

RED WEEKLY

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24 MARCH 1977

No. 192

Price 10p

LABOUR'S CRISIS - WHO'S TO BLAME?

MARGARET THATCHER hovers like a vulture over the crippled body of the Labour Government.

As we go to press we do not know the outcome of Wednesday's vote of no confidence. But whether an election is held in the next month or the next year the Government's days are numbered.

All the signs are that such an election will bring back the Tories with a thumping majority. They will use this to attack working people with a viciousness not seen since the 1930s.

HORROR

This is a prospect which every working class militant must view with horror. But the Tories have not fought for a return to power. They have been given the chance on a spoon as silver as the one they were born with.

After three years, how could the 'natural party of government' be reduced to this sorry state, throwing in the towel before the first blows have even been struck?

Perhaps it has something to do with:

★ Nearly two million unemployed;

★ Inflation soaring towards 20 percent;

★ Wages dropping by £10 a week and more;

★ Billions of pounds cut from public spending which means hospitals closing and overcrowded schools;

★ Over 13 million on or near the poverty line, a rise of nearly a third since 1974;

★ Attacks on democratic rights — of journalists, women, and black and Irish people;

★ Attacks on the right to strike, threatening the Leyland toolmakers with the sack if they dared to stay out.

These are the 'achievements' of the Labour Government. And they wonder why they keep on losing the by-elections! Who is really responsible for Labour's crisis?

Countless people have lost their faith in the Labour Party which they created, worked for and voted for, generation after generation.

It is not the car workers who have made the working class disillusioned with the Labour

Government. It is not 'red under the beds' who have forgotten the principles of the socialist movement. It is the policies of the Labour Government which have done that.

OTHER

And it is not only members of the Government who are responsible. The other leaders of the labour movement — the union bosses — have worked hard to pave this road to disaster. Their support for the Social Contract has opened up the type of attacks working people have had to suffer in the last three years.

Whenever the election takes place Red Weekly will call for a vote for Labour.

But we will do much more than that. Already we are putting all our resources into ensuring that what has happened under this Labour Government will not happen again.

OPPOSITION

We are fighting to build an opposition of class struggle militants to take on anyone who dares to attack the working class, be it Callaghan, Scanlon or Thatcher.

Callaghan, Healey, Jones, Scanlon & Co



Labour's Crisis - Fighting Back

Gandhi crashes

THE VOTERS of Uttar Pradesh have thrown out India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her son and heir apparent Sanjay.

The Congress Party has gone down to an unprecedented defeat with the Janata opposition coalition winning an absolute majority of seats in the Lokh Sabah, the Indian House of Commons.

As striking as the defeat of Congress is the miserable performance of the Communist Party which has only a handful of seats. The Indian people have resound-

ingly rejected those parties which upheld the repression under the two year State of Emergency.

In Pakistan President Bhutto was returned to office with the help of widespread ballot-rigging. At least 45 people have been killed in violence in the past few days. The opposition parties have held demonstrations and called a strike to call for new elections.

Although, like the Indian opposition, the Pakistan National Alliance is a rotten block of right

wing parties, the fiercest opposition to the Bhutto regime has centred in the working class areas of major cities.

At the weekend the army took control of the industrial east and west districts of Karachi. All through the major cities tanks and armoured cars maintain Government control and impose rigid curfews.

★ Page 9 — TARIQ ALI writes on the downfall of the Congress Party.

SUPPORT LEYLAND CONFERENCE ON 3 APRIL

Workers condemn Scanlon's betrayal

BIRMINGHAM shop steward and Communist Party member, Jimmy Cope earned himself a minor place in history last Thursday, when, the East Birmingham District meeting of AUEW shop stewards took a motion condemning Hugh Scanlon and the rest of the AUEW Executive in their handling the toolroom dispute.

Of the approximately 300 members present, Cope was the only one to raise his hand and vote against.

Other members of the CP did vote to condemn Scanlon, and in doing so they were joined by everyone from traditional 'moderates' to revolutionaries. All had the same view — that the role Scanlon and the rest of the AUEW executive played when they backed management's threat to sack their own members was an affront to everything the trade union movement stands for.

The anger the stewards felt is difficult to exaggerate, and speaking to *Red Weekly* when the meeting ended, the sense of betrayal was strong:

* Ken Allen, AUEW Deputy Convenor, Rover Solihull: 'Scanlon and EC's attitude was disgraceful. For the EC to endorse management's statement was class collaboration'.

* Mick Rice, Chairperson Joint Shop Stewards Committee, Lucas BW3:

'Obviously my union leadership that agreed to the sackings need to be criticised — indeed they need to be removed. The feeling is not just amongst militants — even right wingers are disgusted with the EC'.

* Mick Hogan, Senior Steward, nights, T&T Drews Lane, Leyland:

'It was pure treachery by Scanlon. He sold us down the river, he sold the whole bloody union down the river. Its diabolical when unions and management come together to sack union members'.

DISGUSTING

* Larry Connolly, Broad Left candidate for secretaryship of East District AUEW, and Convenor of Joint Shop Stewards Committee, Lucas BW3:

'The union leadership lining up with employers against its own members is disgusting...The general view of ordinary members is that when it comes to the Social Contract, we not only have to fight the government and management, we have to take on Jones and Scanlon'.

There are exceptions to this 'general view' Connolly spoke of. Derek Robinson is an example, the Longbridge convenor and toolroom worker who had struck such militant poses against incomes policy only a month ago. According to Connolly, 'Robinson is saying what Jones and Scanlon are saying — we can't afford strikes against nationalised industries'.

Derek Robinson, like Jimmy Cope, is a member of the Communist Party. If the betrayal of Scanlon and Jones, will be remembered by carworkers long after the toolroom issue is settled, so too will the role of the Communist Party in that dispute.

Through the editorials of the *Morning Star*, the Communist Party urged immediate capitulation to the blackmail threats of Leyland management, the Government and the union bureaucracy, saying, 'the continuation of the strike can only lead to further divisiveness between one section of workers and another and British Leyland.' (*Morning Star* 16.3.77)

OPPOSING

On the contrary the opposite was taking place. As Larry Connolly testifies: 'The toolmakers had tremendous support. It would have been possible to get whole sections supporting them'. As Mick Hogan puts it, 'What the toolmakers did was good. I'm semi-skilled, but whatever they get reflects on the shop floor...as far as my shop floor goes they will get massive backing if they go out again'.

This was the sort of unity that was beginning to be forged around the toolmakers. Those divisions that did exist among carworkers were those promoted by Scanlon and the other leaders of the 21 unions in the car industry. And in the name of 'unity' they were joined by the *Morning Star*, Derek Robinson and those other CP members who took them at their words like Jimmy Cope.

The two pronged strategy of the Communist Party — cooperation with management in the 'nationalised' industries and their alliance with the 'lefts' — have put them firmly in the camp of the Leyland strike-breakers.

DEFEND

But the toolmakers, whatever the limited nature of their original demands, are now seeing with thousands of other workers, that the Social Contract has become a declaration of war on those who dare to defend their living standards, their jobs or services against this Labour Government.

It is the policies of the Social Contract that pave the way for the Tories, not the struggle against it. As Larry Connolly says: 'More and more members are saying that if the Government falls, it won't be us that brings down that Government; it'll be the



Leyland toolroom workers conference.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

NO DEFEAT FOR TOOLROOM WORKERS

There was no atmosphere of defeat as the Amalgamated Engineering Workers Union.

Certainly it was not a victory — the issue of different rates throughout the country remains to be settled, but the determination of the toolmakers to resolve that issue in their favour has not been dampened by the return to work. As one toolmaker said after the meeting, 'if we don't get them talking on the right lines we can always have another go'.

SUPPORT

The willingness to 'have another go' must be all the stronger for the magnificent support the toolmakers received and were promised throughout the dispute.

Promises of solidarity action came from throughout the car and car component industry. There were walk-outs at factories in

Birmingham, Derby and Leicester.

Toolmakers at factories outside of the Leyland combine — such as those at Rolls Royce and Fords promised support. On television wives of Coventry carworkers spoke of their 100 per cent support for the toolmakers claim.

This support reflected a number of things. There was the anger at the threats of management, Government and union leadership to sack the toolroom workers for insisting on their right to strike.

There was the determination of workers throughout the car industry to answer these threats with a display of unity and solidarity. Most of all there was the knowledge that whatever the precise nature of the toolroom workers' demands, whatever the limitation of those demands, what was at the root of the whole dispute was the fall in living standards the toolroom workers had suffered.

DISHONESTY

And who but the most craven class collaborator could identify with the actions of Leyland management? One small example testifies to the depths of dishonesty to which these bosses sank — a speech made on 16 March by David Andrews, Managing Director of Leyland International.

Speaking from the safety of Geneva, Andrews talked of the 'alarming impact of Leyland's daily dozen strikes', and proclaimed 'our recent industrial troubles — and I am not referring solely to the toolmakers — have undone two years hard work by Leyland International'.

The familiar theme of 'its all the workers fault', confrontation and threatened mass sackings made up the 1930s version of 'industrial relations' which Roy Fraser referred to during the strike. How hard Andrews and Co. want to screw down the Leyland workforce is shown by the fact that he could make this statement after productivity has been jacked up by 11 per cent last year — three times the average in the car industry.

the toolroom workers' determination to gain a decent wage for their labour power. They may not have won the victory militants who supported them throughout the country would have wanted, but one judgement is undeniable — that by taking on the Government, the unions and the union leadership, in the battle over the falling standards of living, the Leyland toolroom workers have made it easier for all working people to continue and intensify that fight.

They took on the Government, the bosses, the union leaders and the press but their actions have shown that the best way to defeat Phase 3 is by taking on phase 2 now

Divide & rule

Ivor Clemitson, Labour MP for Luton East who is Parliamentary Secretary to the (un)Employment Minister, has stated a new way to solve unemployment — for men that is. Last week in Parliament he suggested that working wives' earnings should be so highly taxed that they would not want to work. Men could then fill their jobs. Who's next on the list, Mr Clemitson? Blacks? Car-workers?

BOOKMARX CLUB

New Book Club for Socialists

Selections for second quarter 1977 (starts 1st April)

First Shop Stewards Movement

James Hinton

The Disposed

Ursula LeGuin

God's Bits of Wood

Sembene Ousmane

A New World for Women; Stella Browne

Sheila Rowbotham

All the above, together with notes, etc sent in return for £4.50 quarters sub.

Details: Bookmarx Club,

Bristol Solidarity

THE SUPPORT the Leyland toolroom workers were starting to receive is illustrated by what happened at the Rolls Royce plant at Bristol.

On Tuesday 15 March, after they had heard of Scanlon's threats toolroom workers at the Rodney and Patchway factories called a mass meeting and voted for a stoppage with the Leyland workers.

All the toolroom workers stayed out on Wednesday, and that night a very angry picket of

200 toolroom workers demonstrated outside the meeting of the Bristol District Committee of the AUEW.

The pickets demanded the District Committee condemn Scanlon's blackmail, and although the committee is dominated by an unholy alliance of the right wing and the Communist Party, the pressure of the pickets persuaded it to back the toolroom workers' stand.

AUEW LOBBY CALLED

As well as condemning the role Scanlon and the AUEW executive played in the toolroom dispute, the East Birmingham District of the AUEW also voted to lobby the AUEW National Committee which meets in Eastbourne from 2 to 7 May. The lobby is to show the strength of rank and file feeling against any acceptance of another stage of the Social Contract. *Red Weekly* urges all AUEW members

How to smash the Social Contract

If further arguments were needed to build the 3 April Conference called by Leyland shop stewards on wage control the events in the car industry in the past few weeks have provided them in abundance.

The attacks on the toolroom workers by the Labour Government and the endorsement of those attacks by the union bureaucracy have revealed the crying need for this 'rank and file TUC', as the organisers are calling it. More than ever, rank and file action is needed to force national strike action against the Social Contract.

Proposals for action by the Leyland stewards' leadership will be placed firmly in the framework of the Communist Party's strategy, the dominant political force amongst the organisers of the Conference. The CP seeks to limit the campaign to restoring 'free collective bargaining in August' through influencing negotiations over Phase 3.

BACKING

It will be on this basis that the organisers are likely to propose backing the call made by the Liasion Committee in Defence of Trade Unions for national strike action when Parliament reassembles, probably 19 April.

The call for strike action is welcome and must be supported, but steps must be taken to challenge the conception of 19 April held by the Communist Party.

A simple demand for a return to free collective bargaining is insufficient; working class militants need alternative policies around which they can fight and organise. An example is contained in the resolution which the East Birmingham branch of the health

workers' union, COHSE, is submitting to the 3 April Conference.

These COHSE delegates will be calling for making 19 April a day of national strike action against the Social Contract; for the restoration of all wage losses under Phases 1 and 2; and for automatic protection of wages and public service budgets against inflation by a sliding scale of wages and spending.

SIMILAR

Delegates from Manchester East AUEW/TASS will be fighting for similar policies.

The political dominance the CP will have at the Conference will make it highly probable that the delegates will never even hear the case for such a fighting strategy for 19 April. But an important way to help ensure that these policies are put forward on 19 April, whatever may happen on 3 April, is to take up the call made by the LCDTU for building local committees.

These committees should be turned into fighting bodies — not merely pressure groups arguing against Phase 3. The best way to ensure Phase 3 never arrives is to smash Phase 2 and to encourage and build support for struggles that are fighting the Social Contract: not just the wages aspect of the con trick, but every aspect of it, be it the cuts, the attacks on women's rights, or whatever.

But the opportunity to unite all those forces already willing to fight for such policies comes next Sunday, in Birmingham when the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, holds a recall conference on wages.

This Conference provides an

excellent opportunity for welding together the unity of those in the trade unions who are willing to fight for anti-capitalist policies, against the attempts of the Communist Party to reduce the struggle against the Social Contract to one of pressure on the union leaders — the policy which leads to their opposition to the toolmakers' strike and all struggles which seriously threaten Phase 2.

Unfortunately the dominant political current in the organising committee for the Conference, the Workers Socialist League, extend their correct hostility to the political objectives of the Communist Party into hostility against all actions called by the Liasion Committee for Defence of Trade Unions.

The 16 March edition of their paper *Socialist Press* con-

demns the Socialist Teachers' Alliance for supporting the initiatives called by the Liasion Committee. The logical conclusion of such a position is to

inflate the significance of the CDLM to the point where, according to Alan Thornett, the forces supporting the recall Conference are in a situation where they could lead the mass movement against Phase 2.

This sort of phrasemongering owes much to the sort of tactics pursued by the Workers' Revolutionary Party in building their All Trade Union Alliance — a wholesale rejection of the tactic of the united front in the trade unions.

BUILDING

It will only be by building rank and file tendencies such as the STA and the Engineering Voice in the AUEW, by mobilising support for 3 April and the day of proposed strikes on 19 April along the policies outlined above that more and more workers will be won over to the programme offered by the CDLM Conference.

The militants who attend the CDLM Conference can start the process of building on the programme towards a class struggle opposition in the labour movement. The first step that the Conference could take towards that goal is to support the call of *Red Weekly* for a united intervention into the Leyland stewards 3 April Conference.



ALAN THORNETT

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Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



LANDORS is a small firm employing not many more than a hundred workers in an old factory in Digbeth, Birmingham — the sort of factory that makes you wish that the Nazis hadn't missed it in the War.

Landors management have taken advantage of high youth unemployment to pay exceptionally low wages. £24 is the mark with compulsory overtime. Health and safety standards are non-existent.

The strikers have not received a penny strike pay although they have now been out for six weeks and the District Committee has recommended official recognition.

The only support has come from Birmingham Engineering Voice supporters who have organised meetings in local factories asking for finance and help on the picket lines.

Callaghan's Death Rattle

As we go to print we do not know whether the Labour Government will fall as a result of the Tories' no-confidence motion in Parliament. But of one fact we are certain. We are hearing the death rattle of this Labour Government.

The responsibility for this situation lies with the Callaghan-Healey leadership and the policies which they and their trade union allies have pushed down the throats of the working class.

It is these policies which have lost Labour by-election after by-election, given a massive boost to the Scottish and Welsh nationalists and driven significant numbers of voters into the fold of the fascist National Front and National Party. The Labour Government has failed to move towards granting the minimal democratic demand of self-determination for the Scottish and Welsh people. This means that they stand to lose at least seventeen parliamentary seats in any election in Scotland.

This is one indication of the opposition to the dumping of this policy. Callaghan's 'I'll deal with anyone' stance has meant a continuation of Wilson's deal with Powell. Labour ministers have negotiated with Ulster Unionists for a further crackdown on the Catholic population in the North. The Liberal's demand for a halt to all further nationalisation has in practice been conceded long ago by this Government.

Not one of the 'lefts' has dared even to suggest that Callaghan immediately cease all such negotiations. They will continue their complicity in the anti-working class policies of the Government. They seek to cover up their role in this shambles. Their failure to launch any serious fight against incomes policy, the cuts and unemployment inside or outside of Parliament indicts them alongside Callaghan and Healey.

Of course the Government of the Labour Party — the majority party of the working class — should be defended against the attacks of the Tories. But there is no iron law which says the Labour must always be supported.

Equally it must be brought to account for the anti-working class policies which have brought about the present debacle. If the issue now were a challenge to these policies and a fight were launched through the mass struggles of the working class to bring down the Government, on that basis we would not lift a finger in its defence.

As far as we are concerned it is better for the working class to mobilise against their own leadership, in the struggle to create an alternative, rather than have those leaders let off the hook by the return of a Tory Government.

The outcome of this political crisis, whether or not the Government falls, can only mean one thing — a declaration of war on the working class.

The literary representatives of the ruling class in Fleet Street, with the exception of the *Telegraph* still think that job can best be done by the maintenance of a Labour Government for the sole purpose of concluding Phase 3 of incomes policy. But they are not over-confident that the Labour Government can hold the line against the sort of struggles which the toolmakers have unleashed over the last month.

The Tory Party is not so high-minded. For Thatcher scents the possibility of Parliamentary landslide.

But whoever is in office Phase 2 will remain, fixed in legislation until August. The main task now must be to sweep away Phase 2 as the best way of preventing the resumption of a further attack on living standards, services and jobs.

But the crisis at the level of the Labour leaders is paralleled by the crisis of the trade unions. The decision of the print union NATSOPA's leadership to declare the membership of 120 workers at *The Times* 'null and void', the joint threat of Scanlon, the Leyland bosses and the Government to urge the sacking of striking toolmakers means a crisis of leadership as a whole in the labour movement.

The Communist Party, by its failure to back the toolroom workers, has shown once again that its strategy of alliance with the left bureaucrats means that it is incapable of building an alternative in the labour movement to the likes of Jones and Scanlon.

On the contrary, experience has shown that when it comes to the crunch they will side with them against the mass struggle.

The first step towards building a left wing based on the politics of class struggle rather than class collaboration is the unity of all those who stand opposed to the Social Contract and are committed to mass action against it.

An alliance on this basis would have a vital role to play both in the labour movement and to provide a political alternative to the betrayals of Labour. This is the only alternative to the betrayals of the Labour traitors. It is the only way to fight the threat of the most determined and most vicious Tory Government.

Labour's Crisis - Fighting Back

DOCKERS STORM TRANSPORT HOUSE

Thirty thousand dockers defied Jack Jones on Monday by taking national unofficial strike action. A march on Transport House was the scene of an angry confrontation between Jones and his members, who demanded National Strike Action. The one day stoppage was called to oppose plans of Preston's Tory Council to close the town's ports. Closure would put 1750 jobs on the chopping block. It would be the first time since 1944 that registered dockers have faced the sack.

The decision to take unofficial action was made at a meeting in Preston last month. One hundred shop stewards from 22 major ports mapped out how to fight this latest attack on dockers' jobs — increasingly pushed to the wall in the interests of 'profits'.

Jones' response to the decision when it was taken was immediate. He quickly tried to put the damper on. Strike action was just a bit too severe, in his opinion. He readily told Fleet Street that 'any talk of strike action is definitely jumping the gun'.

PROMISES

The dockers took the risk and 'jumped the gun', rather than rely on the strength of promises which have all been broken in the past. They were joined by other workers in the industry.

In Humberside, for example, ancillary workers in the fish trade backed the dockers' action. In Grimsby and Immingham — where 400 dockers have already been on strike for a week over a manning dispute — 200 'lumpers' in the fish dock also came out.

Jack Jones' alternative for the dockers was, as Vice-Chairman of the National Ports Council, to put forward the 'radical' measure of relying on this body to call for an investigation.

Transport Secretary William Rodgers has backed up Jones' call for an investigation, now due to report by the end of the month. However, Rodgers has made it clear that any financial assistance under the Industry Act would only be forthcoming if

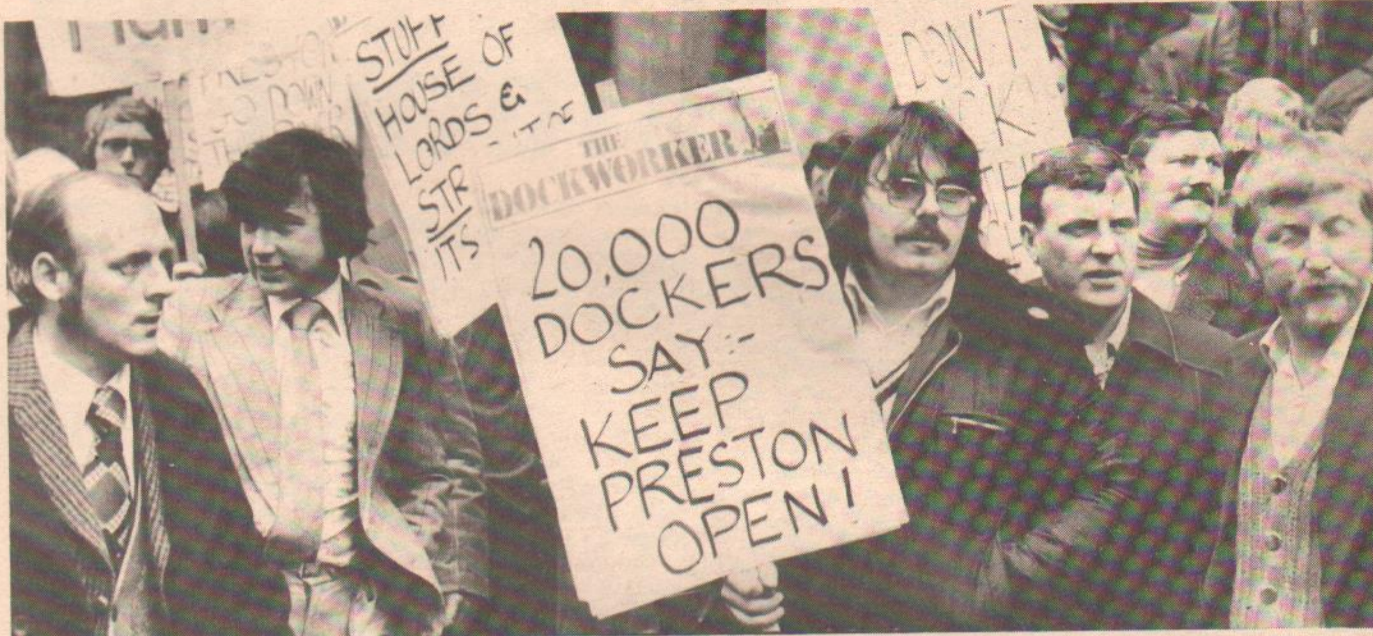


Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

'Jack the Rat' was the dockers' slogan as they occupied Transport House.

the report is able to prove the future 'viability' of Preston ports. The jobs of 1750 dock workers do not figure in Rodgers' concerns.

The response of the Tory Council to the Report, when published, is not hard to guess. The Council has made it clear they see the ports as 'a running sore'.

The dockers will go ahead with their fight, despite Jones' inactivity. But one-day strikes on their own will not solve the madness in the docks which has wiped out the jobs of 20,000 workers since 1968.

What is needed is an organised fight throughout the country for the nationalisation of the docks, under the control of the dockers themselves. This is the way to ensure that dockers in the smaller ports, like Preston, will not be thrown into the same scrap heap as other workers' affected by the introduction of containerisation.

It is also the way to ensure that a strong challenge is levied against Jones' policies. They are designed to do little other than to preserve his Holy Alliance with the Labour Government, at the expense of his members jobs and living standards.

Lamb in Wolf's Clothing

DO YOU REMEMBER the man who stood up on 17 November 1976 and called for the nationalisation of the banks? 'Public services should not be sacrificed to the demands of the international financiers', he thundered.

Surely he is no relation to the man who stands squarely behind Scanlon and Jones in their support for the wages policy of the Social Contract. 'In a free for all it is the ones with the biggest muscle who get the most', he says, rather less thunderously.

As you will have guessed already, they are the same person —

Alan Fisher, general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees, the fifth largest union in the country.

Somewhere the 'muscle' which Fisher intended to use to nationalise the banks has turned to flab. Fleet Street is no doubt relieved to find that their Public Enemy Number 2 (after Tony 'send in the troops' Benn) has turned out to be a lamb in wolf's clothing.

The phenomenal growth of NUPE — an increase of 300,000 since 1968 — has been based on its anti-cuts campaign.

But even this was not all it was

made out to be. Aided by one of the most undemocratic of all union structures, Fisher has mapped out plans for the fight against cuts which all share one common feature. They are all based on regional or local protest action rather than the all-out national action which is needed to reverse the cuts.

The 17 November demonstration, in many ways a massive show of opposition to the cuts, only drew together representatives of NUPE branches: 'The intention is not to disrupt essential services but to make sure there is good attendance at the lobby', a NUPE official told Red Weekly at the time.

But when it comes to wages you will listen in vain for the left noises. On pay policy he hasn't

even gone through the motions, preferring to build a brick wall between the anti-cuts campaign and the fight against the Social Contract.

His most recent statement makes an appeal to the supposed sectional interests of public sector workers. Without questioning the policy of pay restraint he launches into the terms under which it would be acceptable. Not tax concessions, he says, and goes into his usual speech on the need to reverse the cuts.

It is no surprise, then, that many rank and file militants are concluding that Fisher's words are not enough. Thatchbury Mount Hospital near Southampton is a case in point.

A black worker at the hospital has been sacked for alleged

cruelty to patients. Workers felt that this had racist overtones and was being used to blame workers for the appalling conditions.

A 24-hour strike was held earlier in the month and a meeting was called for 23 March to discuss further action on working conditions.

The 'Save Our Hospitals' conference, attended by 220 health workers in London last weekend, also pointed to the need for independent rank and file action. It voted almost unanimously against the Social Contract and

for support for the 22 March lobby of the NHS unions, the 3 April 'rank and file TUC' and the national strike action against the Social Contract on 19 April.

An amendment from the Hammersmith Hospital Joint Shop Stewards Committee, calling for a national rank and file conference of hospital shop stewards in the autumn was supported. This kind of conference will provide an opportunity to thrash out the policies needed to build a socialist opposition to the NHS union leaders.

GENERAL STRIKE IN HULL

'It's about time that the trade union officials came out from behind their desks to give a lead'. Following these words by Hull Trades Council Secretary, a meeting of 500 shop stewards voted for a local general strike on 30 March.

The increasing anger in the Hull working class about the 16,000 unemployed and the bite of the cuts ensured that the local bureaucrats had to take some action.

David Cairns, regional secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union was a prime mover in the call for a complete one-day stoppage. In the past Cairns has been only too willing to glibly equate the fight for socialism with 'blood on the streets'. Last Wednesday, a different Cairns appeared. The socialist rhetoric poured out. One of his more daring ventures was his call to 'challenge the bourgeoisie'. Of course he forgot to say if he had a strategy to do it.

Humberside a development status area! This demand suits the bureaucrats to a 'T'. It allows them to play on the isolation of the Hull workers from the rest of the labour movement. They are able to present the city's problems as the 'people' of Hull against everyone else.

Even the local CBI were asked to help the stoppage! But these gentlemen, slightly embarrassed at having to put the interests of the 'people' above their own class interests, declined. They took the opportunity, however, to suggest that the mass demonstration might more profitably take place outside of working hours!

LIMITED

Although Cairns — and other bureaucrats in the TGWU — will be increasingly forced to take some steps in the fightback, these will remain limited. These leaders are not interested in a serious fight against unemployment and the cuts because that would require an all-out struggle against the Social Contract.

The refusal of the so-called leaders to mount an effective fight needs to be hammered home. To prevent the workers being led even further down the blind alley of fighting for local concession from the Government, a united fight to save jobs and cuts is needed.

In the meantime, as the Labour County Council claims its opposition to unemployment and cuts, notice has been given of yet another round of cuts, meaning another 700 jobs lost on Humberside. As the working class of Hull wake up and begin to flex their muscle, the left must be prepared to put the interests of the entire workers' movement ahead of their narrow party building stunts. A united socialist opposition is the only real way for socialist demands to be taken up within the ranks of the Hull labour movement.

SELL OUTS

However, despite this new militant face, Cairns and other local bureaucrats proved to be quite content to follow in the well-worn footsteps of sell-outs, left behind by Jack Jones. With the same lack of respect for democracy which Jones has shown in the past, the bureaucrats managed to control the meeting so well that the Social Contract was not even mentioned, never mind attacked.

The one-day stoppage decided by the meeting will be an important step in taking the struggle of the working class forward in Hull. However, it is essentially a protest action to pressurise the Government.

Demands such as opening the books, sliding scale of wages, and nationalisation of firms declaring redundancies — which could be a basis for an effective fightback — remained printed sentences on the leaflets distributed by revolutionary militants at the meeting.

The main demand which came forward to deal with the crisis was for the Government to make



Voting at the Save Our Hospitals Conference in London last weekend.

21 April - 'DAY FOR TRANSPORT'

Jack Jones' calls to 'give a year for Britain' and to 'work like a beaver' don't wash with bus workers any longer. That's the message of the first issue of The Busworker produced in Northallerton, North Yorkshire last week. The planned national 'Day for Transport' on 21 April in defence of services and 6000 threatened jobs will show that activists in the bus industry in North Yorkshire are not alone in the fight to reverse Labour's transport policies.

The bureaucrats of the transport unions have showed how unwilling they are to launch the mass action necessary to halt the projected £75 million further Government cuts in transport.

The TGWU leadership, for example, has gone to great lengths

Government. It has decided to spend £40,000 to £50,000 of union funds in its 'campaign'. But far from basing the campaign on actions which the rank and file militants have been forced to take, they are allocating the money to a souped-up media campaign.

London militants made it clear at a meeting last month that projects like the 'Save our Services' campaign — run by a public relations firm totally outside of the control of transport union members — was not the answer.

In North Yorkshire, a demonstration outside County Hall showed another way forward. The Busworker put out a call for a campaign 'to win the membership to a fighting programme against

Action like the one-day strike proposed in The Busworker, if based on demands for workers' control over the industry, is the only way to fight against the inactivity of the bureaucrats and to save services and jobs in the bus industry.

Proposed cuts in North Yorkshire could mean the closure of three local bus depots and a drastic reduction in services. The county Council bureaucrats have been let off the hook by the union leadership's inactivity. They have been given a free rein to continue in their policies of support for Labour's cuts in subsidies for buses. A full 25% of current services are thus at risk, on a national scale.

Policies put forward in The

of all bus companies declaring redundancies, for wage increases to be kept in line with inflation, and for a 35-hour week without loss of pay provide a good basis for beginning to group bus workers in different depots throughout the country in defence of their jobs.

Its call for an immediate reduction in fares — coupled with the call from workers attending the London transport union meeting for a free fare day on 21 April — are first steps towards ensuring that the transport system operates in the interests of the working class, and not solely for the profit-hungry firms which Labour condones.

Derek Stainsby-Tron [8/82 Branch

SSA - Serious alternative to Broad Left in NUS

The massive wave of student occupations against tuition fee increases is coming to an end with the start of the Easter vacation. The failures of the current National Union of Students during the campaign will however not go un-noticed at the bi-annual conference of the NUS which starts this Sunday in Blackpool.

The Broad Left leadership will be asking for a mandate to continue their disastrous policies and will be hoping for Tory support to maintain their dominant position in the National Executive.

A new grouping, the Socialist Students Alliance established in February, is committed to uniting students around an alternative socialist perspective to that of the Broad Left. This is its biggest test so far.

The most lively debate of the conference is likely to be around the motions on overseas students and tuition fees. Massive dissatisfaction will be expressed over the demands and strategy pursued by the NUS leaders.

Their policy has been limited to opposing fee increases for self-supporting students. The result has been to divide students, selling out those on discretionary awards whose grants will be withdrawn because of increased local authority expenditure on fees.

The NUS relies on 'institutional consensus' with the college authorities, failing to arm students against the use of the courts and the police which has been used by 'liberals' like Ralf Dahrendorf at the LSE to carry through the Government's policy.

After the experience of the recent campaign Steve Moon, the Tories Presidential candidate, can say of the Broad Left in his manifesto, 'the increased willingness of the present leadership to discard the tokenist toys of mindless militancy is a sign of belated maturity'. That coming from someone whose party proposes even more massive cuts is an indictment of the ineffectual Broad Left strategy.

The historic compromise between the Tories and the Broad Left in the NUS comes a step closer in the debate on constitutional changes. A joint resolution from the executive and the Tory controlled Birmingham University aims to rid the union of the pre-conference compositing of motions that was instituted only twelve months ago. The reason for this change was to allow meetings in the colleges to mandate their delegates on the finalised motions before the conference took place.

This has hindered the Broad Left so they are lining up with the Tories, who in many colleges have crushed democratic organisation, in a move to reduce democracy in the national union.

In the debate on racism and fascism the NUS leaders will be unlikely to maintain their base of support in their second joint attempt with the Tories to drop the unions 'no platform policy'. An influential section of Broad Left supporters have submitted their own amendment urging retention of the policy.

The other debates will be on, grants and cuts, college closures, the education debate and the development of union organisation in the Further Education sector. This will be the first time that a resolution has been discussed specifically on the FE sector. Unfortunately separating this issue



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

from the way in which NUS can take its campaigns into the smaller colleges will result in no real changes taking place.

The non existence of the grants campaign, the concentration on service provision and the selling out of FE students in the fees campaign have directly hindered the development of FE union organisation. The same is true of the debate on college closures. The willingness of these students to

fight was shown dramatically last summer. The main problem was the Executive's strategy for the campaign and their derailing of actions that went beyond the confines of protest. But it is the election of a new national executive, which will dominate the press coverage. Six slates are contesting the elections. The Federation of Conservative Students and the newly formed Labour Students Group both stand for a less democratic union committed to supporting the government's attacks on students and workers. The Union of Liberal Students can be expected to generally take a right wing majority position. The three left slates are the Broad Left, the National Organisation of IS Societies (NOISS) and the Socialist Students Alliance.

The essentials of the Broad Left's positions are contained in the manifesto of their presidential candidate, Sue Slipman. She claims that the main divisions in the students movement are between those for maintaining the unity of the union and those against. She adds that the task of NUS 'is to defend democratic institutions and extend their responsiveness to peoples needs'. She thus ignores that the main divisions are between those for and against a fight back now against the Government's attacks. Her jargon is cover for her position that action to defend student living standards in alliance with the working class, must be subordinate to the long term vision of the return of a left Labour Government. The continuation of Broad Left control in the union will only aid the rightward drift in the membership.

The NOISS slate on the other hand do offer an alternative to the compromise politics of the Broad Left. They are committed to a campaigning NUS that forges alliances with the working class. Their weakness is their failure to recognise that a mass based alternative to the Broad Left will not be constructed around one organisation posturing as the self-proclaimed opposition.

Without expressing any differences with the programme of the Socialist Students Alliance they have stubbornly refused to consider a united alternative, putting the interests of their own organisation above those of a serious political and electoral challenge to the Broad Left and the right.

The Socialist Students Alliance has been formed with the intention of uniting the different elements of the left around a programme of action which encompasses all the major issues facing students. Hugh Lanning, a long standing opponent of the Broad Left is the SSA's presidential candidate. Lanning and the other candidates on the slate do not see the SSA candidacy as merely a way of popularising socialist ideas but as a credible and serious alternative leadership for the NUS. That leadership is essential to defeating the long term project of the Federation of Conservative Students to de-politicise the student movement.

The Tories showed their true colours at UMIST in Manchester only last week. At last Thursday's union meeting a debate on Palestine was prevented from taking place when writs were served on students participating at the beginning of the meeting. The writs cited a clause of the union's constitution which states that the 'union shall not discuss political or sectarian matters'. The writs were sought by a leading member of the local FCS, Tony Corcoran and Zionist students.

Seeing this a clear attempt to gag political debate in the union two thirds of the 300 strong meeting stayed behind for an unofficial debate and decided to launch a campaign to get rid of the clause and the use of writs in the union.

An alternative is urgently needed that can organise students in opposition to the Governments attacks and the threats from the right. The showing of the SSA in this week's conference will be crucial to the success of such a process.

School students join Fightback

TWO YOUNG PEOPLE in Leeds are at present facing charges under the notorious 1936 Public Order Act. The charge is of distributing leaflets 'of an abusive and insulting nature' that were likely to cause a breach of the peace. The leaflets distributed at a Leeds school pointed out the existence of the National Union of School Students and questioned many of the petty rules of local schools.

Whilst the two were held for six hours before being charged, their homes were raided without a warrant, their solicitor was denied access to them for two hours and one was interrogated by two Special Branch officers.

As their defence committee pointed out, 'the arrests were obviously designed to prevent leaflets of a radical nature being handed out to school students. The Public Order Act is a very convenient way of doing this.'

The occupation of a school in East London last week by 50

pupils protesting against cuts in expenditure shows one reason why the authorities may be so afraid of such leaflets.

Whilst all this is going on the National Union of Teachers have attempted to stop the National Union of School Students being represented even in the 'great education debate'. The school students can be an important force in opposing the government's proposals on education.

Militants all over the country should support the rights of school students by -

* Sending messages of support and donations to the defence campaign.

* Raising the issue in your trade union or student union.

* Supporting the picket of the trial on 29 April at Leeds magistrates court.

Write to: City of Leeds Two Defence Campaign, c/o 153, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2, West Yorks.

CHE calls for Gay conference

ATTACKS on gay people have increased noticeably in recent months.

There has been large-scale police intimidation of gay men in Bradford, Cornwall and Belfast. Large numbers of gay men [over 100 in each case] have been 'questioned'. People have been:

- * visited at work without warning;
- * had fingerprints and photographs taken against their will;
- * been subject to police surveillance at home and at social gatherings;
- * been the subject of police blackmail.

In each case there have been no charges, just threats. Meanwhile Gay News, the only national paper for gay people, is being sued for blasphemy under an

of minority groups, who are being blamed for the capitalist crisis.

Gay people will only be able to defend basic rights through an organised fight back in the labour movement. Groups of gay workers have already formed in a number of unions. A one-day conference for trades union delegates has been organised for Saturday 2 April at the National Union of Furniture Trades Operatives, 14 Jockeys Fields, London WC1, from 11am-6pm.

* Prospective delegates should write to Richard McCance, 26 Westhill Road, Brighton BN1 3RT. Fee £1.

Sessions and workshops will discuss the relation between the gay movement and the trade unions. The aim is to formulate a strategy for action among the rank and file of the trade union move-

Grunwick strike escalates



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

The need for a national blacking of the infamous Grunwicks was brought home last week with two incidents on the picket line. On 15 March, Konati Petal, claims he was assaulted by George Ward, managing director of Grunwicks as he was standing alone on the picket line.

The Willesden police were nowhere to be seen when the incident occurred. But soon afterwards Jack Dromey, secretary of Brent Trades

Council, was arrested by the police for 'insulting behaviour' after he called the boys in blue 'company police'.

But this type of behaviour has not succeeded in intimidating the strikers who have been out 30 weeks over union recognition and victimisation. On 18 March over 200 representatives of the local labour movement joined a mass picket line in support of the strikers.

Police avenge Notting Hill riot

Eighteen black teenagers in the Islington area of North London are now facing the most incredible and vicious charges in a police attempt to intimidate black people and gain revenge for the Notting Hill riot.

All eighteen are charged that 'between 21 August and 21 October (you) conspired together and with persons unknown to commit robberies'. This catch-all charge is so vague that it is very difficult to defend; nothing specific has to be proved.

One of the youths is charged that 'on a day unknown in the months of August and September 1976 at Sussex Way N19 (he) did rob a man unknown of approximately £4 cash'.

The police coordinated their attack by rounding up some youth and taking them to several police stations. Through intimidation, the cops got the names of other kids and took a total of 26 into custody.

During this period a reign of terror was inflicted on blacks in Holloway and Islington. Black youth were beaten up, their parents intimidated, teenagers kept inside without their parents being informed.

No doubt the police are happy with the result. Eighteen kids aged 14 to 19 have been fitted up. They all face serious charges, some related to the Notting Hill carnival, with a maximum possible sentence of life imprisonment. Eleven of the youth are out on bail. They have to report daily to the police and stay home from

to check on them. The other six are still inside after five months, having been refused bail on the grounds that they were dangerous criminals. For example, one 16 year old already has a record - when 12 years old he was convicted of nicking 4p! Another had been done for stealing a sandwich.

This case, which comes up on 25 April is probably the most serious and determined attack yet by the police on black people in Britain. It also represents a legal offensive against the whole working class. The police and some of the mass media want black people to be identified with crime. They want blacks to be the enemy.

To fight this attack the Islington 18 Defence Committee deserves all the support and donations they can get and more. Their address is c/o Islington Community Law Centre, 161 Hornsey Road, London N7.

Red Weekly supports their demands:

- * Immediate dropping of these framed up charges;
- * Full legal aid for all with free choice of solicitors;
- * We call on all local labour movement organisations to join with the Defence Committee in carrying out an enquiry into the actions of the police and especially Inspector Millham and Sergeant Gallagher;
- * Jobs for all youth and an end to cheap labour schemes such as 'job creation' and 'community industry'. We call for an increase in the direct labour force and a programme of public works to create jobs at proper union rates.

This is Labour's Stechford

At his press conference last Friday, Labour and Leyland management candidate, Terry Davis, said that the major local issue in the Stechford by-election was housing.

There are good reasons for

working people in Stechford to be angry about their housing conditions. But for Terry Davis to try to blame, as he did last Friday, the lack of repairs and lack of redevelopment on the Tory-controlled Birmingham

council is a cynical attempt to shift the responsibility from the Labour Government.

The national cuts policies of the Labour Government have been endorsed and enthusiastically carried out by the local Tories.



★ Last year Birmingham was allocated £6 million for the council to buy houses and issue freehold loans. Next year the total is to be £2 million. For the first time there is to be a ceiling on the money available for improvement loans.

The original plans of the Labour Party were to improve and redevelop 70,000 houses in Birmingham. All that has now been scrapped, thanks to the national policies of Labour and the local policies of the Tories. Already plans to declare two

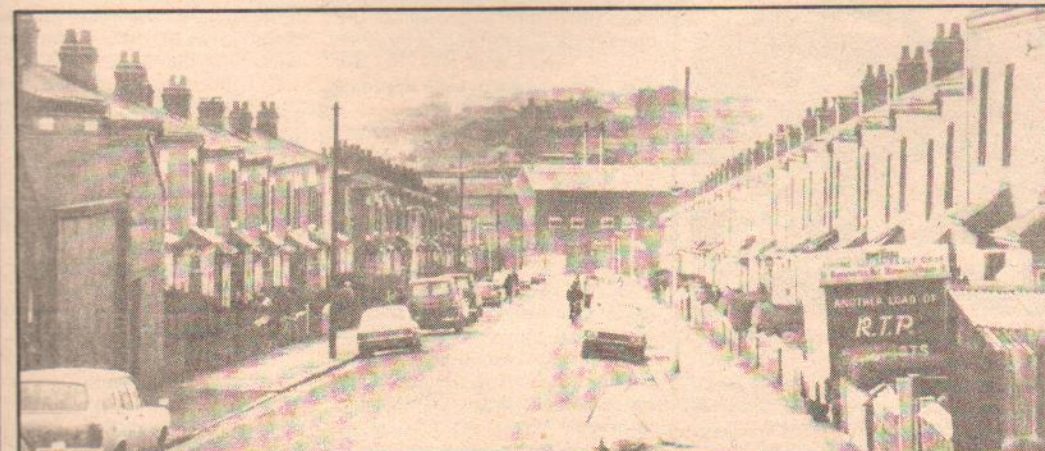
General Improvement Areas in the Washwood Heath area of Stechford have been postponed. Council modernisation and repair programmes have also been slashed.



★ This is most definitely not the area in which former Birmingham Labour Party leader Sir Frank Price lives. Sir Frank is still a member of the local Labour Party's Town and Planning Sub-Committee, whose contribution to Labour's programme for 1976 said, 'Before the Property Boom burst a few small fortunes were made out of developments which went ahead without adequate attention being paid to the disruption involved for ordinary working

people'. Sir Frank should certainly know something about the property business. In the late 1960s he teamed up with local Tory leader, Neville Bosworth, to go into property development himself. They formed a London-based company, Abmore Marden [Midlands] Ltd, which in 1967 became Birmingham Midlands Investments. Business prospered and in 1968, Price and Bosworth formed a subsidiary company.

In 1970 the companies, of which Price was chairman, were taken over by the large speculators Guardian Properties, in which Sir Frank became a director. Shares increased from 25p to 173p, making a tidy profit for all concerned, before the company finally went bust. But Price is still a partner in the estate agents Alexander Stevens and a director in several other companies including Comprehensive Developments Associates.



★ The housing crisis can be solved. Many of the working people in Stechford are owner occupiers who suffer crippling mortgage payments, often to fringe banks who charge an exorbitant interest rate of anything up to 25 per cent.

campaign by all exploited working class leaseholders and mortgage holders to organise a rate and interest payment strike in reply to the exploitation of the fringe banks and the investment strike of the building societies.

ship, under control of the local action committees. Such a campaign would then give a real impetus for the realisation of the long-held demand of the Labour Party: for the taking into public ownership of the building societies and for the nation-

Health steward backs Heron

According to the Government-sponsored Regional Allocation Working Party, Birmingham is an 'affluent health area'. This came as something of a surprise to the 20,000 people on Birmingham's in-patients waiting list. It was also a surprise considering that, even before the recent cuts in the National Health Service, Birmingham was virtually bottom of the NHS spending league.

Now the cuts are creating what could be described as a crisis situation. By the end of 1975 Labour had axed £75 million of hospital building in the West Midlands, plans to rebuild a number of old and decaying hospitals have been shelved, and there is no new hospital building planned for Birmingham till 1986.

Now the latest plan is to close 25 of Birmingham's hospitals, which would mean sacking 3,700 health workers.

This is the background to the decision of a number of leading Birmingham health workers to campaign for Brian Heron in Stechford. One of these, Patrick Sikorski, secretary of the East Birmingham Hospital branch of the health union COHSE, explains why:

'Our hospital looks after the whole of the East Side of Birmingham. On top of that we look after 200,000 people from Solihull. Because of this we have had a new ward, theatre and intensive care block built and opened. But they have shut down the old ward buildings and there are now eleven empty wards on the site.

'Management says health care is improving, but the reverse is true. In two East Birmingham wards there are up to 34 baby deaths per 1,000 births — double the national aver-



PATRICK SIKORSKI

CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

age. This situation can only get worse, thanks to the decision to cut the intake into the nursing school by a massive 40 per cent.

'We need an independent workers' fight back. But as people see that it is Labour who have pushed through these attacks, they don't see any overall national political alternative. And you definitely need more than a local fight back to the cuts in wages, and services, and against unemployment.

'We need policies as well. We need the cuts reversed, and through that establish that the NHS should be controlled by workers in the interests of their own health needs, and not to be slashed to the bone in an economic crisis as though it was an expendable luxury. You have to demand that all plans and proposals on the health service are revealed to workers' committees. As inflation continues, we must fight for NHS

budgets to rise as inflation does, to make up for the cuts we should demand a massive hospital building programme — there are thousands of building workers unemployed who would be only too happy to take the chance to work in this.

'But the fight must also be carried out in the political field. We have Stechford by-election in our area and it seems certain Labour will win it because of its policies since 1974. But the toolroom workers' strike the Leyland Combine moves against the Social Contract, and the growth militancy of public sector workers in this area, shows the willingness to answer Labour's attacks.

Labour's candidate is Terry Davis, a Leyland manager, and being a manager, I'll bet he wouldn't be against public expenditure cuts.

'Davis can't be supported by a socialist. The potential opposition now showing itself must be organised in an independent, self-organised opposition to the anti-working class policies of this Government. The only candidate who is prepared to fight the cuts, the Controracism and women's oppression, prepared to work with all people on these issues while not forcing them to join his party is Brian Heron, Socialist (IMG) candidate. I shall be campaigning for him during the election.'

ANTI-RACISM CENTRAL TO IMG CAMPAIGN

On Sunday 20 March an election meeting took place in Stechford which sums up the campaign of the IMG and its candidate, Brian Heron.

The meeting attracted the type of interest the IMG's campaign has drawn throughout — over 100 people, many of them black workers, attended and when the meeting closed many signed up to help in the campaign.

A major theme of the discussion and speeches was the fight against racism; whether this threat comes directly from the openly fascist candidates or from the Labour candidate, whose support of immigration controls is one of the more obnoxious features of his campaign.

The array of speakers on the Heron platform reflected the drive Birmingham IMG is making to present the Stechford campaign as an example of the unity of all those willing to fight the anti-working class policies of the Labour Government. As well as IMG speakers, on the platform was Communist Party member Jack Lynch [who has recently contested the presidency of the Birmingham Trades Council on an anti-racist ticket], and a representative from the Big Flame group.

IMG speakers at the meeting made it clear that it is still a matter of deep regret that the Socialist Workers Party, who are also running a candidate in Stechford, could not display the same desire for unity others had. It was recalled that as long ago

discussions for a joint candidate, and that the SWP had failed even to reply to the letter.

But the willingness of many militants in Stechford, whether they are in total agreement with the IMG or not, to work for the Heron candidacy is gathering momentum. Especially important is the help Heron is getting from the Pakistani community. Many small shops now display the Heron poster in Urdu, and Pakistani militants are increasingly going out to canvas for Heron.

The highlight of this anti-racist aspect of the IMG's campaign will be on Saturday 26 March, when the IMG is holding an anti-racist festival. This will include speakers from the immigrant community and the labour movement.

It will feature Indian and

Pakistani poets and musicians as well as Jah Flag, a West Indian music group. The festival will not only attract people from Stechford, but will play an important role in extending anti-racism movement right across Birmingham — an achievement much more important than just the voting success Heron's campaign achieves.

The organisers of his campaign have called on all workers back Heron and the policies he stands for to come to Stechford. Every bit of help is needed on the streets, outside the factories, turning out leaflets, doing all the thousand and one jobs required. Come down this weekend! Meet at Norton Hall, Ralp Road, Stechford, 11.30.

BOB PENNINGTON

ANTI-RACIST FESTIVAL

Saturday 26 March at 2.30pm

Speakers from the Immigrant Community and Labour Movement

Poets, musicians, from the Indian and Pakistani community

Jah Flag — West Indian Music Group

Naseby School, Naseby Road, off Alum Rock Road, Stechford.

IMG Fights London Polls

'It's looking good', says Labour's manifesto for the 5 May elections to the Greater London Council.

Perhaps they are talking about the half a million jobs, one third of all manufacturing jobs in London, lost in the last 15 years, with unemployment running at over ten per cent in many London boroughs, a total of 170,000 out of work.

Or maybe they mean the number of homeless, doubled to 100,000 in ten years; the 200,000 in sub-standard conditions awaiting rehousing; the 100,000 houses standing empty while 30,000 homeless are forced to squat.

Or could it be the London Transport fares, doubled in the past year while 2,500 bus jobs are kept vacant? Or the classes of over 30 in a third of London's schools? Or the 130 of London's 150 hospitals threatened with closure?

The verdict of the International Marxist Group's manifesto for the GLC elections seems nearer the mark: 'It's looking bad'.

London IMG is standing four

candidates in the elections, all of them militants with a long record of opposition to the Tory policies of both Conservative and Labour Governments. In Islington North, Mick Sullivan, a housing aid worker and member of the TGWU, will centre his campaign on the housing record of the Labour GLC and against police harassment of young black people in the constituency.

In Ealing Southall Gerry Hedley will be taking up the struggle against racism in the area where the racist murder of a black youth took place last summer.

Piers Corbyn, a long-time campaigner for decent housing for all, will be standing in Lambeth Central, perhaps the area with the most appalling housing record, even for London.

In Bethnal Green and Bow, local government worker Claire Weingarten will be standing for an end to education cuts against Inner London

Education Authority leader Ashley Bramall. In this constituency, as in much of London, public sector workers make up a large proportion of the population. For them the link between unemployment and the loss of essential services caused by the cuts is a very real one.

Claire Weingarten's campaign will also take up Labour's record on housing and the role of the short life housing companies. Longfellow Road, featured in the recent television documentary, is in the constituency.

Brick Lane, the home of a large Bengali community, has recently been the object of a large racist and fascist campaign. Like all the other IMG candidates Claire Weingarten will be fighting against the fascist threat, against racist discrimination in jobs and housing and against Immigration laws.

The fight against racism is just one example of how it is impossible to separate local issues from the national record of the Labour Government. The fight against racism and fascism has to take up Labour's dismal record of support



for immigration restrictions and contempt for the democratic rights of other sections of the population, such as Irish people.

So it is with all the problems which Londoners face when they go to vote on 5 May. Unemployment, homelessness, rocketing prices and falling real wages are not confined to

London.

The record of the Social Contract is appalling. The leaders of the trade union movement agreed to keep down wages in exchange for the Government maintaining unemployment and passing certain legislation. Unemployment has rocketed to 1½ millions registered unemployed — and that excludes many people, such as women and blacks, who see no point in registering. Now Employment Minister Albert Booth promises us 2 million out of work by the end of the year.

GLC budget expenditure for 1977-78 is going to be cut by another £6 million. Illyd Harrington introduced the revenue budget by proudly announcing the GLC's contribution to 'the Government's constraints on public expenditure to put the country on the road to economic growth'. And the Labour manifesto has the nerve to complain about Government instructions to the GLC to cut subsidies to London transport — the source of the saving Harrington boasted of in the first place!

The much heralded Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination legislation has

made little contribution to improving women's rights. experience has shown that women have to fight for equal pay, as they did at the Trico factory in West London.

The centre-piece of the Government's legislation — the Docks and Shipbuilding Bill — has already been partly shelved. Many Londoners know to their cost that the dockland of East London is one of the most depressed areas of a depressed city. Now Illyd Harrington has dropped the idea of nationalisation and replaced it with the scheme of a free port in London, outside the customs boundaries.

The IMG said from the start that the Social Contract was a con-trick. The failure of Labour to deliver even those small promises it made can only confirm that view. And still the trade union leaders give their undying support to the Government.

That is why the IMG's GLC campaign does not pretend that solutions to London's problems can be found in London alone. It is seen as part of the national struggle to build a socialist opposition to the policies of the Labour Government.

Meeting launches GLC Campaign

IT WAS IRONIC that the militancy of the French working class should deprive the London International Marxist Group of its speakers at a meeting last Friday.

A strike by workers at Orly airport in Paris prevented speakers from the organisations of the united far left slate from attending the rally. But the meeting went ahead to launch the IMG's intervention in the London municipal elections.

Tariq Ali, speaking for the Political Committee of the IMG, explained how the results of the French municipal elections were part of a European upsurge of support for the far left. The

importance of France lay in the real campaigning unity between the three major far left organisations.

In Britain the SWP used the excuse that it is the largest of the far left organisations to avoid such unity. This, said Tariq Ali, was a false argument. Size brought with it a greater responsibility for building the implantation of the far left as a whole.

He repeated the IMG's request that the SWP discuss the possibility of a joint revolutionary slate in the next general election. Later in the evening Brian Heron, IMG candidate in the Stechford by-election, explained how the pressure

on the SWP for unity was greater than ever. Now it came not only from the 'insignificant' IMG but from an increasing number of militant workers who could not understand the reason for two broadly similar platforms in the by-election.

When the discussion was opened to the floor Gerry Hedley, IMG candidate for Ealing Southall in the GLC elections, repeated the IMG's offer to the far left organisations: 'At any time up to the closing date for nominations we are prepared to turn our campaign into a united far left campaign and withdraw our candidates if better ones are put forward'.



Speakers at the IMG meeting on the French elections. Left to right: Piers Corbyn, Mick Sullivan, Claire Weingarten, Tariq Ali and Brian Heron.

Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Red Weekly)

French Workers answer Giscard

THE SECOND round of the French municipal elections has brought further gains for the Union of the Left, the united slate of Communist and Socialist Parties and the Left Radicals and Left Gaullists.

The Union of the Left increased its poll from 51 per cent on the first round to 52.5 per cent. It has now captured more than 50 towns of more than 30,000 people from the majority parties. Its hold on the traditionally conservative west of the country was extended with the capture of the Breton capital of Rennes.

Even in Paris the Left considerably improved on its first round showing winning 40 out of 109 seats, second only to Jacques Chirac's Gaullists. The Government is hard pressed not only by the left victory but by the defeat of its Paris slate. The split between Chirac and Giscard greatly weakens the right's capacity to resist the upsurge of the workers' movement.

Everyone, including the Government is forced to admit that these municipal elections have more than local significance. French workers are suffering the same attacks on their living standards as British workers, under the Barre austerity plan. This result is an overwhelming vote of no confidence in the Government.

The fightback which is now beginning in Britain has already reached mass proportions in France. It is in this context that the substantial gains for the united slate of the revolutionary left can be explained. The best results for the far left came in the big industrial centres, and within those towns the

highest revolutionary vote was in the working class areas.

The strength of the revolutionary campaign was based on the fact that it was more than an electoral alliance. It served as a focus throughout the country for those workers who were organising the fightback against the Government.

The comparison with Britain is a sad one, since here groups like the Socialist Workers Party fail to see the importance of using such unity around elections as a weapon in organising resistance to the Social Contract. But, in another respect, the parallel with Britain is only too clear.

The 'lefts' in France, the Communist and the Socialist Parties, have joined with the Government in attempting to dismiss the importance of these elections. Many in the Union of the Left will echo the sentiments of Interior Minister Michel Poniatowski: 'We must move beyond the electoral period and get on with serious things!'

The support for the Union of the Left is itself an index of the rise in working class militancy, but for the reformists it is a positive embarrassment. The CP and the SP have tried to limit the fightback to protest actions by saying: wait for the legislative elections in 1978. Now, not only are they not prepared to organise real action against the Government, but they refuse to do battle in the electoral arena.

Despite this latest victory, despite the ousting of three Government Ministers from their local government offices, the watchword of the Union of the Left remains 'Wait for 1978'.



All good friends — Gaullist Jacques Chirac and Communist Party leader Henri Fiszbjn.

Montreuil under Communism

From a correspondent

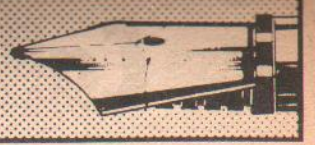
There they were in the Paris suburb of Montreuil: eight men and one woman, each one wearing a sash in the French national colours, seated in a row on the platform at the town hall last Sunday. Another town council, elected in the first round of the municipal elections a week earlier, had voted in its mayor and deputies. But Montreuil isn't just another town council.

For a start, the Union of the Left captured all 39 council seats with an overwhelming 65.98 per cent of the vote. Even more unusual, most of these councillors are Communist Party members, including the mayor and six of his eight deputies. Not just another council, indeed!

So will the new council fight to the death to defend the interests of the working class in this heavily industrialised area, putting its resources at the disposal of their struggles, and using its huge majority as a pistol to the heads of the bosses? Not quite.

The mayor was anxious to stress that the council would seek to represent the interests even of those who hadn't voted for it. 'Everyone is our fellow citizen,' he declared, 'we have no enemies'. Someone is in for a shock, and it won't be the capitalists.

He concluded his speech with the inspiring slogans: 'Long live Montreuil, long live France'. But not the working class, it seems, unless it finds better leaders than this.



In Defence of FRELIMO

When an African revolutionary movement that has won a long anti-colonial war declares itself in favour of 'scientific socialism' and 'the dictatorship of the proletariat, when it carefully distinguishes this from all the various brands of 'African socialism', and when it announces its transformation into a 'Marxist-Leninist vanguard party', one would expect British socialists to react sympathetically and certainly to consider with great care and detail the activities of that movement before adopting a position of hostility.

Not so with *Red Weekly*. The piece by Mike Lewis and Julius Karanja on the recent congress of FRELIMO was an appalling example of contempt for a revolutionary process about which both authors seem singularly ignorant. A few scrappy paragraphs which did not bother to quote any of the Congress documents, or any statement from a FRELIMO leader, a few statements cobbled together on the Mozambican economy (some of them wildly inaccurate), and then used to label the Mozambican government as neo-colonialist — this is not a serious way to treat a major event on the African continent.

As for the specific allegations that are made, it's certainly true that the Mozambican economy is integrated with that of South Africa and of the imperialist world in general; what Lewis and Karanja do not point out is that FRELIMO is perfectly well aware of this, and that its economic strategy is designed to break those links of dependence. Hence the stress laid by President Samora Machel at the Congress on heavy industry: 'The building of heavy industry constitutes the decisive factor for our total independence. It allows a break from our integration in the imperialist system'.

Contrary to the implication in your article Rhodesian goods no longer pass through Mozambique. FRELIMO closed the border with Rhodesia early in 1976, impounded all Rhodesian goods in Mozambique, and has been vigorously supporting the Zimbabwe freedom fighters (at considerable cost, since the Smith forces have not hesitated to invade Mozambique, destroying Mozambican villages, burning crops and wrecking civilian installations). One of the reasons why the handling of South African goods accounts for a high percentage of Mozambique's total earnings lies in the disruption of the economy in 1974 and 1975. This period saw a dramatic sharpening of the class struggle as Portuguese capitalists sabotaged and abandoned their factories, machinery was wrecked, livestock destroyed, and consequently production collapsed. Given this breakdown in exporting industries, it is not surprising that the percentage of Mozambican earnings represented by trade with South Africa should increase.

Mozambique's economic relations with South Africa were determined not by the desires of FRELIMO, but by the situation



Frelimo guerrillas

that was inherited from colonialism. For instance, FRELIMO wants to end the migrant labour system whereby thousands of Mozambicans work in South African mines; but it cannot do this until jobs have been created in Mozambique for those workers to return to. Part of the develop-

ment of industry needed in order to break the South African tie may be provided by the West German and US firms surveying for coal and oil, to which Lewis and Karanja take such exception.

But the unfortunate reality is that FRELIMO does not possess specialists in coal and oil tech-

nology and geology, while Western firms do. The involvement of Western companies need not prejudice the building of socialism; that will depend on the character of state power and the control it can exercise over foreign capital. The attempts by the Bolsheviks to attract foreign in-

vestment to the young Soviet republic in the early 1920s are instructive in this respect.

When Lewis and Karanja talk about 'the exclusion of the mass of the population from effective participation in politics' they move into the realms of total fantasy. Their article complained about the administrators FRELIMO has appointed in the nationalised firms. Here is what the Report of the Central Committee to the Congress has to say about this: 'In the factories authoritarian labour relations remained intact and impeded the creative initiative of the labouring masses. The nomination of administrative committees could not in itself solve this problem. The need was clearly shown to alter labour relations and accelerate the rapid transformation of relations of production'.

The bodies that are being created for this purpose are not even mentioned by Lewis and Karanja. These are Councils of Production, which are elected by FRELIMO members in the factories and then submitted to the other workers in the section for approval. Neither do your two writers mention the 'Grupos Dinamizadores' (Dynamising Groups), more widely elected bodies, both in localities and factories. The industrial 'Grupos' played a key role in keeping many abandoned firms in production, and their activities have certainly not been curtailed.

Vast areas of the Mozambican revolution are simply ignored by Lewis and Karanja. Nothing is said of the development of co-operative agriculture and FRELIMO's drive towards communal villages designed to overcome the backwardness of traditional farming and the extreme dispersal of the peasantry in some parts of the country. Nothing is said about the liberation of women — the campaigns led by

FRELIMO and the OMM (Organisation of Mozambican Women) against practices such as polygamy, initiation rites, bride-price and the like. Nothing is said about the educational and health programmes of FRELIMO. No mention is made of the detailed plans presented to the Congress for Mozambique's future economic development.

It is obvious that, either through arrogance or inability to read Portuguese, Lewis and Karanja have not consulted FRELIMO documents on any of these aspects. The necessary documents are in our office: your writers are quite welcome to come and look at them.

We do not expect the IMG to agree with all FRELIMO's policies. We do, however, believe that criticism should be informed and constructive. Accusations that FRELIMO is 'neo-colonialist' are simply absurd. In what way does Mozambique resemble, say, Kenya, or Senegal, or the Ivory Coast? The blindest of bourgeois commentators have to admit that Mozambique looks very different from most independent African states.

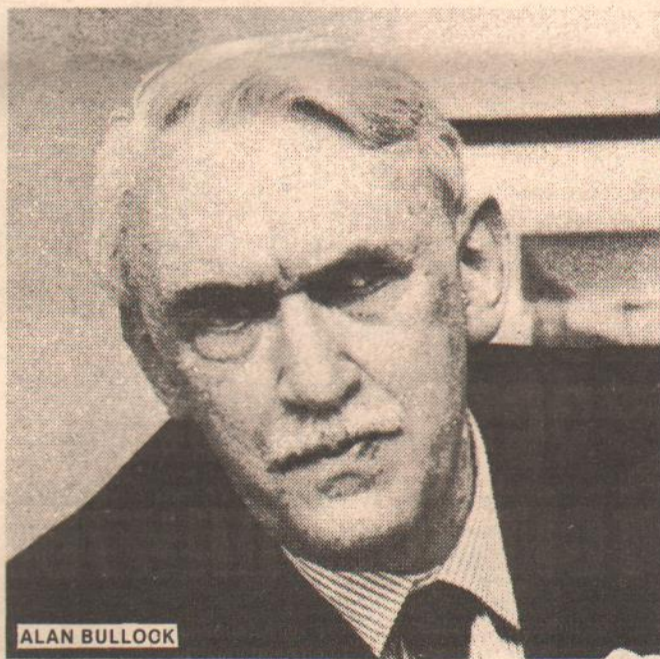
Finally, a translation of the FRELIMO Central Committee report to the Congress, in whole or in part, will soon be available. We look forward to a rational consideration of it in *Red Weekly*. JILL SHEPPARD [Secretary, Mozambique, Angola and Guine Information Centre]

We apologise both to comrades Lewis and Karanja and our readers for bad editing which removed a number of examples from the article which considerably clarified the argument. To avoid the same confusion, we are printing comrade Sheppard's letter in full despite its length. Mike Lewis and Julius Karanja will be replying next week. — EDS.

BULLOCK - Alternative Method

There seems to be endless confusion in *Red Weekly* over Bullock. May I clarify some questions of method?

1. We are in favour of industrial democracy. Most workers will quickly agree that just as majority rule should be the basis of government, so it should be in production. We must start out from that democratic sentiment.
 2. We are in favour of participation. That is we want to participate in the affairs of management [all of them]. Without such a desire, the workers will never run industry.
 3. In some revolutions, the managerial personnel will side with the owners [shareholders, banks, etc], while in others they will consent to operate under the control of the workers. This is the best outcome since the workers must learn the affairs of industry largely from them. It follows that we are not against sitting on joint bodies with the management.
 4. We will only sit on joint bodies, however, under three conditions:
 - * that workers delegates are accountable to mass meetings;
 - * that information is divulged unconditionally, and
 - * that the worker delegates have a majority on the board.
- Without proper representation, an end to secrecy, and above all, majority rule, there can be no democracy of any kind.
5. It is on this basis that we are vigorous champions of industrial democracy and participation, but



ALAN BULLOCK

the sharpest opponents of Bullock's proposals. Bullock does not meet these minimum conditions of democracy.

6. Industrial democracy is not a manoeuvre of the bureaucracy [to get Phase 3, etc]. It expresses a real material need of the working class to break open the bosses'

autocratic organisations [a need the bureaucracy cynically exploits].

We should demand that the Government drop Bullock's proposals and adopt ours — ours are the only way of fulfilling the hopes that Bullock and the TUC have aroused. We do not call for

Bullock's proposals to be implemented [!]; and we campaign for our own proposals in the factories straight away.

8. If, as is likely, the Government reject our views and implements Bullock, then, seizing the opportunities such legislation will create, we will take up a fight around the constitution of these bodies. We do not regard the constitution of anything as fixed for all time by an Act of Parliament.

We stand candidates in the factories for the participation boards on the platform of the three conditions set out above. We also demand that all other candidates for the boards accept these conditions regardless of other policy differences. Any other terms for participation, by any candidate, would defraud the workers.

9. Should the management be forced to concede our demands, even partially, then they risk losing all their power. Majority rule, that is the rule of the workers (the majority) over the bosses, is workers control. This may lead them to sabotage participation committees and to set up alternative organs of rule in the factory.

We will thus urge the workers to seize the factory and threaten to expel the management permanently if sabotage does not cease. If not, workers management will have to be set up. This step would involve a fundamental clash with

the owners and require a state takeover and state cash.

10. We must fight two dangers over Bullock; a reformist and a left sectarian danger — your editorialist [Red Weekly, 10 March] and several correspondents.

The ultra-left holds that to sit on the same body with the managers is in itself contrary to principle. The ultra-left indulges in much sloganeering about 'independent' organisations — forgetting that independence is above all a political matter.

The ultra-left thinks the managers will simply disappear and we can leap directly to workers management in every case, without any phase of workers control. They also typically use the latter term to mean the former.

The reformist danger [Bob Wright, some CP, etc] hold that only when industry is out of the hands of the private owners is it safe to allow the workers to have democratic control. Hence participation is to be limited to nationalised industries — where the reformist grabs Bullock with both hands, leading to class collaboration with the bourgeois state apparatus.

11. Both the left reformist line and the abstract 'struggle and occupy' rhetoric are equally useless to workers. Only by taking the slogans of the Bullock supporters and giving them a proletarian democratic content can we challenge the right wing. DAVE BAILEY (London).

IMG Notes

'Labour Focus on Eastern Europe': The IMG has purchased a bulk order of this journal so all IMG branch orders should be sent to: Relgocrest, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

IMG International School June 4/5/6/7 For members & sympathisers. More details to follow next week. Comrades to note date for keeping free. Watch this space for further details.

National Working Women's Charter Fraction. Saturday 26 March. Ring National Office for further details.

National NUPE Fraction. Saturday 16 April. Details of venue to follow.

Trade Union Commission: The TU Commission scheduled for Saturday 26 March has now been cancelled. New date next week.

IMG Day School on Maoism: Saturday 26 March, 10.30am. Room 2.1, Central London Poly, New Cavendish Street, London W1. Nearest tube Warren Street. Morning session on the Chinese Revolution to 1949. Afternoon session with workshops on the national-democratic revolution and Maoism in Western Europe. Pierre Rousset (LCR) will be leading first session. For members and close contacts.

Colonial Revolution Commission: Sunday 27 March, 1pm. At National Centre. Discussion on 'Revolutionary Perspectives in Asia Today'.

National TGWU Fraction: Sunday 17 April. Details of venue to follow.

IMG Student Commission: Friday 15 April/Saturday 16 April. Starts 2pm on Friday. At National Centre.

National Student Fraction: 23-24 April. In Manchester. Starts 10.30am on Saturday. Sessions include: Restructuring of Higher and Further Education; Balance sheet since September; the Socialist Students Alliance and training of new members. All student members should attend. Open also to sympathisers who work with the IMG in the colleges. Those travelling a long distance should arrange to arrive Friday evening when a social will be arranged.

IMG Caucus for all comrades going to CNM Conference in Birmingham

BULLOCK

&

IMG

I was pleased to see that your 'In Focus' feature on Bullock (*Red Weekly*, 10 March) you rejected the position put forward by Chris Balfour (*Red Weekly*, 3 February) and thus came out, in my opinion, quite correctly against the Bullock and TUC proposals — arguing that the TUC proposals 'are divorced from any struggle for control demands at the base of the working class. They would have the effect of defusing the mass struggle rather than assisting its development.'

However, I was horrified to read in the same 'In Focus' you arguing that if the TUC proposals were receiving the support of lots of workers demanding their implementation — then: 'It would have been perfectly principled and legitimate to be a part of a movement demanding their implementation'.

Now it seems quite clear to me that as we are opposed to both the Bullock and TUC proposals in principle that this is the position we should fight for whether it happens to be popular or not. It could be another example of where Trotskyists are 'against the stream', but so be it.

The proposals would involve workers in participating and taking responsibility for their own

agreements, etc, against their own interests — just as has been the case with the Ryder participation scheme at Longbridge.

Unfortunately the type of attitude *Red Weekly* is adopting in relation to this issue has parallels with earlier positions of the IMG and leads me to wonder whether they represent a consistent method or are just isolated mistakes.

To give just two examples of the many.

Firstly, the IMG on the question of the Common Market threw itself into the 'No' camp, completely throwing aside its earlier abstentionist position. One of the justifications for being in the 'No' camp given was that the vast majority of militant workers were in the 'No' camp so that is where we should be — regardless of whether this is the principled position with respect to the objective interests of the working class.

Secondly, when certain 'left' elements in the Labour party began to launch a 'defend the Labour Party Manifesto' campaign, the IMG threw itself enthusiastically into this, conveniently forgetting that the central core of the manifesto was the Social Contract — the IMG did not

campaign through principle, but only when it collapsed through lack of interest on the part of the original 'left' sponsors.

I can only reiterate in conclusion that the essence of Trotskyism is not 'getting a piece of the action' regardless of what the 'action' is — but attempting to give leadership to whatever forces of the working class we are able to and also propagandise for the generalisation of ideas of revolutionary Marxism in the working class.

JIM MORRIS [Birmingham].

• Jim Morris makes two factual errors. Firstly, the IMG has never had an abstentionist position on the Common Market. The attitude of opposition to the Common Market was the first position that the IMG took on the question.

In addition, the reason we called for a 'no' vote because we were opposed to the Common Market and instead advanced the slogan of a 'Socialist United States of Europe'.

Secondly, the IMG never supported the 'Manifesto' campaign, and thus did not 'withdraw' from it. The reason for this was the same one given by Jim Morris — its espousal of the Social Contract. These are just two examples of the many confusions. EDS.

Unity Call for Spanish Elections

The Spanish Government has announced its new electoral law, which will cover the elections planned to be held in the summer. The announcement came in an atmosphere which was far from democratic. The Basque country is still in upsurge after the murder of a demonstrator by police. Most importantly the solemn proceedings in Room 4 of the Supreme Tribunal have refused legal status to all the organisations of the far left.

Among those denied legality and participation in the elections is the LCR, Spanish sympathising section of the Fourth International. The LCR was put on the top of the list of proceedings, presumably because, unlike the Communist Party (PCE), there was not much question about the results of the hearing.

The judges were most disturbed to find mention of workers power in the LCR's constitution. From their long experience of such questions they were able to pronounce this 'discriminatory and anti-democratic'. Other reasons given for denying legal status were its affiliation to the Fourth International and its fusion in 1973 with ETA (Sixth Assembly).

HORRIFIED

The court managed to find other evidence of the LCR's anti-democratic activity. On examining the constitution it was horrified to find that the Central Committee was empowered to co-opt 15 per cent of its membership!

The electoral law is more or less what was expected. Apart from the most obviously undemocratic features of the election — the continuing repression and the illegality of most of the workers parties — the voting system is weighted in favour of the most conservative areas of the country. By establishing a minimum quota of seats for each province the Government is seeking over-representation of the rural areas at the expense of the working class in the industrial areas.

The Government and the Spanish capitalist class hope to use these elections to establish a 'strong state' on the model of post-war West Germany. Like capitalist Germany it will have its *Berufsverbot* — the illegality and persecution of workers parties — but with a formal structure of bourgeois democracy. In West Germany the Communist Party remained illegal until the late 1960s. All the repressive structures of Francoism will be left intact while various formal and limited concessions will be made in other areas, for example, a minimal 'autonomy' for the oppressed nationalities.

Although the elections conform to certain formal aspects of capitalist democracy they are primarily seen as the means to these ends. Thus, despite their illegality, the workers parties neglect them at their peril. The PSOE, the Socialist Party, which has been legalised, will be running its own campaign while the PCE, which anticipates legalisation, also plans to run a slate.

The political bureau of the LCR has circulated a declaration calling for working class unity in the elections. It criticises the decision of the PSOE and PCE to run their own campaigns and calls for united slates of representatives of the workers organisations, the neighbourhood committees and women's and youth organisations.

The LCR proposes workers unity in the elections around a four-point platform:

★ For total amnesty and democratic rights. Even the recent extensions of the amnesty do not meet the need to free all political prisoners. Quite apart from the fact that the amnesty takes the form of a pardon, which implies that crimes were committed, many militants of ETA and the ENKI (Basque organisation of the LCR) will remain in prison.

★ For the right of self-determination of the oppressed nationalities. This means more than just autonomy. It entails the right to decide freely what relationship each nationality shall have to the Spanish state.

★ Against all forms of 'social pact'. This means the free right of all working class organisations to negotiate on questions affecting

For free elections to a Constituent Assembly which will proclaim the Republic. The present elections may be an innovation, but they are not constituent. In other words they represent no break with the past constitution of Francoism.

UNITY

This platform presents the real possibility of workers unity in the elections without the participation of 'democratic' capitalist parties. The LCR stresses that within this campaign each organisation will have the fullest rights to fight for the entirety of its own programme.

• Socialist Press, paper of the Workers Socialist League, had a few pearls of wisdom to offer in its issue of 2 March. On the LCR's application for legal status it commented: 'Asking a government of fascists for permission to exist can do nothing but give more legitimacy to that government.'

Leaving aside the question of whether the Suarez Government is fascist, the demand for legalisation is not a request for the right to exist. The LCR exists already, has done so for some years under conditions of clandestinity, and will continue to do so.

The real question is the tremendous opportunities opened up for revolutionaries by the possibility of legal work. The communist movement has always shown its readiness to seize on even the slightest opportunities offered by the bourgeoisie in this respect. Of course, even if the LCR had been legalised [of which there was no chance] its legal work would necessarily have continued to be combined with illegal activity.

LOSS

Red Weekly is at a loss to see how the refusal of the Government to legalise the LCR has given that Government greater legitimacy in the eyes of the masses.

On the elections, Socialist Press correctly describes them as 'a mockery of democracy', but implicitly concludes that this means they must be boycotted on principle.

Again, we are not sure where this principle comes from. It is certainly not from the experience of the communist movement. Although the parallel is not an exact one, the participation of the Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Dumas, which were considerably less democratic than the proposed new Cortes, was seen as an opportunity to advance revolutionary propaganda against the Duma and against the Tsarist state.

The participation of revolutionaries in any bourgeois election is a tactical question, since we are for the overthrow of even the most democratic bourgeois parliament. If Socialist Press wishes to raise such tactical objections to participation in the Spanish elections a fruitful debate would be possible, since even now a change of position may be necessary depending on the conditions in which the elections are held.

Slandering ultra-leftism, on the other hand, is hardly productive.

SOLIDARIDAD
 15p

KING JUAN CARLOS SPEAKS

NO ONE CAN STOP ME ON MY ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

LEGALIZE ALL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES NOW!



Veiled Indian women cast their votes.

INDIA: The Empress falls

TARIQ ALI

THE PERSONAL and political defeat of Indira Gandhi and her heir apparent in the recent elections marks a watershed in Indian politics.

It breaks the long period of political dominance enjoyed by the Congress Party. It shatters the political stability of the Indian ruling class and is a telling blow against the Emergency measures so enthusiastically supported by Indian monopoly capitalism.

The masses have replied to two years of continuous repression, wage freeze, forced sterilisations and 'slum clearances' by shattering the power of the central leadership of the Congress. Indian politics will never be the same again.

RESILIENCE

The elections have also demonstrated the resilience of India's bourgeois democratic institutions. The structures implanted by the British in collaboration with the Congress Party have once again shown their effectiveness in enabling India's ruling class to contain the masses within existing, albeit deformed, parliamentary institutions.

Italian students clash with CP

IT IS STILL too early to know exactly how the student movement will develop, but its sudden reappearance as a political and social force has come as the biggest blow yet to the 'Government of the absentions' — the system by which the minority Government is maintained by the abstentions of the Communist Party (PCI).

The student movement looked as if it were a thing of the past and it seemed as though the moment had come to restructure the universities along lines more acceptable to the bourgeois state, returning to the selectivity of the period prior to 1968. Education Minister Malfatti drew up his 'reform' on behalf of the Christian Democrats and the PCI drew up their 'reform' which was the same thing in different wrapping paper. So far the PCI's proposals have been rejected in every students' assembly in the country.

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COLLISION

The PCI's tactics inevitably led to a head-on collision with the student movement, based as they were on an incorrect assessment of the ability of reformism to contain the situation.

PCI education leader Luciano

This is a unique situation for a Third World country. A military dictatorship for a country the size of India cannot, of course, be excluded in the future but it would mark the beginning of the end of the Indian federation as it is constituted at present.

TEMPORARY

From a more long term view the present elections solve none of the problems of Indian society, for while Indira Gandhi has been ditched, those who have defeated her can at best provide a temporary ruling class alternative.

The Janata party is too unstable a coalition to last for long. The only coherent and organised political force within it is the extreme right Jan Sangh. For it to exercise power even within a broad coalition can only increase class and national polarisation.

In reality a vote for the Janata Party represented the only way for the masses to show their complete disgust for the Emergency and those who initiated it. Given the support of the Communist Party of India for the Emergency and



Sanjay Gandhi at election meeting.

the fact that the Communist Party (Marxist) was hit by repression and could not offer a national focus, it is hardly surprising that the masses saw no other solution.

In voting Indira Gandhi and her ruling team out of office they have created an internal situation which can only get more and more unstable.

On the foreign policy front the defeat of Gandhi will come as a body blow to the Soviet leadership which, through the person of Brezhnev and through Pravda had supported every single measure of the

Emergency. A defeat for Soviet foreign policy in India could further exacerbate the crisis within the CPI itself, leading to new alignments.

Meanwhile 50,000 Naxalite political prisoners still rot in India's jails. During the campaigning a number of opposition leaders pledged that they would release them unconditionally. If this is not done revolutionary socialists must make the demand for the release of all Naxalite and other political prisoners the central focus for all their political agitation in the coming weeks and months.

The murder of an Italian left wing student by the police and the treacherous reaction of the Communist Party to the rise of struggles in the universities have pushed the student movement to the centre of the class struggle.

On one side the Communist Party has organised rallies to condemn the 'fascist' behaviour of the students, while on the other the opposition to the capitulation of the Communist Party to the Government has become more vociferous in the workers movement itself. Militant workers have followed the example of Rome students in shouting down trade union leader Luciano Lama. While this action cannot be supported, it is an index of the anger felt by Italian militants at the role of the Communist Party.

ALAN HUDSON, recently returned from Italy, reports on the rebirth of the Italian student movement.

'parasites' and 'Luddites' and condemning the occupation of the university. But it was not this which provoked the students' angry response. It was the aggression of the 'stewards' whom Lama brought with him who were responsible for throwing paint and using fire extinguishers. The PCI was driven out of the university, but only because it had tried to impose its own will on the movement.

The PCI's next move showed its complete contempt for workers democracy. It used its position in the unions to call a strike (an anti-fascist strike!) against students in occupation. The word

they see it colliding head-on with the movement. One exception to the distorted coverage by the bourgeois press is the photograph published by *La Stampa* of similar events in Turin, showing PCI stewards collecting metal bars from a van before entering the university.

The name 'Metropolitan Indians' has been coined during the recent events. It means the students, worker-students and unemployed youth who identify themselves with the Red Indians of America and their history. But they have no intention of being marginalised as the Red Indians were. They wish to maintain control of the university such as it is, fight any attempt to restructure the university and fight unemployment.

This identification with the plight of the Red Indians is for the reformist and bourgeois press alike sure proof of the immaturity of the movement. But the movement is not a re-run of 68-69. It reflects the experience of the mass of working class youth who have entered the college gates, but will never find work.

It is a contradiction in the heart of Italian society which both Berlinguer of the PCI and Prime Minister Andreotti know that they have to put in order before they

Large sections of the rank and

CONDEMN

Large sections of the rank and

World Outlook

★ Zaire

The armed attack on Zaire by Katangan secessionists has heightened the crisis of US imperialism's principal client state in Africa.

The extent of the fighting is unclear. It seems that no more than 500-600 Katangans entered the country from neighbouring Angola, and that Zairois allegations of Cuban participation are unfounded. But the 'invasion' appears to have the support of a significant part of the population of Katanga, now known as Shaba province. It has also triggered uprisings against the corrupt and shaky regime of Mobuto Sese Seko in other parts of the country.

Imperialism has moved



MOBUTO

quickly to bail out its puppet. The Belgian Government, formerly the colonial master of the Congo, has sent consignments of arms to Mobuto. The Americans have not publicly announced arms shipments but have transported quantities of military accessories. The Zairois army is already equipped with sophisticated US arms. Zaire is the recipient of about half of total US aid to Africa.

The problem for the Carter administration is that while it wants to intervene — Zaire is one of the richest African countries in mineral deposits — imperialism has already had its fingers burnt in Angola. Carter may be forced to leave Mobuto to his own devices.

However, the extent of undercover activities by the Americans and the Zairois is anyone's guess. It would seem likely that the assassination last week of the leftward-leaning President of the Congo People's Republic was not unrelated to the events in Zaire.

On the other side, the full extent of the Angolan interest is unclear. One obvious motive for the MPLA backing the Katangans is the need to eliminate reactionary guerrilla bases on the Zaire side of the border with Angola. The question is whether Angola has its eyes on the fantastic mineral wealth of Shaba. This was the issue around which the Congolese civil war of the early 1960s was fought, as the imperialist powers attempted to split Katanga from the former Belgian Congo.

At any rate, the MPLA's chosen instrument for intervention in Zaire is a singularly unsavoury one. The Katangan 'gendarmes' were armed and organised by the Belgians in the early 1960s. When they were expelled from the Congo they found refuge in colonial Angola, where they were used by the Portuguese as a striking force against the liberation fighters of the MPLA.

A well-timed piece of opportunism led them to switch sides when the Portuguese pulled out in 1974, giving their support to the MPLA.

The Zairois army is 40,000 strong, but US experts are not optimistic about its capacity to deal with this threat. How do they know? Because Zairois regulars have recent experience of active service against the MPLA in Angola.

★ Australia

Australians are divided between fervent royalists and drunken oafs who have the rudeness to protest at the Queen's visit. Well, not quite.

Republicanism has been gaining ground since the Governor General, the Queen's representative, stepped in to dissolve the Labour Government in 1975. Since then a massive anti-royalist campaign has dogged Governor General Sir John Kerr around

The royal tour has been seen as an opportunity to escalate the campaign for constitutional independence from Britain. Labour supporters and the working class rank and file have been less enthusiastic about the visit than you might have believed from the British press.

Newcastle dockers, for example, hard hit by the anti-working class policies of the Fraser Government, put a ban on all shipping after a decision to use sea cadets to tie up the royal yacht Britannia. Official protests that it was 'traditional' to have sea cadets doing the work didn't cut much ice. The crew of Britannia got a less than cordial reception when they went ashore.

Even so, the biggest reception was reserved for Prime Minister Fraser, whose car was bombarded with empty beer cans and tomatoes.

While we are in Australia, the first representative cricket match between an Australian team and the MCC has gone unmentioned in the Centenary Test atmosphere. This took place on a tour of England by a team of Aboriginal players in 1868. But then, you may have noticed that there are not a lot of Aborigines in the present Australian side.

★ Lebanon

Kemal Jumblatt, the best known leader of the Lebanese left, was assassinated last week. Already there have been more than 200 killings of Christian right wingers in revenge.

Jumblatt was a leader of the minority Druze Moslem community, a tightly knit group which gave him an assured electoral base. It was this guaranteed parliamentary seat



JUMBLATT

which provided his attraction to organisations like the Communist Party in their search for 'progressive' bourgeois allies.

Jumblatt was more a king-maker than a mass leader. In a long political career he had helped to make and break a succession of prime ministers until the late 1960s when he took up support for the Palestinian movement.

His political faults were those of the Palestinian movement and the Communist Party. He was a bourgeois reformist whose aims extended no further than the secularisation of Lebanese politics and the defeat of the Christian block. Nevertheless, he and his family were under constant threat. His father was assassinated while he was still a child and his sister Linda murdered by rightists last summer.

★ Italy

As we predicted (Red Weekly 10 March) Avanguardia Operaia, one of the three largest centrist organisations in Italy, has split in two.

A minority of AO, led by Aurelio Campi, has announced its decision to leave the organisation. This group is politically close to the former majority of the PDUP which itself split in two three weeks ago. A fusion between the two seems likely.

The decision was announced during the congress of the Milan federation of AO, just a week before the national congress. The minority, which gained about 20 per cent of the vote in the Milan meeting, will not participate in the congress.

Czech regime harasses Charter 77 dissidents

THE CZECHOSLOVAK authorities have just announced the release of 30 dissidents, supporters of the Charter 77 human rights manifesto. But it is certain that this does not signal the end of repression against the opposition.

Several supporters of the Charter 77 human rights manifesto were detained for questioning on 15 March. Among them was Peter Uhl who was previously jailed in 1970 for being a member of the far left Revolutionary Socialist Party.

Other names known are Vera Jirousiva, an art historian and the philosopher Ladislav Hejdanek. These arrests came two days before the funeral of one of the spokespeople for the Charter, Professor Jan Patočka, who had died of a brain haemorrhage the previous Sunday. He had just undergone an 11 hour interrogation.

FUNERAL

Nearly a thousand people attended the funeral despite the presence of police and security agents taking photos and police attempts to block the way to the cemetery. But the funeral was the occasion for the arrest of Jiri Namec, psychologist and Charter spokesperson.

This repression is a reaction to the growing support for the Charter both inside Czechoslovakia and throughout Eastern Europe. The

Charter now had 617 signatures, an increase of 176 in the past month. An increasing proportion of these are said to be workers while many people support the Charter while not wishing to put their name to it.

Despite the repression, the Charter has continued in its stated aim of publicising information on the deprivation of human rights in Czechoslovakia. On the same day as the recent arrests Jiri Hajek gave journalists a document on abuses in economic life. This included material on the position of women stating that, for the most part, women did not work 'in order to have a better and more independent life, but because of economic necessity, because their husbands' salary does not suffice to give them even a modest standard of living'.

Support has come from Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union, including the Ukraine and Lithuania. In mid-January, 40 Bulgarian dissidents were questioned and 14 detained after copies of the Charter had circulated in Sofia. The Charter is thus becoming a focus for the human rights movement throughout Eastern Europe.

The problem for the Husak regime is that the Charter itself demands that it implement its own laws. Neither Husak or his Moscow backers want to go to the Belgrade conference in June with bloody hands. The conference will

review the implementation of the Helsinki agreements on European Security and Co-operation. The danger is that they will become the butt of the human rights demagoguery of the Western bourgeoisies.

Therefore they have tried to pretend that those arrested have nothing to do with the Charter. Vaclav Havel was recently accused of having contacts with Pavel Togrid, an emigre journalist, while Ales Machacek and Vladimir Lastuvka, arrested in North Bohemia, are reportedly not charged with crimes relating to the Charter but with distributing Western books and publications.

ARRESTS

It is clear that the Charter is the real reason for the arrests. But then, of course, according to the regime the whole thing is cooked up by 'imperialist and Zionist centres'.

This reveals that the Husak regime is terrified of reaction in the West. This means that solidarity action, such as the meeting on 23 March organised by the Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists, are of considerable practical importance. Hopefully this will only be the start of a socialist support campaign for the human rights movement in Czechoslovakia.

LABOUR FOCUS ON EASTERN EUROPE

A Socialist Defence Bulletin on Eastern Europe and the USSR



Grigorenko asks CPs' aid for Ginzburg and Rudenko

Trade Unions and Repression in Eastern Europe and the USSR: "We should be able to check the facts and see for ourselves."

6 DOCUMENTS FROM POLAND

• Donations can be made to help those victimised for supporting the Charter. Make cheques out to 'Labour Focus' and send to 'Labour Focus', Bottom Flat, 116 Cazenove Road, London N16.

For more information read *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*. The first issue contains a long interview with Jan Kavan and a statement by Jiri Pelikan on the Charter. 30p post free from above address. Special introductory subscription: £2.25 for 9 issues.

Also read *Voices of Czechoslovak Socialists* — a booklet of Samizdat documents available from Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists, c/o ICDP, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1.

Workers' Jubilee 1917-1977



RIC SISSONS continues our series on one Jubilee that really matters to the working class—the 60th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

The Duma, a mockery of a parliament, had first been convened in 1906. This was the lower legislative chamber to complement the Tsarist appointed State Council, the upper house. The Duma had no real powers, was based on a limited electorate and could be dissolved by the Tsar. On 27 February the Fourth Duma ended its life at the Tsar's decree.

The deputies in the Duma were undecided as to whether to accept this dissolution. On the morning of 27 February they met in the Tauride Palace. An attendant rushed in. Soldiers were approaching. The members panicked. Rodzianko, the President, proposed a Provisional Committee. Everybody agreed and left. The soldiers arrived but to greet the Duma! However the Deputies decided discretion was the better part of valour and disappeared.

NIGHT

During the night of 1/2 March the Provisional Committee discussed with the Executive Committee of the Soviet. In the midst of these negotiations Rodzianko was called to go to the telegraph office. He refused to leave, unless escorted by members of the Soviet, for fear of being arrested. Here can be seen the control over the city which the Soviet wielded.

Perhaps the leaders of the Soviet were discussing their taking over the Government? In fact, far from it. They were trying to persuade the Provisional Committee to form a Government based on the Duma. For the Menshevik leaders of the Soviet the events of February were a bourgeois revolution, therefore it should be the bourgeoisie with its parties in the Duma that should form the Government. Sukharnov, a member of the Executive, a



KERENSKY replace Tsarism must be only a bourgeois power.'

The masses having seized the city had elected Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries to the leadership of the Soviet. They, in turn, pressed the parties of the Duma to form the Government.

The morning papers of 3 March announced the new Provisional Government.

The ruling class and its supporters in the allied embassies were delighted. The 11 ministers were either landlords, industrialists or

Minister, Prince Lvov. What could be better than a Prime Minister who was a right wing Kadet [Constitutional Democrat, the main ruling class party] wealthy and part of the nobility? Needless to say, the workers and the soldiers were dismayed.

Amongst the list of ministers there was one name that immediately caught the eye: Kerensky. He, a member of the Soviet Executive, had taken the job of Minister of Justice. The Executive had voted by 13 to 8 to oppose any

man of the Soviet, was offered the post as Minister of Labour which, abiding by the Executive decision he refused. Kerensky lacked any such principles.

SPEECH

On the evening of 2 March he suddenly appeared at a plenary session of the Soviet and made an impromptu speech. Not only did he call for the release of all political prisoners, but also asked for sanction to enter the Government. The applause he took to mean a vote of support. To a further ovation he exclaimed — 'I cannot live without the people and if at any time you lose faith in me, kill me'. In the following months, the masses nearly took him at his word.

In comparison to the other ministers, Kerensky was a raving revolutionary. All the ministers accepted the need to maintain loyalty to the entente in its pursuit of the war. The secret treaties were to be honoured.

The demands of the workers for an eight-hour day were met with the call for sacrifice and greater productivity in the war effort. The Minister of Agriculture, Shingarev, set up local land committees whose role was never made clear, but certainly not to give the peasants the land.

ASSEMBLY

Despite accepting in their Governmental declaration the convening of a Constituent Assembly on 25 March, one month after the revolution began, it was no nearer seeing the light of day. The Government had no wish to allow it to meet. Instead a special conference was called to work out the electoral laws for the Assembly. That never met.

The Government was awaiting better days. They longed for victory and peace and an end to the revolution. In the meantime they played for time, but as the days passed by and no action was taken to end the war, let alone to give the land to the peasants and lessen the workers exploitation, the noose around their necks tightened. The masses suffered from a lack of political direction, they had no revolutionary leadership.

That situation would change, as hundreds of revolutionary exiles returned to Russia. Among them were Lenin and Trotsky.

Letter from Belfast on the Murrays



7 Days in the 6 Counties

AFTER A TRIAL lasting 76 days — the longest in the history of the Six Counties — 25 members of the illegal Ulster Volunteer Force were sentenced to a total of nearly 700 years last week. Eight were convicted for life on charges including four murders, three attempted murders, six bombings and seven armed robberies. All these charges related to the period before August 1975 when the UVF was a legal organisation.

Amongst the various Loyalist paramilitary gangs, the UVF has always occupied a special place. Founded in 1912-13 to mobilise Protestant workers against Home Rule, it provided the bulk of the officers and recruits for the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the 'Specials' when the Six County state came into existence.

When Terence O'Neill was Unionist Prime Minister in the 60s, it was the UVF who initiated a 'strategy of tension'. Blowing up reservoirs and openly threatening the lives of the O'Neill 'traitors', they prepared the path for the murderous fanaticism of Paisley and the ousting of O'Neill.

Their relationship to the Unionist hierarchy and the British state is like that of any fascist gang to its capitalist paymasters. After initiating the Loyalist revolt against O'Neill they were declared illegal; in the aftermath of the Ulster Workers Council strike, they were legalised as part of Merlyn Rees's 'Ulsterisation' policy. Organising under the name of the 'Volunteer Political Party' they aligned themselves with the British National Front, saying that anti-Unionist resistance would only be smashed in the context of a British fascist state.

At the same time they embarked on a terror campaign of such savagery that Rees had them proscribed again in 1975. Their 'programme' included the physical liquidation of all Communists, socialists, Republicans [in which category they include the entire Catholic population] and the destruction of the organised working class. They specialise in torture, murder and no-warning bombings of the Catholic pubs. Sometimes they operate in Ulster Defence Regiment uniform as in the infamous case of the Miami Showband massacre. As a shock-squad for the British Army, they are generally left to their own murderous devices, keeping the sectarian pot boiling.

It is only when they go beyond what Merlyn Rees termed 'an acceptable level of violence' that the 'legitimate' forces of terror and brutality decide to discipline them. Examples of what is 'unacceptable' include revealing what the composition of the UDR is like by openly drilling in UDR platoons, going on UDR patrols, operating at UDR roadblocks; or when they tend to intimidate Loyalist more than Catholic communities and treat 'traitors' to the Orange cause in much the same way as they treat the half million Catholic 'enemies of the state'.

This latest 'coup' by the RUC is no exception to the rule. Of the four murderers on the charge sheet, three were members of the UDA; all the armed robberies were fund-raising activities within the Loyalist community in Antrim. According to the RUC, the prosecution and the trial judge, the UVF's real fault was not its sectarian violence, but its success in taking over a whole [Protestant] community.

The scores of assassinations of anti-Unionists and in particular the murder of eleven Catholics on 2 October 1975 — all committed by the UVF — all remain 'unsolved'.

The RUC are in no doubt as to who the real enemy is for them; as accusations of torture of Catholics mount, the RUC's reply is to bring back hanging, more repression by the troops, tighter press controls, closer liaison with the UDR — echoing the demands of the Loyalist politicians and the British Tories. But as they lost their hundredth member at the weekend and the casualty lists for the UDR topped 70, they were careful to add that they had no wish to be in the front line — that was the job of the British Army!

Anti-Unionists do not need to be told that the British Army is the front-line of the defence of the Six County state; nor do they take much notice of Roy Mason's denial that the RUC is, or will be, a paramilitary force. Neither are they much impressed with the so-called 'elimination' of the UVF's Antrim brigade.

Their solution to terrorists and torturers — whether in the UVF, UDR, RUC or British occupation forces is absolutely clear — TROOPS OUT NOW!

MIKE PINTER

I am writing on behalf of the Belfast Murray Defence Committee to inform you of the latest development in the Murray's case.

Noel Murray was sentenced to thirty years penal servitude for the murder of Garda Reynolds and is serving his sentence in the Curragh Prison Camp; Marie Murray is to be retried on 25 April for the capital murder of Garda Reynolds, again in the Special Criminal Court [a non-jury court established under the emergency legislation].

Thus Marie Murray is still awaiting the death sentence nine months after being charged. If the court finds that Marie knew Reynolds was a member of the Gardai when she allegedly shot him or, in all the circumstances, ought to have known — then she will be found guilty of capital murder and sentenced to hang. The trial is however a complete retrial, so the State prosecution must produce admissible evidence to prove that Marie actually took part in the robbery and shot Reynolds.

Ronan Stenson, who was originally charged along with the Murrays, but tried separately after breaking down in court while giving evidence in the Murray trial, was recently released on a 'technicality'. The technicality was that he had not been brought before a Peace Commissioner, the District Court or the Special Criminal

Court 'as soon as convenient' as stipulated.

Noel and Marie Murray also, like Stenson, arrested when the Gardai entered their home under a search warrant issued under the Firearms Act; however, arms were found. At the time of his arrest, Noel Murray had a Bench warrant out for him on the grounds of his not answering bail in a completely separate case. Technically he should have been brought immediately to the Special Criminal Court to answer his bail.

In fact, in all of these cases where the accused persons have been released on 'technicalities', it was because each had substantial evidence to prove ill-treatment and torture by the Gardai. They were released to prevent any publicity being given to such well-substantiated allegations of State brutality.

TORTURE

The Irish Times has recently made well-documented and substantiated allegations of ill-treatment, assault and torture of prisoners by the Gardai in the South of Ireland. It has presented evidence indicating that many of the torture techniques used by the State forces in the north of Ireland, which have been condemned in Strasbourg at the instigation of the Southern Government, are, in fact, also being

used to extract information and 'confessions' from prisoners in the South.

As you probably know, Noel Murray alleged that he had been assaulted while in custody, and Marie Murray was forced to sign a statement to the cries of pain from her husband, who was in the adjoining cell and whom, she alleges the Gardai said they would kill if she did not 'confess'. Marie's own 'confession', taken under duress and therefore inadmissible, coupled with Stenson's 'confession' and statement were both presented as evidence at the first trial and accepted. Stenson has since been released and his statement held to be inadmissible. It must, therefore, also be inadmissible in Marie's case, which leaves the prosecution with no substantial evidence whatsoever.

All of these developments — the release of Stenson and others on 'technicalities' to prevent the publicity of the ill-treatment and torture allegations; the substantiated allegations in the Irish Times of police brutality and use



MARIE MURRAY

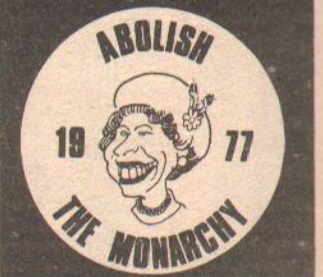
of a 'heavy gang' of interrogators to extract 'confessions' and information from accused persons using violent torture techniques; and the now totally inadequate evidence against Marie Murray — all necessitate and demand the immediate release of both Noel and Marie Murray, the abolition of capital punishment and the ending of the Special Criminal Court.

MURRAY DEFENCE COMMITTEE

Marie Murray awaits her retrial in Limerick Women's Prison. Noel Murray is bringing, at the cost of £3,000 (since legal aid is not available), a civil action for assault against the Gardai. Finance is required urgently for this action and for the campaign to save the Murrays generally.

Please cross all cheques and postal orders and if possible register all post to: Murray Defence Committee, 123 Springhill Avenue, Belfast 12.

Any further information, leaflets, pamphlets or propaganda material can be obtained from the above address on request. A video tape of the Murray Case is also available.



Available from Red Weekly office, 14 Piccadilly, Manchester 1. 15p

WHAT'S ON

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

A DEBATE between the Young Communist League and 'Militant'. Trotsky and the Popular Front in the Spanish Revolution — Past and Present. Friday 25 March, 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Monty Johnstone for YCL, Ted Grant for 'Militant'. Time will be allowed for a limited number of five minute contributions from the floor. Tickets 25p, obtainable from YCL, 16 King Street, London WC2 and Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST Papers Number One — out this month: contains a full discussion of the political differences that emerged during the recent split in the RCG; articles on party-building and internationalism; Stalinism and the British Communist Party. 50p + 13p postage from the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, BM RCT, London WC1V 6XX.

BATTLE OF IDEAS Forum, Tuesday 29 March, 7.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. (Tube Holborn). 'Which Road to Socialism'. Speakers: John Ross (IMG), Geoff Roberts (CP).

WOMENS ARTS ALLIANCE bookshop is launching 'Lives we have known it' — by Co-operative Working Women; Pub. Virago. An afternoon with Mary Stott, Anna Davin, the Women's Co-operative Guild and Virago. Historical exhibition, book readings, discussion. Sunday 27 March, 3.00pm, 10 Cambridge Terrace Mews, NW1. (Great Portland St Tube). BOLTON IMG Public Meeting on 'What is Trotskyism?' Speaker: Davy Jones (IMG Political Committee) in the White Lion, Moor Lane at 8pm, Wednesday 30 March.

WORLD REVOLUTION Public Forum, 'Libertarianism'. 2.30pm, Saturday 26 March, Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

ATTICA! Film on Sunday 27 March, 4pm in the Other Cinema, 24 Tottenham St, W1. (Goode Street Tube). Seats £1. To raise money for publishing the truth about what happened in Hull Prison and what lay behind the events, to demand a Public Enquiry and defend the prisoners.

THE RELEASE Collective needs a legal worker: work includes advice and information on drug arrests, general criminal problems, police behaviour, court practice. Opportunities for writing and pressure group/campaigning activity. Legal or practical experience an asset, commitment essential. Collective shares switchboard, emergency phone duties, cleaning. £33pw (net). Send full details to Legal Unit, Release, 1 Elgin Avenue, London W9.

DEFEAT BENYON'S Anti-Abortion Bill. Public Meeting Friday 25 March, 7pm, Friends House, Euston Road (Near Euston Station). Speakers: aLabour MP, a gynaecologist, Mel Read (ASTMS, NEC member), Dr Berry Beaumont (Socialist Medical Association). Organised by Labour Abortion Rights Campaign, 73 Albion Road, London N16.

MARXISM AND THE MEDIA Forum. 'Drama and the Development of Political Theatre'. Speaker: Chris Rawlings. 7pm, London Film-Makers Co-op, 44 Fitzroy Road, London NW1.

STALINISM and Trotskyism in Vietnam. This new Spartacist pamphlet includes a critical history of Indochinese Trotskyism in the '30s and '40s, a letter to the USFI from the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Vietnam, and articles on strategy in the American anti-war movement. 70p from iS-B, BCM Box 4272, London WC1.

WORLD REVOLUTION Public Forum. Crisis and class struggle in the Eastern Bloc. St Matthews Hall, St Mary's Road, Southampton, Sat 2 April, 2.30pm.

BRISTOL Socialist Challenge Forums. 'People's Culture, People's Power'. Speakers: Carl Gardner (Red Weekly and Time Out journalist), Colin Thomas (ACTT Branch Sec.), producer of Omnibus Documentary 'A White Wall in Alentejo'. Wed 6 April, 7.30pm. Baptist

2,500 demonstrated on Saturday 19 March against the Criminal Trespass proposals [Part II of the Government's Criminal Law Bill] currently before Parliament.

The demonstration went from Euston to Highbury Fields via the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital occupation.

A wide range of organisations from all over Britain were represented, including branches of: ASTMS, NALGO, UPW, T&GWU, NAPO, NUJ; some Trades Councils, Labour Parties, Student Unions, SWP, London District of the CP, IMG and many squatting and housing groups.

DISRUPTED

The march itself, organised by the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law, was sponsored by NUPE, AUEW/TASS, ACTS, NALGO, the South East Region of the TUC, and NUS.

The march was disrupted by police when they arrested one demonstrator near Upper Street Police Station, resulting in the bulk of the march halting there until the release of the arrested man. He was charged with insulting behaviour.

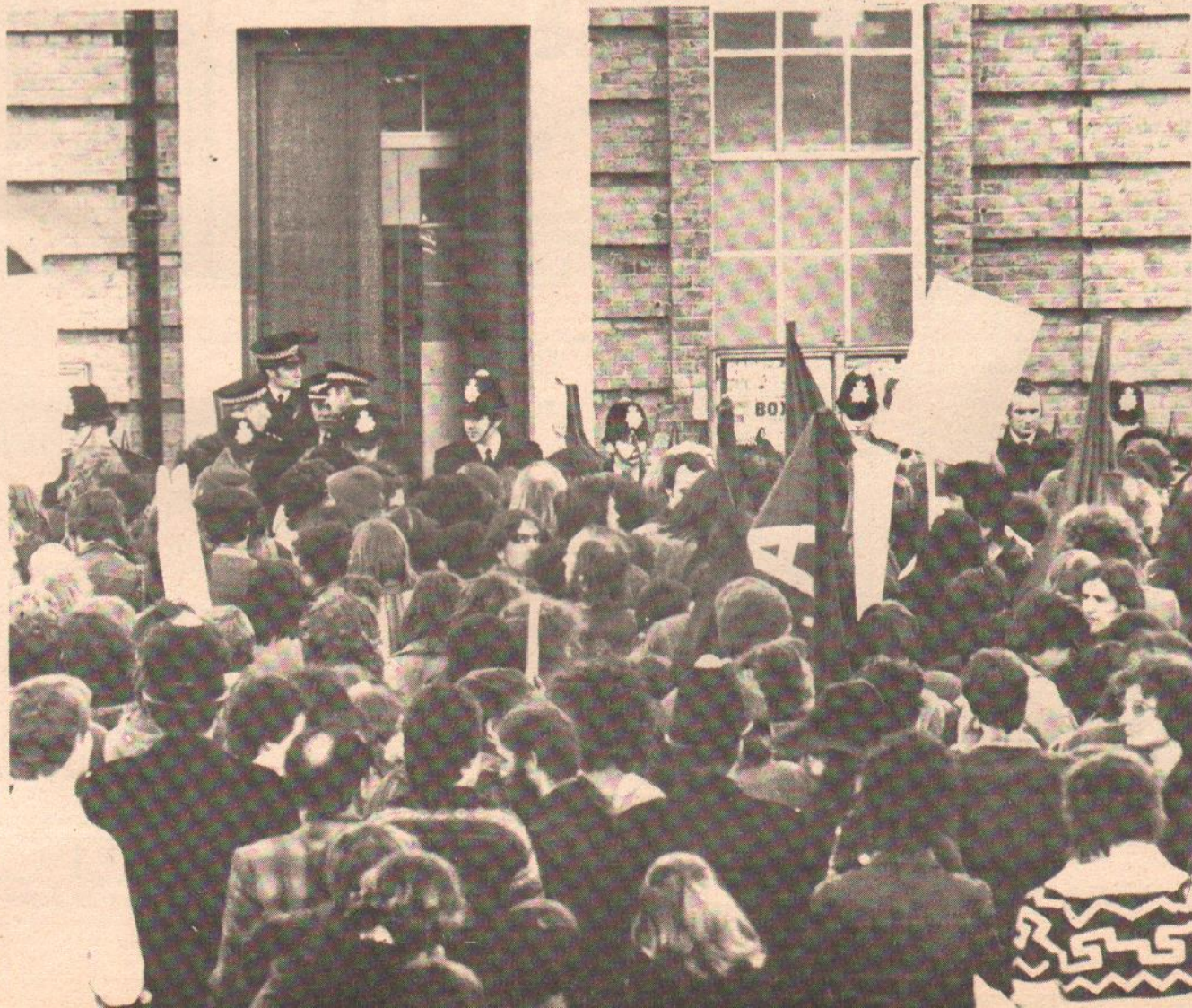
Under the Criminal Trespass proposals, people taking part in occupations, squatting and many forms of picketing would be subject to fines and imprisonment by police whose powers of search and arrest without warrant would be equalled only by those given under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

DECISIVE

The Campaign is at a decisive stage and an all-out effort will be made to explain to the rank and file that the proposals are part of the iron fist of the Social Contract. Militants in the labour movement, CACTL and squatting groups (who are being used as the reason for the introduction of the proposals) must play a prominent part in the national strike action on 19 April against the Social Contract, fighting for public opposition to the Bill in every occupation and direct action. It means the Campaign will also firmly defend squatters who will probably be the first to suffer attacks from the

Big turn-out against Trespass Bill

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



Stechford - 'Vote Leyland worker not Leyland boss'

**RED
WEEKLY**

IN THE HAND-OUT the Labour Party give to back their candidate in the Stechford by-election they say: 'When times are tough, you need a strong man to represent you. Terry Davis is Labour's choice to fight the by-election in Stechford.'

Indeed times are tough — tough because the Labour Government and the trade union leaderships have, under the Social Contract, hit the living standards, the social services and the job opportunities of ordinary working people they are meant to represent.

To the forefront of the campaign of Brian Heron, Socialist (IMG) candidate is a determination to build a socialist opposition to the Social Contract.

The Labour blurb on Davis continues, 'He was born and brought up near Birmingham and now works for British Leyland. He has a good idea of the problems facing working people in Birmingham'.

What the publicity neglects to mention is that his job in British Leyland is that of manager in the Jaguar Rov-

er/Triumph parts division in Coventry. Too right he knows about working peoples' problems. He and the rest of the bosses' class created those problems.

Brian Heron is on the other side of the fence, a Longbridge shop steward, a Leyland worker, not a Leyland boss.

The Labour hand-out drones on, 'He understands your worries about rising prices and jobs'. He may well do, but nowhere has he proposed what to do to stop price rises and halt unemployment. Indeed one of his first campaigning activities was to invite Roy Hattersley to Stechford — Hattersley, the Minister directly responsible for 'controlling' prices.

Brian Heron does offer policies. He proposes an immediate freeze on all prices, a national wage of £50 a week, an inflation-proof system for both wages and social services. This means that both wages and social services will rise every time there is a rise in the cost of living.

These are the type of alternatives, not only being offered



TERRY DAVIS

in Stechford, but facing working people throughout the country.

It may be a coincidence that one candidate is a Leyland boss, and the other a Leyland shop steward — but what is not a coincidence is that the Labour candidate stands four square with policies which have so savagely hit working people these last two years,

and the Socialist (IMG) candidate, stands four square with all those who are determined to resist those attacks. Davis's allies are the IMF, Denis Healey, and the blackmailing Leyland management.

But for Heron: 'As a Trotskyist and a socialist I have only one loyalty and that is to the working class and its allies'.

**BUILD
MASS
ACTION
FOR
19 APRIL**

THERE ARE just over three weeks left to organise for national strike action on 19 April.

It is a month since the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions made the call for strike action on the day that Parliament was due to assemble. Time is running short in the campaign to turn that into effective national action against the attacks of the Labour Government.

Every other scheme for stopping these assaults on wages, public spending and jobs has failed dismally.

It has proved farcical to rely on the likes of Benn to argue in the Cabinet for the interests of working people. Plans to pressurise one-time 'left' trade union leaders like Jones and Scanlon have come to nothing.

Faith in left talking bureaucrats like Alan Fisher has been shattered.

This is why plans for national strike action on 19 April should get under way now. And this is not just a device to 'influence' negotiations over Phase 3 of wages policy.

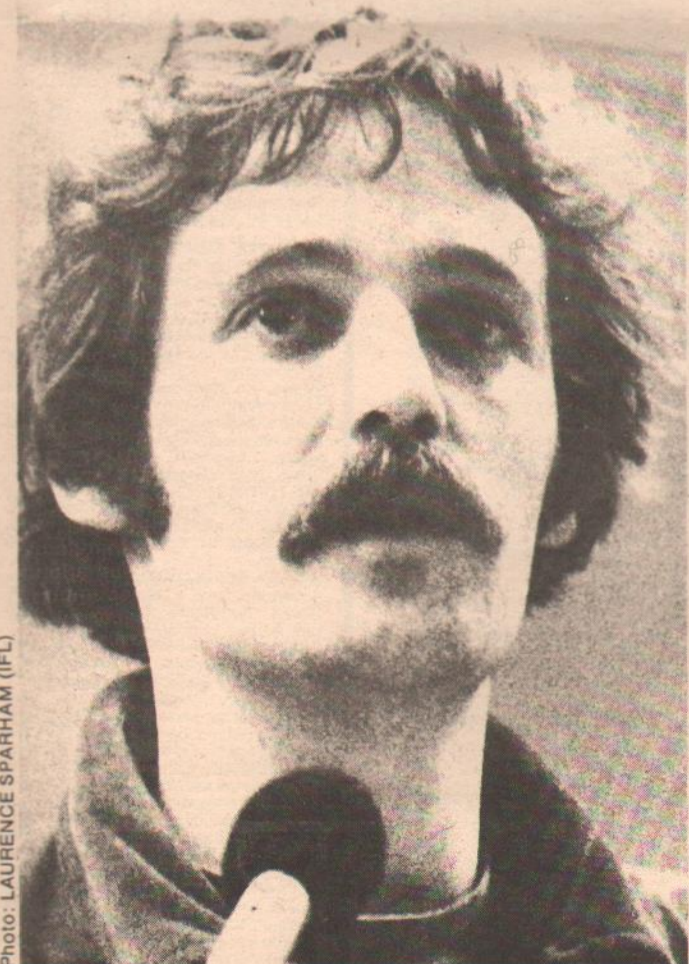
It should be aimed at smashing every aspect of the Social Contract now. And that means smashing Phase 2 — the best way to stop Phase 3.

* Build local action committees to organise national strike action on 19 April.

* The struggle won't end there — the committees will still be needed to build conferences able to call further action.

* Turn 19 April into a national strike against all aspects of the Social Contract.

* All out on 19 April!



BRIAN HERON

Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

Elections: Funds needed

WHETHER OR NOT a General Election has been called by the time you read this, the IMG intervention into elections will go ahead.

As well as the Stechford campaign, the IMG is standing four candidates in the Greater London Council elections. We are calling 'For a Labour GLC, but Build a Socialist Opposition'. We will be using our platform to support and mobilise for the 11 May strike against cuts.

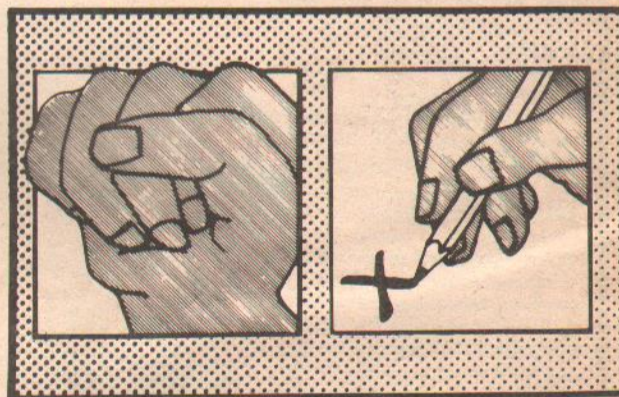
Standing candidates in elections is an important opportunity to popularise our alternative strategy. In Stechford and London we will be fighting for mass action to end the Social Contract, to reverse cuts, to support the national demonstration of the National Abortion Campaign on 14 May.

You knew it of course — all this costs money. At last Friday's meeting on the lessons of the French elections we raised £202, but this is only a drop in the ocean compared with the amount we need to meet the expense of the London election campaign alone, let alone all the other struggles the IMG is taking part in.

Yet we are still lagging behind on our Fund Drive target—a target which itself may need to be increased dramatically if there is a general election.

So this Fund Drive appeal is a very special one; send money, bucketfuls of it, to Fund Drive, 97 Caledonian Rd, London N1.

SC; Manchester £5
Anon £70
York IMG £7.50
M. Black £15
Cardiff IMG 90p
Canterbury IMG £31
Nottingham IMG £16
Glasgow £5
March total so far £1,203.90p.



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