

RED WEEKLY

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Another £1000 million on the way

LABOUR CUTS ITS OWN THROAT



1931

Labour's capitulation to the demands of the bankers brings a split from the Labour Party and the formation of the viciously anti-working class National Government.

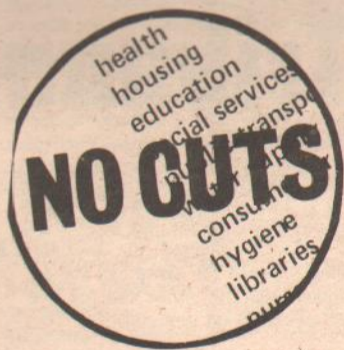
The summer of 1931 has seen the collapse of several European banks and a Bank of England inspired run on sterling. Cuts of £97m are

demanded. For three weeks a furious debate rages within the Labour Cabinet and trade union bureaucracy — not for or against the cuts, but how to impose them.

Eventually, the entire Labour Cabinet agrees to savings of £57 million. The cuts will fall on unemployment benefits, the raising of insurance contributions, health and education. But the bankers are not satisfied and demand further cuts in dock money and teachers' wages.

Finally the trade union leaders resist, realising a further surrender could never be sold to their membership. The 'lefts' at last take a stand. Prime Minister MacDonald fails to force these last demands through the Cabinet.

He then deserts to form a National Government. The cuts are rammed home. Unemployment rises to three million.



1976?

Labour's capitulation to the demands of the international bankers will continue to lay the basis for a general election defeat and the introduction of the most right-wing Tory Government since the Second World War.

The cuts will fall on education, housing, rates and rents, food subsidies, and the NHS (including big increases in prescription charges). At the same time the Labour Government is preparing to sack over 20,000 civil servants.

This is the real social security fiddle. Many old and underprivileged people will lose benefits. These sackings plus the school leavers will dramatically boost the unemployment figures.

The £1,000m cuts are the minimum demanded by currency speculators. The standby credit negotiated by the Government will have to be followed by an IMF loan, with more cuts attached to it.

The TUC are unable to give the enthusiastic endorsement to the cuts which Callaghan asks for and Jack Jones wants to give. In 1976 as in 1931, the cuts are there to satisfy the bankers — to maintain 'international confidence'. When Jack Jones refers to 'domestic confidence collapsing', he means that he is finding it increasingly difficult to sell capitulation to his membership.

This time round the consequence of the Labour leaders' action will not be a National Government. The trade union movement is still too strong to accept an open alliance with the Tories.

But unless the policies of the leaders of the Labour Party are fought they will bring in Thatcher. However the Labour leaders twist and turn, they cannot blame the 'opposition' of the lefts for the massive Labour abstentions and increase in the Tory (not to mention National Front) vote in Thurrock.

The only responsibility which the lefts have for these defeats is their failure to fight those policies and the right-wing leadership which is pushing them. Those lefts in the Cabinet who oppose the cuts in words should resign to lead action against them. But no worker should rely on these vacillators. Organise action now.

NO COMPROMISE ON THE CUTS!



AS BATTERED CHILDREN SHOW NURSERIES ARE NO LUXURY



Militant/Jose Pérez

BEFORE YOU GO TO BED TONIGHT, two children will lie battered to death as a result of violence in the home. At least one more will suffer permanent brain damage. These are the horrifying figures presented to a Commons Select Committee this month.

All too often this violence wells up from the frustration and isolation felt by millions of women tied to the kitchen sink by the idea that 'a woman's place is in the home', and the corresponding lack of childcare provisions.

Last week, a woman who battered her daughter explained to the *Guardian* that she lived alone in a first floor flat with no space for the children to play: 'I had no friends everything got on top of me and I just couldn't cope any more. I used to go for my daughter, I would give her a real beating'.

VALIUM

Another woman who did turn to her doctor explains: 'I was at the end of my tether and just came away with a prescription for valium'.

Instead of valium, women need to be able to break out of this isolation and allow children the stimulation nursery provision offers. But nursery education in schools and classes has declined from provision for 16 per cent of under-fives in 1930 to 10 per cent in 1965. The education White Paper in 1972 reported that only 5 per cent of 3-year-olds had any state education, with provision for child-

ren under that age almost non-existent.

Day nurseries, which cater only for the welfare needs of children, have fared no better since they were briefly expanded to meet the needs of the war-time economy. In 1945 there were over 1,500 day nurseries. But following the war, with two million women made redundant as the need for cheap labour declined, the number fell to only 903 government-funded day nurseries by 1949.

By 1974 this figure had been halved to 453. This meant one place for every 200 children in Britain.

Some women and children are worse off than others. Recently the National Foundation for Educational Research showed that working class children have least chance of under-five provision. And the Race Relations Commission has also produced evidence to show that Asian and West Indian mothers have even less opportunity of nursery provision than their white working class neighbours.

PITIFUL

This pitiful provision of pre-school facilities occurs at a time when 18 per cent of women with children under five are working. It also occurs at a time when research is mounting to show that all children, whatever their social background, need the stimulation of nursery education and play outside the home. Instead, thousands of women have to rely on childminders - many of whom are not even registered because they do not meet government standards.

But the Labour Government is consciously wielding the axe against any such facilities. The February White Paper on public expenditure announced that there would be no increased provision for under-fives. The 1975-76 building programme of £32m would be slashed to £8.5m in 1976-7 and £6m in 1979-80.

The current issue of the educational magazine *Where* reports that 42

launched to trace the source of the sabotage. In South London there is the possibility of investigating the recent death from backstreet abortion.

With such initiatives in mind, all the speakers at the NAC Planning Meeting stressed the need to extend the forces involved and to use the opportunity the Tribunal offers of developing campaigning groups inside the unions, the Labour Party, and the community as a whole. As one speaker said: 'It is no good relying on a few NAC activists. The Tribunal will be a success if it involves such people as health workers, who are in the best position to know about abortion restrictions; or women who have been refused an abortion and forced into the private sector.'

But underlying all the planning was the realisation that the funds of the NAC are nearly depleted; and in stressing the importance of the Tribunal, *Red Weekly* has no hesitation in urging its readers to respond to the plea for cash which NAC has made. With the coming publication of the Select Committee Report, finance to counter the anti-abortionists is more urgent than ever. Please send all contributions to: NAC, 30 Camden Road, London N.1.

Dodie Weppeler

local authorities have abandoned nursery spending in 1975-6. Other areas have not taken up their allocation for building because no funds exist for facilities and staff. In Strathclyde, 40 of the planned 90 nursery schools have been axed - and this at a time when unemployed primary teachers are told that the decline in the birth rate has cut demand for their skills!

But the lack of under-five care is not simply explained by the cuts in social expenditure. It is fed by the notion most fully worked out by psychologist John Bowlby, who claimed to provide evidence that the first five years of an individual's life are crucial for their mental health.

REJECTED

Bowlby argued that without a continuous relationship with the mother the child's future would be irreversibly disfigured by delinquency and instability. He therefore attacked the provision of nurseries for working mothers as they 'have an adverse effect on the child's emotional growth'.

These ideas live on. When the Plowden Committee suggested an improvement in nursery school provision, they nevertheless argued: 'We do not believe that full time nursery places should be provided we consider that mothers who cannot satisfy the authorities that they have exceptionally good reasons for working should have low priority for full time nurseries'.

The women's movement has always rejected the idea that children should be imprisoned in the family until the age of five, and that the mother should take sole responsibility for their care. A book published this week adds fuel to this opposition by destroying the pillars of Bowlby's arguments on his own ground of psychological research.

RIGHTS

The contributors to the book, *Early Experience: Myth and Evidence*, show that there is no evidence to support the notion that children only form a close relationship with one person, let alone the mother. They show that it is not continuity of relationship that counts, but the quality of care the child receives at all ages. They dismiss as harmful the idea that children should be denied the stimulation of nursery education, or that 'a bad home is better than a good institution' - an idea which exposes children to violence in the home.

This book adds further weight to the fight back against nursery cutbacks. These are all too often justified and accepted by the Government and the workers movement on the basis that home is the rightful place for under-fives and their mothers. Without this fight back, women's rights to independence and equality will be relegated to conference speeches and the Labour Government's cutbacks will ride through on the back of the belief that under-five provision outside the home is an ill-advised luxury.

CELIA PUGH

WHAT'S ON

S.W. LONDON Conference Against the Cuts: Sat 24 July, 2-6pm, Furzedown College, Welham Rd, SW17. Creche available. Organised by S.W. London student teachers and Lambeth Trades Council. Phone 672 0509 for more information.

TARIQ ALI speaks at public meeting in Southall, Fri 23 July, 7.30pm, in Shackleton Hall, Shackleton Rd - repeal all immigration laws, support black self-defence. Other speakers include: Inder Puri (ASF), and in personal capacity Prit Sapaal (Slough IWA Exec), Pete Rowlands (Sec, Hounslow TC), and Tom Hewitt (Sec, Southall Labour Party).

HUMBERSIDE Iberian Solidarity Campaign public meeting - 'The Spanish Civil War and its lessons for today', Tues 27 July, 7.30pm at Stevedores & Dockers Club. Sponsored by Hull Central CLP with speakers from AGARIS and LPYS.

ABORTION: public meeting to discuss response to imminent anti-abortion report of Select Committee. Tues 27 July, 7.30pm, Grand Committee Room, House of Commons. Supported by NAC, ALRA, Labour women's advisory committee etc.

REVOLUTIONARY Communist Group public day school on 'The Crisis of Capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat', Saturday 21 August, 10am-6pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Sessions on Women, Ireland, the Public Sector Cuts. Speakers: Judith Harrison, Chris Davies, and David Yaffe. Further information from 'Day-School' (RW), 49 Ralston Road, London SE24 0LN.

STOP THE Criminal Trespass Bill! Public meeting with Jo Richardson MP, Ray Allen (NGA National Executive). Monday 26 July, 8pm, at Stroud Green Junior School, Woodstock Road, N4. Organised by Hornsey Labour Party and Campaign Against A Criminal Trespass Law (tel. 01-289 3877).

URBAN GORILLA ROCK: 23-24 July, 8pm, Battersea Arts Centre, Lavender Hill, SW11. Adm. 40p. Also 25 July, 5pm General Strike Show, 6pm Urban Gorilla Rock - 1 Shelton Street, Covent Garden (as part of GLC General Strike Festival).

WOMEN AGAINST IMPERIALISM: at the Women's Liberation Workshop on 28 June, several women discussed the relationship between patriarchy, imperialism, racism and fascism. A further meeting to discuss concrete ideas to set up a campaign will be held Fri 23 July, 7pm, at the workshop in Earlham St, EC2. Any women interested welcome to attend.

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.

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.

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

SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT - pamphlet containing first thorough critique from a socialist perspective. 23p (inc p&p) from: Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Rd, N.1.

Abortion Tribunal

*A seven year prison sentence meted out last week to a Finsbury Park woman for performing an illegal abortion - laying to rest the claim that backstreet abortions have disappeared in Britain.

*The imminent publication of a new restrictive report from the remaining rump of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Abortion.

*The continuing assault on abortion rights by reactionary gynaecologists, anti-abortion groups and cuts in the NHS.

Such developments underlined the importance of the National Planning Meeting of the National Abortion Campaign in Leicester last weekend. From the meeting came a series of proposals designed to fight the latest attacks on abortion rights, and particularly the forthcoming Select Committee report. The measures agreed include a House of Commons meeting on 27 July and a possible demonstration against the report and any threatened legislation based on it.

Evidence

These immediate steps will be complemented by the National Tribunal on Women's Abortion, the planning of which occupied the major part of the NAC meeting. The importance of the Tribunal was explained by Judy Watson of the IMG and Haringey NAC, who said that the Tribunal 'must be a mass event, with a target of attracting 4-5,000 people'.

The Tribunal will hear evidence collected by campaigns launched by trade unionists and local community groups; and, argued Watson, 'everyone attending should take responsibility for passing

judgement on the evidence presented. In that way all of the participants in this event will decide, on the basis of the evidence collected, the next steps in taking forward the campaign for a woman's right to choose and for free NHS abortion on demand.'

Charges

The presentation of the evidence on the day of the Tribunal will be done in two ways. First the Tribunal Mobilising Committee will serve notice on various institutions and on particularly notorious anti-abortionists. These notices will include charges against the Church, the Labour Government, the medical profession and the Leo Abses of this world. All will be invited to attend and to 'defend themselves if they can'.

Secondly, campaigning groups will present the evidence they have collected on such themes as abortion and the liberation of women, abortion facilities, and abortion and the media. These groups will explain how they have collected their evidence, all of which will be made public. Local Tribunal Mobilising Committees will be asked to release their evidence in their own areas and to use that evidence to discuss the way forward.

As well as the evidence and 'trials', the Tribunal will hear messages of support from prominent members of the labour movement; and there will be stalls and displays organised by trade unions, women's groups and such organisations as the Pregnancy Advice Service.

The urgent need now is to assemble as much information as possible, and already local groups are deciding the type of evidence they are best able to collect. Where the 1967 Act has hardly been implemented, campaigns will be

TYNDALE- POLITICAL OR EDUCATIONAL?



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

At the press conference at which they announced their strike decision last September: Brian Haddow (left) and headmaster Terry Ellis

The report of the findings of the inquiry into the William Tyndale Junior School in Islington has finally been published—some six months and £100,000 after the inquiry commenced.

One of the biggest ironies of the whole affair is that the inquiry and the right-wing press have always insisted that Tyndale was an 'educational' dispute, and not a political one as the teachers had always claimed. And yet Robin Auld QC states in his report that he was unable to find sufficient evidence to show that education at Tyndale was inferior to that of any other schools in the area.

An acquittal for the teachers? Far from it. He then goes on to say that as a 'layman' he was not satisfied that the education provided by headmaster Terry Ellis and the rest of his staff was efficient or suitable to the requirements of the pupils at the school.

But what of the political allegations? The whole campaign against Tyndale was instigated by a part-time teacher, Dolly Walker, who insisted to parents and managers that the children were being 'politically indoctrinated' at Tyndale. She published her own 'Black Paper' and solicited the support of tub-thumping reactionary Rhodes Boyson.

The man she most bitterly attacked for alleged indoctrination was teacher Brian Haddow. And what does Mr Auld have to say? He claims that Terry Ellis was influenced by Haddow—who was 'doctrinaire' and 'aggressive' and more interested in the philosophy of education and trying to challenge the 'status quo' of society than the day-to-day business of educating children.

Yet he also states that Brian Haddow

By MARGARET FORD

did not try to indoctrinate the children politically, and had a 'special interest' in the needs of those children who were particularly deprived.

Throughout the inquiry Auld was anxious to skirt round the political issues, although in the latter stages of the inquiry this became more difficult as 'prosecution' barristers, alarmed at the lack of 'real' evidence against the teachers, devoted

STOP PRESS

A meeting of Labour members of the ILEA is reliably reported to have decided to:

1. Report Terry Ellis and six staff members to an independent disciplinary tribunal.
2. Merge the William Tyndale Junior School with the Infants School.
3. Ban Brian Haddow and Terry Ellis from re-applying for their jobs at Tyndale (the rest of the staff will be able to re-apply, but will not be accepted).

This was apparently decided after a 'careful reading' in little more than 48 hours of the 250,000 word report of the inquiry.

their time to cross-examining witnesses on their politics in this 'non-political inquiry'.

As founder of the William Tyndale Support Campaign, I was asked whether I was a member of the International Socialists and questioned very closely for three hours on my political activities—and what I knew about the political affinities of other teachers involved in the support campaign. But this of course is

glossed over in the report.

And the role of Islington Labour Party in aiding and abetting a petition against the Tyndale teachers? Once again we are told by Mr Auld that this was not political, but that the Labour Party machinery should not have been used to conduct a campaign against the school.

So who will be the victims of this report, which acquits the teachers of political indoctrination and providing inferior education? Why the teachers of course—in particular Brian Haddow and Terry Ellis.

All teachers must oppose any victimisation and resist any attempt by the Inner London Education Authority to make a decision on the fate of the Tyndale teachers before September. In this way the findings of the inquiry can be properly examined—not just by the ILEA schools sub-committee, but by the National Union of Teachers.

The Tyndale affair is a major warning to teachers everywhere of the lengths to which the State is prepared to go to defend the ruling class's ideas. The teachers at Tyndale have been attacked not for what they did but for what they believe.

But let us not delude ourselves that if a few heads roll as a result of this inquiry then that will be the end of it. Quite the contrary. There is little doubt that stricter measures will be introduced to 'control' education—a tougher inspectorate, greater power to managers, a closer watch on the content of the school curriculum as well as a careful scrutiny of teaching methods in schools.

In short, there will be a shift to the centralisation of education—a shift to the right.

IN FOCUS

Cuts and Councils

'No cuts in services or capital programme.' This was the response of Haringey Borough Council in London to the demands of the notorious Shore circular. The circular, coming fast on the heels of the TUC acceptance of the wage-cutting 4½ per cent limit, outlines the need for councils to reduce their budgets by about 10 per cent. In the event of refusal, it threatens to withhold the rate support grant which funds some 65 per cent of the £10½ billion spent by local councils.

First estimates are that the Shore circular has not achieved its aims. The Government has demanded cuts to the tune of £450 million, but 'only' £200 million have been made. Thirty-nine local education authorities seem intent not to trim their sails.

But already the Government has followed up the Shore circular with its decision to announce further cuts within the next few days, to the tune of £1,000 million. In the face of such vicious attacks on working class living standards, the response of the trade union and Labour Party lefts has been pathetic. All that Benn had to say over the weekend was that the labour movement should not only be concerned with 'day-day' issues. We all know what this means. It's the position of 'don't be concerned with the struggle against the cuts—struggle rather for "socialism"!

On Tuesday Benn was chairing a meeting to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the General Strike—yet at the same time he sits in a Labour Government which has the unfortunate record of repeating as far as is possible the wage-cutting policies of the 1926 Tory Government! Benn, along with the trade union lefts, will do nothing to mobilise the working class in mass action against the Tory policies of this right-wing Labour Government. Prominent left-wing MP Brian Sedgemoor has also said that he is not sure whether he can abstain on the vote on the cuts—as he did along with 34 other Labour MPs on the earlier White Paper—because it might threaten the existence of the Labour Government.

'Compromise and negotiation'

Already the effects of the cowardly policies of the left are being felt. In Haringey they have resulted in the compromise of accepting £800,000 worth of 'economies'. In other councils, savings have been made by cutting back what are considered 'less important' services. South Yorkshire's environmental programme is being pruned by £1½ million. Lambeth, asked to cut £3 million, have found 'savings' to the tune of £1.8 million. Such a policy of compromise cannot be tolerated. If any 'savings' are to be found in the 1976 budget, this should be turned over to expanding the services and for launching a campaign against the Labour Government's axe.

But the only way this policy of 'compromise and negotiation' with the Labour Government can be halted is by developing a campaign to ensure that any council which does refuse to cut will not be isolated and suffer the fate of Clay Cross under the Housing Finance Act. Already the Tories in Haringey are calling on the Government to make it another Clay Cross! Such a campaign must be clearly based on building mass action against the Government's policies. And this means explaining what the cuts would mean, what state the social services are in at present, and so on.

The TUC has hesitated to accept the latest Cabinet proposals on the cuts. The public sector unions have declared their opposition in advance. Local authority workers are already taking strike action against the Shore circular. The demand should go up from every local joint committee of public sector unions for national industrial action to be organised by their leaders.

Calls should be made on the Labour Party NEC to build opposition to the Shore cuts—by giving practical aid to local councils refusing to implement cuts, throwing its weight behind a campaign of mass industrial action for the restoration of all cuts, and calling for future expenditure to be automatically increased to protect the social services against the effects of inflation as well as increasing social need.

Such a policy will involve a fight to open the books of national and local administrations in order to lay future plans before the working class. As a first step, local Labour councillors should turn over the plans of local authorities to the labour movement so that an effective fight back can be prepared and executed. Furthermore, any councillor or MP voting for cuts should be replaced by someone prepared to struggle—a position adopted by the recent conference of the Labour Against the Cuts group.

For the choice before us is clear. Unless such a movement is built to throw back the cuts, then Healey's £1,000 million axe will indeed be the last round of cuts implemented by this Government. And for a very simple reason: it will be the Labour Government which is cut next.

The fight to defend jobs and improve wages for railworkers received a sharp setback at last week's annual conference of the National Union of Railwaymen.

The 11-11 split in the NUR executive over support for the Healey pay policy was turned into a 2-1 vote in favour at the conference. At the same time Sid Weighell, NUR General Secretary, was able to duck out of having to organise any serious fight against the cuts and resulting redundancies in British Rail.

Making up for any loss in his image of 'militancy', Weighell joined with the lefts in denouncing... not the attacks of the Labour Government, but the drivers' union ASLEF. ASLEF could have been a potential ally in the fight against the wages policy, but its opposition to the policy has been based on maintaining differentials for drivers and skilled men over the station porters, office workers and track workers organised

by the NUR. This has given extra weight to Weighell in attacking ASLEF as the main enemy, particularly as ASLEF's attempts to maintain the differentials are currently holding up the payment of the present award to NUR and TSSA (staff) workers.

SQUABBLING

The attempts of the NUR and ASLEF bureaucracy to channel the militancy amongst workers in both unions into inter-union squabbling can only effectively be challenged by fighting for pay awards which can unite all rail workers—demands for a flat rate increase coupled with protection against inflation (a sliding scale).

Weighell also uses this inter-union hostility to avoid taking up any fight against the cuts and the Government's recent Green Paper, which will mean more redundancies for railworkers. When the Southern and Eastern Region drivers were planning and taking action against the cuts, Weighell denounced them as likely to bring about 'adverse public opinion and perhaps Government reaction'. Rather than fighting redundancies in action, Weighell and ASLEF leader Buckton hold meetings with former BR chief Richard Marsh to present a 'united opposition' to the cuts.

The NUR talks of directing freight from road to rail, having a National Planning Transport Authority with 'real powers'—in short, any-

thing rather than the *real* measures necessary as a first step towards transport planning. The first measure which would have to be taken even to begin such planning is the nationalisation of all transport.

WIN SUPPORT

The NUR fears that this might alienate the respectable public opinion after which it chases. But a working class solution is not just the only solution which can save jobs and begin to plan transport—it can also present the best measures for winning the support of the rail consumers who will be hardest hit by cuts and fare increases.

The plan for fighting the cuts which was needed from this NUR

conference would have included no implementation of fare increases, a shorter working week with no loss of pay to defend jobs, and nationalisation of all transport services. Instead of this the NUR leadership offered a 'do nothing' campaign in the backrooms of Parliament, avoiding any fight and increasing the divisions amongst railworkers.

Even the one positive step taken by the conference—an increase in the political levy to enable the union to sponsor more MPs opposed to rail cuts—will lead to nothing. As Weighell was quick to point out to the capitalist press, he wouldn't dream of telling these MPs that they will have to vote against rail cuts in Parliament or else lose NUR support.

Rich Palser

Weighell runs NUR off the tracks

CHANGE THE LINE OF MARCH

Hundreds of unemployed youth, teachers and trade union representatives will be marching from London to Brighton in early September.

The march, organised by the Right to Work Campaign, is under the political leadership of the International Socialists, who provide the bulk of the resources and leading cadre. A prior decision by the IS, for instance, led the Right to Work Campaign to cancel plans to hold a delegate conference to plan out perspectives for the campaign. This has reinforced accusations from within the IS itself that the Rank & File organisations and the Right to Work Campaign are nothing but 'IS fronts'.

STRAW MAN

Both this opposition and non-IS members active in these bodies have raised the demand for the 'independence of the Rank & File Movement from the trade union bureaucracy and the IS'. Clearly members of IS do not put the trade union bureaucracy and the IS in the same camp, but the leadership have erected this as a straw man to conceal the fundamental questions involved in the rank-and-file strategy.

which broke in practice with the trade union and Labour leaders—with a break from social democratic ideas and organisation in general.

The Rank & File Movement, put forward as the tactic by which to promote this objective, suffered from two fundamental flaws as a result of this wrong analysis. First, it adapted its policies to the demands thrown up spontaneously from this shop stewards vanguard, giving the programme of the IS and the Rank & File Movement a deep-rooted economic bias. Secondly the Rank & File Movement was counterposed to the bureaucracy, and the masses invited to struggle under the 'new leadership' of the self-appointed Rank & File.

Consequently in the last period, where spontaneous breaks with the bureaucracy have been inhibited by the fact that political questions come to the fore—political questions which as yet have not been answered within this layer of the working class—the Rank & File organisations have declined precipitately, suffering a degeneration in internal democracy as a consequence. This should be noted not as the result of errors of the IS leadership, but because of the failure of the rank-and-file solution to provide answers to the unfolding of the revolutionary process in Britain.

That leadership has recognised that

action with the left social democrats and the Stalinists in order to draw in sections of the mass of workers who still follow their lead, but no such attempt was made.

Nowhere in the ten demands of the Right to Work Campaign is the question of how to develop a fight for workers control even mentioned. Nationalisation in this programme, for instance, is therefore reduced to the catch cry of the reformists.

CAMPAIGN

Red Weekly will be supporting the Right to Work March, but we will also campaign for it and all those other trade union and Labour Party bodies that have been active in the fight against unemployment—even if that fight has been limited to paper—to demand the recall of the National Assembly on Unemployment which met earlier this year. We will call for it to be reconvened on a fighting basis:

*Industrial action against the cuts, to demand a programme of useful public works to meet social need and employ the jobless.

*To lead a fight in support of occupations to meet redundancy, calling for the opening of the books to draw up a system of work-sharing to safeguard workers' jobs and lay the basis for nationalisation under workers control.

*A campaign against the decisions of the TUC conference for the 4½ per cent deal, and in favour of automatic increases to compensate for inflation in wages, pensions and other state benefits and the social expenditure budget.

We do not have any confidence in the organisers of the Assembly, dominated by the Communist Party, to wage this fight. We will try through the fight inside the militant minorities in the trade unions and Labour Party to build a leadership independent of the bureaucracy, organised in a permanent way through a class struggle opposition. But unlike the IS, we think that the fight for such a leadership can only be waged through the fight for action aimed at the bureaucracy, not through side-stepping the problem.

Steve Potter

We the undersigned deplore the exclusion of elected delegates from the Moss Side Labour Party (Chorlton Ward) and the Big Flame group in Manchester from the Right to Work Campaign National Council on Saturday 10 July.

These delegates were excluded after receiving written invitations and without being allowed even to make representation to the Council meeting itself by the Organising Committee.

We feel this exclusion is both anti-democratic and sectarian and will prevent the Right to Work Campaign from building the broadest possible support for its campaign against unemployment and for its march to the TUC in particular.

We appeal to the Right to Work Campaign National Committee to reverse this decision for its future activities.

DAVY JONES (Unemployed, Moss Side Labour Party, Chorlton Ward).

RAYMOND HOGAN (Unemployed, TGWU 6/27, Big Flame delegate)

GEOFF HOWARD (AUEW, Manchester 17 Branch.)

LEFT COVER

However, rather than seeing this as part of the fight to involve such broad forces against the leadership of the trade unions and Labour Party, this support was merely seen as a way of giving a 'representative' character to the march. So the left MPs were allowed to give themselves a left cover without in any way being confronted with the necessity of a fight against the Labour Government.

The trade union organisations also were merely asked for financial support, not for a commitment to an ongoing fight against unemployment. The possibility existed for proposing joint



The central problem with rank-and-file is that while it provides a temporarily attractive focus for atomised militants, it does not confront the basic question of how to win those workers who still take a lead from the reformists and Stalinists to a fight against those leaders, and the betrayals which deliver up their members to the interests of the ruling class. The only way in which this can be done is through a serious fight for the united front.

The IS leadership ruled out this central part of the revolutionary programme some time ago. They said that the hold of the Labour Party over the masses had been broken, and that reformism in the working class was now exercised through the hold of the trade union bureaucracy.

FLAWS

They therefore set themselves the task of organising the spontaneous revolt of the rank-and-file, particularly those forces organised in the shop stewards movement. This wrong analy-



Photo: ANGELA PHILLIPS (IFL)

PIRATE JENNY ON BOLD NEW TACK

The Pirate Jenny theatre group's production of Breaker's Yard* by Andy Smith is a courageous attempt to weave elements of drama with an emotional impact into the skit form commonly used by agitprop theatre. The play is about socialisation and sexuality, and the various ideological pressures of bourgeois society are portrayed as different 'educators' who can, however, be identified only vaguely. Perhaps they are a teacher, beautician, older friend, adman, policeman, social worker....

These mentors set to work on a boy and girl to condition them to the sexual and family roles required by capitalism. Her path to success and security lies through being 'very stupid and silly' deodorised and painted awaiting the command of her 'supermarket hero'. His goal must be the attainment of supreme power, a big house, a big car and an 18-inch erection. 'You can't do it, but you'll die trying, won't you?' he is told; while she fantasises in song about 'me in my bikini shorts, you with your dirty thoughts'.

A powerful episode occurs on their honeymoon, when they sense repressed aspects of their personalities but are too frightened to face the facts of their common oppression—taking it out on each other instead. Of course there are also lapses into a crude and mechanical approach, but a more important weakness is the general portrayal of socialisation as a process of simple conditioning of virtually passive beings by all-powerful and unbreakable forces.

As no contradictions or weaknesses emerge in the camp of the repressive enemy, any hope of change appears to rely on some 'naturally' based (i.e. not socially instilled) rebelliousness on the part of the victims. This idealistic approach appears to suggest that there is no solution—a point which became apparent in the open discussion which is arranged after each performance.

But a cheery menace runs through the play, which is very effectively acted—sometimes to the point of being chillingly disturbing. Pirate Jenny and Breaker's Yard are well worth an evening of your time.

Jack Lewis

*The play is now showing in London, at the King's Head, 115 Upper Street, N.1. until 24 July, and then at the ICA, Nash House, The Mall, S.W.1. from 27-31 July. The play will then tour Yorkshire in October. Bookings and other enquiries to: Pirate Jenny, 11 Acklam Road, London W.10.

Journalists defend their pages

New tactics and demands of struggle are urgently needed in the print and publishing industries to oppose the massive wave of cut-backs and closures already underway. The 40 workers of Time Out, a London weekly magazine with a circulation of 50,000, last week pointed a finger in the right direction when they struck against the further encroachment of advertising matter into the editorial pages of the magazine.

The struggle had been brewing for some time after a steady cut-back of editorial matter by management. Several weeks ago the chapel took the decision to demand a weekly minimum of editorial pages in order to maintain the standard of the magazine and ultimately to defend the journalists' jobs.

On 5 July, after a particularly vicious increase in the ratio of ads, the joint NUJ/SOGAT/NGA chapel decided to take over that week's issue and put it out on the basis of this minimum of editorial matter. Management immediately threatened to sack a SOGAT member if she didn't comply with

their ad requirements. The chapel at once struck and occupied the offices, thus preventing the production of that week's issue.

After four days continuous occupation, during which time the NUJ made the strike official, a compromise settlement was reached—for an average minimum editorial content during the official dispute period of 28 days, plus the re-instatement of the victimised member.

A further demand for a chapel statement explaining to the readership the reasons for the stoppage was not won. Management even went so far as to threaten complete liquidation of the magazine if their 'editorial prerogatives' were further threatened! The chapel did win two days' extra pay, however, to produce a rush issue in three days.

The struggle for a workers' veto over management decisions goes on—the tactic adopted, which could be used widely in the publishing industry to defend workers against cut-backs, is yet one more weapon in the media workers' armoury. Other workers in a similar position should take note. Carl Gardner (NUJ, Time Out).



THE ATHLETE'S DILEMMA

An interview with BRUCE KIDD, a Canadian athlete at the 1964 Olympics who was involved in discussion of the potential black American boycott of the 1968 Olympics and has since co-authored a book on the commercialisation of hockey

Q What do the Olympics mean for the participants?

A For the athletes it's really an inspiring occasion. It's a festival of performance and exchange. It gives you the chance to be on the same track with everybody else in your event in the world that's at the same level that you're at. As a result of that, invariably the best performances that you've ever come up with are possible.

At the same time, it's a great time for people to get together, swap stories — just go out and socialise together. And despite the image that is represented of rather warlike competition between competitors from different countries, those which are diplomatically at odds, there's a tremendous amount of camaraderie among the athletes themselves.

In fact, it's not uncommon for athletes from two different nations to define themselves collectively in opposition to the politicians, the sports administrators and the media who control the sport for other purposes.

Q By 'other purposes', are you referring to the way the Olympics have been used to bolster chauvinist sentiments and ideas of 'competition' being 'human nature'?

A To some extent they have been used that way. Certainly in every Olympics there have been organisers who have seen sport as a propaganda weapon of one kind or another. Really good sports performances are just so spectacular that large numbers of people are going to be drawn to them.

And if the masses are fed a steady diet of that and the athletes are lionised and romanticised, it certainly is possible for the organisers to manipulate public opinion in such a way that they forget about everything else that's going on. I think that's very clear.

Q What kind of effect does the using of sport have on the athletes themselves? If they do become romanticised, how does it affect them?

A It's impossible to generalise about individual athletes. Certainly there are a lot of athletes who have internalised many of the values of the systems or the organisations which are exploiting them.

For example, in this country, despite the fact that a lot of athletes have had to exist on peanut butter sandwiches and live on orange crate furniture for years and years, many of them still believe that they will be bums if they accept money so that they can

train full time, so that they can compete with athletes from other countries. At the same time there are many athletes who believe it's quite fine for them to perform in the backdrop of a Coca-Cola ad or a General Motors ad.

On the other hand, it seems to me that a lot of athletes are quite aware, at least at a semi-conscious level, that they're being used in this way. And yet what they do is say: 'We're in a situation where to be a successful athlete in a capitalist country or in one of the Eastern European states, you have to be kept.'

The resources required, facilities, coaching, good physical education programme and so on — freedom from work so that you can devote yourself to training and competition — are such that it has to be a social investment.

Athletes in Canada will say: 'My career is very short. This is

the only way I'm going to be able to get the opportunity. So if I have to sell my ass, well then I'll sell my ass.' Despite that trade-off, I think there's a bitterness about it.

Many athletes feel that the world outside sport is so fucked up that it's not worth considering. Athletes in many ways are like the religious fanatics — it's not an exact parallel by any means — people who dismiss the existing world as either an unreal world or an unjust world and survive on the strength of religious feelings and emotions.

A lot of athletes are able to survive the outside world and its pressures because of the strength of the feelings that they derive from their participation.

Q Then do you characterise the Olympics as being on the one hand a spectacle for the consumption of the masses, and on the other hand an intrinsic experience for the athletes themselves?



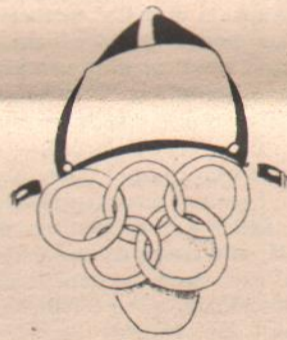
Black Power salute from US athletes John Carlos and Tommy Smith at 1968 Olympics

A I think that's true, and that's one of the contradictions that many of us would like to break down. It seems to me that there's nothing wrong with people watching sport at a high level and getting a great deal of pleasure out of that.

We should encourage people to see all forms of cultural expression at their highest possible levels of performance. It seems to me that that in itself is a very healthy thing.

What is harmful about the Olympics and any kind of mass spectator sport is that it may be the only kind of sporting activity that people are involved in. I would like to see the spectacle of the Olympics tied to men and women participating themselves in those kind of events all over the world.

One of the things that really encourages me, even inspires and excites me, about the East German programme is that they only try to develop world champions in those sports in which large numbers of people participate. For example, unlike the Soviet Union they do not have a modern pentathlon team, because it takes the same amount of money to train a modern pentathlete as it does to train 2,000 wrestlers.



It seems to me that it's very healthy for people who are in a sport at a low level to want to see the people who are the best doing that.

If you look at North American commercial sport, you can see that by and large attendance and viewership is falling off slowly. There's one exception to this — tennis. I think the reason for this is that tennis is enjoying a tremendous boom as a participatory sport.

So in terms of the mass spectacle, if it is only a passive activity for large numbers of people it can be easily manipulated. But if the people watching are people who engage in that sport themselves, it seems to me that it's a very healthy thing and ought to be encouraged.

In summary, I'd like to say that the athlete is faced with the following dilemma: either you participate in the Games and run the risk of being used or kept by some of the biggest bandits in the world. Or you boycott the Olympics and you cut off your nose to spite your face, throw the baby out with the bath water, you deny your life energy.

What athletes in their unsystematic and unorganised way have been struggling for, I think, is to come up with some alternatives to either of these no-win situations. One alternative which the American blacks came up with in 1968 was to go to the Olympics, win their event, and also demonstrate.

In the 1930s, when the Soviet Union was not part of the Olympic movement, and was interested in encouraging activity outside

the bourgeois international sports federations, it was possible to plan a workers' or counter-Olympics in opposition to Hitler's Olympics of 1936. That's not a possibility today, it seems to me, without the financial and diplomatic support of any state.

So the strategy that I and my friends have been working along is to give conditional support to the ideals of the Olympics and use whatever influence that we can to disassociate what the athletes do from what the bandits do and to use whatever access we have to push towards Olympic reform.

That's Capitalism

By ESTHER RANCID

Architect Paddy Tillett has an idea to celebrate the Queen's Silver Jubilee next year. He wants to see a giant corgi — 40 yards from nose to tail — carved out of chalk on a hillside so that it can be seen from the air!

In case you think this is another cut we can do without, the idea was judged runner-up in a national competition for jubilee year organised by the Royal Institute of British Architects. Two ideas tied for first — one wanted a giant carving of Mrs Windsor's profile in gravel pits near Heathrow Airport, and the other planned a special 'Jubilee Hill' near Speakers Corner. Useful for surveillance of political demonstrations if nothing else.

Meanwhile Lord Lucan's gambling friend Ian Maxwell-Scott, reportedly the last man to see Lucan alive (and how long ago was that, then?) was in court last week for not paying a £324 rates bill on his 10-bedroomed Sussex home. Even though not a penny of the more than £9 a week given to him by social security for rates alone had gone towards paying it off, the popular press was generally sympathetic. After all, the poor man has even been reduced to selling his wife's jewellery.

Mr Maxwell-Scott confessed: 'I am now without a house or capital.' Which is somewhat odd, since he is currently selling off the house he bought for £12,000 in 1966 for £56,000.

While we're on the subject of houses, Westminster City Council employs three investigating officers at a cost of £24,000 a year to spot empty houses. In the first year of operation they 'identified' 107 empty properties in Paddington. *Paddington Socialist*, paper of the Paddington Constituency Labour Party, reports that the Paddington Federation of Tenants and Residents Associations has just identified 2,536.

We reckon the Council now owes the tenants about £578,000 for the work they have put in.

What a tender sight to see those worthies of the Greater London Council, Paddy O'Connor and friends, sleeping underneath the arches at Charing Cross last week to defend the right of London's homeless to sleep on the streets. Those cynics among you who think that such an act might have been motivated by self-interest — given the 'housing' policies of the GLC — should think of the cost to these gentlemen of having to face television cameras in such an undignified position.

Finally, book of the week from the National Economic Development Office. It's called *The U.K. and West German Manufacturing Industry, 1954-1972*, and one of its most devastating conclusions is that labour productivity in German manufacturing was between one-quarter and one-third higher than in U.K. manufacturing in 1972. The study is edited by Mr. M. Panic.



Black immigrants arriving in Britain during the boom

IMMIGRANT LABOUR-

Out of the frying pan

TUNDE ANTHONY concludes his article on the roots of racism in Britain

In the first part of this article two weeks ago we established that it was the economic need for labour that led to the transport of millions of blacks from Africa to the New World, where they became slaves. It was also a labour shortage in post-war Britain that led to the migration of blacks from the West Indies and the Indian sub-continent to the imperial homeland.

Black immigrants came attracted by propaganda advertising the colonial motherland as a haven of economic opportunities and advance, and they were filled with illusions. They were not to know that their colonial masters really wanted bodies to fill the lowest jobs — those jobs which the indigenous labour force would not fill during

periods of economic boom.

The colonised turned 'coloured' immigrants found themselves only employable as unskilled workers, although most were skilled; they were paid less than white workers though doing in reality the same work; they found themselves the victims of unscrupulous capitalist landlords who charged them exorbitant rents. Everyone gained from the black immigrant except himself, who simply found that he had exchanged the conditions of colonial oppression for those of capitalist oppression in the very heart of imperialism.

But the post-war boom which had created the conditions for the migration of black labour was beginning to falter by the mid-1950s.

Attention was focussed on the black communities, and blacks were blamed for the effects of the Tory Government's economic policies.

Prejudice

White prejudice became increasingly manifest. In Nottingham for instance, after a period of sporadic assaults upon individual blacks, white working class mobs armed with razors and bottles made a mass onslaught on black residents in the St Anne's area of the city. In Notting Hill, black homes were attacked by white mobs armed with petrol bombs, chains and axes.

The economic recession and the fears and insecurity of white work-

ers were exploited by racist politicians seeking a mass base.

Like the racists and fascists today, Sir Cyril Osborne MP painted pictures of a Britain overrun by blacks. "Those who vehemently denounce the slogan "Keep Britain white" ", said Osborne, 'should answer the question, do they want to turn it black? If unlimited immigrants were allowed we would ultimately become a chocolate coloured Afro-Asian mixed society. That I do not want!'

Under the impact of the economic depression, immigration controls specifically directed at black labour were brought in. In 1961 the Tory Government introduced a Commonwealth Immigration Bill, which became an Act in 1962. The aim of this Act was not to put an end to black immigration but rather to control it. It represented an attempt to create a mechanism whereby the flow of immigrants both

quantitatively and qualitatively could be manipulated to meet the needs of capitalism.

Although the Tories were responsible for introducing the first Commonwealth Immigration Act, black immigration control has since become a generally accepted aspect of state policy. It is in part a reflection and a consequence of the economic failings of the bourgeoisie, and also a reflection of the susceptibility of the white working class to racist propaganda during periods of economic recession.

Scapegoats

When the State introduces or tightens black immigration control, it says in effect that blacks are responsible for the economic and social degeneration of society. Blacks are used as scapegoats for the endemic slumps of the capitalist economy. Anti-black immigration legislation is usually accompanied by general racial conflict and a heightening of racial prejudice.

The basis on which racist organisations and the media manage to stir up white workers against blacks is by exploiting and reinforcing in the sense of insecurity felt by workers in capitalist society.

But widespread white working class racist attacks on blacks did not find their first expression in 1958. The little-known race riots of 1919 displayed a similar pattern of events and causes to those of 1958 and today.

Before the First World War, Britain had a small black population consisting mainly of sailors and unemployed sailors located in the port areas. But with the outbreak of war a labour shortage arose as industry was drained by the armed forces. The British Government turned to the untapped potential of the colonies.

Boom

Between 1914 and 1918 the black population expanded rapidly. Black workers from the colonies found themselves in the munition and chemical factories of the North and Midlands. But the boom which brought black labour to Britain was temporary. As James Walvin* wrote:

'At the end of the war, as

LETTERS

At the march against racism on 4 July, some of the IMG contingent appeared to be shouting the slogan 'National Front is a Nazi front'. We knew this was an IS slogan, but were surprised to find the IMG also supports it.

Fascism feeds on existing chauvinist and racist ideas in the working class. This slogan appeals to precisely those ideas: the content of anti-Nazi sentiment was not so much class conscious opposition to fascism as British patriotism. The war against Nazism was fought by the working class giving full support to British imperialism. The slogan today appeals to the worst, and not the best, traditions of the working class movement.

This point could be made clearer by considering the likely response to this slogan if the left raised it in Ireland. The people of the Falls Road and the Bogside would not be fooled; the content of this slogan would be quite clear to people who remember that the IRA was denounced in the war as Nazi traitors, and that the same people who were supposedly 'anti-fascist' fully supported British imperialism against the Irish people.

The slogan 'National Front is a Nazi front' is a chauvinist slogan, and presupposes that the only element in the present rise of fascist groups is a specifically anti-black racism. This is not true. Racism itself is part and parcel of the national-chauvinist and malechauvinist ideology which is the real basis of fascism. To attack only a specific form of racism is to attack only the appearance and to ignore the real problem.

At present it appears that the fascists are gaining support on the basis of rac-

ism alone, but it is not true that this is their only appeal. They have been immensely strengthened by the support of the working class for the British war on Ireland. They have also been strengthened by the acceptance of the idea that a woman's place is in the home, by the lack of a fight for women's demands against the cuts.

The backwardness of the working class on questions like these provides the basis for the growth of fascism, even if the current attack appears to be on the question of blacks. This is why the questions of women and Ireland are as key as the question of race.

Instead of fighting nationalism with nationalism, it would be correct to raise a slogan such as 'National Front is a fascist front' which also exposes the National Front, and has the advantage of drawing out not the worst, but the best traditions of the working class—such as the battle of Cable Street, which is part of a genuine anti-fascist tradition which the support for British imperialism in the war superseded.—ELEANOR SCHOOLING, CELIA HOLT, LYNDA FINN, CELIA SHALOM (South West London Students Action Committee).

RED WEEKLY replies:

We obviously agree with the comrades that anti-black racism is far from being the only element in the present rise of fascist groups. But it is hard to see why the slogan 'National Front is a Nazi front' should suggest the contrary, unless a simple parallel is being drawn with the anti-Jewish racism of the Nazis. And no one can seriously suggest that this is all that working class consciousness of Nazism amounts to.

It is true that the war against Nazi Germany was an imperialist war. But this objective analysis tells us nothing about the subjective motivation of the millions of working class militants who fought in the Second World War and who saw the fight against Nazism in terms of a fight against the most hideous manifestation of a tyrannical system which oppressed and exploited them—and which had just delivered a crushing blow to their aspirations with the victory of the Nazi-backed Franco in Spain.

Indeed, far from reflecting simple British patriotism, the anti-Nazi sentiment of the working class arose precisely

NATIONAL FRONT- JUST PLAIN FASCISTS?

out of experiences like Spain and the 'genuine anti-fascist tradition' of Cable Street etc. Of course it was tinged with patriotism, an aspect encouraged by the class collaborationists of the reformist parties. But unless you accept that it had a deep class content, it is difficult to explain how the defeat of the Nazis was followed almost immediately by the biggest ever Labour victory in a general election.

Two final points. It is incorrect to suggest that Irish Republicans would refrain from using the 'Nazi' tag. Indeed, the Provisionals' paper *An Phoblacht* recently carried the front-page headline: 'Radio Eireann: Dr Goebbels at work' (9 April 1976).

Secondly, and more importantly, to describe the National Front as 'Nazis' is hardly an appeal to British patriotism, since it is no secret that these people are themselves the biggest Union Jack-wavers and 'Britain first' merchants. On the contrary, it makes the very clear point that 'Nazism' is the logical culmination of extreme British patriotism—just as it was of extreme German patriotism. And that can hardly be described as capitulating to patriotism.

JOURNALISTS ACT AGAINST RACIST PRESS

Self-defence

Police were called, and took a leisurely half hour to arrive. After politely and individually requesting the fascists to leave which took the best part of an hour—the police then allowed them to group outside the hall. Camden alderman Parmukh Singh was punched in the stomach as he left the hall, and some Asians who parked their van several streets away returned to find all its tyres slashed.

To leave any anti-racist meeting—whatever its political basis—unprotected is utterly irresponsible. Camden CRC must now rapidly organise another meeting and invite all local labour movement bodies and black organisations to provide an effective stewarding force to put the fascists in their place.

Dick Brinsley

The recent wave of racist filth in the press is not going unopposed. A meeting of 60 journalists and representatives of the black community in London last Thursday voted to set up a Campaign Against Racism in the Media, whose aim is both to build united action inside the National Union of Journalists and other media unions, and to link up with black militants and anti-racists in the labour movement. By focussing initially on the local press and radio stations, it is hoped to bring together forces that can then tackle Fleet Street.

Speakers at the meeting included Darcus Howe, editor of *Race Today*, A. Sivanandan, Director of the Institute for Race Relations, Inder Puri of the Asian Socialist Forum, and Charles Harkness, deputy general secretary of the NUJ.

The actions proposed from the meeting were the formation of an open organising committee, and immediate support for the picket of London Broadcast-

ing organised by the Right-to-Work Campaign on 27 July against the use of chat-shows by the National Front and other racists as a platform for their ideas. The production of a dossier of racist stories in the form of a pamphlet and a larger conference on the whole subject in the autumn were also projected.

Meanwhile several militant journalists in London are going ahead with official complaints under the NUJ's Code of Conduct against some of Fleet Street's more racist 'star' reporters. This procedure, although limited in its effectiveness, is also useful in showing justifiably suspicious blacks that some journalists are willing to take every action open to them against their own 'colleagues'.

The picket of LBC, in Gough Square, London EC4, is to be held from noon to 2pm on 27 July with the demand: 'No media platform for racists'.



Black girls were recently beaten up by police in Harlesden while returning home from a club. To add insult to injury, they were charged on various counts, including obstruction and assault! This picket was mounted last Thursday when they appeared in court.

Into the fire

...ies contracted and the... slid into the depression... came to characterise the... ar years, many of the Negroes... presence was caused by the... and themselves unemployed... trade unions insisted on... employment of Englishmen in... nce to Negroes, and conse... increasing numbers of the... ants found themselves unem... and unemployable. The... and racial tensions which had... mmered below the surface... into the open under the... of economic unrest. In the... of 1919 a series of serious... ts, in which groups of poor... pitched themselves against... lack minorities, broke out... mber of British towns and... London, Liverpool, Cardiff... ester, Barry, Newton and

community was on the defensive, and yet its members, in trying to defend themselves, were arrested and prosecuted for their attempts at self-defence, while all but a handful of the white aggressors went unchallenged.

Repatriation was the answer of the Government. It encouraged shipping lines to offer berths to blacks seeking a passage home. But these attempts at repatriation failed, and the violence subsided as the white working class moved into direct confrontation with the employers. The black community was left to its high level poverty and incredible unemployment rates.

Brutalise

But blacks were still under the constant surveillance and harassment of the police. For instance, in Cardiff the Alien Order of 1925 was used by the police to force all black seamen to register with them. In registering, those black citizens who were British were obliged to prove their citizenship. Of course, many were unable to do this and so were automatically relegated to the category of

aliens — liable to arbitrary deportation. This whole process gave the police the necessary tool to harass and brutalise blacks.

The pattern of events in 1919 and 1958 has lessons for us in understanding the basis of the increasing anti-black feelings amongst the white working class today. Economic recession, fear and insecurity and racist propaganda have not only created a situation of anti-black riots in Britain but also in Europe. It is not only the British State that uses black immigration control to divide the working class and place the blame for the effects of economic recession on black labour.

It is vital to conduct a concerted campaign against the myth that blacks are responsible for the economic failings of capitalism. It is therefore necessary to challenge all immigration controls, because what such controls do is to give credence to the ideas used by racist and fascist organisations to gain support for their anti-working class project.

* The section of this article dealing with the race riots of 1919 relies heavily on *Black and White: The Negro and English Society 1555-1945* by James Walvin.

ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY SUMMIT

African leaders seek clamp-down on guerrillas

TONY HODGES reports from Port Louis in Mauritius

Article Three of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) pledges 'absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent'. But the recent summit conference here of the OAU—held just two weeks after the bloody Soweto massacres—proved the organisation's fear of extending all-out support to the growing liberation struggle in southern Africa.

The Soweto massacres were condemned and 16 June declared the 'Day of the Soweto Massacres'. The assembled government delegations denounced Pretoria's bantustan policy and the 'fraudulent pseudo-independence' of the Transkei (set for 23 October). But what, one might ask, about the more than 15 African countries which continue to have commercial or other relations with South Africa in violation of OAU resolutions?

This issue prompted the Republic of Benin to present a resolution to a pre-summit meeting of OAU foreign ministers advocating disciplinary measures against OAU members which continue to flout the organisation's embargo against South Africa. But, by the end of the deliberations, the Benin resolution had been dropped. The problem was submitted to the OAU Secretariat for 'further study'.

SYMBOLIC

Symbolic, perhaps, was the summit's decision to elect the Mauritian Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, as the new Chairman of the OAU. Ramgoolam makes no secret of his plans to maintain Mauritius's close ties with Pretoria. South African investment is welcomed here (particularly in the hotel industry), and the island's trade with the minority white regime has soared in recent years.

The intensification of the liberation struggle in southern Africa forced the neo-colonial regimes represented at the summit to vote 'maximum political, economic and military assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa to enable them to execute the armed struggle'. But the delegates were careful to avoid discussion of the 'Lusaka Strategy' of detente pursued by the OAU since December 1974, when the

Zambian Government forcibly 'reorganised' the Zimbabwean nationalist movements—which were heavily dependent on their bases in Zambia—into the African National Council (ANC).

This strategy, which hinged on forcing the Zimbabwean nationalists to sidetrack their struggle into negotiations with the Smith regime, won the approval of South African premier John Vorster, who badly wanted a settlement in Rhodesia to restore stability to southern Africa and thereby defend the interests of the imperialists and the white minority in the bastion of South Africa.

The neo-colonial states backed the Lusaka Strategy because an impetuous rise of the liberation struggle in southern Africa (eventually engulfing the industrial heartlands of South Africa itself) threatens to detonate big class battles in 'independent' Africa too—in particular, at a time when these countries are wracked by the combined effects of the world recession and inflation.

But the Smith regime's refusal to sign away even some of the Rhodesian settlers' privileges at the negotiating table led to the debacle of this 'strategy'. The bordering neo-colonial regimes were left with little option but to authorise renewed guerrilla incursions against the settler state in order to pressure Smith back into talks.

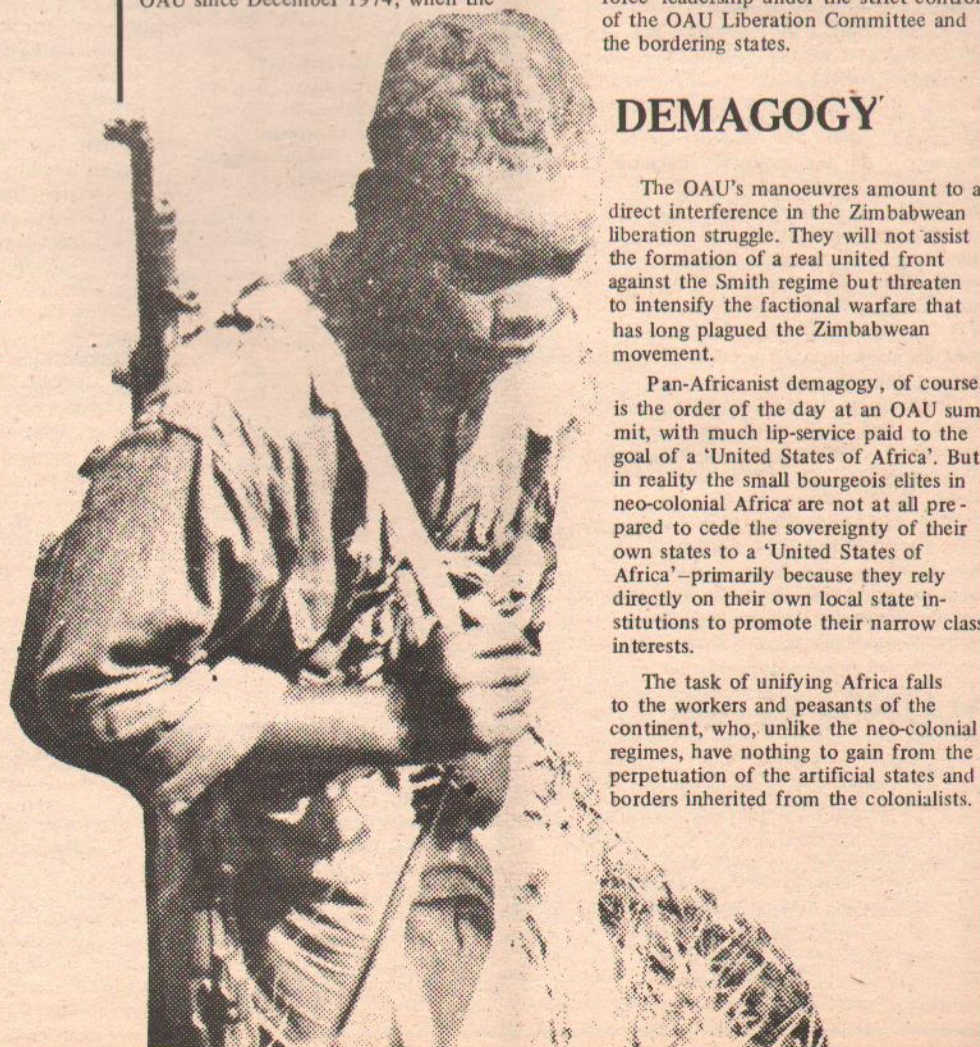
But while carrying out this delicate manoeuvre, the neo-colonial regimes are seeking to ensure their tight control over the Zimbabwean nationalist movement and prevent its development in an independent direction. The OAU states have therefore made skilful use of the factional divisions within the Zimbabwean nationalist movement—between the ANC's 'internal' wing, led by Joshua Nkomo, and its 'external' wing, led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole—to promote a so-called 'third force' leadership under the strict control of the OAU Liberation Committee and the bordering states.

DEMAGOGY

The OAU's manoeuvres amount to a direct interference in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle. They will not assist the formation of a real united front against the Smith regime but threaten to intensify the factional warfare that has long plagued the Zimbabwean movement.

Pan-Africanist demagoguery, of course, is the order of the day at an OAU summit, with much lip-service paid to the goal of a 'United States of Africa'. But in reality the small bourgeois elites in neo-colonial Africa are not at all prepared to cede the sovereignty of their own states to a 'United States of Africa'—primarily because they rely directly on their own local state institutions to promote their narrow class interests.

The task of unifying Africa falls to the workers and peasants of the continent, who, unlike the neo-colonial regimes, have nothing to gain from the perpetuation of the artificial states and borders inherited from the colonialists.



SECTARIAN POLITICS

From an objective programmatic point of view the International Communist League (ICL) stands closer to the Fourth International and the International Marxist Group than almost any other organisation on the British left. On questions of international politics it has the same political conclusions as the Fourth International on most major issues. It explicitly rejects all the nonsensical myths, not to mention lies and slanders, spread by the 'anti-Pabloites' of the Healy school.

The ICL does not fail to take up issues, such as Ireland and abortion, which many organisations declaring themselves Trotskyist have lamentably failed to make any real struggle on. While it has real differences with the IMG on questions such as the EEC and how to build opposition to the Government's policies in the unions, these differences do not constitute a dividing line which would place either the ICL or the IMG outside the camp of revolutionary Marxism.

Given this objective programmatic agreement, it would appear evident that the IMG and the ICL should be moving towards the unification of their two organisations. For its part the IMG is fully in favour of such a perspective — characterising the ICL, despite many political differences, as being a current within revolutionary Marxism and within Trotskyism.

CONFUSION

Unfortunately the ICL does not agree with such a perspective. Its chief arguments against this are contained in the pamphlet *The International Communist League and the Fourth International* and to a lesser extent in the first issue of its theoretical journal, *International Communist*. As these publications not only reveal acute theoretical confusion, but also accept the theoretical positions on organisational questions of a sect and not those of Lenin and Trotsky, an examination of these pamphlets is a good starting point for examining the confusions and contradictions in the position of the ICL.

This is most evident on the issue where it should be clearest — on the political characterisation which is given of the IMG and the Fourth International. This is in fact the most vital question, as the attitude to be taken towards any political organisation inevitably flows from the political characterisation which is given of it. Yet totally different characterisations are given in the ICL publications even on opposite pages.

For example, in the introduction to *The ICL and the Fourth International* we are informed of the United Secretariat that 'we [the ICL] now accuse it of treason to the programme of Trotskyism' (p5). Logically, given programmatic treason, they draw the conclusion: 'There is some organisational continuity with the Fourth International of Trotsky. But political continuity there is none' (p5).

MAINSTREAM

Further on in the pamphlet, in a resolution of Workers Fight of August 1975, we are informed that the Fourth International has been *centrist* and not revolutionary for nearly three decades: 'Today it is, and since the late '40s has been, an unstable centrist force' (p19). The nature of this centrism is then more precisely defined — apparently the Fourth International is 'in the tradition of Right Oppositional currents

In a continuing series on the organisations of the far left, ALAN JONES looks at the politics of the International Communist League

The I-CL and the Fourth International



(Brandler, Lovestone), not the communism of Trotsky' (p20).

This Brandlerite centrist, rather than Trotskyist revolutionary, politics apparently started in relation to Eastern Europe but spread from this issue to conquer the Fourth International — 'it has been conquered by and represents Brandlerite, not Trotskyist, politics' (p20). Flowing from this we are informed: 'We can no longer indulge in ambiguity about the USFI' (p20).

However, having characterised the Fourth International, and thereby also the IMG, as Brandlerite centrist and not revolutionary, the pamphlet then goes on thoroughly to contradict itself. The introduction, for instance, boldly asserts: 'The ICL continues to believe that the USFI is the mainstream that has emerged from the communist tendency personified by Leon Trotsky' (p6).

NO SENSE

Unless one is to conclude that Brandlerism represents a current within Trotskyism, this position makes no sense whatsoever. Is the Fourth International inside or outside revolutionary Marxism, and consequently also is the IMG a revolutionary organisation or not? *The ICL and the Fourth International* is unable to give any coherent answer to this.

If we turn to the first issue of the ICL's theoretical journal, *International Communist*, even less enlightenment is forthcoming. It boldly declares that 'we do not regard precision and clarity of ideas as sectarianism' (p5), but the last thing to be found in this publication is 'precision and clarity of ideas' concerning the Fourth International and the IMG — not to mention the fact that it has no 'precise and clear' idea of what sectarianism (i.e. acting like a sect) consists of.

For example, it is stated in the Political Resolution of the ICL Fusion that 'we [the ICL] do not consider the USFI to be a Marxist International — rather, a centrist obstacle to the building of such an International' (p7). This is clear enough. The Fourth International

is not revolutionary or Trotskyist but centrist.

POLEMIC

However, the editorial on the previous page of the same issue puts forward a totally different position. This calls for 'polemic and debate on the various tendencies within Trotskyism on a world scale and in Britain' (p5). Furthermore, as a large part of this editorial is explicitly devoted to a polemic with the Fourth International, one would have to conclude that the 'United Secretariat' is a current *within* Trotskyism — despite the fact that two pages later it is described as centrist. Have the ICL therefore carried out an interesting revision of Marxism by declaring that centrism is a current within Trotskyism and that centrism has now become revolutionary?

The reason for all this confusion and contradiction, the inability to decide whether the Fourth International and the IMG is a revolutionary organisation or a centrist one, flows from the completely false theoretical position taken in the ICL pamphlet on the question of the differentiation between political currents within the workers movement. This attempts to cast all political organisations in the workers movement into only three currents — reformist, centrist and revolutionary Marxist. Of these the ICL is categorised as the *revolutionary* force, the social democrats and Stalinists as the chief *reformist* forces, and anyone else (IMG, WSL, Chartists, RCG, etc) is then placed in the camp of 'centrism'.

FALSE

Unfortunately this categorisation is false from beginning to end and is a concentrated theoretical expression of sectarianism. By appearing to be very subtle and sophisticated, in that it acknowledges the existence not merely of reformism but also of centrism, this categorisation and argumentation in fact *obscures* the vital fact that

there are not merely divisions *between* revolutionary positions and centrism, but also political divisions which can exist *within* the framework of revolutionary Marxism and of the proletariat.

There are not merely many theoretical but also many historical illustrations of this fact. Perhaps the most famous of all was Lenin and Trotsky's explicit talk of 'Left' Communism and 'Right' Communism in the early period of the Communist International in relation to the whole division of forces that were nevertheless, and quite correctly, regarded as positions *within* communism.

To take another example, Rosa Luxemburg maintained a thoroughly erroneous position right to the end of her life on economic theory, and the right of nations to self determination. But no-one has ever concluded that therefore Luxemburg was outside revolutionary Marxism and the political positions of the proletariat.

DIVISIONS

These divisions within the framework of communism, and therefore of the working class, can exist even when on *particular* issues currents may even adopt positions clearly *counterposed* to the interests of the working class and representing the interests of alien classes.

To take merely obvious examples: Bukharin in the early period of the Russian Communist Party and Communist International defended a whole series of positions — for example, in opposition to the Brest-Litovsk peace and the advocacy of the 'theory of the offensive' — which, if carried through, could quite possibly have destroyed the Soviet State and the Communist International, but Bukharin was fought as a current *within* communism and it never even occurred to Lenin and Trotsky to propose a split with him on the basis of his views: Trotsky had a thoroughly erroneous position on the trade unions in Russia in 1920-21, against which Lenin waged a severe battle, but no one ever proposed to characterise Trotsky as a current outside the working class on this basis.

Finally, just in case anyone should consider that this position only applies to mass parties and not to small groups, consider the famous struggle in the SWP in 1940. Here Trotsky launched a ferocious political attack against the wrong positions of the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern minority. But simultaneously he was absolutely *opposed* to a split.

EXPEL

He quite correctly summarised his position as follows: 'If someone should propose, for example, to expel comrade Burnham I would oppose it energetically. But at the same time I find it necessary to conduct the most strenuous ideological fight against his anti-Marxist conceptions' (*In Defence of Marxism*, p11). In short, even with a current such as that of Burnham, Trotsky was opposed to a split. Yet no-one can accuse Trotsky of not having waged a political struggle against Burnham!

The reason why Trotsky pursued exactly the same policy with regard to a small organisation of a thousand in 1940 as in relation to the millions of the Communist International is quite clear. Trotsky was not a crude operator of *realpolitik* but was fighting for basic organisational *principles*. He knew that in order to become a mass organisation, a revolutionary current had to lay down right from the beginning clear organisational principles and fight for them against all comers — and on that point, incidentally, it should not be forgotten that the Russian Social Democratic and Labour Party (RSDLP) at the time of the famous split at the Second Congress had only 2-3,000 members and was very far from being a mass organisation.

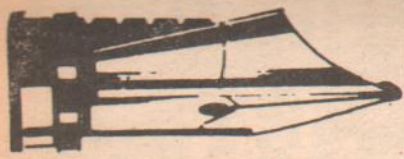
CLARITY

What is involved in both Lenin and Trotsky's positions is absolute clarity in characterisation between forces outside communism — with whom an organisational split must be carried out; forces within communism who hold wrong positions — against whom a faction struggle must be waged, but who simultaneously must be accorded full rights as members of the party and even consciously incorporated in the leadership; and forces within communism who hold correct positions on the vital issues — with whom it is therefore permissible to form a faction, etc.

Unfortunately the ICL publications there is no 'precision and clarity' whatever. They slip backwards and forwards between characterising the Fourth International and the IMG as 'centrist' and 'revolutionary' without ever appearing to understand the qualitatively different *practical* attitude that has to be taken in the two cases. The reason is their sectarian characterisations, which refuse to acknowledge that there are not merely differences between centrists and revolutionaries but also differences *within* the camp of revolutionary Marxism, and that the differences between the IMG and the ICL are differences *within* a revolutionary framework and not differences between revolutionary Marxism and centrism.

It is to be hoped that the ICL will sort out the contradictions in their positions, stop their absurd attempt to claim that the IMG is not a revolutionary organisation, and will seek to unify their forces with the IMG.

NEXT WEEK: Debate with state capitalists on Eastern Europe



PORTUGAL FORUM



We need to learn from unexpected developments

It may be correct for Trotskyists to forget nothing in relation to their past history, but this does not mean we should learn nothing from unexpected developments and see everything new as a re-run of some old battle fought

by Lenin or Trotsky. That, however, is the tendency in the letter from comrades Gray, Jordan and Camiller. It is impossible to abstract the recent presidential elections from the developing political situation in Portugal



Did vote for Carvalho deny blank cheque to reformism ...

BASIC QUESTIONS AT STAKE

The issues at stake in this discussion involve a basic question of class principle and are *not* differences over tactics. Whether you vote for Pato or Carvalho indicates nothing less than what you consider the strategic line of march should be for the Portuguese working class. In short, it is a choice between the political independence of the working class or its collaboration with a 'progressive section of the bourgeoisie' represented by a section of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA).

Viewed in this light the lack of a Trotskyist candidate was not a 'problem' at all for socialists in Portugal. The LCI was faced with a clear cut choice of voting for a workers candidate or a bourgeois candidate. Where the 'problem' arose was that a section of the working class (the 'vanguard') has illusions in a representative of the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately, it seems that some contributors to this discussion — notably comrades Sissons and Grogan — have similar illusions.

In their attempt to get round the fact that Carvalho is a bourgeois candidate, they say that the decisive criterion for voting was the programme of the candidates. But if this was the case it would not have been possible to vote for *either* Pato or Carvalho since both have bourgeois *reactionary* programmes. Moreover, if we adopted this criterion then revolutionaries throughout the world (e.g. in Argentina and the USA) would be indifferent to workers' involvement in bourgeois parties — we would then change the orthodox Trotskyist position and simply call on the unions to fight for a socialist programme within these bourgeois parties.

Both comrades necessarily compound their error by fostering illusions in Carvalho's programme. Hence, a

bourgeois military general who has a record of strike-breaking as part of his function in upholding the capitalist state is suddenly transformed into a 'confused part of the workers' movement'.

This, it seems, is made possible by Carvalho's defence of the existing nationalisations and perhaps a promise of more to come. But this is nothing new for a demagogue of Carvalho's stature — and moreover, as the LCI have pointed out, does not differ from the programme of the Communist Party.

The Fourth International never has and never will place confidence in the programmes of either bourgeois or Stalinist outfits, and the same applies to the Portuguese elections. So why was it correct, as the LCI did, to advocate a vote for Pato?

The answer is relatively simple. We draw a distinction *not between their programmes* but in the fact that one is a workers candidate and the other a bourgeois candidate. The fact that Carvalho was supported by the ultra-left and centrist groups does not make him a workers candidate any more than the SP leadership's support for Eanes made *him* a workers candidate.

While the CP has a class collaborationist programme, which in other circumstances would permit it to sponsor a bourgeois candidate, it has presently been forced into a semi-oppositionist stance in order to improve its future prospects of currying favour with the bourgeoisie. Fielding its own candidate could have temporarily conflicted with its class collaborationist goal. Socialists had the opportunity to deepen and exploit that contradiction in order to educate the working class as a whole in a perspective of independent working class political action in its own class interests. Key to this, as in the last two years,

since 25 April 1974. It is worth reminding the comrades that the overthrow of the fascist regime of Salazar was carried out not, unfortunately, by a general strike called by the Communist Party and Socialist Party and supported by an impatient working class, but by the MFA within the army.

That further to this, the attempt by Spínola to impose a Bonapartist dictatorship was defeated by the refusal of large sectors of the army to obey orders plus mass mobilisations. That the post-Spinola phase saw a further differentiation *within* the MFA between social democrats (Antunes), Stalinists (Goncalves) and centrists (Carvalho). This differentiation led to the creation of the SUV (Soldiers United Will Win), and saw an unprecedented (in a capitalist country in peacetime) radicalisation on the level of the rank-and-file of the army — a radicalisation which ran well beyond the consciousness of the mass of the Portuguese working class and provided the narrow objective basis for the debacle of 25 November.

In these debates *within* the army, which reflected in a sharpened way the divisions in civil society, it would have been impermissible for revolutionaries to stand aside and say: 'A plague on all your houses.' And the bulk of revolutionaries in Portugal did *not* do that. They gave varying

degrees of support (uncritical/unconditional/critical) to the Carvalho wing of the MFA as against the Stalinists and social democrats, and they were correct.

Or would comrades Gray, Jordan and Camiller have preferred backing the Stalinists as the representatives of a mass party in the army? I would doubt it.

What was the key priority of revolutionaries in the recent election? It was to try to stimulate the candidature of a class struggle candidate who could be supported by the whole far left and currents within the mass organisations. This was attempted by the LCI, but without success. In this situation an attempt should have been made to establish a new FUR to put up a candidate for the elections and unite the far left. This too wasn't done.

The choice, therefore, was between Pato — a notoriously right-wing Stalinist, who had argued within the CP leadership for backing Eanes and whose campaign was conducted in an extremely low-key note — and Carvalho. Now the latter is a confused centrist of petty-bourgeois origin. But abusing his personality is precisely to ignore the fact that he was seen as the candidate of the far left, and he accurately reflected the confusions of the majority of the far left ('soviets without parties', etc).

Critical support should have been



... or did it strengthen bourgeoisie against workers candidate Pato (above)?

is the need to break with the bourgeois MFA and the illusion that a section of it will liberate the working class. Alongside of Goncalves, Carvalho has been the personification of the CP's class collaborationist programme, embodied in the 'MFA-people alliance'.

While presently out of favour with the dominant policy of the ruling class, Carvalho's candidacy showed that the bourgeoisie is still keeping its options open in anticipation of a renewed upsurge of the Portuguese masses. The elections provided the opportunity for the initial reconstruction of a new popular front bloc which could once again bind the workers to their capitalist oppressors.

Socialist participation in bourgeois elections is only an extension of and opportunity to continue to place a class struggle policy before the oppressed. Comrade Sissons partly recognises this when he states that our starting

point is 'the need through the (election) campaign to prepare the working class for the autumn offensive of the ruling class'. He is somewhat shortsighted in limiting our horizons to the autumn; nevertheless, it is true that the elections were a platform to educate the workers in the spirit of class action and self-organisation independently of the bourgeoisie.

A vote for Pato combined with aggressive criticism of his programme allowed the LCI to do that. A vote for Carvalho would have done precisely the opposite. It would have encouraged the illusions of workers in a section of the bourgeoisie, and thereby strengthened the class collaborationist policies of both the Stalinist and social democratic leaderships. — BRIAN LYONS.

NOTE: We reserve the right to cut letters of more than 600 words. This right has been exercised in both the above cases.

given to his campaign. The 'centrist obstacle' cannot be defeated by voting Pato and ignoring the very real forces of the predominantly centrist mass vanguard in Portugal.

What would have been the position of the comrades if there had been an official SP candidate in addition to Pato? Would they have then argued for voting for the SP candidate as opposed to Pato and of course Carvalho? The main danger in the approach of the comrades to events in Portugal is an *abstract propagandism*, the logic of which in Italy would be to reject voting for the far left slate. After all, is not the Italian far left as (if not more) confused than Carvalho, and would not a vote for the CP help towards making it the largest single party and thereby exposing it.

The comrades are for class independence. Good! So are we all. But if class independence is defined so narrowly as to make a principle of voting for the workers parties in all bourgeois elections in all situations, it becomes a joke and a somewhat bankrupt joke at that.

Furthermore, it leaves out of the picture the working out of tactics to deal with reformism (especially of the Allende variety) and implies that the central problem in Europe today is the fight against popular frontism — something which is clearly not the case. Which section of the European bourgeoisie is today for governmental blocs with the CPs as was the case in the Thirties?

In reality, what the recent election results indicate is the resilience of the mass vanguard in Portugal. Or could it be that comrades Gray, Jordan and Camiller regard the high vote for Otelo in working class strongholds such as Setubal and Lisnave as a regression, a step backwards from voting for the Stalinists? That is the logic of their position.

For me, the Carvalho vote demonstrates that reformism in Portugal has been denied a blank cheque by a section of the masses which in itself creates a favourable situation for the revolutionary movement as a whole. — TARIQ ALI.



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:

* CRITIQUE

No. 6 of this journal contains a wide range of articles covering Eastern Europe and socialist theory: Lowy on Lenin's study of Hegel, Tickin on Bettelheim's views of the Soviet Union, Kay on the falling rate of profit, and a study of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag from Czechoslovakia — to name only the key ones. Price 70p, post 20p.

* WORKERS CONTROL IN PORTUGAL

This is the title of a new pamphlet from the IWC. A report by British members of the second commission sent by the Russell Committee for Portugal, the authors include miners' leaders Ray Ellis and Joe Burke. The report notes the 'rich and enormous variety of forms of organisation which the Portuguese workers have created', and contains much information not available elsewhere. Price 20p, post 7p.

* AGNES HELLER

We have acquired a stock of an American university magazine which consists of an essay by Agnes Heller (student of Lukacs, a leading light in the Budapest school of Marxism) — 'Towards a Marxist Theory of Value'. Value is meant in the ethical sense. Not hitherto available in English, this is a systematic and detailed examination of the relationship between general Marxist theory and the question of value. A unique writing which will become a classic. Price 85p, post 11p.

TROTSKY ON TRADE UNIONS

Pathfinder have published a second edition of Trotsky's writings on trade unions. These cover a collection of writings on syndicalism; articles on trade union strategy and tactics, with references to particular national problems (Britain, Holland, and the US); and the famous 'Trade Unions in a Period of Imperialist Decay'. Price 85p, post 11p.

Entebbe and after

IDI AMIN is Public Enemy No. 1 to judge from the stream of abuse poured out by TV, radio and press over the fate of Mrs. Dora Bloch. Depicted as a 20th century Genghis Khan, a barbarian and a megalomaniac, Amin is for many the incarnation of 'black savagery'. Indeed, not the least important aspect of the present crisis has been the virulent racism it has brought to the surface in Britain and throughout the West — a mixture of wounded imperial pride and straight racist caricature ('I'm the only gorilla left in Uganda', said 'radical' *Private Eye*). What lies behind the furore?

The initial hijack, staged by a splinter group of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, was undoubtedly a response to the desperate situation in which the Palestinian movement finds itself in Lebanon. Facing a massive onslaught from the Christian rightists, backed by the Syrian regime, the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Lebanese left are fighting a last-ditch battle to hold on to their positions.

If courage alone was enough, the Palestinians would have achieved victory ten times over. But the petty-bourgeois leadership of the PLO has been caught hopping by each new development, its bankrupt pragmatism quite incapable of matching up to the situation (despite the sickening panegyrics of *News Line*).

Arafat appeals for help not to the Arab masses, whose action could force a Syrian withdrawal in 48 hours, but to Kissinger's side-kicks in the Middle East: Egypt's Sadat and King Khaled of Saudi Arabia. Yet these regimes gave the green light for the Syrian invasion and will stand by and watch the resistance slaughtered, just as it was in Jordan's Black September in 1970.

Frustration

No wonder terrorist actions have an increased attraction. Yet the Entebbe action merely demonstrated the disorientation and frustration of sections of the Palestinian Resistance, and was totally counter-productive politically.

Even if it had succeeded, it would not have improved the position of the Resistance in the Lebanon. The taking of hostages simply provided imperialism with propaganda with which to cloak its brutal suppression of the Palestinians.

and there was no chance that the absolutely legitimate demand for the release of 53 political prisoners would be met by the fanatical Zionist regime. Its intransigence on this question is no accident: to yield once would be to demonstrate weakness, and Israel's whole history is one of imposing 'facts' on the Arabs by brute force.

Soldiers and hostages could have been slaughtered wholesale in the rescue bid ordered by Rabin, but this was of no concern to the 'humanitarians' of Israel and the Western leaders who congratulated them on the success of this particular act of terror.

Consequences

Whatever Amin's crimes — the expulsion of the Asians, the murder of Mrs. Bloch, the wholesale oppression of the population by the secret police — socialists can only denounce Israel's contempt for the sovereignty of an African state.

What is at stake is not primarily the regime of General Amin but the right of imperialism and its agencies to carry out policing operations around the world.

In Israel the consequences of the affair have been extremely negative. An intense wave of chauvinism has swept the country, and there has been talk of incorporating the right-wing Opposition into the Government. Dozens of workers committees have agreed to donate several days wages to the Israeli Army. The Israeli population is now in a state of hysterical euphoria, just as it was following the Six Day War in 1967. What new tragedies will it take to shake them out of the waking dream of Zionism?

There will be more terrorist actions in the future, particularly if the Palestinian Resistance suffers a dramatic setback in the Lebanese war. And socialists in this country will have to wage a difficult fight against the 'anti-terrorist' howls raised by the ruling class. Similarly the sewers of reactionary, racist rubbish issuing from the press and TV on the question of Amin must be answered with some hard facts:

Who trained this monster? Britain and Israel.

Who helped him to overthrow the mildly progressive Obote regime? Britain and Israel.

Why is Amin singled out for special treatment as a petty dictator when his democratic credentials are at least as impeccable of those of the Shah of Iran and General Geisel of Brazil?

And then of course there is that small matter of Burundi, where hundreds of thousands, possibly more than a million Hutus, were completely wiped out by the Tutsi elite. Where were the howls of protest then? But of course Burundi is respectably pro-Western, while Uganda is increasingly aligned with the Soviet Union

R. SLANSKY

WHO'S THE REAL JIMMY CARTER?

Jimmy Carter may have won the Democratic nomination for the US presidential elections without much trouble, but the questions persist.

Is the real Carter the candidate who told voters in Brunswick, Georgia, on 31 July 1970: 'I was never a liberal: I am and have always been a conservative'; or the one who is now telling adoring audiences: 'I've always been a liberal on civil rights and racial needs'?

Is the real Carter the presidential candidate who says the school integration decision and the Civil Rights Act 'were the greatest things that ever happened to the South'; or the gubernatorial candidate who in 1970 denied saying that the Supreme Court school integration decision was 'morally and legally correct'?

Is the real Carter the candidate who wrote in his autobiography that US involvement in Vietnam lacked moral

principle; or the governor who urged Georgians to protest William Calley's conviction over My Lai and said he thought Calley was a 'scapegoat'?

Is the real Carter the candidate who in 1976 has inspired rock bands to play benefit concerts for him; or the one who seven weeks after the Kent State tragedy in 1970, promised to send National Guardsmen with live ammunition onto college campuses to put down disorder 'even before violence erupts'?

Is the real Carter the candidate who tells conservative businessmen in Mississippi: 'Mayor Daley is my friend; he knows I'm the only one willing to go against Governor Dan Walker for him'; or the candidate who campaigns against the 'powerful politicians'?

It doesn't take much guessing, but don't miss the next issue of Red Weekly for the real low-down on Carter.

Hugo Blanco deported again



Hugo Blanco in La Convencion, late 1975

From Bob Johnson in Peru

Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco was deported from here last week only nine months after being allowed back into the country after several years in exile. The reason given by the Ministry of the Interior was his 'proven involvement in recent events in a Young Town [i.e. shanty town] on the outskirts of Lima'.

Blanco's deportation follows one of the hottest periods of class struggle since last August, when General Morales Bermudez replaced General Velasco Alvarado as head of the ruling military junta. Early June saw a pitched battle along the main highway out of the capital, Lima, between inhabitants of a neighbouring shanty town and 750 heavily armed riot police. The people of the district of Vitarte had streamed out with rocks in hand to defend a strike picket at a nearby nylon factory.

The incident, with its toll of serious injury, arrests and beatings, illustrates well the openly anti-working class posture increasingly adopted during the last couple of years by the self-styled 'revolutionary' government of Peru.

PRETEXT

The underlying cause of the recent intensification of the class struggle in

Peru is an economic crisis in which a local cyclical downturn has been strongly reinforced since mid-1974 by the effects of the world recession. Betraying the thoroughly pro-capitalist content of such official slogans as 'neither capitalism nor communism' and 'social democracy plus full participation', the regime has implemented a package of economic measures — coupling a 44 per cent devaluation with massive price increases — designed to restore the rate of profit of the private and state-owned factories and mines by thrusting millions of Peruvians into extreme poverty and giving a free rein to the biggest and most competitive concerns.

The response was an immediate strike by the unions representing Lima's 10,000 minibus drivers, followed next day by an explosion of less organised forms of protest on a scale not seen since the police strike of February 1975 — attacks on supermarkets and similar targets in two districts, outbreaks of stone-throwing by secondary school students in at least two other places, and a prison riot.

Probably thankful for the pretext, the military suspended constitutional guarantees for a month, imposed a 10 o'clock curfew, and turned the radio over to a non-stop stream of martial music and official communications.

Morales came in on a ticket which included correcting Velasco's tendency towards the arbitrary use of power (arrests, deportations, closure of opposi-

tion publications), but less than a year later things are back to square one — with one important difference. This time the repression is falling exclusively on the workers movement. Not one of the bourgeois oppositionists who came back under the September 1975 amnesty has been touched.

BEHEAD

Blanco is not the first figure in the workers movement to be deported. On 15 June the regime also deported the legal adviser of the Vitarte nylon workers' union, Ricardo Diaz Chavez, accusing him of responsibility for the battle on the Central Highway. The regime obviously prefers this tactic to its earlier one of imprisonment without trial, which backfired in April when it was forced to release two miners' leaders and four of their legal advisers after an international campaign of protest.

The aim is to behead the mass movement in Peru of its leadership as it moves to resist the vicious attacks on its living standards. That is why it is important to mount an international campaign for the repatriation of Diaz Chavez and Blanco, who have been victimised for pointing out a simple truth: that the new Peruvian capitalism, with its state-run mines, agricultural cooperatives and Toyota car plants, is just as incapable as the old Peruvian capitalism of providing for the vital needs of the majority of the people.

HUNGER STRIKES IN CHILE



Wright/Miami News

HUNGER STRIKES have been mounted by political prisoners in Chile against their conditions.

On 8 June, 24 political prisoners placed among ordinary criminals in the Santiago Penitentiary began a strike demanding recognition of their special status. Two days later 70 prisoners in the Public Jail also began a hunger strike with similar demands. All were rapidly dispersed to 12 jails in different parts of the country.

The prison authorities are now denying any knowledge of their whereabouts, a clear sign that their lives are in danger. The Chile Solidarity Campaign in North London is calling for action to help save them, and asks for letters on the case to be sent to: Director de Prisiones, General Heinrichson, Direccion de Gendarmeria,

Rozas esquina de Teatinos, Santiago, Chile.

Meanwhile, you may remember the big splash in the press and on TV about the flotilla of sailing ships which sailed up the Hudson River on 4 July to mark the US bicentennial. Less noted was the fact that one of the ships invited was the Chilean naval training vessel *Esmeralda*, aboard which scores of prisoners were tortured after the 1973 coup.

Attempts to organise pickets and a boycott of the *Esmeralda* met with considerable — if largely unreported — success. As one participant commented: 'It's as if the Germans had brought mobile gas units here for an automobile show in the 1940s.'

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

'Two Little Orphans'. That is how all the local newspapers in Belfast headlined their editions on Saturday 9 July. Beneath the headline, the papers carried a picture of two young children — both less than two years of age. The accompanying story told how Mervyn and Rosaleen McDonald had been in the kitchen of their home playing with their children the previous night when a man and a woman had entered and emptied a magazine of bullets from a sub-machine gun, killing the parents.

Why did Mervyn and Rosaleen die? They were Catholics! They also brought the number of deaths resulting from British occupation of Ireland this year to 186, and the seven year total to 1,577.

Earlier in the week, British Prime Minister Callaghan had flown into Belfast on an eight-hour stint at public relations. His message was that 'the British Government has no policy'.

Those who have seen every British 'solution' over the last seven years collapse in ruins may well have been tempted to believe him. But once again Callaghan was lying; the British

Government does have a policy. It is the same policy it has pursued for 800 years — the subjection of the Irish people, the denial of their right to self-determination.

Blind

Indeed, imperialism is now not only enlisting the support of Loyalists through the 'legitimate' forces of the RUC and UDR, but is also handing over the control of the fight against the Republicans to the Loyalists. This is the inevitable consequence of a policy that withdraws the British soldiers from Loyalist areas while at the same time introducing joint British Army/RUC/UDR patrols in the nationalist districts.

By withdrawing British troops from the Loyalist parts of Belfast, Britain is turning the necessary blind eye to the preparations being made to intensify the punitive war against the Catholic population — which over the last few months since the Convention folded has taken the form of widespread

assassinations. No matter how much the Sunday Times and other British newspapers may bleat about the horror of the brutal killing of Mervyn and Rosaleen McDonald, there is no escaping the responsibility for the deaths, which clings tenaciously to the backs of the British Labour Government.

Forty-five Catholics and Protestants died the victims of the sectarian assassin or internal Loyalist feuds in the North Belfast area alone in the last couple of months.

Some undoubtedly died as a result of 'freelance' Catholic reprisals. But it is not enough for socialists to wag their fingers disapprovingly. Catholic reprisals result from the increasing sense of vulnerability felt by the anti-Unionist population as the Loyalist murder gangs roam freely, bombing bars without warning and slaughtering Catholics in their own homes. Moralising about the finer principles of working class struggle will never defeat the argument that the best way to halt the Loyalist attacks is to hit back hard, if not twice as hard.

Socialists in Ireland must tirelessly put forward a real strategy for putting an end to the Loyalist assassination squads, based on mass mobilisations of the anti-Unionist working class on the streets. Key to such mobilisations will be the fight to defend political prisoners, to prevent the removal of political status. If Rees can get away with his efforts to portray the Republican fighters as 'gangsters', then a firm nail will have been driven into the coffin which British imperialism is preparing for the Irish resistance.

A real fight to defend political status and remove the real gangsters of the British Army from Northern streets would put the anti-Unionist

working class back on the road to the struggle for a United Socialist Republic in Ireland, and mean that it was no longer running scared of the sectarian bullet and bomb.

Dilemma

The present situation in the Six Counties presents the greatest opportunity for socialists to prove their worth: imperialism is in a dilemma, the Loyalists are revealing their absolute reactionary character, the traditional Republican leadership faces an impasse. The militants of the Fourth International in Ireland, organised in the Movement for a Socialist Republic, are striving to grasp this opportunity in common with socialist militants in other anti-imperialist organisations. What we don't need now is sermons from refined British socialists! What we do need is practical solidarity!

The work of the Troops Out Movement, the sending of a trade union delegation to Ireland are worthy instances of such practical solidarity. Socialists in Ireland seek and expect the full support of workers organisations in ensuring the success of these efforts.

NOEL AND MARIE MURRAY face execution by the Dublin Government at the end of this month after a political show trial in which they were convicted of killing a policeman during a bank raid. There will be a MASS PICKET of the Irish Tourist Board, 150 New Bond Street, this Saturday 24 July, starting at 10.00 a.m. Further details from: Murray Defence Committee, 83a Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3.

ANOTHER VICTORY FOR BRITISH 'JUSTICE'

British justice registered another victory last week with the acquittal of the 14 Birmingham prison warders who had been accused of waging a systematic terror campaign against six Irishmen held after the Birmingham bombings.

Although one of the alleged bombers had four front teeth knocked out, although one prison officer admitted he had 'seen officers that I knew to be quiet and docile lose control of themselves it was an explosion of physical and verbal assault', although even the judge who tried the Irishmen said that they had been 'outrageously assaulted', it appears that these events didn't really take place after all. What makes this triumph of justice even more spectacular was that none of the accused warders even bothered to appear in the witness box to deny the charges.

The people of Belfast and Derry, who have so foolishly resisted attempts to bring British standards of law and order to their country, will surely now stop their opposition to the great civilising mission. Surely they will realise what a just system British troops are trying to bring. Surely the Birmingham verdicts will renew their faith in the Queen's writ. Surely they will once and for all cease their silly talk of wanting to rule themselves. Surely they will.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

OPPORTUNITIES LOST

Last week we discussed how the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War saw the formation by the working class and peasantry of their own organs of class power, to govern the country in antagonism to the bourgeois Republic and carry out the military struggle with fascism.

But this 'dual power' was fragmented, with no national structure, leaving it prey to the sabotage of the old bourgeois state apparatus and its supporters in the workers movement. And there was no revolutionary force in the country which understood this danger and was working to overcome it. The anarchists of the CNT seemed to believe that libertarian communism was already established and the bourgeois state dead; in this they were followed to some extent by the centrist POUM.

The attack against the revolution was led by the Stalinists, the right-wing Prieto Socialists and the bourgeois ministers of the Popular Front. But in September 1936 it was the left Socialist Largo Caballero who formed a government to end the dual power, and it was the POUM and the CNT who entered the Catalan Generalidad which presided over the dissolution of dual power there.

The central government was able to attack the economic gains of the workers and peasants by its control of the banking and credit system. The banks had never been collectivised, but supposedly 'nationalised under workers control'. In reality they had been left to operate independently, so that control of credit had never been with the workers.

In Catalonia, government decrees began to restrict the activity of collectivised industry and break up the collectives. Distribution fell increasingly into the hands of the small traders of the GEPCI (a federation dominated by the Communist Party), and hoarding and speculation became rife.

ASSAULT

The most crucial attacks were against the organs of workers power — the local committees and the militias — for without these the collectives were reduced to mere producers co-operatives. Government censorship of the independent left press again reached the level of February-July 1936, and the Civil Guard, Assault Guard and Carabineros regained their policing functions from the workers patrols.

Most importantly, the Government created a conscript 'Popular Army' and set about dissolving the workers militias. This assault was led by the Stalinists.

The Stalinists argued against the militias on the grounds of military efficiency. In order to establish a 'unified command' it was necessary to reassert the authority of the bourgeois

officer caste, they argued.

The CNT and the POUM also, correctly, raised the slogan of the 'unified command', but understood that it did not mean smashing democracy in the militias: the anti-fascist army must be the people in arms. Where they were tragically mistaken, however, was in supposing that there could be an army under workers control within the capitalist state.

DEADLOCK

To overcome this deadlock, a confrontation was engineered by the Stalinists and the Government in May 1937 in Barcelona. The PSUC (Catalan CP) sent the Civil Guard to occupy the main telephone exchange, which had been held by the anarchists since 19 July.

Immediately tens of thousands of armed workers, supporters of the CNT and POUM, came out on the streets and threw up barricades. The provocation, designed to provide an excuse to disband the militias and disarm the workers,



had in fact placed the seizure of state power on the agenda.

In the first days after the seizure of the telephone exchange, the balance

of forces was overwhelmingly on the side of the workers. They would have encountered almost no resistance in smashing the Generalidad and forming a Workers Republic of Catalonia. But the crucial leaders — the CNT and the POUM — pulled back.

The CNT broadcast joint appeals with the Generalidad president, Companys, calling on the workers to take down the barricades. The POUM followed meekly behind. With this final great opportunity lost, the government, police and troops moved in.

Hundreds of workers lost their lives at the hands of the government forces, and the POUM was liquidated. Its leaders were murdered by the Stalinist secret police, and the entire organisation was dissolved — denounced as 'Trotskyist-fascist' agents of Franco's Fifth Column.

The CNT and the POUM had opposed the seizure of state power on the grounds that the Catalan revolution would be isolated and that it would weaken the anti-fascist struggle. Yet the victory of the revolution in Catalonia would have been just what was needed to galvanise the workers and

peasants in the rest of Spain — both in Republican territory and in Franco's rear.

The victory of the counter-revolution in Catalonia was the signal for an offensive throughout Republican Spain. When the equivocal Largo Caballero opposed the dissolution of the POUM, the Stalinists engineered the removal of their 'Spanish Lenin' from office and formed a new government under the right-wing Socialist Negrin. The Negrin Government completed the attack on the gains of 19 July begun by Caballero.

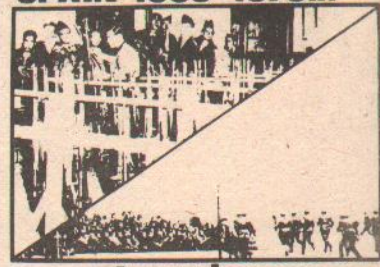
If a single lesson is to be learnt from the sabotage of the Spanish revolution, it is the necessity of a revolutionary party which is capable of putting together the aspirations of the fragmented organs of dual power, and centralising the struggle to overthrow the bourgeois state. But the failure of the CNT, the POUM, and the left Socialists is not of the same order as the betrayal of the Stalinists.

For the latter, there was to be no revolution in Spain. Moscow's foreign policy, its desire for 'detente' with the imperialist democracies, meant that the bourgeois state had to be reasserted at any cost: even if it meant pursuing ruthlessly counter-revolutionary repression and opening the door to a fascist victory.



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RED WEEKLY

STOP 'TRICO MERCENARIES'!

The 400 equal pay strikers at Trico Folberth car components factory in West London decided recently to send a delegation to see the Kent miners. They came back with £200 and the promise of a levy on every member to guarantee weekly funds.

This magnificent response was echoed by King Street [Birmingham] Shop Stewards, who sent £200; Magnatex Joint Shop Stewards, who sent £125; and many more large donations which show the support that this two-month-old struggle is beginning to evoke in the working class.

And every penny is needed. The police are doing everything they can to help management to break the strike, giving a free hand to what the strike bulletin calls 'Trico's Mercenaries' to crash the picket lines.

Although Trico's wipers are blacked at Heathrow airport, Vauxhall, Ford and Leyland, shop steward Betty Humphries told a Hammersmith Working Women's Charter Campaign meeting last week that a driver had reported seeing unmarked crates arriving at Heathrow airport from America for delivery to Leyland. 'When you hear this sort of thing you begin to wonder. We've been told that Leyland are blacking, but when you hear this...'

UNMARKED

Parts made at the Northampton factory are also being delivered in unmarked crates. When a delegation armed with union cards turned up to talk to the women workers there, who get only £23 for a 40-hour week, they were first turned out by the foreman and then greeted by the police. Inside Trico itself some production is continuing, aided by 50 women who have been forced back to work.

Ninety-six women who were not in the union when the strike started have found themselves ineligible for strike pay, as the minimum period of membership need to qualify is three months. This has increased hardship, particularly on the single parents involved. The relevance of the Working Women's Charter call for the full involvement of women in union affairs has been sharply highlighted by this, as has the

demand for nurseries — some of the women are having to pay £9-10 a week for child minders.

To rub in just how 'equal' women are, the social security is refusing to pay up for their dependants — although male strikers get SS for theirs.

The Trico strike is a test case in the battle for equal pay. Militants must do everything they can to rally support for the women by arranging collections, sending donations from union funds [to Trico Strike Fund, AUEW House, 1 Woodlands Road, South-hall, Middlesex], and making sure that blacking of Trico products is not only adopted in the car plants but made effective.

EQUALITY...

Trico management has dropped its attempt, at the moment, to take the strike to an equal pay tribunal. The women, under the direction of the executive of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, had already decided to boycott any Tribunal. The strike committee's bulletin for 15 July pointed out how employers are exploiting every loophole in the Equal Pay Act to avoid paying up — and how four out of every five applications to the Tribunal have so far failed.

Compare the following two cases and spot the difference (the strike committee are offering no prizes for the winner):

1. A woman whose job it was to check glasses on a conveyor belt claimed equal pay with a man who also checked glasses on a conveyor belt. No, said the Tribunal, you can't have equal pay; the man does the first inspection and you are just a 're-inspector' — therefore his job is more responsible and he should be paid more.

2. A woman whose job it was to check shoes in a shoe factory claimed equal pay with a man who also checked shoes. No, said the Tribunal, you can't have equal pay; you only do the first inspection, while he has the responsibility of checking the shoes before they finally go to the customer. Heads they win, tails we lose!

GENERAL WORK



Another group of women on strike—at the Orlake Plastics factory in Dagenham—won a tremendous victory last week after being out for eleven weeks. They gained a back-dated increase of 15p on their previous hourly rate of 53p as well as union recognition.



More than 100 people outside the Spanish Embassy last Saturday demonstrated their solidarity with the current workers' struggles

SPAIN'S WORKERS REMEMBER

Last weekend the new Spanish Government headed by Adolfo Suarez announced its support for a limited amnesty for political prisoners. In some quarters this has been hailed as evidence of a new enlightened spirit in Spanish ruling class circles. That is very far from being the truth. On the contrary, this concession followed directly on from a week of action in which a series of demonstrations and strikes rocked the dictatorship back on its heels:

SAN SEBASTIAN: 5 July — 50,000 on the streets demonstrate against the attacks of the extreme right.

MADRID: 8 July — during one of two demonstrations a child of four is blinded by a police smoke bomb.

9 July — demonstrators outside prison gates protest against the arrest of two women from Democratic Association of Women. The slogan reads, 'Women Unite in Struggle for Amnesty'. Balloons with 'Amnesty' on them released by women in the prison.

12 July — the city is saturated by police in an attempt to stop banned demonstrations. One of some 60,000 marchers is broken up by police using water cannons, full riot equipment and helicopters.

BILBAO: 8 July — some 200,000 people take part in the biggest demonstration in Spain since the Civil War. Chants of 'Listen Suarez, the Basque country is rising' fill the air. Next day the new Government gives its reply — a 44-year old woman is machine gunned to death by police during a demonstration in the suburb of Santurce calling for amnesty.

BARCELONA: There is a massive police presence during the week of action. Thousands still manage to take part in demonstrations. A running battle with the police develops on one occasion and Molotov cocktails are hurled.

GIJON: 8 July — 100,000 people assemble in the capital of the Asturias in a demonstration led by the province's metal workers. The slogan is 'Amnesty, Liberty and Free Trade Unions'.

EIBAR: 9 July — demonstration attracts 500 people. In addition to the call for amnesty there are also demands for freedom of return for exiles.

PAMPLONA: 10 July — in the evening the new Trotskyist youth organisation 'Iraulza Taldeak' holds its first public demonstration, against the Santurce killing. The initial contingent of 300 people quickly swells to more than 5,000.

VIZCAYA: 13 July — 50,000 on strike protesting against the killing in Santurce. The inevitable demonstration echoes with chants of 'You Fascists Are The Terrorists'.

Other big demonstrations included 5,000 in MALAGA, 5,000 in SANTANDER, 3,000 in LERIDA, and also two in the Canary Islands: 20,000 in LAS PALMAS, and 10,000 in TENERIFE.

The industrial struggle also continues to hot up. Postal workers have been on strike for trade union rights, so that by 9 July more than 7 million letters were unposted. The Government gave in the same day and conceded the workers' right to negotiate collectively. The workers threaten renewed action if all the demands are not met.

Meanwhile, the struggle by the Barcelona workers in the Massey Ferguson subsidiary of Motor Iberica is now into its third month. Only recently several hundred wives and children of the strikers were forcibly evicted from a local church by a squad of 200 armed riot police. But the workers remain as determined as ever.

Another multinational which is strike-bound is the Hutchinson chemical works in Madrid. The struggle here now in its second month, is for the readmission of sacked workers, trade union rights, and amnesty. International solidarity is being

organised in France, where Hutchinson workers have organised a boycott and an overtime ban; similar actions are taking place in Italy.

At a mass assembly in Madrid, one Hutchinson striker speaks not only for his fellow workers but also for the hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers who have commemorated the anniversary of the Spanish Civil War with a massive display of unity and solidarity: 'I have always been an internationalist, but during this struggle we have realised that international solidarity is not a luxury. It is vital.'

ONE SMALL STEP FOR 'RED WEEKLY', BUT...

After a promising start, our Fighting Fund brought in only £24.40 last week, bringing the total for the month so far to £127.40. Our thanks for that to: Cambridge IMG, £20; J. Bisset, £1.50; Hemel Hempstead, 90p; and £2 from an East Birmingham AUEW District Committee delegate.

But we need more than that if we are to make a consistent effort to improve the paper. This week sees one advance, with justified copy on both the front and back pages. But to keep this up and extend it to the rest of the paper we must be guaranteed a regular income from the Fighting Fund.

This is especially important since this is the most difficult time of year for us. With

many regular supporters taking holidays and incurring extra expenses, both sales and our income from the Fighting Fund tend to drop. But we can't afford to drop off in the fight against the anti-working class policies of the Labour Government. Another £1,000 million worth of cuts are on the way, and the Government is also preparing yet more restrictive immigration controls.

After this issue there will be only one more before our two week summer break, so please make every effort to sacrifice just a bit more for your paper — and keep sending in the money even when there's no paper. You know the address: Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.



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