants' support for claims of junior doctors—seen here lobbying MPs—is cynical and manipulative

In big centres like London, where there is a high concentration of pay beds and lots of wealthy patients, the occupancy rate is well over 60 per cent. This means that in the big centres no pay-beds will be phased out. The only beds to go will be those that are hardly ever used.

By granting a five year phase-out period the Government has played right into the hands of the consultants.

### ALARMING GROWTH

As the NHS declines and its services grow worse, there is an alarming growth of private practice

outside the NHS. Now there are 35,000 beds in independent hospitals and hundreds of nursing homes. But only 5,000 of these beds can deal with acute surgical cases.

However plans are underway for a rapid expansion of the building programme to construct new private hospitals. American Medical International, who run the Harley Street Clinic, aim to build 20 private hospitals in the next two or three years.

AMI estimate that this project will cost £60 million, and say that it will be financed by money from British institutions and the pension funds of the big unions. AMI claim that their Harley Street Clinic now does more heart surgery than the NHS!

consultants are determined to maintain the principle of 'free enterprise' and insist on their right to sell to the highest bidder. They are quite callously prepared to wreak havoc on an already sick and ailing health service, and the interests of the NHS working class patients comes a poor second to their privileges.

Their support of the claims of the junior doctors—house-staff and registrars—is cynical and manipulative. They hope to use the demands of the junior doctors to get mass resignations from the NHS in order to strengthen their own bargaining position. They conveniently ignore the fact that it is the junior staff who invariably do the unpaid work for the consultants and are often carrying out a consultant's duties

BUPA also have plans for building private hospitals, and are inviting 60 hospitals to form an independent hospital group. The Florence Nightingale Hospital in London has now become the Nightingale BUPA hospital.

### INSURANCE

At present BUPA runs 24 hospitals with 750 beds. Allied Investments which is a subsidiary of the Allied Medical Group, have launched a private insurance scheme offering patients up to £10,000 a year cover in private hospitals.

Allied Investments have found a site in South London for a 120 bed hospital, and they are seeking planning permission for building other hospitals in Leeds, Manchester and North London.

Many companies are moving into the lucrative field of private medicine, and BUPA say that they will need another 2,000 beds if private practice is phased out of the NHS.

With the growth of private practice outside the NHS and the appalling decline inside the health service, the danger is that the NHS will become like the old poor house. The waiting lists will grow longer, patient care will deteriorate even more, equipment will grow ramshackle and outdated, and the staff will leave for the better-paid haven of the private health clinics and hospitals.

### FREE ENTERPRISE

These are the issues that lie behind the row between the Government and the medical hierarchy. The

while the consultant is meandering his way around some golf course or discoursing in some bar on the evils of the NHS.

The Labour Government has not yet replied on the junior doctors' claim for a 40-hour week. At present junior doctors work around eighty hours without any overtime pay. Such long hours are quite clearly detrimental to their patients' health and also put a terrible strain on the doctors.

### OVERTIME PAY

Only by meeting this demand and offering to pay overtime for all hours that they work over 40 hours can the Government begin to break the grip of the consultants. If the threat of the consultants is to be met, then it is vital that the junior doctors are won over to the idea of defending the NHS and their services used to break the consultants' work to rule.

Because the Labour Government is tied to defending the capitalist system, it is powerless in face of the offensive of the consultants. The Government sees only one way out of the crisis, and that is by restoring British capitalism back to health. The social services are swept under the carpet and finance is poured into near-bankrupt enterprises.

The health workers are expected to put up with poor wages and bad conditions, which leads to their demoralisation, and the working class is offered a health service that gets worse and worse.

Janet Maguire

## ENFORCING THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

THE FIRST national strike against the social contract—that of the bakery workers in the closing weeks of last year—finished in a sell-out concocted between the bureaucrats of the Bakers' Union and the Labour Government, through the intervention of the newly-established Conciliation and Arbitration Service (CAS).

According to its chairman, James Mortimer, the CAS is not primarily an instrument of incomes policy but will have regard to the broad outlines of the social contract. Jean Vicker, the Bakers' Union vice-president, was more blunt at a meeting of local branch officials: she told them that if they did not accept the CAS offer then all other government channels would be closed.

### ARBITRATION

The word 'arbitration' is as old as the labour movement itself. To militants it has traditionally meant back-room deals that usually end up in a sell-out. To employers and governments it has been one of the ways by which they can impose, normally with help from the trade union bureaucracy, some form of incomes policy on the working class.

But the ruling class have usually

recognised that in order to work, 'arbitration' needs to appear to be independent of the Government of the day and the toing and froing of Parliamentary politics. The last Tory Government seriously underestimated the importance of this. Their Commission on Industrial Relations, seen as a tool of the Industrial Relations Court and boycotted by most unions, advised in its last report that its successor should be 'safe-guarded by arrangements which remove it from the hazards of political change...'

For a Labour Government, and especially this Labour Government elected on a wave of growing working class militancy and expectancy, it is important to avoid having the nasty label of 'incomes policy' pinned onto their 'arbitration' schemes. Hence the new CAS management is composed of three leading bureaucrats (Jones, Briginshaw and Smith), three employers' representatives, and three university professors.

### FIELDS

The CAS has three main fields of work—advice, conciliation and arbitration. The first is little more than a free management consultation service over such things as labour productivity, work-study, job evaluation and telling management how to keep efficient tabs on employees. 'Conciliation' will include full-time profes-

essionals intervening in places where disputes could arise (as well as in actual disputes), thus providing yet another service to management.

But the most important aspect is that of 'arbitration'. When unions and employers fail to agree a case goes to arbitration. The findings are not legally binding, but there is always enormous pressure for the unions to accept arbitrators' decisions.

This is especially so since arbitration is carried out under the auspices of a Central Arbitration Committee which is part of the CAS on which the trade union bureaucracy has representatives at the highest levels. This ensures that the trade union representatives will assume responsibility for the findings of the arbitrators which, virtually by definition, will be compromises on original claims.

In reality the new CAS, by both combining 'services' that have in the past been farmed out to different state departments and independent committees, and ensuring the active participation of trade union officials at many levels, is a carefully built mechanism for the maintenance of the social contract. But gloomy days lie ahead for the CAS.

'...until recently effective conciliation and arbitration arrangements have been absent for a number of years. Under the Labour Government a good independent service is being developed and I believe workers should use it as an alternative to the strike weapon...' —Jack Jones, 6 January, 1975.



George Woodcock, Norman Singleton, secretary and Will Paynter at the first meeting of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

The employers are already clamouring for it to arbitrate pay deals before industrial action and for all decisions to be legally binding. More important, the Labour Government are going to introduce certain 'austerity measures' before very long

which will almost certainly include some form of statutory incomes policy, which they may want to mediate through a revamped CAS.

The trade union bureaucrats, deeply enmeshed in the machinery of wage conciliation and arbitration, will face a big problem. If they attempt to maintain their support for machinery which is openly working to enforce an incomes policy they will pay a huge political price in terms of their credibility among the rank-and-file. But if they decide to pull out, the 'independence' of Labour's conciliation and arbitration set-up will be left in tatters.

Either way Michael Foot's latest brainchild is in for a very rough time. Indeed, coming storms of the crisis are very likely to send it to any early grave.

Nick Adams

### INTEX cont.

tex struggle. Throughout the rest of the country similar actions should be taken by anti-fascist committees, trade unions and political organisations. A vital part of this campaign will be the national picket of ICI headquarters in London, which has been called by the Support Committee for 13 January.

ICI are so worried about their public image that they have denied ownership of Intex. A national picket will provide a focus for such a campaign and show up ICI in its true light—a vicious capitalist organisation that is prepared to go to any lengths to break this strike.

This picket will be a step towards a mass rally and picket in support of the Intex struggle called by the Support Committee for 25 January. We must show ICI, the National Front, and reactionary trade unions like the Dyers and Bleachers that we are not prepared to let them smash a strike that unites black and white workers.

The fight to reinstate Dave Halls-worth goes far beyond Ashton-under-Lyne. It is a fight of national importance for the whole of the working class against racism and the fascist thuggery of the National Front.

Jeff West and Dave Wirthurst

Messages of support and donations to The Secretary, 186 Kings Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire.

## Teachers prepare to fight Houghton



fact that Houghton compares teachers pay to that of salaried public sector workers, whereas the NUT compares it with the average manual wages. Teachers' pay has fallen by 40 per cent compared with other

workers but only by 15 per cent compared with other public sector workers.

Why is this? Because the pay of public sector workers is controlled directly by the Government. This is what the social contract means for teachers—a 20% decline in pay. This, coupled with the education cuts, means that the standard of education will fall—and this under a Labour Government supposedly committed to the 'welfare state'.

### WOMEN

The Houghton Report has a third side. It strengthens the tendency for women teachers to be kept at the bottom of the scales. Most women come into teaching through the colleges of education, and not after going to university, so that the increase in the graduate/non-graduate differential actually discriminates against women teachers.

In primary schools we find that 75 per cent of teachers are women, and that over 70 per cent of primary teachers are on the old scales 1

and 2. At the other end of the scale we find more men than women heads and deputy heads in primary schools. This illustrates the discrimination against women in teaching, and the extension of the differentials between the scales can only reinforce this discrimination—and this in the year in which equal pay is to be realised!

In reality the Houghton report answers none of the questions facing teachers at the present time. So how can we tackle the problem of low pay? By demanding that the total offer of about £400 million be equally divided amongst all teachers. This would amount to a flat rate increase of about £15 per week. How can we tackle the problem of inflation? By demanding that any wage agreement is safeguarded by full cost-of-living increases. The fight against Houghton must include both of these points.

In London steps are already underway to organise the struggle. A schools' delegates conference has been called for Saturday, 18 January by Holland Park School (Arlis Gardens, London W8). The conference is to be held at the school and starts at 2.00 pm. Schools from London and nationally will be sending delegates to discuss the Houghton report and how we start the fight back

Jon Duveen

THE HOUGHTON COMMITTEE report on teachers' pay is the second half of the Government's attempts to cut social expenditure in the education field. Already we have had cuts in education spending of £182 million which have hit the building programme and school facilities in general. Now the Houghton Committee report sets out to control the level of teachers' pay and to restructure the pay scales.

Teachers' pay now ranges from £1449 to £6000 in five scales. The report proposes to increase this to £1667 to £8500 in four scales, thus extending the hierarchical nature of teachers pay essential to what they call a 'career structure'. A teacher at the bottom of scale 1 gets an extra £4.40 per week, but for a head teacher of a large school the increase is £40 per week.

The second factor supposedly dealt with by Houghton is low pay and inflation: the increase of £228 a year at the bottom of scale 1 is meant to compensate for the decline in teachers' pay since 1964-5. But the last salary claim by the NUT in April 1974 called for a 40 per cent increase to adjust the decline in teachers' pay since 1965.

The difference arises from the

**Inprecor**  
International news correspondence



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.



### INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUPE

(British Section of the Fourth International)  
97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

I would like more information about the IMG.

Name:

Address:

Occupation:

# Defend the right to picket! FREE THE SHREWSBURY 2

## Students at it again

In one hundred and forty colleges last term students organised direct action against the continuing drop in their living standards. The new term will be no quieter. If the authorities thought that students would have had Christmas for 'thought' and decided to accept the 30 per cent rent and price increases they are mistaken.

The effect of these increases will be shattering on a grant which like pensions and social security benefits and other state fixed payments, have already been badly hit by inflation.

### CAUSED

What has caused rents and prices in the colleges to soar? In the mid-sixties it was a Labour Government that withdrew subsidies to the catering and housing budgets in the colleges. They made it clear the state no longer intended to pay.

The college authorities had two choices. Either balance the accounts by taking money from other facilities or borrow the money on the open market at exorbitant interest rates. In either case it was the students or college workers who suffered.

Interest charges have climbed upwards. But it is not the authorities who have paid but the students. The interest charges are included in rent levels. At Sussex University 42 per cent of the rents go into the pockets of bankers and money lenders!

Last year the Labour Government surpassed even its present miserable record. Having decided not to restore the massive Tory cutbacks in education spending, they then started making more cuts. They put another nail in the student coffin by

specifically excluding students from the rent freeze extension. This decision has given the college authorities the green light, up and down the country, to go ahead with the swingeing rent and price rises.

It did not need a crystal ball to realise what students faced at the start of the new year. So what did the Broad Left dominated NUS Executive propose students should do? Normally the executive is short on action but long on words. At Margate during the last national conference they could not even manage to spit out the words 'national rent strike.'

### RENT STRIKES

For the second term running the executive will not give any national lead to the fight against cutbacks. It will be left to students in the colleges to do it themselves. Already rent strikes are being organised in many areas.

However, a rent strike on its own will not be enough. The rent strikes have to be part of a wider campaign of direct action, within the colleges but also on an area level. Just to fight in those colleges with their own housing and merely on rent levels would ignore the majority of students. For this reason the rent strike demands have to be wider on issues like prices, creche facilities or staffing levels, but also part of a campaign that draws in all the colleges in the area.

This term looks like going off with a bang, and continuing the events of last term. But just as students are determined, so are the authorities—the signs from last year are that the closing of colleges and the victimisations will increase. A hot spring is brewing for the colleges. Rick Sissons

In the Thirties a Tory Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, exercised his prerogative and ordered the release of imprisoned miners' pickets. Now a Labour Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, has refused point blank to release the Shrewsbury 2.

Despite the protests of trade unions and a number of MPs, the Labour Government is refusing to budge. The rule of law must be upheld bleats the Labour right-wing. 'Hear! Hear!' is the appreciative response of the Tories and Liberals.

With a government like this who needs a National government.

In a lengthy editorial last Sunday, the *Sunday Times*, quickly forgetting its advice to voters to vote Tory at the last election, commented: 'The best government to steer the country through this daunting year is a Labour government. It is not merely the best government we have but the best available in the present state of politics ... a Labour government is also preferable to a so-called National government.'

### USEFUL JOB

It couldn't have been stated more baldly. As long as the Labour government continues with its anti-working

### DENOUNCED

Martin Flannery, Labour MP for Sheffield Hillsborough, has correctly denounced these measures and so

class policies, it could do a useful job for the bourgeoisie for the next year or so.

The Clay Cross betrayal was one example. The refusal to release the Shrewsbury 2 is another, and Wilson's speech attacking workers who go on strike draws these strands together in order to prepare an overall attack on the working class. It is now clear that the Labour government is not going to change the picketing laws, the *Tribune* group notwithstanding.

In the months ahead the police will be active in breaking up pickets (see report on Intex strike elsewhere in this issue) and the Labour government will not stand in their way.

Meanwhile in Sudbury Prison in Derbyshire the Shrewsbury 2 have started a policy of non-co-operation with the authorities to highlight their plight and to help the solidarity campaign outside. The prison authorities have deprived them of 35 days remission and they are being kept in their cells, clothed only in blankets. Visitors are not allowed to see them.

have Audrey Wise, Bob Cryer and other MPs. But issuing statements is not going to get them out of jail.

The only thing which will make the Government release the Shrewsbury 2 is mass action outside parliament coupled with disruption inside. The *Tribunites* should and must use their strength which could be particularly effective in view of the small majority of the Labour Government.

A vigorous campaign for the release of the Shrewsbury 2, inside and outside parliament, would compel the Labour Government to release them. After all the freeing of the Pentonville 5 is still fresh in the minds of militants in the labour movement.

Clay Cross, the Shrewsbury 2, reneging on amending the picketing laws, Wilson's latest speech are all signs of coming explosions within the Labour Party and the trade unions. The Common Market and the moves towards an incomes policy are going to make these explosions inevitable, but none of this is very comforting to the two brothers in Sudbury prison.

Wednesday's lobby should, therefore, be seen as the beginning of a new campaign to free the Two. C. Howard

## INTEX STRIKERS FIGHT OFF RACIST ATTACKS



One that got away ... scab van drives through picket line at Intex. Inset: victimised militant Dave Hallsworth.

SUPPORT IS GROWING for the strike at Intex Yarns in Ashton as it enters its ninth week. But so is the repression.

Two pickets arrested outside the factory last week on charges of 'assaulting the police' have been refused bail. One of them, Dennis Bridges, is a member of the strike committee; while the other, Neil Swannick, is a local printworker.

The strike, in support of the reinstatement of Dave Hallsworth, has been confronted with more than the 'normal' problems which attend all strikes. The total collaboration of the Dyers and Bleachers' Union bureaucrats and the bosses has been accompanied by the use of fascist National Front thugs to intimidate the strikers. Inside the factory itself there are five members of the NF.

As Dave Hallsworth explained to *Red Weekly*: 'The peculiarity of this strike is that we have white and Asi-

an solidarity. This is what is annoying the NF. This strike has shaken the whole union up. It's not just affected us but also other factories. A lot of Asian workers elsewhere are watching. They all know about Imperial Typewriters. That's why it's important that we win. It'll give others confidence.'

Most serious of all are the razor attacks that have been carried out against members of the strike committee by racist gangsters. Needless to say these criminals have not yet been caught by the police, who are more concerned to break up the picket line than deal with these anti-working class scum.

In this situation the defence of the picket line is a burning necessity. The recently formed Support Committee has organised a series of mass pickets. The effect of these is twofold. Firstly they demoralise the scabs in the factory, and secondly they prevent the sort of attacks that have been taking place against the strikers.

The success of these pickets has been obvious. Scabs have been forced to turn back, while drivers of vans delivering to the factory have turned around and gone back.

The next step will be to draw in more support from the Manchester trade union movement—the AUEW District Committee have already pledged support for the strike.

Apart from organising and strengthening the mass pickets, which have drawn in forces from as far away as Liverpool, the Support Committee has contacted the Manchester dockers, who have promised solidarity action in the form of blacking of all ICI products. Blacking of this sort will have a devastating effect, and must be generalised throughout the country.

In Manchester we can build a campaign in solidarity with the In-

## Subscribe to Red Weekly!

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

DOMESTIC: £5 per year  
£2-50p for 6 months.

FOREIGN: £9 per year surface mail.  
£12 per year airmail.

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

