

RED WEEKLY

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REPEAL IMMIGRATION ACTS

SMASH

POWELLISM



BLACK SELF- DEFENCE

**All out for National Demo
Sun 4th July 1.30 pm Speakers Corner**

Why Powell will fail



There's only one thing more dangerous than a lunatic in politics, and that's 'a frustrated lunatic'. The lunatic in question — Enoch Powell. The description — that of Anthony Barber, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the 1973 Tory Party Conference!

But Enoch Powell has succeeded in building another image of himself: that of the parliamentarian, the orator with a cautionary tale from Rome or Greece always at hand. Above all, he has presented himself as the honest politician, the man who will face facts however unpalatable, who will (literally) call a spade a spade.

This image conveniently conceals the reality of Powell's success in gaining mass appeal: the techniques of the street corner demagogue, the calculating fixer who has seized on the issues of race, the Common Market and Ireland when the fuse of his soaring political ambition appeared to be burning out. He has tuned more and more into those issues on which sections of the working class are politically weakest, in order to carve out for himself a mass base.

Powell is dangerous. He is the man who made racism respectable and gave the tin pot Nazis of the National Front and National Party a stalking horse for their racist filth.

FADING

Yet one thing stands out. Until 1968 Powell was a fading politician, known more for his homburg hat than as the high priest of economic Toryism, preaching — as he still does today — that all one needs to do to cure inflation is to reduce the amount of money circulating in the economy.

Then Powell discovered race and funeral pyres and the river Tiber foaming with blood. The man who had said in 1964 that, 'I will always set my face like flint against making any difference between one citizen of this country and another on grounds of his origin', now discovered that 'the West Indian or Asian does not, by being born in England, become an Englishman. In law, he becomes a United Kingdom citizen by birth; in fact he is West Indian or Asian still.'

The response, with dockers and Smithfield meat porters marching on Parliament, was dramatic. Powell had made it in a way that 'conventional' politics had never allowed him to do. He never looked back.

The theme of race remained, and other issues also came to the fore. On the Common Market he switched from being a supporter to an opponent, and the more vociferous opposition to the Common Market became in the workers movement, the more demagogically Powell exploited the confusion sown by the Labour leaders with their talk of being ruled from Brussels and Parliament losing its sovereignty.

Ireland was easier. The man who was to ape Carson with his latter day flight to the Six Counties was a little Englishman who had always ferociously supported 'the Union'.

Powell is more perceptive than most. When he saw the Heath Government heading for the precipice in a confrontation with the miners in January 1974,

he upped anchor and as good as called for a vote for Labour.

He saw something that few others grasped so completely — that the defeat of the Tory Government in 1974 was a strategic defeat for the ruling class project of restoring the falling profits of British capitalism by defeating a core section of the working class in head-on confrontation. Bourgeois politics fragmented.

What Powell also grasped was that to put together a coherent strategy for the ruling class again demanded first the splitting of the working class. Race and the Irish issue fitted this perspective to a T, playing on ingrained prejudices deep in the heart of the working class. Calling for a Labour vote in October 1974 again fitted this perspective; for while race and the Irish issue already split the working class ideologically, these were most likely to become explosive after a period of falling living standards and unemployment presided over by the traditional leadership of the labour movement.

When the social contract then became the £6 limit, Powell must have secretly leaped for joy, theoretical opposition to incomes policy or not.

But Powell has not got it all sewn up. If his perspective was that of one day being recalled as leader of the Tory Party, then the logical thing to do would have been to have made his criticisms of Heath, waited for the fall, and then come forward as the Tories'

saviour in defeat. This he did not do.

His actions in fact are more those of a bonapartist, appearing to straddle class and parties. In February 1974, when he spoke at his first 'Get Britain Out Campaign' meeting in Birmingham after having ditched the Tories, the 1,500 strong audience rose to the suggestion that he stand as an independent. Powell refused to be drawn: 'Politics and Parliament in this country are about party'.

CHANGE

But only a month later, he wrote what was almost a characterisation of his own actions: 'When the connection of policy with party is assumed to be spurious or reversible, parliamentary politics sinks to the level of triviality and men will begin to look for other ways to influence or control the nation's affairs' (11 March 1974). Not least J. Enoch Powell.

After the October election he went further: 'The double general election of February-October 1974 marked the close of a 30-year long post-war phase of British politics' (*The Times*, 4 October 1974).

The essential feature of that close, according to Powell, was precisely the separation of party and politics on the central issues of the Common Market and anti-inflation policy. 'Here, before

our eyes, is the intimation of a reconstruction of the pattern of British politics in some new form that cannot as yet be foreseen.'

If Powell does not see his future as leader of the Tory Party, then what is his aim? Does he see his role as that of a British De Gaulle, coming to save the nation in its hour of need?

But in Britain there exists as yet no far-reaching crisis of the state structures themselves, as compared with France in 1958. The crisis of the capitalist parliamentary order is indeed deep, but with the organisational strength of the working class still intact, the ruling class would be risking everything if it embarked on such a precarious project.

Its preference would be to see the Tory Party revamped around a more right-wing line, and the role of Powell — and for that matter the fascists — within such a process is to drag the party to the right and lead the war cries for more strong state measures like the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Which is not to write off Powell or the fascists. The imposition of such a Tory Government — made more possible every day by the disastrous policies being pursued by the Labour Government — would be a big defeat for the working class. And it would also be the springboard for the far right to really take off.



Tour gets big response

For chanting 'the National Front is a Nazi Front', Mohammed Mumtaz Abbasi found himself arrested — under the Race Relations Act! The 30-year-old Pakistani worker explained the racist use of these laws to a meeting of 120 organised by the local anti-fascist committee in Sheffield last week.

Speaking at the meeting was Tariq Ali, who has visited a number of centres on a tour organised by *Red Weekly* to build for the 4 July demonstration. The response to the tour has been excellent.

BIRMINGHAM: The National Secretary of the Bangladesh Workers Association, Tom Huk, shared the platform with Tariq Ali as well as speakers from the Saitley Socialist Society, the Afro-Caribbean Society, and Pakistani leader Sibghat Kadri. The management of the hall had been flooded with enquiries about the meeting, which attracted 150 people — of whom half were Asian and West Indian workers. Tariq Ali was loudly applauded when he took up the attack made on the IMG and the militant black youth by Sibghat Kadri, for refusing to place trust in the police and Race Relations machinery.

MANCHESTER: big enthusiasm for the 4 July demonstration came from the 200 strong audience. Sharing the platform was a leader from the local West Indian community. Despite short notice for the meeting, over 40 black people attended.

LEEDS: A lunchtime meeting attracted over 150 students with a strong Asian presence. Speakers from the floor included members of the International Socialists, who made a very positive contribution to the discussion.

BRADFORD: At a smaller but nonetheless lively meeting, the audience heard two officials of the Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers Union make a vigorous attack on racism and stress the necessity to fight for the full political involvement of the black community.

Sharp disagreement came at the meeting in Sheffield, where members of the Workers Socialist League attacked the fight of *Red Weekly* and the International Marxist Group for support for black self-defence. The comrades indicated that only workers self-defence could do the job.

Tariq Ali agreed with the comrades that workers defence must be the aim, explaining that the black self-defence had to be seen as the first and necessary step. The reason was that blacks could not wait until it was possible to organise such a defence. They had to organise now.

Tariq also explained the burning necessity to mobilise for the demonstration on 4 July in London. He explained that although the political basis of the demonstration was reformist, it would command the widest forces. A contingent had to be built on the demonstration on the slogans: For Black Self-Defence; Repeal Immigration Laws; and No Platform for Racists.

Another demonstration has been called on 11 July, on a superior political basis closely approximating to the IMG's position. The IMG will be supporting this demonstration, but thinks that the priority should be placed on mobilising for the larger demonstration on 4 July.



Picket of Harlesden police station in London last Friday against another example of police repression: the beating up of six black girls

MORE POLICE ATTACKS

The police force is gaining quite a reputation for impartiality in Tottenham. Last week black youths were attacked by white thugs — in all probability from the National Party (whose headquarters are in the street where the incident took place). The police made no attempt to protect these youths, but showed their solidarity with the fascists by further weighing into the youths instead.

An eye-witness told *Red Weekly* that he and his friends were at the fair in Lordship Recreation Ground when they saw a van drive through the crowd. They then saw white men inside the van handing metal bars, and even a sword, out into the large and noisy crowd.

'A man shouted "Get the black bastards" and then I saw the man with the sword going towards my friends, swinging it above his head. We all tried to get away, but one of us tripped over. Another white man started hitting him with a metal bar.'

The forces of law and order came — to the rescue? Not a

chance. The police simply took over from the fascists, sat on the youth who had already been beaten up, and pushed his face in the ground and his hands behind his back. That youth was then arrested. They also arrested two of his friends. When our informant tried to find out why his friends had been arrested, he was thrown to the ground by a friendly neighbourhood policeman.

A similar attack by the police on young blacks took place in the same area only a month ago. The Black Parents Movement have already called for an investigation of that incident, and they also state: 'Both the Black Students Movement and the Black Parents Movement believe that it is only when parents and youth join together to defend themselves against the police that these attacks will cease.'

It is the responsibility of white trade unionists in the area to give these demands their complete support, and to remember that we are all potential victims of police and fascist violence.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

HOW DO WE FIGHT RACISM

When Gurdip Singh Chaggar was murdered, the Asian youth of Southall poured onto the streets with a simple but burning message: 'Racist murders must be avenged—we'll get you, racist scum.' But as the militant youth milled around the spot where Chaggar died, they got a very different message from the traditional leaders of the black community and the Communist Party — keep it cool, leave it to the police, go home.

The same message is spread by every reformist leader in the black and white communities of Britain. They seem mortally afraid of the self-organisation of blacks, or indeed for that matter, trade unionists in struggle. The massive resistance in the black communities provoked by the London murders has dramatically underlined the differences between the reformist and revolutionary approaches to the struggle against racism. And on 26 June the Communist Party's paper, the *Morning Star*, spelt out just what these were:

1. Instead of supporting the self-defence of the black communities, the *Star* calls for a strengthened Race Relations Act. Yet the Race Relations Act has been used more often against anti-racists than racists. The most recent example of this was the arrest in Rotherham on 19 June of Ann Silverleaf. She was done under the Public Order Act and the Race Relations Act for painting the slogan 'black and white unite and fight'.

By calling for the strengthening of the Race Relations Act, the CP is calling for the strengthening of police powers that are almost always used against blacks. In terms of dealing with white racists, that Act is totally useless: remember—Robert Relf wasn't jailed for contravening the Race Relations Act, he was jailed for contempt of court. There is absolutely nothing to stop him from selling his house on racial grounds as long as he takes down the nasty notice in his garden when a court instructs him to.

Self-defence

What the *Star*'s demand also ignores is that the black communities, particularly the youth, just as often need self-defence against police harassment as overt racist attacks. The institutionalised racism of the police cannot be overemphasised — it's no accident that they invited Enoch Powell to address a seminar

organised by the Police Federation in Cambridge on 11 April and that Powell in turn said that the police 'evidence' to the Select Committee on race relations associating muggings with blacks was 'beautifully put'.
WE SAY: Labour movement support for black self-defence, first step to the self-defence of the whole workers movement.

No controls

2. Syd Bidwell MP, leader of the *Tribune* group, wails in the same issue of the *Star* that there is 'no simple answer as some suggest' to the question of immigration. The CP's own writer, Ken Graves, maintains a discreet silence while calling for the ending of the racist Immigration Act of 1971.

What the *Star* doesn't say is that all legislation on immigration control has been racist and will continue to be. Any immigration controls suggest that someone else — namely foreign workers — are responsible for bad housing, rotten education and declining social services.

WE SAY: an end to all immigration controls.

3. 'To answer the appearance of fascism with impulsive, unthought-out, little supported, but understandable reactions leading to impromptu violence or physical confrontation has proved counter-productive', writes Ken Graves. Yet it was precisely the activity of the far left and of many Communist and Labour Party supporters in confronting the fascists on the streets and pinning the Nazi label on the National Front which helped to produce the internal warfare and eventual split in the NF that for a time weakened its actions.

We also demand that the Labour Government ban all provocative marches and demonstrations of the NF and similar fascist bodies; but when the Labour Government and Labour councils refuse to do this, we have to operate such a ban ourselves. Obviously the question in

volves tactical and political considerations, and in different circumstances we may decide that this is not the most effective way to get across anti-fascist propaganda — but that doesn't mean socialists don't adopt a clear position of no platform for Powell and the fascists.

WE SAY: No free speech for racists.

The result of the CP's policies is that they end up giving a left veneer to the policies of the trade union and Labour leadership, which have done nothing to combat racism. Ken Graves describes as 'perhaps the most significant achievement over the past few years' the creation of the TUC equal rights committee! Most trade unionists won't even know it exists.

What they will know is that the TUC has called for the ending of all work permits for overseas workers in this country and has been carrying out a reactionary campaign for import controls. Graves's article fails to mention these things.

Similarly, the big welcome given to the decision of the Labour Party to organise a campaign to combat racism fails to mention that included in this is a plea that no counter-demonstrations be held to fascist marches. True to its colours, *Tribune* supported this line — and urged the calling off of the 4,000-strong anti-National Front demonstration in Rotherham on 19 June!

Dangers

The line of the reformists poses big dangers for the black communities and the anti-racist struggle in the coming months, emphasising as it does Government legislation which has simply served in the past to institutionalise racism. This danger is doubly real when the whole strategy of the ruling class is to 'tame' Britain's two million exploited blacks through a process of co-option of the traditional leadership of the black communities through legislation like the Race Relations Act and selective repression against its militant youth vanguard.

That's why socialists have to be absolutely clear and unequivocal in their support for black self-defence, for the ending of all immigration controls, and for no platform for Powell and the fascists.

JAMES DRAKE

IN FOCUS

What Rotherham shows

The exposure of the £1,000m cuts demand to be made by Healey to the Cabinet confirms what this column has been saying for a long time. The price of capitulation to this Government is more and more burdens being put on the back of the working class in Britain.

For a year now Jack Jones, Len Murray, James Callaghan, Michael Foot and the rest of the Labour and trade union leadership have been saying that the working class must keep out the Tories and keep the Labour Government in office by accepting wage controls, cuts in public spending and reduced living standards. For the same year revolutionary socialists have been saying that to keep the Tories out by attacking the living standards of the working class is impossible, and that the policies of Jones and co. are certain to bring down the Labour Government and lead to the return of the Tories.

With the Rotherham by-election following hard on the heels of the local government election results, the proof of the pudding is now in the eating. Labour voters stayed away in their thousands. They could not be bothered to vote for a party which had reduced the working class standard of living by 6 per cent in six months and allowed a million and a quarter to be put on the dole queues. On this course the Labour Government is heading for inevitable and sickening collapse. This is the balance sheet of one year of Jones's wage-cutting policies.

Equally responsible with Jones for the course which is letting the Tories back in are the Labour and trade union 'lefts' — Scanlon, Benn and the rest of them — who have not merely accepted wage controls but now actively support them.

But Jones, Foot and company are responsible for something even worse than opening the door to the Tories. The Tory government, whose return they have been ensuring, will be an even more reactionary government than the Heath one. While Heath was defeated and swept from office by mass struggles of the working class, Jones and Foot are doing their best to prepare the ropes to tie the labour movement hand and foot before the Tory onslaught.

Finally, however, the vilest product of all of this approach is developing. Disillusioned and demoralised by the anti-working class policies of the Government, certain sections of the population have turned to the racists. The large increase in votes for the fascist National Front in Rotherham, coming on top of the actual fascist victories in Blackburn and their huge vote in Leicester, is the worst fruit of all of the Jones line. Those who not merely hate the Labour Party but would destroy the very labour movement are being fed and encouraged by the policies of this Government.

Right to work march

The march to the September TUC Congress in Brighton called by the Right to Work Campaign must be welcomed. Already the march organisers have signed up fifty unemployed workers, teachers and school-leavers to march to and lobby the TUC.

Although the 3,000 delegate strong National Assembly on Unemployment is pledged to action around the TUC Congress, no-one should wait for the organisers to take such steps. The Assembly organisers were likewise committed to a lobby of the special TUC. They did nothing. The Communist Party dominated CSEU No. 8 District, one of the joint sponsors, did not even turn up. The Communist Party is clearly going to do nothing which seriously embarrasses their former left allies like Hugh Scanlon, who are now in the forefront of suppressing opposition to the Government's policies.

The Assembly organisers should have the greatest possible pressure put on them to support the march. Equally, the left Labour MPs should be actively involved in the mobilisation for the campaign. In this way the march can be part and parcel of a fighting campaign to recall the Assembly.

Our criticisms of the previous Right to Work March were specific. By failing to take up the left leaders the March made an impact on only a small number of workers. It did not build support for the Unemployment Assembly on a fighting programme; the programme of the March remained a scrap of paper. Support gained from Labour MPs was allowed to remain as paper support, providing those lefts with a militant cover while not raising concrete demands for action from them which could have involved much wider layers of workers.

The lack of democracy in the organisation of the March helped the Stalinists to conduct a massive witch-hunt which extends even now into the campaign to defend the 43 marchers arrested in Hendon. At the same time the March had the effect of turning the efforts of local right-to-work committees exclusively toward building the March, in practice counterposing this to the development of local activity.

Statements by the March organisers indicate a greater degree of democracy and political discussion in its organisation this time. Equally the leading forces in the campaign, the International Socialists, have declared their intention to build the campaign as 'a united front'. We urge all militants to test this out in practice, build the march and lobby, campaign for the recall of the Assembly, and fight for demands centring on workers control to defeat the Labour Government's offensive on unemployment, wages and cuts.

Newsline flips its lid

After the incredible lie that Joe Hansen and George Novack and all Trotsky's closest political collaborators were 'accomplices of the Soviet Secret Police', the rapidly degenerating lie machine known as the leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party has produced a further astounding 'revelation'. Apparently Ernest Mandel, a leading member of the Fourth International, is retiring from active politics to become a professor at Cambridge University — or so *News Line* of 19 and 26 June would have us believe.

Unfortunately this 'discovery' is on the same level of truth as all previous 'revelations' of the WRP — in other words, any resemblance to the truth is purely accidental and unintentional. Mandel has certainly accepted his election to deliver the Alfred Marshall lectures on economics at Cambridge University. And to accept bourgeois academic posts is in no way against revolutionary principles—as Cliff Slaughter, Tom Kemp and many other members of the WRP will be able to testify.

But Mandel isn't even taking a full-time post. The appointment is simply to deliver a series of lectures on economics over the year, and he certainly won't be moving to Britain. To use this post to speak to the hundreds of students who will attend the lectures, and the thousands who will read them (publication of the lectures is part of the arrangement) is an excellent means of making the analyses of Marxist economics more widely known.

The demise of the WRP's 'International Committee' and the growing strength of the Fourth International, however, mean that we can expect further idiocies from this source in their failing efforts to hold their grouping together.

TWENTY COLLEGES involved in the student occupations campaign assembled at C.F. Mott College in Liverpool last Saturday to discuss what exactly could be done over the summer to develop the campaign against teacher unemployment and public expenditure cuts.

The organisers, Merseyside Area Students Association, had called the conference because they thought that the suggestions put forward by the National Union of Students executive for organisation over the summer were particularly inadequate and unrelated to the real needs of students, and that positive ideas could come from attempting to pool different experiences. The NUS executive refused to support the conference, only sent observers, and once again used NUS headquarters in an attempt to discredit the whole affair.

Petitioning

Most delegates at the conference stressed that they had no desire to oppose the NUS; on the contrary, they wanted to fight within the NUS but for a clear perspective in the cuts and unemployment campaign. This would involve consolidating the links between student teachers, teachers and unemployed teachers, by campaigning for unemployed sections in local National Union of Teachers' associations to link up nationally to force the NUT to implement its policy on class size and no cover.

Delegates welcomed the suggestion from NUS executive observer Pete Ashby that the NUS, NUT and National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education may be organising a national demonstration against education cuts in October. But they pointed out that such an event has to be part of a campaign by student teachers to urge action in class sizes from the NUT, and to call on NATFHE to campaign to reduce the class contact hours for full-time lecturers—to ensure the employment of students who are training to be lecturers while avoiding any reduction in the wages of those employed.

'It is no use continually organising protest actions that will not force the Government to change its mind', said the delegate from Manchester Area. 'NUS has to demand that the trade

JOBS! FOR TEACHERS

THE NEXT STEPS

VAL COULTAS, IMG Student Organiser and a member of the NUS Executive reports from Liverpool where the Merseyside Area Students Association held a special conference on 26 June.

unions use their economic power really to fight unemployment and ensure that their members are employed. The Government has time and time again shown itself unwilling to listen to polite requests.'

It was also argued that the NUS has to begin to act independently against the cuts if the trade union leaders refuse to fight them. A student from Moray House explained that this was the essential reason why the Broad Left dominated executive had decided to divert the occupations movement away from the lobby of the TUC on 16 June—the day when the most militant workers were taking action—and instead suggest that students could win their demands by petitioning Parliament the day before.

Dole Queue

NUS president Charles Clarke does not think that students have the right to criticise Fred Jarvis and the rest of the NUT leadership, who sit back while 30,000 students are facing the dole queue and then attempt to discipline those NUT members who struck in support of the students on 16 June. Instead the Broad Left say that it is the rank-and-file trade unionists who are backward, who don't really want to fight Labour's policies.

Student teachers have found the opposite to be the case when going to factories, building sites, hospitals and schools. Large numbers of student teachers are beginning to understand

that the Broad Left's contempt for the working class movement is based on their own timidity and that of their bureaucratic 'allies' in the trade union movement. Workers do support people that stand up to the Labour Government's policies, and would launch a fightback if given a lead.

The conference decided not only to continue visiting schools over the summer but to continue also to build links with all trade unionists. We should go into hospitals and find out if redundancies or closures

are threatened there, talk to the student nurses to see if they face unemployment too, leaflet the dole queues to link up with unemployed school-leavers, and work with the National Union of School Students and the Labour Party Young Socialists to fight youth unemployment.

With the Shore circular on local government spending we should mount a specific campaign to force Labour councillors to refuse to implement the cuts and reveal these plans to the local labour movement, and mount a campaign for a pro-

gramme of public works and cancellation of local authority debts—demanding that Labour councils act to defend the working class rather than implement attacks of which the Tories would be proud.

Colleges decided that around this perspective occupations could continue if the resources were available, and that activist centres should be arranged in one college in each area if possible. Most of the areas had already decided to do this. The delegates at the conference also voted to support the lobby of the TUC in September and called on the NUS to organise a contingent of unemployed teachers and students on the march organised by the Right-to-Work Campaign.

Involved

A co-ordinating committee was elected to keep in touch with students involved in the campaign over the summer, and to organise support for the decisions of the Manchester conference at the Teacher Education Committee. One delegate from St. Catherine's college summed up the feelings of the students who attended the conference when he said: 'I voted against the setting up of a National Co-ordinating Committee at Manchester, but now I understand why we need one.'

Enquiring about the cuts

Militants active in building liaison committees between student teachers and other trade unionists might want to take a few leaves out of Bristol's book. The Avon liaison committee is now supported by a number of schools, Bristol National Union of Teachers (which sends six delegates, including the vice-president), two NATFHE branches and the union's Avon division, Rolls-Royce AUEW shop stewards committee and—of course—all six colleges! From the Rolls Royce toolroom alone came back 12 pages of petitions packed with names supporting the occupations and the student teachers' demands.

The occupations launched an enquiry into schooling which the liaison committee now intends to extend with the help of NUT members and others working in the sector. The aim is to produce a report by September which can provide the basis for precise demands on the local authority. Already a pilot study

has identified a number of primary schools with classes over 35, and some with well over 40. One parent reported a class of over 60 with only one qualified teacher.

The occupations have also led to the establishment of a Bristol wide nursery campaign. Supporters are keen to emphasise that nurseries are not just 'good for the kids'—cutting back on them amounts to a direct attack on women and one parent families. In Avon there are only 26 nurseries for a population of half a million—and the Tories tried to get rid of even them last year!

The liaison committee is also organising a rally for unemployed school leavers at the end of July in order to draw them into the campaign for jobs, and will be continuing the work of speaking at shop stewards and trade union branch meetings to win support.



Politics in command - or were they?

We feel we must express our concern at a crucial aspect of the IMG's role in the present student occupations, namely the failure adequately to take up the political demands which are an essential part of any serious fight against the policies of the Labour Government.

Despite some excellent work by IMG comrades, in stressing the need to establish action committees, to co-ordinate activities and to place demands on the NUT executive and despite the exemplary lead given by Moray House, the Red Weekly supplement 'Crisis in Education' did not in any way develop this lead. There was not one mention of the sliding scale of social expenditure and wages, or the need for campaigns to examine the expenditure plans of local authorities.

Many non-aligned students who have been active in the occupations see the necessity of broadening the campaign into one against all unemployment and against all cuts in public expenditure, i.e. they are convinced of the need for the student-worker alliance (as it used to be called). The IMG should be raising the political demands of the action programme

which can unite students and workers around the position of no responsibility for the crisis.

Equally, the role of the IMG at the 16 June lobby deserves some criticism. The demand for the recall of the TUC had assumed a central position in the IMG's strategy, and one would have expected, therefore, a clear political intervention at the lobby. The students there were those sufficiently committed to support the LACC demonstration against the instructions of NUS executive; a leaflet clearly explaining the way in which the campaign could be taken forward would have had a significant impact.

Instead, the intervention remained on the level of a contest with IS on organisational efficiency and anti-Broad Left polemic. The only suggestion given to IMG sympathisers was to pick up the Red Weekly placards after the lobby, and this was no easy task, as they were indistinguishable from those of IS.

These kinds of mistakes must not be repeated during the next IS initiative, the London-Brighton march. Clearly this march should be supported, but again its

political basis is inadequate and the IMG must start preparing now if it is to intervene effectively. — MARK WHYTE, PHIL DAVENPORT, JOHN S. EVANS, ANNA BRADLEY, GWYN JONES, DIARMAID MACDERMOTT, BRIAN RUTTER and other members of Warwick University Socialist Society.

THE EDITORS REPLY:

We very much welcome the contribution from members of Warwick University Socialist Society. As they may know, the Red Weekly special supplement on the student occupations (issue of 10 June 1976) was compiled with the assistance of many people active in the struggle, student teachers and teachers, both inside and outside the International Marxist Group. Their letter helps to continue the process of debate on the vital issues of the class struggle which we are trying to make a characteristic feature of the paper—with your help.

However, there are some factual mistakes and some possible political ones. On the question of opening the books of the local authorities to student and worker representatives, this was raised

both on the first page of the supplement (see 'The Action Now') and in the article on London action over class sizes.

The demand for a sliding scale of social expenditure had already been raised in the previous issue of Red Weekly (3 June—the one sold at the Manchester conference), and was implicit in the call by Val Coultas for an immediate cash injection into the social services and in the demand for the immediate implementation of 1969 National Union of Teachers policy on class size.

But it's possible that the comrades also perhaps have different political conceptions. For us the most important thing is to try to grasp the precise political moment in terms of how to highlight a particular demand and push forward the general strategy of the student-worker alliance.

In terms of the supplement, this turned around three things in the wake of the Manchester conference: to re-stress the 'no special case' argument; to underline the importance of the 16 June lobby of the TUC in terms of building an alliance with the working class; and to

highlight the demand for the implementation of NUT policy on class size as the most important for taking the campaign forward, and within which specific demands for local action over opening the books and workers enquiries fell.

This does more to advance the political demands that are essential in fighting the policies of the Labour Government than any simple repetition of formulas. Sometimes we have to do that—but why limit oneself to an abstract presentation of the demand precisely at the moment when a living movement has allowed us to make it concrete. What is more, demands for action committees, coordinating activities and so on are also profoundly political, building up a consciousness of democratic organisation in contradiction to the reformists of all stripes.

On the 16 June lobby—yes, comrades the IMG's intervention wasn't the most brilliant intervention in the world. But a large part of the reason for that was that the specially produced supplement for the lobby had sold out along with every available copy of the paper beforehand.

FOR COHSE BUREAUCRATS

NOW IS NEVER
'RIGHT MOMENT'

The Confederation of Health Service Employees will mount a campaign against NHS cuts 'at the right moment', its annual conference in Brighton last week was told by general secretary Albert Spanswick. But now is never the 'right moment' for bureaucrats. Sure enough, Spanswick was speaking against the only resolution which projected even limited action to be taken now.

For the COHSE executive, anything which threatens its cosy relationship with the Labour Government is to be strenuously resisted. Unlike the other health service unions, the COHSE leadership has barely maintained a fig-leaf of opposition to the cuts — which have already stripped £284m from NHS funds over the next three years. 'The NHS is fortunate to have got off so lightly', is the response of the executive, whose sole demand has been for 'consultation over cuts' while calling on branches to monitor developments.

The results of this surveillance — which include a 98 per cent increase in nurse unemployment, no guarantee of jobs for student nurses on qualification, bans on recruiting and replacing staff, compulsory retirement for the over-60s, and the virtual axing of building programmes — have met with a predictable response from the union leadership.

Shake-up

An interim report on the monitoring operation accepted by the executive in March concluded: 'It is apparent that a considerable shake-up of labour is in progress, some of which is to an extent unavoidable. But what must be monitored carefully in the coming months is whether we can afford to lose quite so much.' Two years ago COHSE informed the Government that 70,000 more nurses were required for Britain's understaffed hospitals!

Resistance to the cuts came across most strongly at last week's conference in response to an emergency resolution from the executive, which artfully linked opposition to further health cuts with support for the new pay policy. The resolution was carried by 1698 votes to 543, but only after numerous delegates had denounced the manoeuvre of posing wage cuts as a necessary means of defending the NHS.

'Most of our members have done best when there was some kind of incomes policy; when the lower paid are treated with some justice', Spanswick told the conference, quoting £49 as the average wage for ancillary workers. But Tom Harber from Maidstone informed the conference that this was only possible by working weekends, bank holidays, and overtime.

Demonstrations

A delegate from Sheffield said that members of his branch were taking home £28 a week. 'We can't tighten our belts because we haven't got a belt left to tighten.' Others firmly connected both wage and public expenditure cuts with unemployment.

While COHSE branches in areas such as Macclesfield, Carlisle, Hertfordshire and the South-west have organised demonstrations against health cuts, and members in some half dozen hospitals — principally in the psychiatric field — are presently working to rule against understaffing, the left in the union has so far proved incapable of uniting opposition and action to the Government's policies.

While short on immediate proposals for action, a composite resolution which 'deplored the cuts' and called for a 'vigorous and active campaign' by forming district and area committees 'to debate the

situation and exchange ideas' was a beginning, as Patrick Sikorski from East Birmingham General Hospitals pointed out while seconding it. He stressed that the key to a successful campaign was co-ordinated action at a local and national level with other health service unions and the wider labour movement. But the assurances of the executive and the weakness of the composite led to a large vote against it.

Democracy

And while the conference unanimously supported the abolition of private practice inside and outside the NHS, it preferred to 'leave this to Parliament', overwhelmingly rejecting a proposal to throw out the Goodman deal and take up an active campaign for the removal of

pay beds.

But the executive was defeated on three attempts to tighten its grip on union democracy and involvement in the wider labour movement. Delegates voted down proposals to reduce the frequency of rule-changing conferences; limit the size of regional executives; and prevent branches from paying trades council affiliation fees from ordinary funds.

Providing a focus for the left in the union is clearly vital, and the defence of the NHS is the most immediate task. Delegates who attended a meeting organised by the National Co-ordinating Committee against NHS Cuts agreed to circulate petitions calling for the implementation of the Labour Party's policy on health, and to organise for the lobby of the Labour Party conference. Over 40 NCC bulletins were sold to delegates.

WHO PAYS FOR
THEIR SUN TAN?

Yet another group of trade union bureaucrats — the annual conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions — last week gave its blessing to the 4½ per cent pay deal. This outcome was never in doubt, since it had all been fixed beforehand.

The keynote speaker was Industry Minister Eric Varley, who spelt out the full implications of the Government's 'nationalisation' proposals for the shipbuilding and aerospace industries. 'No soft option' was his major theme.

Scanlon slavishly led a standing ovation for a policy speech which means the further destruction of thousands of jobs. Then he went on to moan that 'enough is enough' when confronted with the latest rise in the unemployment figures.

With the vote to accept the Healey pay deal, the rest of the conference was so much pious window-dressing. All the predictable motions on the guaranteed week, the reduction of hours, etc. were passed — but as Scanlon pointed out, they have to be viewed 'in the light of the Government/TUC agreement'.

There was not one word about the savage cuts in public expenditure; the question of women's equality received a paternalistic hearing; and 'political' motions were neatly placed at the bottom of the agenda. One district delegate who raised the question of racism and fascism was rebuked by the chairman for not concentrating on industrial matters.

Only the token motion on Chile was hastily passed as delegates rushed to complete business a day early. They were anxious to bask in the sun at Torquay, where unemployment stands at 9.7 per cent; and to spend their fat expense cheques in the hotels, where bar staff receive the princely sum of 43p per hour!

A. Haine

NEW ATTACKS ON GAYS

Police harassment of gay people has increased alarmingly over the last few months.

In Earls Court, gay men finally hit back on 2 June when a fight broke out as police attempted another arbitrary arrest outside a gay pub. One man was severely beaten up after being arrested, and the Earls Court Gay Alliance has now been formed to defend the gay community in the future.

Increasing harassment has also been reported in several other cities. Gays, like blacks, are a favourite target of the forces of law and order at times of crisis, when they can be made scapegoats for the misery — including the sexual misery — produced by capitalism. Unless they are vigorously resisted, these police attacks could give the go-ahead to fascists and casual queer-bashers to increase their own activities against gays.

Already this atmosphere of intimidation has led to a refusal by Bradford Council to grant facilities for a conference of the Campaign for Homosexual Equality. Among the reasons cited was a fear of violence from the National Front — to which the Council preferred to knuckle under. This underlines the importance of also putting into practice the decision by the last CHE conference to take part in the activities of local anti-fascist committees.



Gays march for their rights in London over the weekend

A big step for Darlington?

'One small step for the class struggle, but a big step for Darlington' — that was how one marcher summed up the 19 June demonstration called by the Trades Council to protest against unemployment and the cuts. The 150 of us who marched bravely through the town — to the consternation of the onlookers, who were probably wondering how so few could make such a row — nevertheless represented a cross section of the problems facing the workers in the North East.

From Middleton St. George College of Education came a contingent of students. Only that week the college had received notification that next year's intake of students would be the last, and so by the end of 1977 the college will be closed with the loss of 260 jobs. Meanwhile, of those students 'lucky' enough to have completed their studies this year, 75 per cent will go straight onto the dole (sorry, 'job centres').

Also represented were the nurses in NUPE from a local hospital engaged in a long dispute over manning levels. Support also came from the AUEW, ASTMS, and the local Communist Party, International Socialists and International Marxist Group branches.

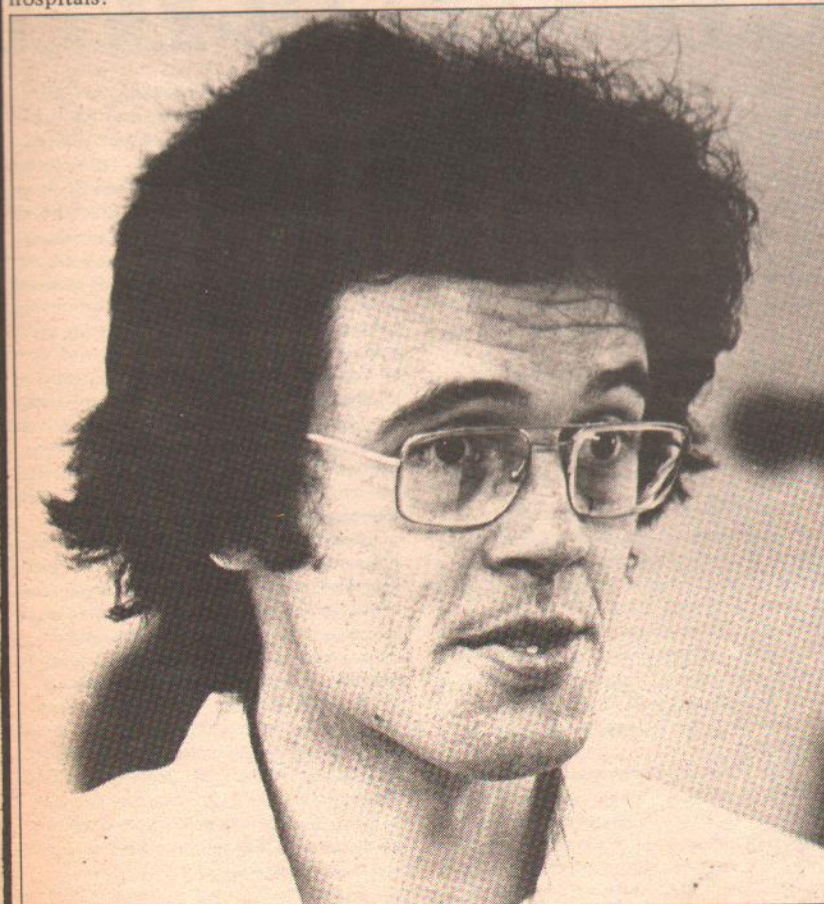
Speaking at a rally at the end of the march was Darlington MP and Tribune Group member Ted Fletcher. He made much of his abstention on the vote to implement the Labour Government's cuts in public spending. 'Why didn't you vote against?' called one of the audience. Unfortunately Ted didn't have time to answer that, because he had quickly moved on to tell us that this was

'capitalism's crisis', and that we needed a 'planned economy'. This little incident sums up the attitude of the Labour left-talkers in Parliament — when pressurised on your real record, confuse everyone with a few choice radical phrases.

The demonstration was part of a wider campaign, now just gathering steam, against unemployment and the cuts in the North East as a whole. On the initiative of the Durham Right to Work Committee, a number of resolutions were passed in union branches calling for a conference on unemployment and the cuts. This was taken up by the County Association of Trades Councils who, in conjunction with the Regional Council of the TUC, have called a meeting for 10 July in Durham Town Hall, from 10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m., to discuss these issues.

Now you may be wondering, along with myself, how it is possible to discuss such important problems in 2½ hours — particularly since three platform speakers have also been announced. The suspicion that the whole affair is to be stage managed to avoid rather than take action can only be strengthened by these arrangements. The best way to ensure this is not the case is for every socialist and trade union activist in the Durham area to be in the Town Hall on 10 July. That's just what the bureaucrats don't want.

MIKE HOLBROOK (ASTMS, Wear Valley Trades Council).



Patrick Sikorski—stressed need for co-ordinated action against the cuts

1776 - 1976 America

By STEPHANIE COONTZ (staff-writer for *Young Socialist* in US)

Respect for authority has been in rather short supply in America since Watergate and the Indochina War, so many people have hailed the two-hundredth anniversary of the American Revolution as a chance to restore faith in tradition. The problem, of course, is figuring out exactly what that tradition is.

Thus President Ford launched the bicentennial celebration by urging a return to 'first principles'. 'We must renew ourselves as a people', he intoned, 'and rededicate this nation to the principles of two centuries ago.' He then proceeded to declare that this could best be implemented by curbing government regulation of business and sharply cutting back welfare spending.

Five hundred yards away, however, the People's Bicentennial Commission had gathered a demonstration of 20,000 to protest Ford's economic policies. They argued that the first principles of the American Revolution required control of big business and an extension of economic aid to the poor.

Traditions

Both Democratic and Republican politicians and their liberal critics have solemnly declared themselves the true defenders of the American way. All of them are wrong.

There are actually two American traditions—two totally different American traditions. Both have been present from the beginning and both have their followers today. One is the tradition of those who have subordinated everything to the pursuit of private profit. The other is the tradition of those who have fought for democracy and social justice.

The American profit tradition was planted by the joint stock companies that set up the first colonial settlements on Indian lands. It flourished on the slave raids along the African coast and fattened in the holds of the slave ships, where up to half the human cargo often died. But it really took root and flourished on American soil, and along its trunk is carved a bloody record of genocide stretching from the massacres of the Native Americans to the murderous bombardment of Indochina.

The American profit tradition has been upheld by murder, oppression, and deceit. It was in this tradition that the Puritan settlers massacred the Pequot Indians and ruled that the very name of the tribe was to be wiped off the face of the earth. The Pequot River was renamed the Thames. The town of Pequot became New London.

It was in this tradition, too, that the colonists let 5,000 Blacks fight with them for independence from England and then denied them a share of the freedom that was won.

Slave Trade

Thomas Jefferson contributed to this first American tradition when he dropped from the Declaration of Independence his original attack on the slave trade—a gesture that appeased the Southern planters and served as a precedent for the whole line of rotten compromises and sell-outs that American politicians have since perpetrated on Blacks.

It was in this reactionary American tradition that Tom Paine was denied the right to vote in the nation he helped found and left to die in poverty, remembered as a 'filthy little atheist' by Theodore

Roosevelt. And it was also in this tradition that the Jim Crow laws were spread in the South to reverse the new power and influence of Blacks in southern politics, and were finally introduced into the nation's capital by Woodrow Wilson.

Today's politicians are indeed the heirs of this reactionary American tradition. There is a direct line from the genocide against the Indians to Woodrow Wilson's war to save imperialism. It leads to John F. Kennedy and the invasion of Cuba; Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon and the aggression against Vietnam.

But there is a second American tradition, a tradition of egalitarianism, of fighting for the common people, of resistance to minority rule. It is a tradition whose roots



JOHN BROWN

can be found in the tribal societies of the Native Americans where, William Penn reported: 'Wealth circulates like the blood, all parts partake, and ... none shall want what another hath.'

This tradition was built by the many Americans who refused to disband the organisations of dual power such as the Committees of Correspondence, that had sprung up during the struggle against Britain, and began to use them to take action against profiteers and monopolists.

It was in this tradition, too, that Mecklenberg County, North Carolina, instructed its delegates to the

First Constitutional Convention: 'Oppose anything that leans to aristocracy of power ... exercised to the oppression of the poor.'

Blacks were part of the democratic American tradition, both fighting for their freedom in slave rebellions and using the arguments of the Declaration of Independence in numerous petitions and suits against slavery. They were supported by the radical leaders of the American Revolution, though these were temporarily defeated. In Georgia, St. Andrew's Parish, meeting in 1775, declared slavery an 'unnatural practice—founded in injustice and cruelty'.

Women also helped to found the second American tradition. One of the revolution's most valuable spies was a woman we only know by her number—355. She died on a British prison ship. Mercy Otis Warren was a leading propagandist for the revolution in her satirical plays. She also opposed the wars against the Indians and argued for a further extension of democracy.

Rebels

These people helped to found the great American rebel tradition, and it is a travesty of history to let the politicians of the two ruling class parties lay claim to even a piece of that history.

Mother Jones, the Wobbly leader, put this second American tradition in its proper place when, during a steel strike in Pennsylvania, she was asked if she had a permit to speak. 'Yes, your honour', she said. 'Well, who gave it to you?' asked the judge. 'Patrick Henry', replied Mother Jones, 'Thomas Jefferson, John Adams.'²

The fact is that we socialists are the real sons and daughters of the second American tradition—the American rebel tradition. There is a direct line from Tom Paine to Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass.³ It leads to Eugene Debs⁴ and the union militants of the 1920s and 1930s, and from there to Malcolm X, La Raza Unida party⁵, and the anti-war movement.



Ku Klux Klan members dressed to kill in Boston

JIM CROW

Boston, Massachusetts was the city which became a symbol of the struggle against colonial oppression with the famous Tea-Party in 1773. Two hundred years later, however, things have changed as Theodore Landsmark, a lawyer, knows only too well. This year a mob of white youth beat him and then speared him with an American flag on the steps of the city hall. His crime — he was black.

When school segregation was outlawed in 1954 by the US Supreme Court, this was taken as a sign that capitalism was reforming itself. But it was soon clear that this was far from the case.

Open defiance of court orders to desegregate continued. In Little Rock, Governor Faubus used state troopers to bar black children from the schools, while his aides openly encouraged white mobs against the nine courageous schoolchildren who defied white supremacy. Under pressure, President Eisenhower was finally compelled to send in federal troops to enforce the court order.

The enforced desegregation, although a token one, was important in laying the basis for further fights against segregated public facilities and the right to vote. The 'non-violent' tactics of the Freedom Riders (black and white students who rode the segregated buses) became world famous, while other actions, such as those of the self-defence squads, laid the basis for the struggles that were later to rock

Newark, Detroit and Watts.

But now Jim Crow (the tag for the segregationist system) has found another perch. While the crisis of the US economy has been partially resolved through an upturn in industrial production, this has only been achieved at the cost of plunging living standards, continued permanent mass unemployment, and cut-backs in social welfare provision — attacks which have been defended and policed by the trade union leaders of the AFL-CIO. In this situation blacks are once again an easy scapegoat for many poor whites.

The fundamental issue in Boston is the question of access by black children to previously all-white schools — a situation perpetuated and planned by the all-white school committee of the city council.

Boston is a living example of the inadequacy of the 1954 Supreme Court decision, which only outlawed legalised segregation while leaving untouched the hidden segregation which is both built into the structures of American social life and is actively promoted by the Government.

Election districts, for instance, are manipulated to deny blacks voting rights. Housing plans on a national basis segregate blacks into certain parts of the city. These are the districts with the worst housing and the worse schools — all black schools. Busing is necessary to end this *de facto* segregation.

But the racists in Boston have organised to prevent black children attending the desegregated schools. Their leaders are not stupid, and throw up a smoke screen

America's Rebel Tradition



It certainly doesn't lead to the White House. It would take a very vivid imagination to picture Gerald Ford as a descendant of Tom Paine.

We revolutionists are the true descendants of the American Revolution, and we should claim our heritage. The best American tradition is an international tradition, a worldwide rebel tradition. We have an international history and tradition that is centuries old—the history of the common people of the world, the tradition of working class struggle.

Our history doesn't deal with the intrigues of royalty, the power struggles of famous politicians, or the financial machinations of entrepreneurs. We're interested in the people and groups that aimed somewhat higher than that. Ours is a history of great social dreams and the attempts to translate those dreams into reality.

The Crowd

The subject matter of our history is the struggle against oppression, the search for a better world. And what about the protagonists? Who are the main characters in our history?

Well, of course, we have our heroes. But the difference between the history of the oppressed classes and the history of the ruling class more than a difference between two sets of heroes. We study the people behind the individuals, the most maligned entity in the official history books of the ruling classes—the crowd.

Most social scientists treat mass action—'collective behaviour'—as abnormal and irrational. This view is directly descended from the upholders of the reactionary American tradition, like the aristocrat Gouverneur Morris. During the American Revolution he expressed the fear of the ruling classes everywhere: 'The mob begins to think and reason. Poor reptiles, they bask in the

MARXIST ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

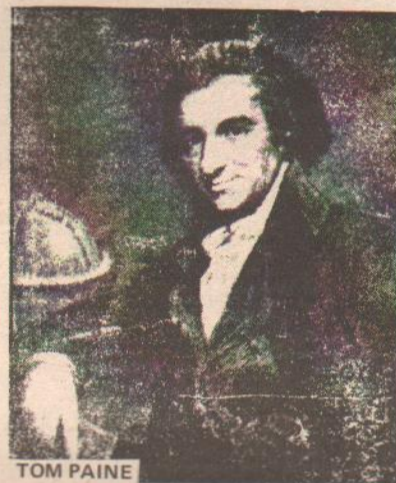
27 essays on various aspects of US history from RED BOOKS, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1. (£1.35 plus 20p p&p)

sun ... and ere noon they will bite, depend upon it ... The gentry begins to fear this.'

I think that's a perfect description, even though it's meant to be hostile. You can just see the mob, beginning to think and reason, testing its strength, resting in the sun with one suspicious eye on the gentry, but slowly, surely, getting ready to bite. Revolutionary history is the story of that mob.

As Lenin put it: 'Politics begins where the masses are, not where there are thousands, but where there are millions, that is where serious politics begins.'

It's this interconnection between mass action and individualism that explains why so many of the great individuals in revolutionary history are nameless. Tom Paine is part of our revolutionary tradition, with his book *Common Sense*. But so is the



TOM PAINE

trader who took 150 copies on his rounds, or the soldier's wife who copied a chapter into each letter to her husband.

It is this interaction between individual and crowd that gives even the legendary figures of revolutionary history a basic truth. John Brown had no gift for symbolism. He didn't live long enough to do or say half the things that were attributed to him. Yet his act struck a chord so deep in the masses of anti-slavery Americans that they assumed he represented them perhaps even better than he really did.

There is a poetry in revolutionary tradition and history—the kind of poetry that filled out the sparse

outlines of the raid on Harper's Ferry and turned it into a song sung by a hundred thousand voices going to war. But we don't take advantage of poetic licence. Revolutionary history is truthful in every essential.

We haven't buried our mistakes and failures. But we do have a different definition of failure than the historians of the ruling class. For the ruling class, the aim of life is to hold off history long enough to die of old age with one's titles and money intact. They judge success or failure by that yardstick.

Our view is very different. What counts isn't what you have when you die, but what you leave for the revolutionary struggle. Patrick Pearse was shot for his part in the Easter 1916 uprising in Ireland, but before he died he called it a victory: 'To refuse to fight would have been to lose, to fight is to win; we have kept faith with the past and handed on a tradition to the future.'

That's a concise statement of the revolutionary 'success story'—the story of people who didn't refuse to struggle.

Future

But our revolutionary heritage is more than a great vision, more than the inspiration to fight for that vision, more even than the concrete lessons on how to conduct our struggle. It is also a living piece of the future.

The repression of the Paris Commune cost Paris 50,000 workers—jailed, killed, or exiled. 'Now we're finished with socialism for a long time', said the Minister of Finance, Thiers. But the Paris Commune outlived its executioners. It left us not only an extraordinary example of human courage, but the basic techniques of workers' representation and legislation.

Such examples, though, can barely indicate the richness of the international history of the revolutionary movement. The only way to really understand revolutionary tradition is to engage in revolutionary action. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance not only preserve and defend the history of our forebears in the revolutionary movement but continue to make revolutionary history through our leadership of daily struggles here in America, as well as in our international struggle against world imperialism.

As Alfred North Whitehead once said, knowledge doesn't keep any better than fish. The best way to preserve history isn't to bury it in a library or museum but to use it. And you won't find a safer place to store history than in the foundations of a new society.

NOTES

1. Wobbly was the nickname given to members of the Industrial Workers of the World, a mass syndicalist organisation that flourished during the early 1900s.
2. Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams were the authors of the Declaration of Independence.
3. Harriet Tubman, herself a former slave, was an organiser of the Underground Railway, which helped thousands of Blacks to escape North from the plantations in the late 1840s and 1850s. Frederick Douglass, a Black leader in the mid-19th century, also spoke out strongly for women's rights.
4. Eugene Debs was the leader of the Socialist Party in the early 1900s. Jailed for his anti-war activities, he nevertheless polled a million votes in the 1920 presidential election.
5. La Raza Unida is the party of the Chicanos (Spanish-Americans) in the US today.

LIES AGAIN

by talking about 'quality education for all — black and white'. But this is fundamentally the ideological justification of apartheid — separate development.

Unfortunately, some far left groups have fallen hook, line and sinker for this cosy argument. Maoist groups which have come out with 'revolutionary' slogans against busing have only aided the racists and confused white workers who wished to struggle against racism. Their failure to back busing has led to an accommodation to racism. The demand for improved education for all is only meaningful for the struggle against racism if it is combined with a firm stand in favour of busing.

Other racist forces have not been so subtle. The overall coordination committee against busing is an organisation called ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights). A systematic campaign of intimidation has been carried out under the auspices of this anti-black, anti-semitic organisation. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People has had its headquarters bombed. School buses containing frightened black kids are stoned. White thugs drive through the heart of the black community. The school board deliberately encourages and fuels this racism.

The Ku Klux Klan has also made a brief but telling appearance. Hundreds of people attending a rally heard the Klan's National Director tell them: 'The real issue here isn't education the real issue is niggers.' To cheers he concluded:

'If you don't believe that little white girls should go to school with a bunch of apes — join the Klan and help us fight race mixing.'

But attempts at self-defence by the black community against racist attacks have been stamped on by the police. George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, has declared for busing but refuses to back the mass mobilisations that would lend any meaning to his words.

Equally, many leaders of various black reformist organisations have actively sabotaged mass actions that could start to put the black community on the offensive. The cancellation of what was to have been a major demonstration against the racists on 24 April was brought about by a denial of support from black leaders concerned at the possible effects of such a mobilisation on the presidential elections. Time and again this leadership has preferred to encourage reliance on supposed 'progressive' tendencies within the Republican and Democratic Parties rather than countenance any independent mass action.

Only the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party have consistently fought for such mobilisations on the issue, combining support for black self-defence with a call for federal troops to enforce busing in Boston on the model of Little Rock in 1957.

STEVE POTTER



White racists attack black lawyer Theodore Landsmark

PORTUGAL FORUM



Why not a critical vote for Otelo?



With the withdrawal of the presidential candidate jointly put forward by the Trotskyists of the LCI and PRT (see *Red Weekly*, 10 June), the comrades of the LCI were confronted with a difficult problem. Whom should they now support—Octavio Pato, the candidate of the CP, or Otelo de Carvalho, backed by the centrists of the PRP, UDP, MES and FSP? The LCI decided to give its support to Pato. I feel that in this they have made a tactical error, and that the correct course would have been a critical vote for Otelo.

When the question of candidates was first being discussed, the LCI argued for a single, civilian, worker candidate of the working class parties — a figure like Kalidas Barreto, a member of the Socialist Party and a national leader of the textile workers. Their argument was that the crucial question was to put up a candidate who could play a part in developing the greatest unity of the working class in preparation for the struggles in the autumn.

In its communique explaining why it would vote for the CP candidate, the LCI saw no difference between Pato and Otelo in terms of programme and personality. Instead it stated: 'The central committee calls for a vote for

Aren't the militant forces capable of giving a lead against the ruling class offensive to be found behind Otelo?

Octavio Pato in order to concentrate around a single candidate directly linked to the workers movement the maximum of workers' votes.' It is also argued that a vote for Otelo deepens illusions in the left military and the AFM.

Clearly Otelo is not standing on a revolutionary programme, but he is marked off from Pato in that he calls for the nationalisation of all sectors of industry, the maintenance of the agrarian reform, and the defence of working class organisations, especially the workers commissions.

Of course, the programme also defends the constitution, giving the president powers of veto, even though

Otelo says he wants it put at the service of the people! He calls for national independence, rather than a socialist Iberia. The section on the armed forces does not mention soldiers commissions, and in press statements he has called for unity and discipline in the armed forces — again at the service of the people and not to repress the workers. Otelo also fails to call for a CP-SP government.

However Otelo's programme, which can be defined as centrist, is still preferable to the class collaboration of Pato, whose programme has three key aspects: the AFM-people alliance; the defence and application of the constitution; and the formation of a

left government, that is of the SP-CP and individuals of the AFM.

Secondly, does Otelo spread illusions in the military? Yes, in the sense that he represents the errors made in the period of March to November last year with the failure of the working class to develop its own self-defence.

However, those illusions stem from the progressive role that sections of the army — e.g. the Military Police and the Lisbon Light Artillery (RALIS) — played in defending the radio stations, in refusing to break up workers demonstrations such as that of the building workers, and in giving arms to the workers. In that respect, while Otelo's support is based on both the

strengths and weaknesses of that period, it represents above all the combativity of the workers and soldiers. It seems to me that it is the Pato campaign that spreads the most dangerous military illusions — that is, a total subordination of the working class to the officers of the AFM.

Not only is the AFM-people alliance a cornerstone of the Pato programme, but the CP claim that 'the civilian candidature of our comrade Octavio Pato is above all a candidature for the unification of the armed forces' (speech at Setubal, 19 June). It is well known that the CP would have preferred to support a single military candidate — Costa Gomes.

Faced with a choice between Eanes and Azevedo, however, the leadership realised that their base would not vote for either of these two enemies of the workers movement. They therefore stood their own candidate to maintain the cohesion of the party, as well as to show the likely victor, Eanes, that no government could be formed without the CP.

Thirdly, in comparison to the poor showing of the CP (only 5,000 turned up to hear Pato in Setubal, where the party won 45 per cent of the vote in the assembly elections), Otelo's campaign has met with a massive response. For example, in Oporto 70,000 people turned out — the biggest demonstration since April 1974. More importantly, Otelo has won widespread support from workers commissions throughout the country, and at the Lisnave shipyard, one of the most important centres of working class militancy, a mass meeting voted to back Otelo.

This, it seems to me, is the crucial point. Accepting as our starting point the need through the campaign to prepare the working class for the autumn offensive of the ruling class, then the forces capable of giving such a lead are to be found behind Otelo. It seems to me that the workers vanguard are supporting the Otelo campaign. It is these workers, the most advanced section of the class, who must be prepared and clarified, and it is there that revolutionary Marxists should intervene.

RIC SISSONS

We have received other letters on this question and will be printing a selection in future issues. All readers are welcome to contribute (send to 'Portugal Forum', Red Weekly, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1), but we reserve the right to cut letters which are longer than 600 words.

LETTERS

WHAT ATTITUDE TO RELIGION?

As the process of social democratisation of the Communist Parties develops, it becomes increasingly clear how these reformists have adopted a bourgeois world-view, clearly shown in their attitude to religion.

Religion is one of the ways that the ruling class can appeal to the false consciousness of the masses — thus the myth is created that religion is a 'moral' force above politics. This myth is upheld by reformists of all kinds.

Thus prominent Catholics were invited to stand on the Italian Communist Party slate in a country where the Church has never even tried to hide its enmity to the working class and its organisations. And the British Communist Party is no exception. The *Morning Star* recently printed an article by the Archbishop of Canterbury called 'The Battle for a Healthy Society', in which he came out with all the usual liberal platitudes:

'Someone treats another as a thing rather than a person of equal value with himself when, for example, an employer treats an employee as a means by which he can become rich rather than as a fellow human being with whom he cooperates for the good of society; or when an employee treats his employer as one to be exploited rather than as a fellow human being to whom he gives a full day's work in return for a full day's wage.'

By publishing this reactionary nonsense, the CP helps to build the myth that the capitalists and the working class are two equal opponents above whom the Church and the State are

'impartial' judges. And when this 'impartial' Archbishop is in reality leading a campaign against women's right to abortion, the appearance of his article in the *Morning Star* is nothing short of scandalous.

Lenin pointed out that the division of the Church from the State was the task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, but that where this had not been achieved the task fell on the shoulders of the proletariat (in the imperialist stage of capitalism, bourgeois anti-clericalism is almost extinct). That is why the Bolsheviks declared that 'religion is a private affair' (i.e. not an affair of the State).

But Lenin made the position of the revolutionary party clear: 'So far as the party of the socialist proletariat is concerned, religion is not a private affair. Our party is an association of class-conscious, advanced fighters for the emancipation of the working class. Such an association cannot and must not be indifferent to lack of class-consciousness, ignorance or obscurantism in the shape of religious beliefs.'

'We demand complete disestablishment of the Church so as to be able to combat the religious foe with purely ideological and solely ideological weapons, by means of our press and by word of mouth. But we founded our association, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, precisely against every religious bamboozling of the workers. And to us the ideological struggle is not a private affair, but the affair of the whole party, of the whole proletariat.'



A classic example of reactionary superstition: the liquefaction of the blood of San Gennaro in Naples. Its failure to liquefy is supposed to alert the faithful against impending danger. So guess what happened this year? It didn't liquefy, of course, as a warning against the Communist menace. The same thing happened in 1799 when Napoleonic officers invaded on the side of the poor. But then the officers threatened the prelate with a quick exit unless the blood liquefied within five minutes. Needless to say, it did!

But while it is necessary to attack religion by propaganda, revolutionaries should never introduce a false division into the working class between religious and non-religious workers, because that would be playing into the hands of the priests. It is only by being drawn into class struggle activity that religious workers will break from the superstitions of centuries of repression.

Equally, communists condemn the oppression of any minority religion — not to encourage those religions, but because any oppression arises out of class interests and is a form of class oppression. That 'religion is a private affair' as far as the State is concerned is as true after the socialist revolution as before. Anti-semitism in certain

deformed workers' states has only strengthened Judaism; but in Cuba, where the Jews have been given all the necessary facilities, the religion has been weakened.

But there should be no pandering to religious officialdom, as the Hanoi authorities have done with their warmest New Year greetings to the Catholic hierarchy — while across the border in Laos, the Catholic Church plots counter-revolution.

It must be remembered that not only is the elimination of religion necessary for the eventual building of a communist society, but that breaking from religion is a form of liberation itself and a class conscious act. — ALAN HUDSON.

WHAT'S ON

- SPAIN 1936-76**—the struggle goes on. Public meeting organised by the 'Spain in Struggle' solidarity bulletin. Friday 9 July, 7.30pm, in Roebuck pub, Tottenham Court Road. Speakers will include an eyewitness reporter on the current situation in Spain.
- BRISTOL SOCIALIST TEACHERS** public meeting. Weds 7 July, 7.30pm, Redland College. The NUT, the education cuts and teacher unemployment. Speakers include John Esterson (Sec. Lambeth NUT) and local student teacher. All welcome.
- SAVE THE EGA!** All-day picket outside Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital (Euston Rd, between St Pancras & Euston stns) Monday 5 July. In support of action by EGA hospital workers against closure of this hospital for women. Mass picket 4-7pm same day; then benefit performance 8pm of 'The Cuts Show' by Counteract Theatre Group, in Goodwill Centre, Ossulston St (behind EGA).
- THE ELECTIONS** in Italy and Portugal. Big Flame meetings with Marcello Dalio (Big Flame), Oscar Figueredo (PWCC): Liverpool, Thurs 1 July, 8pm, The Triton, Paradise St, L'pool 1; Manchester, Fri 2 July, 7.30pm, The Ancoats, Gt Ancoats St; London, Mon 5 July, 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, WC1.
- NAMIBIA** Support Committee presents an evening in solidarity with SWAPO: Songs for Liberation, with Peggy Seeger and Ewan McColl and traditional Irish music. Fri 2 July, 7.30pm (bar opens 7.15), Stoke Newington Town Hall, Stoke Newington Church St, N16 (73 bus). Tickets £1 (students, OAPs and claimants 60p) at door or from Namibia Support Committee, 21-25 Tabernacle St, EC2 (01-588 4342).
- LONDON NAC** fund-raising disco. Sat 3 July, 8pm-2am, in Basement, 29 Skelton St, WC1. 50p at door.
- SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT**—pamphlet containing first thorough critique from a socialist perspective. 23p (inc p&p) from: Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Rd, N1
- SOCIALIST WOMAN**—new issue out now containing articles on women in Ireland, domestic labour, abortion in Eastern Europe, women and unemployment, the WWC campaign, etc. 23p (inc p&p) from: Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.
- LIFTS OFFERED** in minibuses to Morocco leaving 24 July. Possibility of return lift—share petrol costs etc. Write Box RW6/5, 97 Caledonian Rd, London N.1.
- BENGALI FRIENDS** in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and 'Srani-Dal-Biplabi' (Fourth International paper) contact: Bengali, c/o Internationalen, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.
- RED BOOKS** comprehensive list of titles now available—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Mandel, Lukacs, Novack, Cannon, Deutscher, etc. Send s&e for copy to Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.
- COME TO THE Summer School** for IMG members: 28 Aug-1 Sept. About £20 in all, including room and board in comfortable surroundings. Reading lists available soon. Book now as places limited! Will be held in Midlands countryside. Further details from: IMG National Centre, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

DOWN WITH THE RACIST STATE

'This is the voice of reason for which the world has been waiting' -- description of Vorster's policy of detente by President Kaunda of Zambia (*Time* magazine, 28 June 1976).

Imperialist strategy for southern Africa has once again received a severe blow during the past two weeks with the outburst of struggles against the racist Vorster regime.

Though the comparison has been made, the present developments around Soweto are of far greater importance than Sharpeville. Then the racist regime was able to inflict a rapid defeat upon the masses in a period when the balance of forces on a world scale, and particularly in southern Africa, was more unfavourable than today.

But in the context of the general upsurge of the masses in southern Africa, in the context of the defeat of South Africa's intervention in Angola, and in the context of the tremendous confidence inspired by these events, the Soweto struggle immediately poses the question of the survival of this bastion of capitalism in Africa -- the racist state of South Africa.

The dilemma for Vorster and imperialism is classic: how to give an inch without losing a mile? For example the policy of 'bantustanisation' (the creation of so-called independent states which amount to no more than mass labour reserve camps) cannot be reversed in spite of the deep felt resentment against it by blacks. It can't be reversed because this would pose the question of granting political rights to the blacks, which would be strongly opposed by the right wing *verkrampte* whites -- and more importantly would also create deep resentment among the privileged white workers upon whose support the Vorster regime depends.

Nevertheless, imperialism is becoming adamant that some means must be found to defuse the enormous upsurge that has taken place in the recent period. It is clear that some political concessions will have to be granted to achieve this, and pressure is already being placed on Vorster to set up at least the mechanism for some constitutional negotiations with 'tribal chieftains' or similar puppets.

ARMED

The developments around Soweto have thrown to the forefront many extremely important issues concerning the development of the struggle in southern Africa. Not least of these is obviously the question of the revolutionary leadership of the masses.

Clearly these struggles posed the way forward against the racist policies of the state: mass mobilisations that are a generalised offensive against the state and its organs -- the police, the schools, pass book offices, etc. But immediately posed in such a mobilisation -- as is posed in any mobilisation in South Africa, even in simple economic strikes -- is the question of *armed self-defence*.

On this crucial question, the African National Congress (ANC) -- an 'alliance' of various organisations, including the South African Communist Party (SACP), which describes itself as a 'liberation movement' -- has only the answer of an 'armed wing' taking up a strategy of guerrilla warfare. Besides being utopian in its concept of 'guerilla war' to 'liberate' South Africa, this strategy has a substitutionist concept of



struggle, or armed struggle on behalf of the masses.

who are concerned for the future of this country and who realise that at no stage of our struggle have we been anti-white.'

Dominated at present by the SACP ('the world is no longer monopolised by the imperialist world system ... the national character of the struggle must ... dominate our approach' -- ANC's *Strategy and Tactics*), it is unable to answer the real questions that are raised by Soweto. Its statements so far have been of the 'I-told-you-so' variety.

SHOCKED

As Winnie Mandela said in the July edition of *Africa*: 'Naturally we are shocked by the situation: however, this is precisely what we have predicted would be the outcome of the Nationalist regime's laws in this country ... But we are aware that there are those whites

This statement reveals two things. First is the notable reluctance to make the central focus for mass mobilisation against racism. Yet that is the single issue upon which there would be the widest possible mobilisation and which would immediately pose the question of the state. It was no surprise that the outburst of the struggles in Soweto was accompanied by the slogan: 'Amandla Soweto -- Power to Soweto'.

The reluctance to pose the question of racism is clearly linked to the second implication of Winnie Mandela's statement -- that the ANC is the 'only liberation movement', and as such must be the force primarily involved in any future negotiations with the regime.

As such it reveals a strong illusion that the Vorster regime will legalise the ANC in order to negotiate with it. To do so would in fact meet with rampant opposition from the *verkrampte* whites, who are acutely aware of the presence of the SACP in the ranks of the ANC, and Vorster would therefore have to be very hard pressed even to consider such a step.

There can be no doubt, however, that this is the perspective of the ANC leadership, and that they will place themselves at the head of struggles that break out only to use this radicalised mass base in order to achieve gains at the top. Already they have been vehement in their denials that the SACP dominates the Congress. The latest edition of *African Communist*, the organ of the SACP, comments: 'The slander that the ANC is run by the Communist Party is not something new; it has always been spread by the racists and those who act as their agents.' Even the SACP, it seems, is bent on denying its strength!

SELF-DEFENCE

For revolutionaries, the question of armed self-defence, the creation of workers' militias, and the slogans to mobilise the masses against the racist state must become the central thrust of their line. The question of arming the militias also poses the question of calling for arms from the Angolans and Mozambican regimes: a demand that can be a litmus test of their commitment to the southern African revolution.

Moreover, in spite of any differences we may have with the ANC and other organisations of the left, we must demand the right to form political parties, the right to organise and meet, the right of independent trade unions, and the immediate release of all political prisoners. And centrally posed must be the question of building the necessary revolutionary leadership capable of leading the struggles of the South African masses to victory -- victory of the socialist revolution.

JULIUS KARANJA



Last Sunday's demonstration in London against apartheid

New from Red Books

Red Books is now in temporary premises at 183 Pentonville Road, London N.1, and its hours of opening are still 10am to 6pm, Mondays to Saturdays inclusive.

Among recent publications of interest:

**Women Under Attack*, the latest CIS special crisis report. 'Up to the usual high standard, packed with information about the effect of government policies on women, and debunks the claim of the Labour leadership to be introducing equality for women. Price 45p (plus 9p p&p).

**Protestants of Ulster*, by Geoff Bell. The first factual analysis of the Ulster Protestants, very well researched and documented by someone born and brought up in Protestant Belfast. Price £2 (plus 17p p&p).

**Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929)*. Covers the development of the forces of the International Left Opposition, the politics of other opposition groupings (*Brandlerites*, etc.), and various programmatic questions concerning Stalinism, the nature of the Soviet Union, the Chinese revolution, etc. Price £2.10 (plus 47p p&p).

**Communist Politics in Britain: the CPGB from its origins to the second world war*, by Hugo Dewar. This account of the early days of the CPGB and its Stalinist degeneration is written by one of the original British Trotskyists. Price £1.80 (plus 17p p&p).

Built with chains and blood

The theory of apartheid, which became official State doctrine with the coming to power of the National Party in 1948, is called by its supporters 'separate development'. According to the prophets of apartheid, the world is made up of a system of races each of which must follow its own development, in agreement with its own 'destiny'. The racists have elaborated certain norms of development for each of those races, and they must follow them down to the last detail.

The races in South Africa accounted for the following numbers in 1974: 4,200,000 whites, 2,300,000 Coloureds, 700,000 Asians and 17,800,000 Africans. The whites can be further divided into two categories: the Afrikaners, from whom are recruited the dominant elite (they represent 60 per cent of the white population); and the Europeans, mainly of British extraction, whom the Afrikaners call 'Anglo-Jewish'.

12 Apostles

At the top of the Afrikaner class rests the Broederbond secret society. With 7,000 directors of companies, banks and finance houses, this grouping controls

the essential mechanisms of economic and political life. The top leadership is held by an all-powerful clique -- the '12 Apostles' -- which includes the prime minister, John Vorster.

Apartheid is not simply a racial question. In South Africa, some groups of privileged people exert their domination over millions of whites and non-whites. But the class division is also marked by a racial division, and very often the latter masks the former.

This methodical division between whites and non-whites has over the years been strengthened by a system of laws governing the most minor details of social life. Besides an enormous army, and a strong police force, there are also paramilitary groups responsible for seeing that these laws are fully respected.

Apartheid is therefore a police system -- and also an invisible cancer. In South African society everything is geared to reinforcing it, from the education of the white child (who is taught to regard the African with contempt as a sort of domestic animal) to the servility inculcated into the Africans.

The apartheid regime, above all a regime of order, has a craze for classifications. Apart from the major divisions,

others have also been introduced so that there are sub-groups according to language, origins, tribal adherence, etc. These divisions have only one purpose: to minimise the numerical inferiority of the whites, who through this process of division become the most important single group.

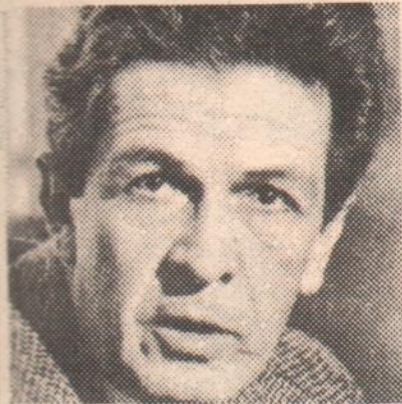
Coercive

This allows the whites to appropriate 87 per cent of the land -- the parts, of course, which contain the harbours, the majority of fertile land, and all the mineral and agricultural wealth. All this for only 17 per cent of the people! The rest of the population is concentrated in 'bantustans' -- there are eight reserves, each further divided in several parts, of course.

An enormous apparatus exists to enforce this coercive system. Brutal repression is an everyday reality: tortures, arbitrary arrests, censorship, exile, beatings for minor offences, concentration camps, hangings. And the defence budget is constantly on the increase in order to meet this role.

Frank Tenaille

ITALY: AFTER THE ELECTIONS



ENRICO BERLINGUER

Italy was in crisis. It has voted. But the crisis continues. Must there be a new vote? This is the question everyone is asking after the results of the elections, which have only confirmed the growing strength of the workers movement, and the inability of the bourgeoisie to escape the impasse through its normal trick of using the existing institutions.

This polarisation of political forces reflects a European phenomenon. The crisis of the capitalist system and the rise of workers' struggles tends increasingly to clear the electoral decks at the expense of all the smaller parties. The big confrontations which are on the agenda in Europe are forcing the working class and the bourgeoisie to cast their votes usefully without worrying too much about the programmatic content of the parties with which they identify.

But today nothing is decided, the whole of the Italian political system is paralysed, bourgeois parliamentary

The crisis continues

By ALAIN KRIVINE

democracy has served out its time. In France, the big bourgeoisie settled its hash with De Gaulle's military coup in 1958 and the establishment of a 'new strong state', in which the major decisions were taken by limited groups outside the walls of Parliament.

In Italy, the big bourgeoisie is up against a powerful workers movement, and has so far not succeeded in doing away with the old moribund parliamentary system, which no class wants but which none can do away

with.

One thing, however, is certain — only the Communist Party has it in its power to prolong this agony by participating in a government alongside the bourgeoisie. All the necessary guarantees have been given. In no way does it envisage doing away with the old capitalist society, and socialism is postponed to the indefinite future.

It will certainly take several months of convulsions before a section of the

ruling class becomes reconciled to sharing power with the CP, while hoping fervently that the latter shows itself capable of bringing under control a working class movement which isn't likely to remain with its arms folded for long.

At the present time, the workers have no other solution but to mobilise and engage in struggle for the establishment of a CP-SP government excluding all representatives of the bourgeoisie. This struggle will run up against the leadership of the CP who, somewhat embarrassed by their victory, want to avoid being dragged into the dynamic of a clash with the bourgeoisie.

Certainly, such a CP-SP government would not construct socialism. But it would at least allow the workers to hold to account their parties, which would no longer be able to justify their class-collaborationist politics in the name of a governmental alliance with the bourgeois parties.



Interview with MASSIMO GORLA, a member of Avanguardia Operaia, elected as a deputy for Proletarian Democracy in Milan

Q. What do you think of the results for Proletarian Democracy, which are rather smaller than had been anticipated?

A. I think it was inevitable that the Communist Party would capture part of our base in the situation of extreme polarisation which developed during the elections. Compared with the other parties, Proletarian Democracy (DP) ran the most important campaign (in terms of meetings and propaganda). But this time many people wanted to cast a useful vote by voting for the CP.

While the percentage of votes cast for us only reflects a small part of the impact of our campaign, however, the presence of six DP deputies in Parliament will mean a lot in the sense that they will be able to represent there the extension of the mass movements.

Q. You were the only DP candidate to reach the quorum for direct election. Do you know yet who will be the other deputies?

A. Not yet, that depends on the distribution of the surpluses and the preference votes. We know already, however, that they will be in Rome, Turin, Naples, Como and another in Milan.

Q. The leaders of the PDUP have already commented bitterly on these results. Don't you think that this is going to have an effect (in one way or another) on the debate around unity which has been opened up in the extreme left with this campaign?

A. Obviously. We think first of all that the very poor electoral showing of Lotta Continua (they are unlikely to have any deputies) will lead to a series of discussions inside this organisation, in which important questions will be posed about its orientation — in a positive sense.



As for the PDUP, there can be no doubt at all that these results will lead to a further sharpening of the internal political battle. Following these elections, the main problem for us remains the projection of a credible revolutionary pole. The debate will continue around this question.

Q. You are the first deputy of the extreme left to enter Parliament. Can you say yet what will be the first parliamentary battle of Proletarian Democracy?

A. We are going to fight as we did in our whole campaign for a left government. No government can have a majority as

a result of these elections. We will be fighting for a left government—which would be a minority government, but which could succeed in becoming a majority government through the impact of its political proposals among the masses.

We will obviously be fighting also on all the points of our programme which we put forward in the campaign: democratic rights (outlawing of the neo-fascist MSI); abolition of the Reale law (which allows the police to fire on sight); abolition of the fascist codes, especially on abortion; democratic rights in the army; and also economic and international questions

BALANCE SHEET OF THE LEFT

By ANNA LIBERA

SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party, while it maintained its 1972 vote, slipped back from the advance it registered in the June 1975 regional elections after its initial 'left' turn. Its policy of half-measures and its inability to make a radical turn threw doubts on its declarations about a left alternative.

The election results could throw the party into crisis. The vice-secretary Mosca has already resigned, inviting the leadership of the party to do likewise.

COMMUNIST PARTY

The big winner is once again the Communist Party. It increased its vote everywhere, both confirming its advance in the regions where it made new inroads on 15 June 1975, and making new gains where it made no significant impression last June.

In the South particularly it registered substantial gains this time round. In Aquila it advanced from 30.3 per cent (27 per cent in 1972) to 34.9 per cent; in Camobasso its vote increased from 17.9 per cent in 1975 (17.3 in 1972) to 26 per cent.

In the latter case, the Christian Democrat vote remained solid, and it seems that the CP won votes from the Social Democrats and the neo-fascist MSI. The same phenomenon appeared even more clearly in Naples, where the CP vote went up by 10 per cent compared with 1972, while the MSI vote fell by 7 per cent over the same period.

This transfer of votes is not surprising. For a whole period the demagoguery of the MSI allowed it to win a certain popular base in the poverty-stricken South. But important workers' struggles in the recent period, such as that at AlfaSud, have succeeded in drawing important sections of the sub-proletariat and unemployed towards the workers parties

— chiefly the CP. In all the cities of the South the CP's vote went up by 5–8 per cent.

PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY

The results for the far left (1.6 per cent) were well below those anticipated by the main constituent groups (Party of Proletarian Unity—PDUP, Avanguardia Operaia, Lotta Continua) and do not reflect the real impact of the campaign. It is clear that many people who said they agreed with Proletarian Democracy ended up voting for the CP this time — especially as the likelihood of a left majority appeared possible.

But the far left also paid for its slowness to take advantage of the political crisis in the last few years: it has succeeded in acquiring a certain weight in a whole series of sectors and struggles, but it doesn't appear yet as a credible political pole of attraction in the eyes of the masses.

In all, DP won 556,000 votes, enough to give it six deputies on a proportional basis. Its best results were obtained in the northern industrial triangle: 2.6 per cent and 80,000 votes in Milan; 1.9 per cent and 42,016 votes in Turin; 2.4 per cent in Brescia. In Naples, too, it polled 1.6 per cent; while in the earthquake area of Udine it won 14,000 votes (1.8 per cent).

Leaving aside the results, all the different groups agree that the far left campaign and its central slogans met with a certain response in important sectors. With the present impasse at the level of government, it can be expected that the slogans of the far left will be taken up more broadly in the struggles to come.

Political clarification and consolidation therefore becomes an urgent task for the Italian revolutionaries in order to build and strengthen the political alternative which has begun to appear in this election campaign.

The Far Left comments

● **LOTTA CONTINUA** (Adriano Sofri): 'In no way is this disappointing result a body blow. Certainly the defeat rankles. But the electoral terrain is not our specific terrain of action. We are not an electoralist lobby but a struggle organisation.'

Another LC comrade underlined the importance of the campaign irrespective of the results: 'Seven thousand meetings, three thousand red markets — which in Naples above all were a concrete means of demonstrating our methods of political work.'

● **PDUP** (Lucio Magri): 'We have held onto our vote of 15 June 1975 (in the regional elections), and that's good. We have a quorum in Milan, that's good. We will be in Parliament.'

'But that's not enough. It's not enough to say that in a climate of growing fear, a mechanism is being developed which can guard against the crisis. We must ask why, after ten years, all the forces of the New Left, including the organisations which have developed out of them, which have made a certain political and cultural impact in the country, have not succeeded in linking up with broader sections of the masses? Why the alliance between us and Lotta Continua seems to have served no purpose at all.'

● **REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUPS (GCR)**, Italian section of the Fourth International: 'The polarisation between antagonistic social forces which has increasingly characterised the political struggle in Italy over the last few years has left its mark on the 20 June elections

'The advance of the left, which reflects the militancy and the offensive of the working class and the broad masses, has been marked above all by a new jump in the vote of the CP, which has asserted itself as the sole alternative pole to the bourgeoisie, and primarily to the Christian Democrats. As for the Socialist Party, it has paid the price for its long years in the government and the vacillations in its campaign

'Proletarian Democracy has succeeded in attracting large layers around its central proposal of a left government, but has not succeeded in appearing as a credible force which could effect real changes

'The situation therefore remains unstable and full of conflict. The working class must renew its struggles in defence of jobs and living standards, and continue to advance the perspective of a left government formed by the CP and SP.'

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

'Captain Burt was a maniac. I was more afraid of him than I was of the IRA!'

The words are those of Christopher John Hendley, a former private in the Parachute Regiment who was stationed in the nationalist Ardoyne area of Belfast in the spring of 1973. He was describing to the Belfast Court of Appeal an incident which took place on 17 April 1973, when soldiers in an observation post opened fire on a group of unarmed men — killing one

man, Brian Smith, and wounding two others.

As a result of this incident a 32-year-old Catholic, Edward McClafferty, was jailed for eight years on a firearms charge after soldiers claimed that he was one of at least three who were armed. Only when Hendley went to the Daily Mirror earlier this year and revealed that there had been a frame-up was Northern Ireland Secretary Merlyn Rees forced to order the hearing of an appeal by McClafferty.

Hendley told the court that he was one of a four-man patrol under the command of Captain Burt which took up positions in an observation post in Etna Drive, Ardoyne, in the early hours of 17 April 1973. During the morning Captain Burt pointed out a group of men in the street and stated that they were either in the IRA or acted as look-outs for them. 'This is too good a chance to miss', Burt told the patrol.

Hendley continued: 'Burt then detailed off each member of the group who we were to fire at. He gave the order to fire and I fired about seven shots at Meehan and Fennell. We fired for about 5-10 seconds and afterwards all the men had scattered and I saw Patrick Fennell lying in an alleyway opposite.'

Following the shooting the patrol returned to its base. There Hendley and a Private Tritton were taken into a back room by Captain Burt and a Lance-Corporal Fletcher, and told that they would have to have 'a story that fitted'. To justify what had happened, they must say that they saw McClafferty draw a pistol or revolver from the pocket of a blue anorak, and that the order to fire

had been given when Smith was seen withdrawing an Armalite rifle from his trouser-leg.

While they were in the room they heard that one man had been killed and two others injured. According to Hendley, Burt commented: 'It's a pity we didn't get more of the bastards' — to which Fletcher replied: 'Well, it would have looked pretty suspicious with all those dead bodies and no weapons.'

MANIAC

Hendley told the court: 'I saw no weapons, and no-one in the patrol said they had seen any weapons. The story about the weapons was a fabrication, and was made up by the four soldiers after the incident.'

Edward McClafferty is now out on bail awaiting a new trial. Captain Burt and Lance-Corporal Fletcher continue to enjoy their freedom. Brian Smith is still dead!

But Burt and company need have little fear that they will be brought to book for his murder. In the last seven

years no British soldier has ever been penalised for murdering Irish civilians.

The murderers of Brian Smith can rest assured that their army careers and civilian future will not be adversely affected — just as the murderers of Brendan Maguire and John Loughran (gunned down by British troops on the Antrim Road, Belfast in February 1973), of Daniel Rooney and Patrick McVeigh (killed by the SAS), of Patrick McElhone (murdered in front of his ageing parents), have received nothing but the gratitude of the British capitalist class.

Shortly before its collapse, the Daily Sketch pontificated in an editorial: 'The average British soldier is a great defender of civilisation against chaos, of order against the apostles of violence. He is the most patient, decent, military man in the world (17 July 1970). In the Belfast court last week, ex-Private Hendley described the average British soldier, Captain Burt, as a 'fucking maniac'.

That's as may be, but one thing is certain. The average British soldier is a mercenary thug who when ordered to murder by his officers will merrily do so. The Christopher Hendleys of the British Army stand apart from these butchers.

BREAKING THE WEB OF SILENCE ON IRELAND

Last Saturday, as part of its build-up to the forthcoming Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland, the Troops Out Movement sponsored an 'Open Forum' which attracted more than 100 people despite unhelpfully hot weather.

There were two major themes to the forum. The first stressed the essentially colonial nature of the Irish situation, and the second emphasised the need to overcome the continual attempts by the Labour leadership to stifle any debate on its Irish policies.

That these policies are utterly reactionary was shown in the morning session when a number of speakers compared the Irish war to other recent colonial wars. Tony Cliff of the International Socialism group, speaking on the experience of Palestine, remarked on the similarities between the 'chosen people' discriminatory system of Zionism, and the similar ideology and practice of North of Ireland Loyalism.

When Tariq Ali of the IMG spoke he extended the comparisons to

rise of militarism in France during the Algerian war. On the other hand, a speaker from the Angolan Solidarity Committee noted how it was the successful liberation campaigns in Portugal's African colonies which were a major contributory factor to the fall of fascism in Portugal itself.

PREJUDICE

With such experiences to learn from, it is not surprising that the policy of the leadership of the Labour Party in this country is to resist any questioning of its Irish policy; to stifle any debate within the labour movement on the Labour Government's conduct of the Irish war. Ken Livingstone (a Lambeth councillor) and Tony Kelly of Newham Labour Party, both speaking in a personal capacity, outlined the continual frustrations they have faced in trying to raise the Irish issue in the Labour Party.

It is to try to cut through this web of prejudice and silence that the Troops Out Movement have arranged the forthcoming visit to Ireland, when delegates from labour movement bodies will be able to judge for themselves the nature of the Government's policies, the effects British rule has had on Ireland, and the role of the troops. Already nearly fifty delegates have applied to go on the delegation; the aim must now be to extend that number and to ensure that the delegation itself is both open and wide-ranging enough to have the necessary impact on labour movement opinion in this country.

Geoff Bell



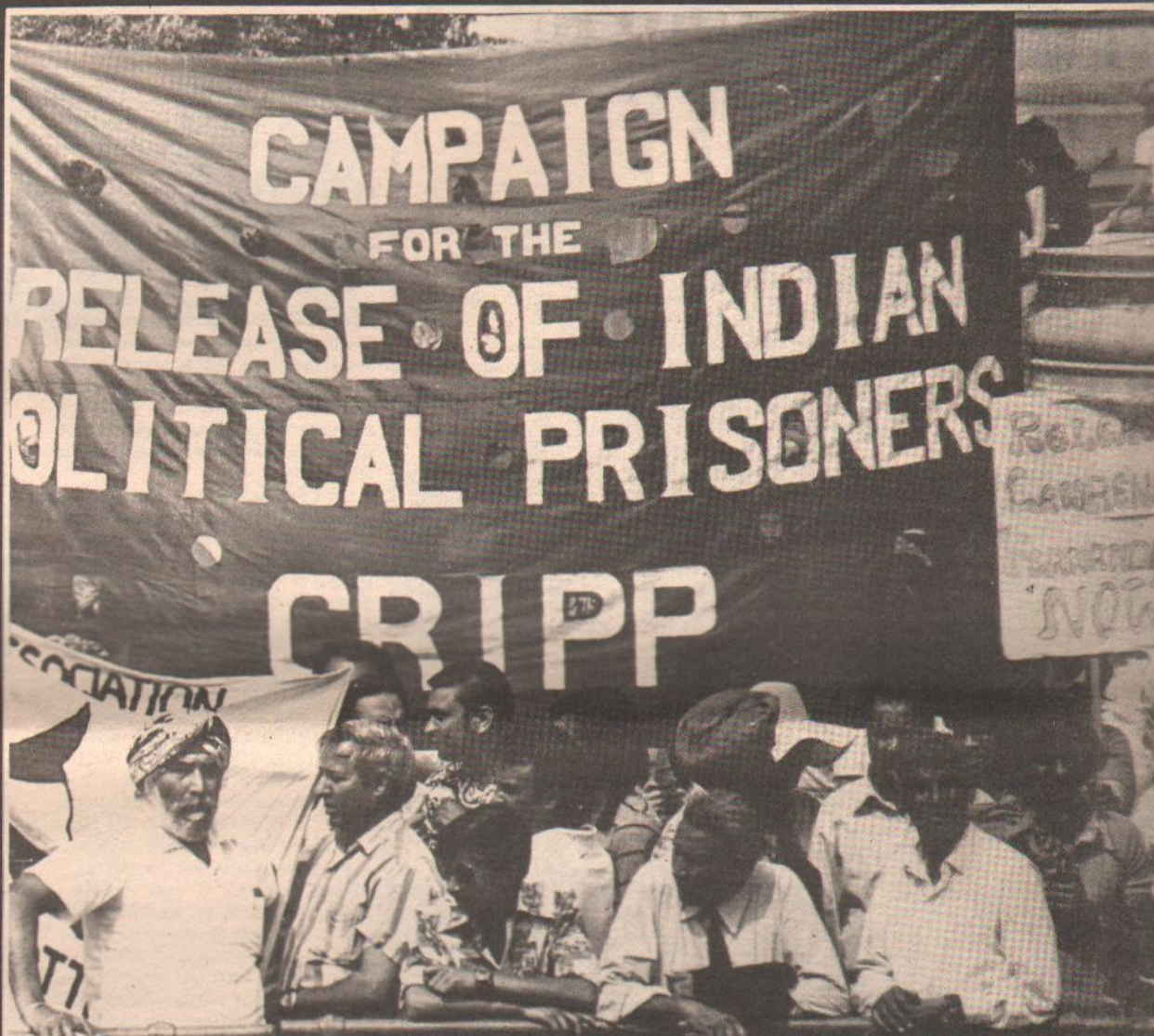
India and Algeria. He told how the policy of divide-and-rule which British imperialism has operated for so long in Ireland was operated with equally bloody results in the Indian sub-continent — the only difference being that it was Moslems and Hindus rather than Protestants and Catholics who were being deliberately divided.

MILITARISM

On the Algerian war of independence, Ali remarked how the trend towards militarism in this country — which has been evident in the outspoken comments of generals and colonels since the Irish war entered its latest phase — is similar to the



Left and above: Republican prisoners after being beaten up



Indira's brutal regime

A big contingent on last Sunday's demonstration against repression in India was organised behind the banner of the Campaign for the Release of Indian Political Prisoners (CRIPP). CRIPP stands for the building of a working class united front against the Gandhi regime rather than the multi-class alliance — involving such right-wing forces as the Jan Sangh — represented by the organisers of the demonstration.

The need for such action was brought home only last week with the release by CRIPP of a letter sent to the Indian Government by Alice Fernandes. Her son George, a leader of the Socialist Party, was one of the most prominent figures in the underground resistance until his arrest in Calcutta earlier this month. In the letter she outlines what it means even to be associated with political opponents of the Gandhi regime in India today:

'..... On Saturday 1 May, at about 9 p.m., my 44-year-old second son, Lawrence Fernandes, was taken away from our residence by the police, on the pretext that they wanted to interrogate him about the habeas corpus petition filed in February by my third son, Michael Fernandes (an officer of the Indian Telephone Industries and a trade union leader) who has been detained without trial under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act in prison since 22 December 1975.

'After keeping up this pretext for about an hour, the police began questioning him about the whereabouts of my eldest son, George Fernandes, and then subjected him in a most inhuman, reckless and ruthless manner to third degree methods of physical torture into the small hours of the morning until about 3 a.m. Besides beating him with clubs (until five of them were broken to pieces) they used a banyan tree root to clout him with, and booted him and slapped him

Starved and Tortured

'After reducing him to the condition of a physical, mental and nervous wreck, he was kept in solitary confinement in different police lock-ups in the most unhygienic condition until 20 May, during which period he was subjected to further torture and interrogation. He was kept without food for three days, and was not given proper food on other days, nor

allowed cigarettes. During all these 20 days he was allowed both only on three days, and he was made to remain in the same clothes he was wearing when he was taken away on 1 May

'He was continuously interrogated about the whereabouts of George Fernandes. He was refused a lawyer's help, and not allowed to contact home or anybody else either by letter or phone. He was not allowed newspapers and kept in solitary confinement. He was threatened with dire consequences if he reported to the magistrate or anybody else about the torture.

Mortally Afraid

'Finally, on 20 May, he was produced in the Second Metropolitan Magistrate's chambers during lunch time and then removed to the Bangalore Central Prison, where he has been detained in a wing reserved for those who are mentally unsound or are under punishment for violation of jail rules

'On 21 May, after waiting for over three hours from 10.45 a.m., at about 2 p.m. I was taken to the cell to see him I found him looking dead. He was unable to move except without two persons helping him about, and then only with great pain and limping. His left side is without use as if crippled, and both his left leg and hand are still swollen.

'He is in a mentally and physically wrecked condition and is unable to talk freely without faltering. He is terribly nervous and mortally afraid of police, of anyone in khaki uniform, of the approaching sound of anyone walking with shoes on, or of any other person, all of whom he fears to be interrogators and tormentors. He looks completely haggard and he has lost at least 40 pounds in weight during these 20 days

'When the Prime Minister, Home Secretary and her other ministers keep telling the public in our country and also people abroad that the political prisoners here are well looked after and there is no torture or inhuman acts against the police, am I to believe that the torture of my son is a humane act on behalf of the Government? Is it moral or right that my family should be so harassed and tormented for the political views held by my son George Fernandes?

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

POLISH WORKERS TRIUMPH



AMNESTY!

'Amnesty at work - Solidarity with Motor Iberica' reads the banner on a 15,000 strong demonstration against repression in Barcelona last week. The two month long strike at this Massey Ferguson subsidiary has become the focus of mass solidarity in the Barcelona area. A number of factories have already staged solidarity strikes, and workers in a number of firms have said that if the workers' demands are not met by 5 July they will organise a general strike.

Last Saturday the Solidarity Conference organised by the Manchester Trades Council heard an appeal from a representative of the Workers Commission to support this struggle, and a number of measures of support were discussed. Two shop stewards from Massey factories in the area pledged to take these back to their members. This is the sort of step that should be taken in Massey factories everywhere.



GETTING HOT

Readers, the situation is serious. Despite a good response to our appeal following the production of our special pull-out against racism, we are nowhere near our £1,000 target. Our thanks to those who gave this week: £10 from a Rovers shop steward; £70 from West London IMG; £6 from South-West London teachers; £3 from P. Highfield, Swansea; £3 from a reader in the Netherlands; and £30 from C. Khamis, who writes:

'This is for your excellent coverage and help in the fight against racism. The IMG is one of the few groups which understands how to fight against racism in the working class. Your coverage of repression in the Indian sub-continent

has also been very good.'

With those few handsome contributions we are now up to £810. That means that with only three days to go at the time of going to press, we are still short of £190. That £1,000 is vital for our existence - every last penny of it. We want readers to take a whip round at meetings they will be attending. Take collections as you sell the paper, particularly on the trip to the 4 July demonstration. Finally, dig deep yourself. Think about pledging the tax rebate from the Healey pay fiddle to a fight to make sure that the Labour Government's wage-cutting policies are understood and fought.



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Last week's victory for the Polish working class, in defeating attempts by the bureaucracy to enforce huge price increases, has changed the face of Polish politics.

Events moved with extraordinary speed. On Thursday the Polish Parliament assembled to hear the Prime Minister announce, out of the blue, increases in basic food prices averaging 65 per cent.

Within 24 hours a spontaneous movement of strikes and working class protests had brought the Prime Minister to announce on TV that the Government's proposals had been 'constructively received' by most of the working class and had provoked so many 'proposals and suggestions' that the Government had decided to withdraw the measure for 'further consideration'. In case of any misunderstanding, he added that this 'consideration' would take 'several months'.

The regime's subsequent attempts to play down these events will not wash with anyone in Poland. What was at stake last week was not just living standards: it was the whole political legitimacy of the regime. Just as Gomulka had risen to power on the crest of a massive working class upsurge in 1956, the present party boss, Gierek, replaced Gomulka in the heat of an insurrectionary general strike against massive price rises in December and January of 1970-71.

After bloody repression had failed to crush the workers in the Baltic ports, Gierek regained control for the Polish bureaucracy by meeting the striking workers in Gdansk and committing himself to run the country through consultation with the working class. The two slogans of Gierek's rise to power - price freeze and consultation - are in ruins after last week's events.

The chain of events which led the bureaucracy to attempt to end the price freeze is long and complicated. During the breathing-space provided by the Soviet bureaucracy's \$100m. loan of 1971 - such Soviet loans are now standard practice to bail out the re-

gimes of Eastern Europe after revolutionary upsurges - Gierek launched his new economic strategy. His aim was to make the bureaucracy acceptable to the Polish masses by providing a rapid rise in living standards. The workers must be persuaded to accept consumer durables as a substitute for proletarian democracy.

For five years the bureaucracy has bought massive quantities of consumer goods from the West and increased the workers' wages to pay for them; it has also borrowed billions of dollars from the capitalist world to build up new Polish industries. Gierek gambled on only one thing: the continued boom of the capitalist world to pay Poland's debts by flooding Western markets with exports.

But the capitalist economy went into crisis and Gierek's strategy was pulled apart: Western Europe's inflation jacked up Poland's import bill, while its recession destroyed hopes of big Polish exports. The oil crisis has led the USSR, Poland's oil supplier, to push up its oil prices.

The result of all this? By 1975 the Polish bureaucracy was caught in an economic vice. The consumption demands of the Polish working class had rocketed; the average household was expecting a steadily rising flow of washing machines, cars, holidays and wage increases - all on the basis of a freeze on food prices. But at the same time, the balance of payments deficit with the capitalist world was also soaring and capitalist bankers were demanding overdue loan repayments. Something had to give.

Throughout last year rumours of price rises spread across the country. The regime's hope that rising living standards would drown political grievances had been turned on its head. The overriding political question had become living standards: if the regime could not produce the consumer goods at stable prices, what good was it?

At the Party Congress in December, Gierek could not deny the possibility of price increases. So he had to invest

the other part of his political capital - 'consultation', which has been a continual theme of his era. The political weakness of the Polish bureaucracy in the face of the working class has made such populist demagoguery necessary to block the struggle for workers democracy. At the same time, rising living standards have, up to this year, made such 'consultation' possible.

Since the fateful meeting with the striking workers of the Baltic ports in January 1971, Gierek has returned to the Baltic for no fewer than twelve similar discussions with mass meetings of workers. Similar talk-ins have been held in the other main working class centres during the last five years - a style of rule unthinkable for the bureaucracy in the USSR. And even the edited version of these discussions, broadcast from Warsaw, reveal some frank talking by the workers.

But confronted by the need to raise food prices by 65 per cent, the regime lost its nerve on 'consultation'. Which bureaucrat would stand up in front of thousands of workers and 'consult' them on such rises? Not Edward Gierek!

So last week the populist substitute for workers democracy was cast aside. Prices were not even on Parliament's agenda last Thursday when the Prime Minister interrupted proceedings to announce the increases. The Polish bureaucracy hoped to pull a fast one on the Polish masses. But the Polish working class was ready and waiting, and it responded with extraordinary speed.

It remains to be seen whether the Polish workers can follow up their resolute mass action by struggling to demand that food prices are fixed by their own workers' delegates, and not by the bureaucrats of Polish Stalinism. One thing is sure: the workers of Rostov, Kiev, Riga and other cities of the USSR who have been protesting against the food crisis in the Soviet Union over the last few weeks will be listening to the news from Poland with rapt attention.

Eanes victory spells hard times

General Eanes, army chief-of-staff, has won the presidential elections in Portugal. Nobody ever doubted that he would - it was just a question of how big his margin would be over the other candidates. With only a few results to come in, Eanes had taken 61 per cent of the vote.

After the workers parties (Communist Party, Socialist Party and the far left) had won a majority in the legislative elections in April, it was vital for the ruling class to group the broadest possible forces behind a strong military figure. In that they have been successful, Eanes, who has already streamlined the army, centred his campaign on the need to restore law and order throughout society.

The two candidates from the workers movement - Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, and Octavio Pato of the CP - scored a combined figure of 25 per cent. Nevertheless, the result was a disaster for the CP. In April they won nearly 15 per cent. On Sunday that figure was cut by half as the vote for Pato fell to 8 per cent.

The ruling class has thus scored an important success, because it has been trying to marginalise the CP in order to avoid having the party of Cunhal in government. Its dismal showing on Sunday will strengthen the position of those who want a coalition between the Socialist Party and the Popular-Democrats (PPD), or at least a minority SP government which relies for support on the PPD.



The poor vote for the Stalinists comes as no surprise. They would have preferred not to run in the first place, and their campaign throughout was one of exerting pressure on Eanes and the SP to keep the CP in government. And because their campaign ignored the key issues facing the working class, they lost out heavily to Otelo, who was supported by the centrist groups such as the MES, PRP and UDP.

This was overwhelmingly clear in the industrial regions and the South. In April the southern towns of Beja and Evora proved to be bastions of the CP, with the party polling 44 and 43 per cent respectively. On Sunday Otelo won 39 per cent in Beja to Pato's 25.5 per cent; while in Evora the margin was even wider - 35 and 19 per cent respectively.

However the most significant defeat for the CP came in Setubal, the third largest industrial city. This was where the CP scored its highest vote, 44.3 per cent, in April. Yet in the presidential elections Pato's score plummeted to 18.5 per cent, whereas Otelo totalled 42 per cent. The fact that amongst the most class-conscious section of workers in Portugal - perhaps in Europe - Otelo polled over 40 per cent shows the dynamic his campaign picked up.

Despite the victory of Eanes, therefore, the working class has shown in its vote for Otelo and Pato that it will not easily bow before the threatened ruling class offensive. Already Otelo has called for a national conference of all the local committees set up to support his campaign, which could play a useful role in developing the coordination of working class resistance. Major class confrontations remain ahead, and it is these that will decide the fate of Portugal.

Steve Webster