

# RED WEEKLY

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# ZIMBABWE: NO DEAL WITH RACISTS

## CUTS ACTION DAY NAMED

A number of the public sector unions have at last decided to take some national action against the cuts. The National and Local Government Officers Association, the National Union of Public Employees, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, the Civil and Public Services Association and the National Union of Students, along with the South East Region of the TUC, have called for a national day of action on cuts on 17 November, and a demonstration in London.

Like the NUPE lobbies of the TUC and Labour Party conference, this latest call for co-ordinated action reflects the growing pressure on the union leaders from a membership for whom the cuts mean redundancies. 20,000 newly qualified teachers are now looking for jobs, tens of thousands of civil service jobs are to be lost — indeed, the public service unions estimate that a total of 170,000 jobs will go.

At the Labour Party Conference these cut-backs came under strongly worded attacks from Alan Fisher of NUPE and even Tony Benn, who yet again displayed that his capacity for left talk is matched only by his determination to stay in the most right-wing Labour Government since the war.

### Censure

But although union leaders like Fisher are being forced to call for action on 17 November, they have no intention of taking up a real fight. While declaring their opposition to cuts, they maintain their support for the social contract of which the cuts are part and parcel. That is



Part of the growing tide of opposition to the cuts. 4,000 take to the streets of Oxford to protest against education cut-backs. (See p.3 for story).

why Callaghan went out of his way to try to stop the Labour Party conference from passing any resolution critical of the Government's cuts. As Benn admitted, such a resolution would in effect be a motion of censure on the Government.

So the leaders of the public sector unions, while calling for the demonstration and action on a weekday, have avoided any call for strikes. Even the CPSA, which at one time opposed the social contract and initially put out a call for one-day strike action, is now doing nothing to mobilise its members.

Where the union leaders waver, rank and file socialists cannot afford to. They must fight to turn the day of action by the public sector unions into a day of all-out strike action. Support should also be mobilised from outside the public sector, with local action committees against the cuts sending contingents to the London demonstration.

By turning 17 November into a real day of action, we can start to build an opposition which in fighting the cuts can end up fighting their source — the social contract and those who bow to it.



GRAVELY ILL though it may be, Britain is still capable of playing its part in the squalid games of Western imperialism. Joining the unseemly trio of Kissinger, Vorster and Smith, the leaders of the British Labour Party have made a concerted effort to suppress the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and strengthen Vorster's hand against the black and coloured revolt.

With the cynical promise of 'majority rule' within two years, Callaghan is partner to an agreement which promises Rhodesian blacks little except the good intentions of Smith, Kissinger and Vorster. To the whites there go promises to lift sanctions, grants totalling £600m, and assurances that the African liberation struggle will end.

That is one promise Callaghan and friends will have difficulty in delivering.

Already the euphoria which erupted in Western stock exchanges with the announcement of the Kissinger deal is subsiding. Leaders of five African states have said that it is not enough. The most important sections of the Zimbabwe freedom fighters have said that their struggle continues. The arrogance displayed by the 'statesmen' of the western world in arriving at a settlement without consulting the Zimbabwean blacks is being thrown back in their faces.

The freedom fighters know that the concessions that Smith has made are not a tribute to the diplomatic skills of Kissinger, but a product of their struggle — a struggle which meant that in the last four weeks alone 800 white Rhodesians packed their bags and quit.

And so it is that James Callaghan has helped to refloat the sinking ship while the rats were falling over each other leaving it. He is joined by Foreign Secretary Antony Crosland, who not long ago was telling the working class in this country that they had to accept huge cuts in public services because 'the party is over'.

Yet for the party of minority rule in Zimbabwe, Crosland has no problem in finding millions of pounds. He does so in the name of the labour movement in this country, and he has no more right to do that than Kissinger and Vorster have to make decisions on behalf of the Zimbabwe majority.

That majority stands confident and determined. Let militants in this country stand with them in repudiating Callaghan and Crosland's manoeuvres, and in saying: No Deal with Vorster, No Deal with Smith, No Deal with Kissinger. Victory to the Freedom Fighters!

## ALL OUT 17 NOV

# PROFITS VERSUS HOUSES

## 'I rent, you buy, we lose, they profit'

**ESTATESTIMES**

Disappointment and stagnation in wake of Bill

French propose takeover too

**ESTATESTIMES**

Major changes in rushed Land Bill

Silkings I Societ

**ESTATESTIMES**

Tory MPs give Land Bill an easy passage

We're under attack

**ESTATESTIMES**

Property men urge Tories to drop Bill repeal pledge

**ESTATESTIMES**

BPF throws its weight behind the Land Act

FOR SALE

The Community Land Bill started life as an attempt to stop speculation in development land. It was castrated to the extent of finally achieving support from the British Property Federation!

Profits Against Houses will be one of the last reports to come from the National Community Development Project — an action-research project covering twelve urban and rural areas seen as deprived. From October the central information and intelligence unit which has produced the inter-project reports will be closed down by the Home Office.

The reasons are political rather than economic — to keep the central unit open till the end of the national project in September 1977 would cost just £10,000. But now the national project, established by Callaghan in 1969, will not have the opportunity to centralise its experiences. Profits Against Houses gives some idea why the Labour Government and Whitehall bureaucrats will feel happier with these troublesome people out of their way.

Although based on the experience of three projects in Birmingham, North Tyneside and Newcastle, Profits Against Houses is a damning indictment of a system which will never produce a decent house for all in need. From land use through the construction industry, to the capital market and house buying the report shows how profit, not need, is the key.

It dictates where houses are built, what they look like, what they cost and even whether they are built at all. The result is 100,000 homeless and hundreds of thousands more in slums.

The report itself is divided into four sections. That on land shows that beneath the jargon of plot ratios, yields and income the landowners are in it for profit. The measure that was meant to curb land speculation, the Community Land Bill, was itself degouted by the landowners before it even reached the statute book.

Once the construction industry gets the land, it rides the boom-slump roller coaster faster than any other industry. When the going's good, the profits are very, very good. When it's bad — well, the state bails you out.

Of course, when things turn up again it's the state building programme which gets squeezed out because bigger profits can be made in the private market. Thus in the 1960s, civil engineers switched from building tall flats to tall office blocks after the state had subsidised their technological development.

### Myth

CDP also nail the myth that there is some fundamental difference of interest between council tenants and owner occupiers. It's not a question of which of them is getting the greater subsidy, but the fact that the moneylenders are being subsidised in both cases. Council and owner-occupier interest repayments are both topped up by the state to give the moneylenders a return comparable with rates on the stockmarket.

### SOUR GRAPES

Profits Against Houses has been dismissed by Mr Timothy Raison, chief Opposition spokesman on the Environment, as 'a slick Marxist tract on housing policy with no attempt at objectivity'. Perhaps he has in mind the quote from the Building Societies Association official booklet on their financial structure. An interesting section called Avoidance of the word Profit starts as follows:

'Care should be taken to avoid the use of the word "profit" or of terms such as "gross profit" or "net profit" in the report of the directors [that is the publicly available report]. The word "balance" or the word "surplus" should be used instead.' Now that's being objective.

Finally, the exchange section of the pamphlet shows how the market for owner-occupied houses is controlled by the solicitors, estate agents and other professionals who make money out of property transactions. They have a vested interest in owner occupation, making

£645 out of every deal. Council housing puts them out of business.

The hostility of the Home Office towards the CDP is clearly no accident. Originally conceived as missionaries being sent into the darker regions of Britain's inner cities, they rejected notions of individual pathology as an explanation of social deprivation and insisted on its structural cause. As the CDP Forward Plan (1975-76) puts it, the only way to rectify this situation is 'fundamental changes in the distribution of wealth and power'.

But CDP didn't just say this — it actually spread the message. People were reading and digesting their reports. The conclusion to CDP's Profits Against Houses is a fitting epitaph to the whole experiment:

'We have tried to get behind the experts' junk yard of technical explanations, tried to show how the harsh conditions in the CDP areas are not improved by minor rearrangements of our system. Since the state set up CDPs to collaborate in that very rearrangement, this will be one of our last inter-project reports. It is closing us down. The state says it supports the idea of free discussion, the principle of debate about the areas we work in, yet when the chips are down it can only tolerate minor criticism. It sent us in, this is what we found, so it is shutting us up.'

MICK GOSLING

Profits Against Houses Available from Newcastle CDP, 85-87 Adelaide Terrace Benwell, Newcastle upon Tyne NE4 8BB and other local CDPs.



BURY ACTION GROUP AGAINST THE CUTS - Now the Council has decided on tactics to try to divide and weaken the campaign.

## Bury hostel reprieved? - but sit-in goes on

A ROTA of local people are now on call to give immediate assistance to the occupation of Hillcrest Hostel in Bury. The Hostel is a 'half-way house' for people returning to the community after psychiatric treatment in local hospitals. Hostel residents and members of the Bury Action Group Against Cuts occupied Hillcrest on 12 September to stop the residents being forced out prematurely and to halt closure plans. The victories scored already in forcing the Council to keep open Radcliffe Day Nursery and Whittle Pike Adult Training

centre — mainly as a result of action organised by the Action Group — show that the Tory Council was not prepared for resistance. Now, of course, the Council has decided on tactics to divide and weaken the campaign by granting some small concessions while the axe is meanwhile aimed at other departments.

Bury Area Health Authority now says that it could finance the running of the Hostel for another 18 months, saving it from immediate closure. Commented Gordon Hubert, chairman of Bury Action Group: 'The residents of Hillcrest are very happy at the thought of the home staying

Bury Action Group, Bury Labour Party and local trade unionists have signed the petition supporting the lobby of the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool called by the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS to demand implementation of last year's resolution on the NHS — ignored by the Labour Government.

### Charges

But many of the Labour councillors seem set on scuppering the campaign with arguments that 'we can't afford this level of public services' and the like. Activists in the campaign have already pointed out that the debt charges of the council should be written off — which would immediately make the present cuts unnecessary. Finance could be made available for a useful programme of public works to meet social need and employ the jobless.

Such a demand would start to link in with the campaign for the nationalisation of the banks and finance houses. The fight for workers control of the City institutions must be made part of that campaign.

As the widening support for the Hillcrest occupation shows, action groups like those in Bury are capable of winning broad support from the labour movement. But even more important is to move from protest against the cuts into action.

MEETING for all those fighting against the cuts. 8.00pm, 5 October, Knowsley Arms, Haymarket Street, Kay Gardens, Bury.

open. But they are adamant that the sit-in will continue until a written assurance is received that the Hostel will stay open, and the Action Group will go on supporting them.'

### Conference

Furthermore, to make sure that the general fight against the cuts is not split up as a result of apparent concessions on one front, two local Labour Party branches have already called on the

# Police harass Grunwick strikers

The strikers at Grunwick in Willesden have been out for over five weeks. The overwhelming majority of workers [both inside and out] are now in the clerical workers' union, APEX. But still management refuse even to negotiate — never mind recognise the union, which is the strikers' basic demand.

Two weeks ago the treasurer of the strike committee, Mrs. Desai, received injuries to her foot after being run over by one of the directors. The police, who are present all the time, felt unable to take any action, although a week later they did feel up to arresting one of the strikers — Bhimji Patel — for obstruction. This has been seen as a clear provocative act by both the strikers and the whole labour movement in the area. A director has also told a number of strikers that they have been blacklisted.

But despite all these problems, morale remains high among the strikers, who are in the main Asian workers with little or no previous experience of trade union activity. Daily mass meetings; tightening up on gaps in the backing; going round local factories collecting money; keeping the pickets going, sometimes until 10.30pm — all this and more has been learnt very quickly by the strikers. Indeed, a number of important lessons can already be drawn from this action:

1. Approximately half the strikers are women, and it has been understood from the beginning that they must play — and indeed have played — as full a role as the men. There are still problems, of course, but what is important is that they are discussed on the strike committee and at mass meetings.

2. It is essential that this strike is not isolated from the rest of the labour movement. Where sections of workers who are traditionally weak and unorganised are prepared to struggle, it is the responsibility of all trade unionists to give their utmost support to them. Otherwise the employers continue to use these divisions to smash all attempts at organisation [this is the eighth attempt in ten years to form a union at Grunwick — the other seven were rapidly smashed].

3. The activity of Brent Trades Council is also a lesson for other trades councils. They have given consistent support right from the beginning, both to the strikers directly and in organising solidarity with the local labour movement in the area. They have also co-ordinated activity between the strikers, APEX and the local factories.

This Friday, 1 October, the strikers are holding another demonstration. It starts at 12.30 from the Cobbold Road factory, NW10.

mass meeting voted for the company's plans.

It may or may not be a coincidence that the company's offer was voted on a few days after shop stewards from throughout the Unilever combine had met to discuss forming a joint shop stewards committee to promote joint action against redundancies. Certainly the Hayes experience is something all Unilever workers can learn from.

In future any attempts to feed selective information to the workers should be answered with demands for a full disclosure of all the relevant material. And, in place of superficially attractive redundancy payments, Unilever workers can point to the fact that throughout the combine similar skills are needed and similar machinery is used.

There was no reason, apart from protecting the company's profits, why all the available work could not have been shared around without any Unilever worker losing their job or suffering

# Walls fall down

The sophisticated way in which large multinationals deal with 'rationalisations' — a polite phrase for mass sackings — was illustrated last week at the Hayes meat processing factory of Walls, a subsidiary of Unilever.

Step one was to show the shop stewards carefully selected company records which were meant to prove the non-viability of the factory. According to the senior Transport and General Workers Union shop steward, Ted Harris, the documents on offer were only a small portion of what was needed to assess the real state of affairs, but when a full disclosure was demanded the company said that everything else was 'confidential'.

Step Two was to offer the workers higher redundancy payments than they had expected — in some cases as high as £1,500. By this the company gave the impression that it was being over-generous and that the workers were actually gaining from the sackings.

Step Three was to win the vote in favour of redundancies at the



## OXFORD: 4,000-STRONG DEMO, ½ DAY STRIKE TO DEMAND **No cuts here!**

Over 4,000 people came onto the streets of Oxford on 21 September to demonstrate against proposed education cuts by the Tory-controlled Oxford County Council. The demonstration coincided with a half day teachers' strike designed to highlight £5 million cuts which would lead to teachers being sacked, classes of over 40 pupils, and a 40 per cent cut in the provision of books and other materials.

At a public meeting following the demonstration, Frank Huff, a local official of the National Union of Public Employees, said that he hoped the demonstration would form the start of a national campaign against public spending cuts. In placing the Oxford cuts in this national perspective, Huff was arguing against those who see the fight as simply against the Tory Council. For the local Tories can argue with some justification that they are doing no more than carrying out Labour Government policy — indeed, the leader of the Tory Council has even claimed that they are cutting less than the Government has demanded!

Such excuses had little effect on those who spoke at the Oxford public meeting. Even the President of the National Union of Teachers, Alf Wilshire — who is not particularly known for militancy — warned that the Council was on 'a collision course' with the unions. But such threats now need to be put into action, something which the local NUT leadership appears reluctant to do. At a union meeting held after the demonstration a resolution calling for immediate action was ruled out of order on the grounds that 'the whole membership needed to be consulted'.

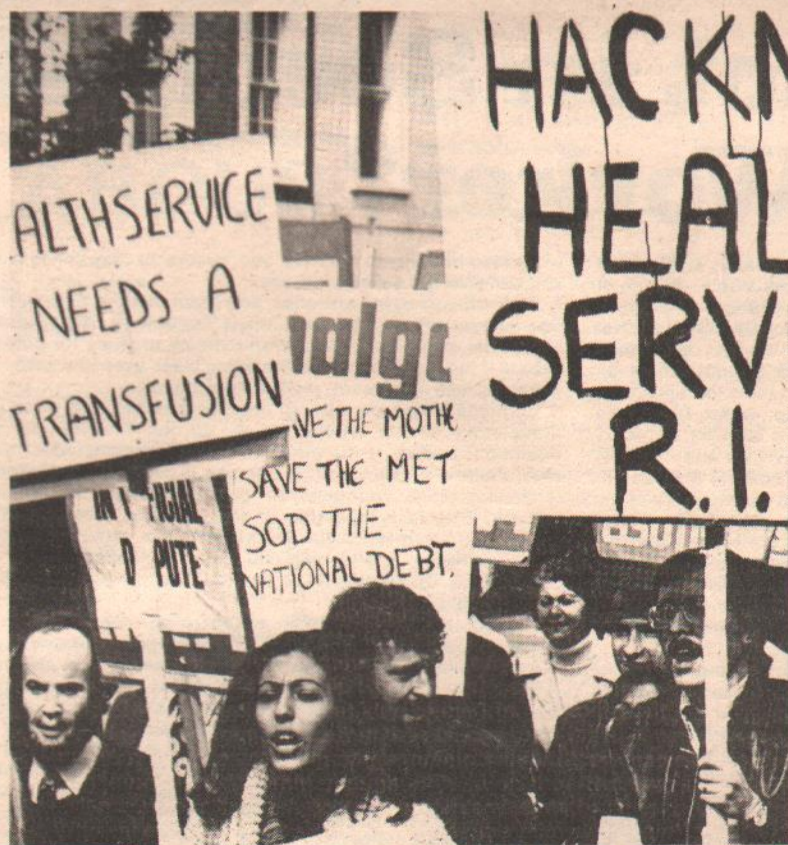
Such hesitancy will do little to help members of the National Association of Schoolmasters who are already imposing sanctions by refusing to 'cover' for any teachers whose absence from the school was known in advance. The NAS action represents one beginning for a local fight back against the Government and council policies. Local Labour councillor Arthur Greenman has pointed to another by, as he put it, 'pleading with Labour members to stand up and fight the Government on this issue'.

## NUT scabs on Tyndale teachers

The scandalous refusal of the National Union of Teachers to give material aid to the six victimised teachers from William Tyndale School means that they now have to appeal to the broad labour movement for support against the Inner London Education Authority. The Labour-controlled ILEA have brought charges of 'inefficiency' and 'indiscipline' against the teachers, who were blamed by right-wing Queens Council, Robin Auld, for the breakdown of the Tyndale school.

As an opening shot in their campaign to get ILEA to drop the charges, the Support Campaign Committee organised a meeting last week at Conway Hall at which the Tyndale teachers explained their case and urged an audience of 250 people to support their cause. The disciplinary tribunal, which began this Wednesday, could lead to the teachers being sacked by ILEA. Yet, as they explained, the way in which the authorities have handled the Tyndale affair and its aftermath is a threat to all teachers in London, particularly those fighting against ILEA cuts policy.

The charges themselves are an utter farce. The 'inefficiency' charges against Terry Ellis and Brian Haddow include such offences as 'creating complete turmoil' and having 'strained relationships' with the staff. The 'indiscipline' charge



'We have declared war against the cuts in the health service', a hospital shop steward told a mass meeting after workers at all the hospitals in the City and Hackney districts in London's East End struck and marched last Thursday to the Metropolitan Hospital in protest at the cuts recently announced by the Area Health Authority. The Metropolitan itself is due for closure at the end of September. The recently formed Joint Shop Stewards Committee in the area has called for strike action starting on 13 October, the day before the next meeting of the AHA.

during one term.

All of these complaints relate solely to the summer and autumn terms of 1974 when they first arrived at the school. No charges arise of a later date, and no inspector or official ever made a complaint throughout the entire period when Ellis and Haddow were teaching there. As to the charges of 'indiscipline', these refer to nothing more than the fact that some of the teachers went on strike in September 1975!

Terry Ellis also took a swipe last week at the so-called 'progressive establishment'. He was referring to the fact that

only that the Tyndale teachers failed to carry out progressive methods 'efficiently'. This was 'rubbish', said Ellis.

The Labour Government are trying to pressure the ILEA into further cuts in the schools. Scapegoats are needed to explain the drop in educational standards that will inevitably result. Left-wing teachers are one target, and the Tyndale teachers are in the front line.

The refusal of the NUT to back them in their clash with the ILEA is completely in line with the systematic failure of the NUT leadership to mobilise teachers

# IN FOCUS

## Seamen's deal - an advance

The seamen's deal is an advance. It has shown that the mere threat of strike action, even by a small section of the working class, can gain concessions. It shows that it is possible to start a fight back now against the policies of the Labour Government and make headway. The very silence of the ship-owners and the TUC on how much will be gained from the deal is testimony that the NUS has come near to achieving its full claim of £6.

The vote to take strike action scored a deep line through the ranks of the labour movement. 'We'll cripple you' said Len Murray, backed up by Scanlon and Jones — not to mention the Government and shipowners. On the other side, 320 TUC delegates gave their 'unreserved support' to the seamen's strike call. In a strike, their response would have been echoed throughout the rank and file of the trade unions and Labour Party.

Other unions' members will take heart from the amount of money that the seamen managed to get by questioning for the first time, the incomes policy. But they should also remember that the seamen's enemies will be their enemies. The bureaucrats have put forward their 'orderly return to free collective bargaining' as a way of heading off the revolt and introducing the next stage of incomes policy through the backdoor. A consistent campaign has to be started now — in every union, and at every level — for complete opposition to incomes policy and for automatic compensation for inflation to be included in every wage claim.

## Labour and Scotland: bad news gets worse

SCOTTISH DELEGATES travelling back from the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool will have two items of news on their minds.

First, the bad news. The results of two local by-elections last week brought the total of seats lost by the Labour Party to the Scottish National Party in the last two years to ten. In the new town of Irvine in Ayrshire, the previous Labour majority of 2,910 was turned into a 919 victory for the SNP. In Clydebank, in the centre of the industrial West of Scotland, the SNP retained their seat on the local council with an increased majority.

Secondly, the very bad news. At the end of last week, three separate employers announced 1,200 redundancies in the West of Scotland. Standard Telephones and Cables is closing its East Kilbride plant after 14 years. Personna, occupied against redundancies last winter, is now closing down all its UK operations, throwing 280 workers on the dole. On top of this Rolls Royce, which employs about 6,000 workers in the area, is to get rid of some 400 of its workforce.

No doubt those delegates will draw very different conclusions from these events, but even the most blinkered of the Labour Party leaders in Scotland must realise that disaster stares them in the face. If results like that in Irvine are repeated, the Labour Party will be decimated in Scotland at the next elections. When this is coupled with spiralling unemployment, the growth of the SNP becomes more than a set of election statistics. There now exists a real possibility that massive numbers, above all young workers, will turn their backs on the labour movement. Everything from widespread cynicism over trade union membership to counterposing nationalist or elective solutions to collective action in the work-place is now potentially on the rise.

## Explosive State

Internally, the Labour Party is in an explosive state. Two of the last three by-elections (Darnley and Irvine) were held after the previous Labour representatives had been jailed on corruption charges. Last week saw eight similar charges brought in Lanarkshire. Those charged included one former and one present Labour councillor. These arrests can only increase the disgust which workers have for the right-wing petty crooks who make up so much of the local Labour Party leadership in Scotland. But this identification of the labour movement with its corrupt leaders only makes it more imperative to launch a counter-offensive against the policies of the Labour Government from inside the labour movement itself.

So far only the Scottish Labour Party has managed even to begin such a fight back. Their candidate received 11 per cent of the vote in Irvine and a similar total in Clydebank, where they collected nearly three times the vote of the traditionally strong Communist Party. These votes are proof that there exists in Scotland a strong minority of voters who are looking for some way forward outside the nationalism of the SNP or the Labour Party's passive support for the Government.

It is difficult to gauge the basis of the SLP support. Both SLP leader Jim Sillars MP and Margo McDonald of the SNP claim that SNP support is taken in the main from Nationalist rather than Labour Party voters. However, the decision by Sillars and the other SLP MP, John Robertson, to reject the Labour parliamentary whip on the cuts is clearly seen as a move to the left in Scotland, and an encouragement to organise against the attacks of Healey and Callaghan. Another indication of this was the defection of a Labour regional councillor in Strathclyde to the SLP a fortnight ago. Hitting out at the 'Tory policies' of the Government, Councillor David Deans said that all the Labour leaders 'seemed interested in was cash not people. I can't go on supporting a government which seems to be run by the Confederation of British Industry.'

## Run of Disasters

But while jobs and living standards are at the root of Labour's run of disasters, their cynical manoeuvres over devolution have actually had the effect of increasing support for the SNP. Everybody can see that the devolution proposals are a hastily worked out deal to stem the SNP tide. The proposed Assembly is nothing but a glorified local authority, hemmed in financially by a Government block grant and politically by the Privy Council's veto over 'unacceptable' legislation.

However, no matter how timid and bureaucratic the Government's proposals, they do at least recognise the feeling in Scotland for some form of elected Scottish Assembly. The fake internationalism of Eric Heffer and Denis Skinner, who are for rejecting any devolution, would be disastrous for the whole labour movement if accepted. The notion that Westminster has the right to impose in Scotland any form of government it may think fit, regardless of the wishes of the Scottish people, would only be interpreted (correctly) as an anti-democratic dictate from frightened politicians impotent in the face of the failure of the Government's policies in Scotland.

The inability of the Labour Party to put forward any credible proposal

# Scottish Assembly —make it concrete

'Socialism not Nationalism' is the slogan of Militant, the paper of the left wing of the Labour Party Young Socialists. The message is very nice, but unfortunately not many people are listening. For many of those who do listen it is interpreted as 'the Labour Party not the SNP', and this they reject.

Chris Ure in his letter to Red Weekly [9 September] makes the same mistake of ignoring the present level of working class consciousness in his attacks on the Scottish Assembly. He appears to think that all that is necessary to win Socialism is to stick up the programmatic flag and wait for the masses to rally around. Unfortunately, it does not work so easily.

In a period of social crisis, different layers of the population turn in many different directions looking for solutions. Petty bourgeois layers will give expression to all their prejudices, non-class conscious workers and semi-political workers are capable of going up many roads. Vanguard workers become immobilised as they see their traditional leaders becoming open agents of the bourgeoisie.

In such a situation the task for socialists is to break through the impasse and show all layers of society that there is a credible way forward and that socialism is the answer. I would suggest that these points should be kept in mind when looking at the situation in Scotland:

\* Scotland is a nation, but its history is one of close partnership with England in the exploitation of the Empire.

\* The Scottish people have the democratic right to self-determination which socialists should support.

Reactionary nationalism as expressed by the Scottish National Party must be fought at every opportunity.

Keeping all these points in mind, it is correct to support the call for the Assembly which 90 per cent of Scots are now in favour of according to opinion polls. However, this is not enough. The Assembly does not stand aside as a separate issue from the working class struggle.

Chris Ure is correct that a capitalist Assembly will not bring Socialism. However, the point is that Scottish workers have seen for themselves that a Labour Government will not bring Socialism, but they retain illusions that a Scottish Assembly can tackle 'Scotland's problems'. If these illusions are to be dispelled, then 'the programme to organise workers to defend their living standards' which Chris rightly outlines as necessary must be set in the concrete situation.

Demanding, for example, that the Scottish Assembly be given the powers to nationalise North Sea oil does not build illusions in a capitalist Assembly. Such a demand exposes the SNP and its campaign for 'Scotland's oil'. The Nationalists clearly will not support such a demand. The Labour Party is also exposed, in that despite their control of the Westminster Parliament they have failed to tackle the oil monopolies.

Socialists cannot ignore the rise of nationalism in Scotland. They must recognise it for what it is — a shell of the social revolt of the Scottish people. We have to learn how to insert the socialist programme into the revolt of Scottish workers and to open up the road to socialist solutions to the crisis of capitalism. — ANDREW HARDIE (Glasgow).

# IN FOCUS

## The Politics of Elections

'EVERYBODY DESERVES a place under God's sun', declared Cyril Smith at the Liberal Party Conference last week. He was making this general statement to black people. But could have been...

# BY-ELECTIONS: important debate...

The letter from Southampton readers in Red Weekly [9 September] opened up an important debate on election strategy, a question that is going to face revolutionaries increasingly.

Essentially the comrades were correct. The basis for standing a candidate in Walsall [and now in Stechford] against the Labour Party is invalid. Although in both by-elections the Socialist Worker

candidates and Tariq Ali of the International Marxist Group will take up class questions, what has happened in each constituency to justify supporting the Socialist Worker candidates or putting up our own candidate? In Walsall, was the decision to support the Socialist Worker candidate taken with any knowledge of the Labour Party candidate, who just happens to be involved in the local anti-cuts campaign? We cannot ignore this.

The record of the far left in dealing with social democracy is not a proud one. No harm will be done if we try to come to grips with the problem of elections, for in deciding to stand candidates it is necessary to avoid sectarian errors and the adaptationist approach that considers 'before a mass revolutionary party, no candidates'.

Given that we must use elections to explain our politics to the working class, it is mistaken to rush off in support of the most 'left' candidates. Initially we should fight for candidates who oppose the anti-working class policies of the Government, and only when we lose that struggle do we have any basis to stand candidates.

In Walsall, how can we explain to the vanguard, let alone the mass of the working class, that the local Labour candidate is not a class struggle candidate? We cannot. In Stechford we may be able to, but we have not even formally fought for a class struggle type candidate — however limited — as a successor to Roy Jenkins.

If in Stechford the Labour candidate does not even partially oppose the policies of the Labour leadership on the most essential questions [cuts, unemployment, racism], then despite errors being made, the IMG is on the correct course in attempting to get a joint IS/IMG candidate. However, for the reasons given above we should be saying to the IS 'put the interests of the working class before that of the vanguard — withdraw your candidate'.

We must in the process explain that the only real basis for opposing Labour candidates [there will be many instances!] is the refusal of the Labour candidate to fight the election on the side of the working class against cuts, racism and other such questions that arise. — PAT FIELD (New Cross).

See article on back page.



# EARN YOUR PLACE!

Like many rank and file members of IS, I have been surprised and disturbed by the frenzied incoherent attacks made by Red Weekly on the Right to Work march. Reports have usually been a mixed bag of trivial gripes among which genuine political criticism sticks out like a jewel in a dung heap.

You demand the right to speak? Earn that right by hard work. Earn delegates to the steering bodies of the campaign (National Councils, delegate conferences, local committees). Though individual IMG members have joined in building a fight against unemployment, as a national organisation you have abstained in the real work. No national commitment to the building of local committees, belated participation in the marches (not stunts, comrades!).

And now you devote a page to letters on the march and nothing on the 6 November conference. If you want a broad based conference, work for it. If you want your voice to be heard, fight for it. You remain silent at your peril. Don't, comrades, join the long list of irrelevant sects.

Even worse than this ignorance of the conference, is the failure to launch a campaign in support of the 17 November day of action. Instead you cuddle up to the comfy, yet redundant, vastness of the Labour Party.

Get involved. I fear you will suffer severe consequences if you do not. Or am I just one of those 'raw and inexperienced militants' careering towards 'disrupt social democracy and Stalinism' (sic). — ALAN GIBBONS, Crewe.

Comrade Gibbons is a little confused on his facts. Yes, we did demand the 'right to speak' — in an article on the 6 November conference! So it is hardly accurate to go on to accuse us of ignoring the conference.

# MISLEADING

Red Weekly has claimed to support the principle of a Right to Work march, yet it devotes two pages of destructive criticism to it. The article on the Right to Work march (Red Weekly, 9 September) was confusing and misleading — for those who did not take part.

On the organisational side: owing to the fact that many more marchers turned up in London than had originally registered, the organisers of the march did ask for £1 donations — but, they emphasised, only from those who could afford it. Despite the large numbers involved, no major hassles arose throughout the march.

The objections to 'military discipline'

# Discussion essential -why not in Socialist Worker?

I am unemployed, a member of the Labour Party, and walked from London to Brighton on the Right to Work March. As one of David Widgery's 'unsophisticated young marchers' [Red Weekly, 23 September], I find it very illuminating that comrade Widgery uses the pages of Red Weekly rather than Socialist Worker to air his differences with the IMG and even with his own comrades. Unfortunately this seems to fit in all too well with the practice of the IS leadership, which frowns on introducing or allowing political debate. To help try to rectify this, I am sending this letter to both Red Weekly and Socialist Worker in the hope of an extension of rank and file discussion.

The lack of political debate was one of the main defects of the march, the leadership of which should have organised political meetings for the large number of young unemployed to discuss how to channel the anger of the unemployed into a fight back with clear political objectives, and to show how the fight against unemployment should be linked to other struggles against capitalism. The job of revolutionaries is surely to politicise and bring together these different struggles.

But the mass meetings were almost solely for organisational matters; and there was no general political discussion and debate on how to intervene at the pickets of the TUC Conference. 'What do we need political discussion meetings for? We all know what we are on the march for', was what one IS comrade said to me. But some of the marchers thought we were going just to yell at all the delegates and break up the Tribune meeting, and generally show it all up; some of us, on the other hand, had the distinctly different idea that we should be discussing with the delegates, not just screaming at them all indiscriminately, so as to drive a wedge between those who would be prepared to organise a fight back against the Labour Government's policies and those bureaucrats who are bent on servile collaboration with Callaghan. Many of the marchers

expressed hostility to 'pooftas' and 'queers' as they called them, and had strongly sexist attitudes.

Given these varying attitudes, and given that the fight against unemployment, to succeed, must become a fight against capitalism as a whole, there is an extreme urgency for political debate if the divisions which the ruling class uses to weaken the working class movement are to be overcome.

Comrade Widgery's letter in practice accuses Red Weekly of stimulating debate within the IS on the question of gay liberation; and yet if the question cannot be debated within a revolutionary organisation, where can it be discussed? The IS leadership have counterposed political debate to practical activity. This is a reflection of the fact that they reproduce within their own ranks the classic division within capitalism itself, between intellectual and manual labour/theory and practice: i.e. the leadership do the thinking, the membership do the marching.

According to Marx, unity in action — but constant political debate — is the lifeblood of the revolutionary movement, the only insurance policy against bureaucratisation and sell-outs; and further, that mass demonstrations of the working class against capitalism will be characterised by vigorous debates and polemics on the way forward to socialism by different sections of the oppressed masses. This is not a bad thing, but is intrinsic to the democratic experience of the working class movement, which is essential for the victory of socialism. One only has to look at the volumes of polemic levelled by Marx and Lenin against other socialists. Were they sectarians? Of course not! They understood that programmatic clarification was indispensable to find the correct path to socialist revolution.

And what is Soviet Democracy, after all, if not the right to debate out what sort of socialism workers want! — EDMUND WRIGHT (Member EC and GMC, Hull Central Labour Party).

day or so. If they had stayed to complete the march, they would have shared the sense of achievement and solidarity felt by all those who marched, blisters and all, into Brighton.

It was this bringing of the unemployed together in one body, under one banner of the Right to Work, which was one of the aims. If only one worker had taken a leaflet, read it and brought up the issue of unemployment in his/her own union, the march would have achieved something.

The article notes that mass meetings were held mainly on organisational issues. This is obvious, as such matters affected every marcher. How much non-

in the urgent atmosphere of a mass meeting.

Your concept of democracy — as stated in the article — is self-contradictory. It argues that there should be mass meetings, that votes should be taken, but that whatever the outcome, each should stand by his/her decision. In which case, why all the argument for mass meetings? Don't they then become a token gesture of workers democracy?

The Right to Work march, as the alternative to sitting back and doing nothing or holding a mobile educational school, showed that the unemployed are

prepared to take action. The fact that it took place at all affected many trade unionists and unemployed workers. No 'left-wing' paper can seriously dwell on what should or could have happened while not even giving the full and correct facts.

As a final comment, certain newspapers both 'left' and right-wing have complained about the apparent domination of IS members and sympathisers on the march. Could this have arisen owing to the reluctance of certain other groups to take part in something initiated by IS? — M. GORMAN, C. BARLTROP (Right to Work marchers, Southampton)

# ...Confused?

In its recent commentary on the coming by-elections at Walsall and Stechford, I believe Red Weekly has made two errors in its analysis. When the Socialist Worker announced the candidacy of International Socialist member Jimmy MacCallum, Red Weekly (correctly, I think) called for support on the grounds that his programme, whilst being inadequate, was qualitatively better than the Labour Party's.

Undoubtedly the way this campaign will be run will ensure that only the IS, rather than the needs of the class struggle, will gain. If, however, one is serious about proposing an alternative — that is, candidates whose programme can simultaneously attract the widest support whilst also embodying the most urgent demands of the workers movement — then it requires careful preparation and foresight. This apparently was not done. It is, therefore, merely camouflage to attack the IS for not adopting this approach — an excuse for avoiding self-criticism.

This confusion is evident in the discussion on the Stechford by-election. If an IS candidate for this seat represents a 'fighting alternative' to the Labour Government, why consider standing Tariq Ali? Obviously because the latter's programme is better than that of the IS candidate. But if this goes for Stechford, why not Walsall?

Indeed, if, as Red Weekly has constantly argued, the Stonehouse affair was the tip of a rotten Labour iceberg, is it not doubly important that a Red Weekly candidate stands in Walsall? The IS will simply scream abuse at the ex-MP, a Red Weekly candidate could explain concrete steps for class conscious workers to fight the Labour Party bureaucracy.

Finally, having arrived belatedly at a correct approach to the second by-election, Red Weekly would make an

# Schoolboy target for racist gunmen

COMING HOME from football practice one evening last week, North London schoolboy Stafford Sampson noticed a white car slowing down on the other side of the road. A man leant out of the window and yelled 'Hey you — black bastard'.

Stafford noticed a small black object in the man's hand. He flung himself onto the pavement as he heard a loud bang. In panic, Stafford then leapt onto a passing bus, whilst the car sped off with a screech of brakes round the corner into Tottenham High Road.

Stafford didn't dare go back to the area for an hour or so. When he got home, his father, Cecil Sampson, noticed that he was shaking and asked him what was the matter. 'I was shot at tonight', he replied.

They went to report the incident to the police, who suggested that it was only kids mucking about with an air gun. Stafford would recognise the shot of an air gun, but he believes the shot was fired from a revolver. He saw four white men in the car.

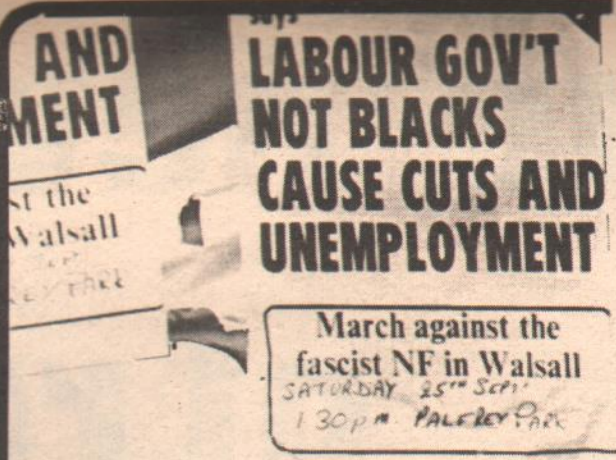
## Shots

Despite the fact that earlier that evening the police had had a similar report of shots being fired at a shop window, and a black youth running from the scene, they continue to doubt Stafford's story. They told a reporter that they 'were inclined' not to believe him. 'He probably made up the story as an excuse for being late home.'

Yet the police know that other similar incidents involving a white car have taken place in the area. Cecil Sampson says: 'I got the impression that the police knew who it was.'

If white youths were being fired at by black men in a car, would the police hesitate to round up all possible suspects for questioning? Would they claim not to believe the stories of white victims? Police 'protection' for black people is a joke. Black people will never be protected from racist attacks by a police force that is itself racist.

SUE ASPINALL



WALSALL — just outside Birmingham, population around 200,000, small-scale industry, much of it engineering, large Asian and West Indian population, no tradition of trade union militancy, the left almost non-existent. This is the fertile soil for the National Front's election campaign in Stonehouse's constituency of Walsall North.

It began last Saturday with a National Front demonstration and meeting of 1,000 in Bloxwich, the heart of the constituency. In this town of declining industry the racist 'solutions' of the NF are winning support, made all the easier by the refusal of the Trades Council to support any counter-demonstration and by the so-called 'left' Labour candidate David Winnick's call for strict immigration controls.

## Applause

But the fight back against the racists is underway. In Caldmore, the Asian area of Walsall, a public meeting was held last week to set up an anti-racist campaign. Loud applause was the response of a 70-strong, mainly Asian audience to fighting speeches by N.S. Noor, President of the Wolverhampton Indian Workers Association (Marxist), and Clive Turnbull, a Red Weekly supporter and AUEW militant from the Austin, Longbridge car plant.

The speakers called for an end to immigration controls (which simply blame foreign workers rather than capitalism itself for the crisis), for black self-defence against the fascist thugs, and for white workers to join black people in taking the fight against racism into the factories, trade unions and Labour Party ranks. A speaker from the newly formed Anti-Racist Campaign was immediately invited to address the Sikh temple, and on the demonstration some 150 Asian militants marched behind the Anti-Racist Campaign banners.

# Walsall-fight for unity against racist menace



Photo: DAVE EVANS (IFL)

No speakers from the Anti-Racist Campaign, Asian organisations, the IMG or other other left organisations represented on that demonstration were able to speak to the rally. Jimmy McCallum, the IS candidate in Walsall North, had previously been invited to speak at the Anti-Racist Campaign public meeting but he declined, saying that he wasn't interested in meeting with thirty whites in a room — a remark which patronisingly underestimates the determination among Asians to build a united campaign against racism.

The anti-racist demonstration itself was organised by the International Socialists. No approaches were made by them to other organisations of the left or the Asian community in Walsall. They organised no mobilising meeting to build for the demonstration, nor any planning meeting to arrange tactics and stewarding.

The result was a demonstration of around 1,500, mainly IS members. Only IS members spoke at the rally, and the main message they sprung on us was to go now to Bloxwich and confront the NF — an adventure

which had already led to 14 unnecessary arrests, and which even some IS members spoke to described as 'fruitless'. Unfortunately, because of IS's bureaucratic control of the demonstration, there was no opportunity — either from the platform or before the demonstration itself — to discuss the tactical value of going three miles, by bus, in dribs and drabs, to confront large numbers of policemen.

## Choice

What is at stake in Walsall is a choice between two very different understandings of how to build an effective campaign against racism and the National Front, and also what workers democracy means in practice in that campaign. We don't minimise the importance of the large turn-out by IS members on the demonstration. We do say that a much larger turn-out by Asians and white workers would have been possible if the IS had built the demonstration not solely as their property but in unity with other forces in the Asian community and labour movement; and that this is the way forward in the long fight against racism in this town.

# 'We need a powerful campaign'

Red Weekly spoke to three young Asian militants on the march: Qureshi, a member of the National Union of Railwaymen; Mohammed Arif, a student at Walsall Technical College; and Ismail, who is unemployed.

● *Why are you on the march today?*  
 Qureshi: The National Front attack innocent people on the streets, like in Leamington Spa the other day where they beat up a Bengali woman, set fire to her sari, and she died. We've got to get together and convince people that the NF want just to gain power and their only way is to make scapegoats of us and put the blame on us. They must be smashed.

I think the setting up in Blackburn of an Asian Youth Organisation is a very good idea. One of their aims is to defend black people against fascist attacks. If

people know they can beat us and get away with it, they'll carry on.

● *What about the police?*  
 Mohammed Arif: As a law student I have to believe that they're just there to execute the laws and defend justice, but from what examples I've heard they seem to be with the National Front.

● *You spoke about the laws. What do you think about the 1971 Immigration Act?*  
 M.A.: Well, the British went over to India and they ruled it for two or three hundred years, and the black people there didn't have any rights. So now we've got every right to come over here.

Ismail: My mother was in this country and she went back home. She's trying to come back here because I'm here with my older brother, but they won't let her in. They took her passport away in India.

She had a British passport and it expired. She tried to renew it, but they said forget it. The Immigration Act means families broken up.

● *We've had two meetings of the Anti-Racist Campaign in Walsall. What sort of things do you think it can do?*

Qureshi: First it ought to unite everyone, Asians and West Indians, and sympathetic white people. We need to form a powerful campaign to really tell the NF there's no way they're going to win any support here. We need to work in the trade unions to convince people that the NF's policies are wrong.

M.A.: I'll give you an example. My friend went to get a job in Walsall and the shop steward said sorry, but we haven't got any jobs. The next day some white people came and he took them on the job. That shows there's racism there.

I think blacks should organise in their unions to fight against racism, with the help of sympathetic whites. All the

# DEMAND LABOUR LEADERS ACT

The Communist Party had a Midlands area mobilisation for the Walsall demonstration of about 50 people. Red Weekly asked KEN GRAINGER, a long-time anti-racist activist who recently left the party, what he thought of the CP's policies on racism and how he thought the campaign should go forward.

I think their policies are almost indistinguishable from those of the Labour Party. They're in favour of immigration controls as long as they're not 'racist', but they base their arguments very much on nationalist lines.

What I've found really frightening is their reporting of demonstrations. I was on the Winson Green demo and when I read the report in the Morning Star you got the impression that there were helpless blacks who were being smashed into the ground by the police, not that the blacks themselves had actually initiated action. It wanted to portray all the time to the middle-class and the reformist leaders that the blacks are a helpless minority, 'please help us', and they were prepared to distort the facts to keep their relationship with these reformists going.

One next step we must take is to try to involve the Labour Party and the CP in united activity against the NF, which is particularly important now in the election campaign. We didn't get that today. We have to make sure that in future we draw trade union branches, shop stewards committees and ward Labour Parties into active opposition.

The Labour Party has its own demonstration in Walsall on 9 October. David Winnick [the Labour Party candidate in Walsall North] is standing on a platform of 'I'm not racist but I strongly support immigration controls'. That's the point we should take up with him in public, and get as many people there as we can.

We need to try to force these Labour leaders to act against racism because if they do take any steps, however small and inadequate — like the Labour Party's anti-racist campaign — it gives us much bigger opportunities to build a real anti-racist campaign among the tens of thousands of workers who identify with the Labour Party and vote Labour. They're the people we've got to win. And if these MPs and so on refuse to act even under pressure, people learn that their fine words are just hot air. But to simply ignore them just lets them off the hook, and lets down those people around the Labour Party who are opposed to



## WHAT'S ON

THE FINAL DEADLINE for notices for 'What's On' is 10am on the Monday before publication. Adverts are only accepted over the phone in exceptional circumstances. Rate: 2p per word.

FIGHT RACISM badge available again, 25p inc. p&p from Jo-Ann, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. Bulk rates on application.

RACISM, Imperialism and Apartheid in South Africa—weekend educational conference at the University of East Anglia, 29-31 October. For details contact Students Union, University of East Anglia, Norwich.

GLASGOW Socialist Forums: every Thursday night at 7.30pm in the Iona Community Centre.

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.

RED WEEKLY Fund-raising party Saturday 9 October, in Golden Eagle, Hill St., Birmingham. Starts 7.30 pm. Booze, disco, etc.

NATIONAL Abortion Campaign day school, Saturday 9 October, to discuss fundamental issues of the campaign, including: positive legislation, ethical questions, facilities, etc. Also discussion on mobilisation for 'National Tribunal on Women's Abortion Rights' (to be held 29 Jan.). At Architectural Association, Bedford Square, London WC1.

CAMPAIGN for Democracy in the Labour Movement: Central London rally, Fri 8 October in NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, London-WC1. Speakers: Alan Thornett, Keith Veness, Tony Kelly.

WORKING Women's Charter Campaign: National Co-ordinating Group meeting, Sat 9 Oct., 10.30am - 5pm at Baptist Mills Community Centre, Harley Road, Bristol 2. Creche provided, but confirm on 0272 33567.

LONDON Working Women's Charter Campaign special general meeting to discuss perspectives and set up London Co-ordinating Committee. Sun 10 Oct., 2pm at the Old Fire Station, Mayton St., N7.

'FIFTH COLUMN', new touring show by Roadgang Theatre about a threatened factory closure, available Scotland: 4, 5, 7-18 Oct; Yorks/Lancs: 20 Oct-4 Nov; Midlands/London: 9-17, 24-30 Nov; South West/Wales: 1-6 Dec; Newcastle: 9-16 Dec; North West/Wales: 17-22 Dec. Also at any time to workers in dispute. Details from: Roadgang Theatre, 13 Swinburne St., Gateshead, Tyne & Wear (0632.775615/6).



# The 'new politics' of revolution

THE LAST DECADE or so has seen the rise of a 'new politics' in southern Africa: that of guerilla war. So far the 'new politics' have resulted in the defeat of the Portuguese in their former colonies, but have not resulted in a decisive breakthrough elsewhere in southern Africa — although, of course, they have not fallen on deaf ears in Rhodesia or the Republic of South Africa. Indeed, the struggle in the former has a long history and has of late begun to have a certain success; but in the latter the real test is yet to come.

In all sectors of the struggle in southern Africa, however, the liberation forces have turned to guerilla warfare. Southern Africa, the New Politics of Revolution \* is an attempt to describe this important development and the reasons why it came to be so. Here CLIVE BALDWIN contributes a major discussion article which probes some of the themes raised in the book.

With such a rich subject matter, it is a pity that the book essentially fails. The authors are unsure — if not in fact ignorant — of the central problems posed by the development of the guerilla struggle in southern Africa. So the book consists of a collection of three essays from various analytical positions around the general theme of the 'new politics'.

The first, by Basil Davidson, is a history of the development of the guerilla struggle in the former Portuguese colonies; the second and by far the best essay, by Joe Slovo, is concerned with the struggle in South Africa; the concluding essay by Anthony R. Wilkinson deals with the armed struggle in Rhodesia. The bulk of this article will be devoted to the essay by Joe Slovo, as the issues he raises are of such fundamental importance. The subjects covered in the other two essays are best dealt with in another context, but a few remarks might usefully be made concerning aspects of the 'new politics' in these countries.

It should be noted that none of the articles adopts a critical approach to the subject; for the most part they simply attempt to tell it exactly as it was. The result is that one is given a lot of facts — which is of course useful — but very little pertinent analysis. However, Slovo's article is on a different plane from the other two; it also benefits from the fact that Slovo is himself a participant in the struggle.

## Agrarian

One of the key problems facing militants in countries where the population is overwhelmingly agrarian is how to encourage the self-activity of the masses. The peasantry and agricultural wage labourers can in general only express themselves as a class through some political form such as the guerilla army.

This is quite unlike the situation in an advanced capitalist country, where the proletariat can organise itself as a class separate from directly political forms —

giving a real guarantee that the activities of the party will be checked by the masses, and thus allowing a much more fruitful development. The result in a colonial country of a successful revolution is more likely than not a one party state, simply because it is the people through the party that make the revolution, rather than the people guided by the party.

Angola, for instance, did see the development of various factory, neighbourhood commissions, etc.; and as the MPLA oriented towards them, the way in which it dominated the upsurge resulted in a certain marked radicalisation of the MPLA. At this stage some form of internal dialogue did exist, as the leadership of the MPLA needed support to defeat the rival groupings. However, with the victory of the MPLA the Neto leadership faction succeeded in consolidating its hold over the party, with the expulsion (or worse) of left critics.

## Dissidents

In such a situation there is no possible check on the activities of the party by the masses. Even if people begin to join the party in an attempt to break down this dichotomy, it is unlikely that known dissidents are going to be allowed to join. The problem is clearly related to the balance of forces at the time of the decisive showdown, but it nevertheless remains a gigantic one; it is a pity that Basil Davidson did not touch on this aspect of the 'new politics', but perhaps his silence is an answer in itself.

Anthony Wilkinson presents a detailed account of the guerilla struggle in Rhodesia which — though very useful in some ways — lacks any assessment of the efficacy of a guerilla strategy in Rhodesia. It would have been a service to militants if he had begun to untangle the complex problem of guerilla strategy in a country where the peasant economy has been effectively destroyed and there is a substantial urban proletariat. He could also have dealt with the tactics involved in guerilla war — namely, whether the participants are concerned with simply exerting pressure to get an ultimately reformist solution, or whether they are bent on seizing state power, which is an altogether different proposition. This latter problem is one that has considerable importance in the Republic of South Africa.

## Guerilla

Although there are many things that one can take issue with in the work of Davidson and Wilkinson, there is little arguing with Davidson's defence of guerilla warfare in the former Portuguese colonies. He concludes that it was an essentially correct strategy not simply because it was successful, but because the social composition of these countries was primarily agrarian — a strategy based on the towns and the urban proletariat would have been quite useless. In the case of South Africa, however, it is the basic premise of the need for guerilla

Joe Slovo is a leading member of the South African Communist Party, and as such his analysis must be taken very seriously. Fundamentally he puts forward a variant of the two stage theory of revolution theorised for South African conditions. His starting point is to postulate that South Africa is a colony of a special type, an 'internal colony' which has the exploiting capitalist power on its own territory.

To quote from the ANC's 'Strategy and Tactics': 'South Africa's social and economic structure and the relationship which it generates are perhaps unique. It is not a colony, yet it has, in regard to the overwhelming majority of its people, most of the features of the classical colonial structures.'

Slovo extends this theory still further when he argues that the policy of apartheid can best be understood as an attempt to apply the policy of neo-colonialism at home. He remarks that 'it is an attempt to partially externalise the colonial relationship in the shape of ethnic states, eventually having all the attributes of formal political independence'. In Slovo's own words, 'this characterisation [the theory of internal colonialism] provides the theoretical foundation for the conclusion that the main content of the immediate struggle for change is the national liberation of the African people and with it the destruction of all forms of racial discrimination'.

## Validity

In its more sophisticated forms this analysis describes the reserves as a pre-capitalist mode of production co-existing alongside the capitalist mode of production. This is not the place to enter into a theoretical discourse as to the validity of this conception. Interested readers are referred to the work of Michael Williams in the *Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists*, Vol IV, No. 1, where he develops the correct view that in South Africa the capitalist mode of production is dominant and that capitalist relations of production permeate every aspect of life. What flows from this is obviously a very different analysis of the tasks facing militants in South Africa from that flowing from the theory of internal colonialism.

Slovo does realise, however, that it is not possible to carry out the national democratic revolution without carrying out the socialist revolution — in other words, he recognises the combined nature of the revolution in South Africa. He comments correctly 'that no significant national demand can be successfully won without the destruction of the existing capitalist structure'. But he then goes on to say that 'there is objective ground for the belief that under South African conditions the national democratic revolution has great prospects of proceeding at once to socialist solutions.' This gives the game away.

What follows from this conception of the South African revolution is the following. First of all pressure is built up on the South African regime through guerilla warfare, sabotage, strikes, boycotts etc; it capitulates not to the socialist revolution but to some combination of 'progressive' forces. This alliance of forces, though initially dominated by bourgeois elements, is then too weak to carry out the national democratic revolution, the socialist forces begin to gain the leadership of the social layers involved, and so on.

## Alliance

The forces involved in this alliance with the CP would undoubtedly include an



If one believes that apartheid is simply a deformation of capitalism which can be put right, as does the South African CP, then everything is perfectly in order: apartheid is abolished, and the next step is to win the nationalists to socialism. However, if one conceives of apartheid as being inseparably linked with South African capitalism, then to challenge the one is to challenge the other.

If one believes that what is key is the relationship between the capitalist mode of production and the (alleged) pre-capitalist mode of production, then no problems develop in the schema. However, if one correctly conceives of the South African economic and social structure as being dominated by the capitalist mode of production, then all the relations of production are capitalist ones. Hence to challenge the apartheid system is to challenge capitalism itself in South Africa.

## Unity

Thus what is central is not to separate out the immediate national tasks of the revolution but to grasp the essential unity of the struggle against apartheid and the struggle against capitalist exploitation. Instead of

The strategy of Slovo and the South African CP is an illusion, and a very dangerous one at that. What flows from it is an excessive concentration on guerilla war. Slovo, in fact, gets almost hysterical in his attempts to prove that guerilla warfare is a viable strategy. Rather than wasting militants' lives in this very tenuous operation they would be better employed in developing class consciousness amongst the exploited people of South Africa.

## Value

What is entirely lacking from Slovo's analysis — and indeed from most analyses of South Africa — is an analysis of the operation of the law of value. South Africa is not immune from the world economy nor is she immune from the contradictions of capitalist development. It is these which will have profound effects on the South African socio-economic structure — effects which will begin to cause problems with the ruling white elite, and effects which will influence the white working class in South Africa. Clearly the oppressed layers of South Africa will have to organise and confront the violence of the regime with their own violence, but that is a different matter to the strategy of guerilla warfare proposed by Slovo.

### Southern Africa

The New Politics of Revolution  
Davidson, Slovo and Wilkinson



# tics' tion



# WHITE

time to try to solve the much bigger and harder question of South Africa.'

Moreover, we have to stress the key role played by the Labour Government in devising this plot against genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe. It gives the aura of legitimacy which is essential for the selling of the scheme; it is using to the full the remnants of its political influence among Africans to give the proposals a pinkish tinge. In Washington, British officials are already discussing with American, South African and Rhodesian officials the details of the trust fund. Despite the beleaguered state of the British economy, the Government is to contribute to that fund: aid to Smith comes before social services in the eyes of Callaghan.

Finally, what effect will the proposals have? The key element is: will they lead to a downturn in the anti-imperialist struggle? Will the activities of the Nkomos, Muzorewas, Kaundas, Nyereres, etc., cause sufficient confusion and division to defuse the struggle? That is the essence of the question and the real aim of the proposals.

Behind this immediate aim and the talk of 'keeping Communism out of Africa' there is the fear of social revolution. It is this fear which unites the diverse petty-bourgeois forces with Callaghan, Kissinger, Vorster and co. Because institutionalised racism — whether in its South African or Rhodesian form — is intrinsic to present day capitalist property relations in southern Africa, an ongoing

mass struggle against it is by definition a social struggle.

But the ending of the guerilla struggle demands cooperation from the so-called front-line states. These bonapartist regimes have to balance between imperialism and the pressure of their own masses by indulging in militant rhetoric, limited aid [with strings] to the armed struggle, and behind-the-scenes deals.

Their much publicised rejection of the terms that Smith outlined is in keeping with this. The main point is that they have accepted in principle the type of package-deal Callaghan and Kissinger are proposing. Their desire to get alteration in the exact proposals flows from their difficulty in getting the guerillas to agree to end the fighting.

As Bridget Bloom [based in Salisbury] noted in Monday's Financial Times: 'The Lusaka communique appears to be a tactical move designed to wrench more concessions from the white Government here rather than an attempt to close the door on negotiations.'

## Proposals

The course of events will depend upon whether the struggle against the Smith regime [or whatever replaces it] continues or not. Already the main guerilla force, ZIPA, is reported to have denounced the plot. ZIPA has correctly stated that the Callaghan-Kissinger proposals are designed to institute a neo-colonial regime, and that Smith is manoeuvring because of the growing guerilla struggle. However, ZIPA is very dependent upon the Mozambique regime; and in the absence of an experienced leadership, still less of a Marxist one, it is likely that some confusion will be created.

But the ongoing dynamic of African revolution is strong — especially in the wake of the victories in Angola and Mozambique. It is therefore unlikely that this confusion will cause any real change in the relation of forces. Huge black demonstrations took place when Kissinger visited South Africa, the 'coloureds' have shown that the Vorster regime's project of using them to underpin its detente strategy is doomed to failure... the answer to the Callaghan-Kissinger manoeuvre is already there.

### RHODESIA BONDS

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3½ p.c. 1980-85 ...	40	+26	
4 p.c. 1972-74 ...	60	+38	
4½ p.c. 1958-68 ...	65	+35	
4½ p.c. 1977-82 ...	45	+25	
4½ p.c. 1987-92 ...	45	+24	
5 p.c. 1975-80 ...	55	+27	
6 p.c. 1976-79 ...	65	+30	
6 p.c. 1978-81 ...	60	+26	

By  
Pat Jordan

# WASH!

In the days just prior to Smith's statement on the Callaghan-Kissinger proposals, the Salisbury Stock Exchange market average shot up by 20 per cent. In the same period, City of London Southern Rhodesian Bonds more than doubled their price. The Sunday Times of 26 September reported: 'Rhodesia settlement means bonds bonanza'; and The Observer of the same day noted that British businessmen are delighted by the possibilities opening up in Rhodesia. Is this capitalist optimism justified? What is the meaning of the alleged surrender by Smith?

We can accept Smith's version of the Callaghan-Kissinger proposals for a settlement because its accuracy has not been denied by London or Washington officials. What are these terms?

1. That the Smith regime agrees to majority rule within two years.
2. That representatives of this regime will meet immediately with African leaders to organise an interim government.
3. That this interim government will consist of a Council of State, half of whose members will be black and half white, with a white chairman; and a Council of Ministers, with a majority of Africans and an African Premier.
4. That the British Parliament will pass enabling legislation for a process to majority rule, to be followed by the Rhodesian Parliament doing the same.
5. That upon the establishment of the interim government sanctions will be lifted and all acts of war will cease.
6. That a gigantic trust fund will be established — sums between \$1 and \$2 billion have been mentioned, i.e. \$4-\$8,000 each for every white — to provide economic aid to Rhodesia, and to guarantee private investments, property, pensions and overseas remittances. It is also designed to help whites wishing to leave Rhodesia, but this will not be encouraged.

to challenge white interests — all decisions will have to be taken by a two-thirds majority. Moreover, it is specified that the Ministers of Defence and of Law and Order will be white.

If the proposals are vague on some questions, however, on one thing they are extremely precise: sanctions and armed struggle against the Smith regime are to cease immediately the interim government is established. Thus the second feature of the proposals becomes clear: in exchange for vague, undefined promises about majority rule in two years' time under a constitution to be drawn up by a body upon which whites have an absolute veto, the nationalist forces are asked to give up their struggle. Moreover, this has been 'guaranteed' by the British and American governments.

## Divisions

The proposals are also designed to maximise the divisions in the nationalist movement. Former ZAPU leader, Joshua Nkomo, is already being canvassed as candidate for the premier of the impotent Council of Ministers, and leaders of the Muzorewa wing of the ANC have reportedly given a 'qualified welcome' to Smith's statement — although both groupings have complained that the two year transfer period is too long. The aim is to use the lure of office to persuade these petty-bourgeois leaders to defuse the struggle of the militants of town and country.

It should be noted, however, that despite the obvious trap the proposals constitute, they also register imperialism's desperate need to manoeuvre. In the aftermath of the defeats of Portuguese imperialism, the rising wave of struggle in South Africa itself, and the general weakened position of US imperialism after the Indochina defeat

## Domination

These proposals amount to an attempt to give the appearance of majority rule whilst maintaining white domination. When it comes to what 'majority rule' actually means, things are extremely vague. There is no reference to the main demand of the African Nationalists: 'One man, One Vote'. Indeed the 50/50 Council of State set-up contradicts that democratic demand. Yet this Council of

discussed today. In the case of Slovo, moreover, the analysis is very wrong and very dangerous. The way forward in South Africa is not through rural guerilla warfare but for the present through the development of class consciousness and a realisation on the part of the oppressed layers that to smash apartheid entails smashing capitalism itself.

**imprecor**  
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Birmingham, N° 33, September 11, 1975 \$ 75, £ 30, 30fr

**CHINA AFTER MAO**

new issue contains article on S. Africa

AT A meeting on 19 September, 21 comrades, led by D. Hughes and D. Stocking (two former leaders of the IS Left Faction/Workers Power), decided to desert the I-CL.

As Trotsky wrote of similar dead-end splits in his period: 'They split from us not because we are intolerant or intolerable, but because they themselves did not and could not go forward.'

The split has no foundation in revolutionary-internationalist principles. In the course of the five months preparatory debate for the forthcoming I-CL conference, Hughes and Stocking came forward with only relatively minor differences on national tactical questions.

Their chief argument centred round the view that the I-CL gave insufficient priority to 'industrial work' and claims that the I-CL majority tended to 'sectarianism' or 'propagandism', or concessions to Labourism. (Only one of those participating in the split has claimed that the political differences were large enough to justify it).

When the other Political Committee members protested against the unprincipled factionalism inherent in the work-erist demagoguery about 'industrial work' (when Hughes and Stocking were unable to earmark a single actual difference as to what concretely should be done in relation to 'industrial work') and in the usually caricatural presentation of the majority's arguments Hughes and Stocking set up a hue and cry about the minds of the membership being 'poisoned' against them. They were eventually to demand — as an ultimatum — that the other PC members disavow their political assessment of Hughes' and Stocking's methods.

It appeared virtually certain that Hughes and Stocking would be in a minority at the forthcoming first I-CL conference. [At the August National Committee their documents had received only a tiny minority vote.] At the Political Committee on 10 September, Stocking and his co-thinker S. King suddenly declared that they did not recognise the authority of the conference and that they would not undertake to abide by its decisions if they were in a minority.

Stocking, King, and later, Hughes, reiterated over three days their position of not recognising the authority of the conference. It was put to them that if they considered conference preparations unsatisfactory, they should propose postponement, alteration of the agenda, reference back of documents, etc. They made no such proposals, but adamantly held to their position of non-recognition.

The PC majority was then obliged, in defence of the most elementary democratic rights of the I-CL membership, to suspend Hughes, Stocking and King. At the same time, the door was left open to them by a provision that they would be completely and immediately reinstated, even onto the PC, if only they agreed to recognise the authority of conference.

Hughes, Stocking and King remained obstinate and went on the path of split.

They present the split as a 'de-fusion', a reversal of the December 1975 fusion between Workers Fight and Workers Power which formed the I-CL.

This is a dishonest trick. A large proportion of the ex-WP comrades [including leading ex-WP comrades] remain loyal to the I-CL. In a special appeal, they condemned the invocation of the 'ex-WP' label: 'Its aim is to advance the fortunes

of a narrow circle... It is an attempt to appeal to comrades on the basis of past friendships, loyalties and allegiances as opposed to political programme.'

The split represents the revolt of circle politics against party spirit. As a result of fusion arrangements, Hughes and Stocking had a degree of power in the leading committees of the I-CL corresponding more to their former pre-eminence in the Left Faction/Workers Power than to their real influence in the I-CL. A declaration signed by most members of the NC majority had already committed its signatories to support the granting of places on the Political Committee to Hughes and Stocking [in contrast, Hughes and Stocking, in the last period before the desertion, announced a programme of removing all members of the PC majority from the leadership!].

However, the perspective was one of Hughes and Stocking being a subordinate part of a collective leadership, not emperors in their own circle. They could not tolerate that. And so they took the course of split, appealing to old loyalties

# International-Communist League

rather than to any politics. They bolted rather than subordinate themselves to the work of party-building.

The Hughes-Stocking grouping has no political future. It will either expire or gravitate to a large group — most probably the IMG, in whose chronic factional dog-fighting they will feel at home. Its main platform inside the I-CL was 'more industrial work' — but Hughes himself has already admitted that outside the I-CL his grouping will not be able to do any serious industrial work and will orientate to 'lots of work' in the mass reformist party.

At the Hughes-Stocking meeting of 19 September, a group including the only serious proletarian element at the meeting [the I-CL cell in an important Midlands factory] argued an anti-split line. They maintained that if Hughes and Stocking were serious about their politics, they would form a faction in the I-CL to fight for them. They declared that they themselves would fight for their positions — which are close on some issues to those put forward by Hughes and Stocking in the pre-conference debate — inside the I-CL, probably by forming a

faction.

The I-CL entirely upholds the right of these comrades to form a faction. It leaves its doors open to any comrades who took part in the split but have second thoughts. They will be entirely free to argue their positions within the democratic centralist framework of the I-CL, and to receive proportional representation on the leading committees.

The Political Committee of the I-CL has in any case guaranteed that the Hughes-Stocking documents on I-CL orientation will remain on the agenda of the conference to be debated by the membership.

The I-CL will not waste time mourning over the desertions. If comrades wish to commit political suicide, in the last analysis they cannot be stopped. The I-CL will learn the lessons from the example Hughes and Stocking gave us of circle politics, and go forward, continuing our programme of publications, intervention in the working class, and international dialogue, debate and collaboration. POLITICAL COMMITTEE, INTERNATIONAL-COMMUNIST LEAGUE

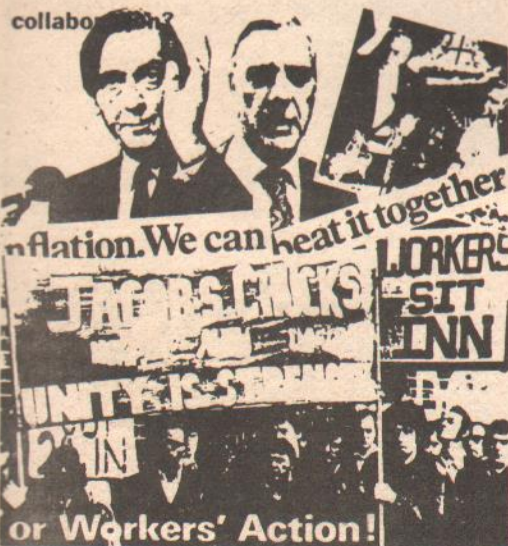
# The Split in the



THE RECENT SPLIT in the International-Communist League has a much wider significance than is suggested by the small number of comrades involved. The fusion between the Workers Fight grouping and Workers Power which gave birth to the I-CL late last year was hailed by the new organisation as a breakthrough in overcoming the fragmentation of the British far left. The split casts doubt on both that claim and, more seriously, the whole project of regroupment of the scattered forces of the far left. For these reasons it is essential that the lessons of this split are understood and not merely dismissed as a negative experience. As the first step towards such an understanding, Red Weekly is printing the press release of the Political Committee of the I-CL and a reply from the Steering Committee of the 38 comrades who constitute Workers Power.

## WORKERS POWER

UNEMPLOYMENT: A Worker's Answer



In October 1975 we were expelled from IS for our refusal to dissolve the Left Faction. Holding that a process of principled fusion was the only way to regroup the fragmented forces of Trotskyism, we entered into discussion with the Workers Fight grouping. The decision to open discussions with them was not a casual or chance one. In fact we had both independently adopted positions on key points of principle which divided us from the rest of the left (the general strike, abstention on the Common Market, and solidarity with all those fighting British

## Workers Power

Certain programmatic differences remained unresolved — the nature of the 'Stalinist states', the causes of the ideological degeneration and organisational disintegration of the Fourth International since the Second World War. These were agreed as vital scientific questions to be debated in a non-factional manner. Tactical differences remained between the two groups: attitudes to work in the major reformist party and to work within TOM.

Apparent agreement existed on the need to redevelop and re-elaborate the 1938 Transitional Programme in relation to the new period of crisis opening up in the Seventies and the crisis of leadership in the working class and its vanguard nationally and internationally. This was seen as central to the tasks of building the revolutionary party, of building an anti-bureaucratic rank and file movement in the trade unions, and a left wing movement in the reformist party. The WF leadership claimed no differences existed on these questions. S. Matgama agreed to produce a draft action programme. On production the draft was subjected to serious criticism on the I-CL Political Committee and National Committee.

At this point what was to become a feature of the internal life of the I-CL first manifested itself. The ex-WF PC members held a private meeting and submitted charges to us of unprincipled combination over the action programme, of orchestrating 'a cry for perspectives', and organising a personal vendetta against S. Matgama. Rebutting the charges, we proposed a political debate on our view of the action programme and the manifesto that Matgama had produced.

Such discussion was soured by new charges of 'catastrophism' and 'programme fetishism'. D. Stocking and D. Hughes produced position papers on the new period of capitalist crisis and the crisis of

In the pre-conference perspectives discussion, differences emerged principally on the orientation to the reformist party and the priority of this work relative to work in the trade unions. Hughes and Stocking produced perspectives documents arguing their position. M. Thomas produced a document weighted towards work aimed at the reformist party. Matgama who was commissioned to write a document arguing for such a major turn, failed to produce it.

The differences between the two sides were political. The compatibility — or otherwise — of the positions within one organisation depended on a serious commitment from the ex-WF leadership to an honest and open debate without which no political fusion could be achieved. The conference itself, when held, was to mark the end of the fusion process, the ironing out of common perspectives and the end of federal relations on leading committees.

Less than three weeks before the conference, S. Matgama and A. Hornung produced a slanderous document aimed at postponing the conference on the grounds of the 'a-political factionalism, cliquism etc.' of Hughes and Stocking and characterising them as wishing to turn the I-CL into a 'semi-syndicalist sect'. Further charges were made of wishing to split the I-CL and enter the IMG or the Workers League.

We agreed to postpone the conference to September on the condition that debates on the political issues took precedence over charges of the type mentioned above. This, however, did not occur. Matgama did not produce the document on the reformist party. Thomas produced a document reproducing most of the old charges. Only after this did our PC members reply in writing to the charges and express serious doubts as to the success of the fusion.

Two of them attending a PC meeting were

their willingness to abide by these decisions. This we refused to do, saying that the refusal of the ex-WF leaders to debate political issues, the repeated slanders and the determination of the ex-WF leaders to make them *the issue* on their side of the debate, put the fusion in question. A meeting of the supporters of this position would be held within a week. However, we accepted the 'normal discipline' of the I-CL, despite repeated charges that we were splitters and were planning to join the Workers League or the IMG.

Two days after this the three ex-WF members of the PC were suspended at a PC meeting to which they were not invited. The Matgama group thus organised a split which they hoped would only involve Hughes, Stocking and King and a few comrades in London.

They have been disappointed — despite claims of a 'desertion' of between 12 and 20 individuals, some 38 comrades (80 per cent of the Workers Power grouping, all of its PC members, 12 out of 14 of its NC members) have decided to terminate what remains of the fusion. They have done this because the Matgama leadership had hijacked the leading bodies and had obstructed and undermined all attempts at open and honest debate. To have gone to the conference would have been to recognise the Matgama grouping's claim that the fusion was successful and completed.

It should be known on the left that the Matgama leadership has shown itself politically and organisationally incapable of maintaining a democratic centralist regime, thus turning the I-CL into a hardened sect. It should be known that far from being a factor in 'breaking the log-jam on the left', Matgama's organisation is one of the most obdurate though not the most significant, logs in the jam. Workers Power will fight for its own politics in Britain and internationally. We are committed to debate,



# Socialists' Campaign

By Larry Seigle

SEPTEMBER 15—In a move totally without historical precedent, the attorney general of the United States has ordered the FBI to end its "investigation" of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Peter Camejo, the presidential candidate of the SWP, greeted the decision as a "victory for the democratic rights of all Americans."

Camejo, appearing today with his vice-presidential running-mate, Willie Mae Reid, at a news conference in Washington, said the SWP and YSA would move "full-speed ahead" with their campaign against government spying and harassment.

He said the ruling by Attorney General Edward Levi would now "accelerate the pace, scope, and impact" of the suit against the FBI and other federal police agencies, which is being heard in federal district court in Manhattan.

The presidential candidate told reporters at the news conference that the socialists are seeking:

- "a permanent injunction to outlaw all of the techniques of spying and disruption used against us by the FBI and other political police agencies." Such an injunction would mean that no attorney general could reverse this decision on the SWP without going to court to lift the injunction;

- "the immediate transfer to our hands of all files the government has on the SWP"; and
- "\$40 million in damages."

"The Levi decision is the biggest opening yet for all those determined to bring a halt to the government's program of political spying and harassment," Camejo said. "This decision paves the way for the American people to learn the truth about the FBI's forty-year war against the SWP. It removes the last barrier to the release of the files the FBI has maintained on its investigation."

Camejo and Reid announced at the news conference that they are demanding the immediate withdrawal of the FBI's informers from the SWP and YSA, and from Socialist Workers campaign committees.

"The Levi ruling clearly makes illegal the continuing use of any informers against the Socialist Workers party," Camejo said.

If the FBI does not comply with this demand, Camejo announced, the party's attorneys will move immediately in federal court for a preliminary injunction ordering the removal of the government spies.

## Outrageous

"This is an outrageous situation," said Camejo. "Here we are less than two months from the presidential elections, and the government is operating a ring of informers and dirty-trick artists inside the campaign committees of one of the candidates. This must be stopped and stopped right now!"

In August, the SWP released documents it had obtained from its suit showing that the FBI states it has sixty-six informers posing as members of the SWP and the YSA. In addition, some 1,300 free-floating informers, who do not pose as members, have provided data on the socialists as well as on other political parties, Black and women's groups, and trade unions since 1960.

Willie Mae Reid told the news conference that the government's decision "has special significance for the Black movement."

YSA National Chairperson Nan Bailey also addressed the news conference. Bailey said that Levi's decision "will spur the YSA and other student organizations to demand the opening of all FBI and CIA files on the student movement and an immediate halt to political harassment."

## Expose

# Halts FBI Spy Activities

# Activities

ARTICLE REPRINTED FROM THE 24 SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF THE MILITANT, PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

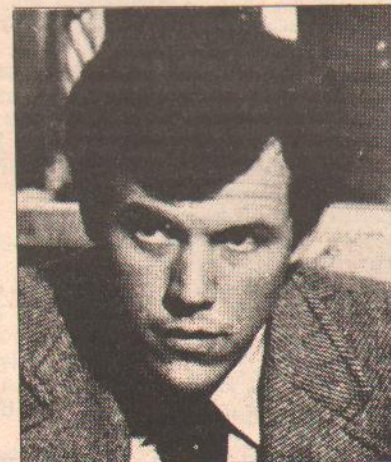
Camejo termed the Justice Department directive a "vindication of the right of the SWP to engage in political activity free from government interference."

"It is a vindication of the rights of all Americans to engage in political activity whatever their views and ideas may be."

"It is a vindication of the struggle by the Socialist Workers party and other organizations against the government's use of informers, burglaries, bugging, wiretapping, kidnapping, physical assaults, and even assassinations."



SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo



PRDF national secretary Syd Stapleton

The Justice Department decision was disclosed in a September 13 letter from Robert Fiske, the United States attorney in New York, to District Court Judge Thomas Griesa. Griesa is presiding over the socialists' lawsuit.

"We would like to advise Your Honor

offices implementing the Attorney General's decision will be issued very shortly."

The *New York Times* reported today that the Levi order, issued last Friday, "appeared to overrule an internal decision" of the FBI last month that it would continue its investigation of the SWP and YSA.

## Lawsuit

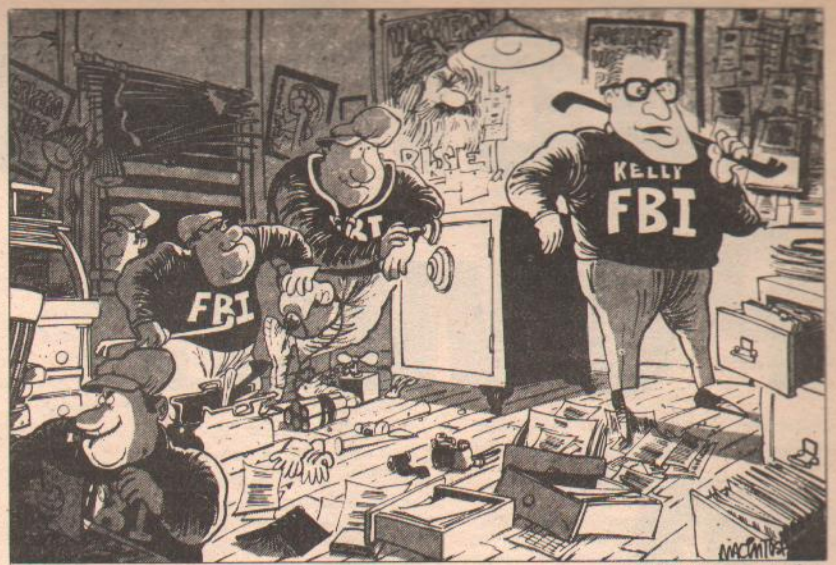
Justice Department officials are doggedly insisting that the decision had nothing to do with the socialists' lawsuit. They claim it was merely the result of the process of administrative review set in motion when the attorney general adopted new guidelines covering so-called domestic security investigations. The "guidelines," adopted last March, say the FBI can carry out a "domestic security" investigation only if there is evidence of actual or potential criminal activities.

"The lame pretense that this is not a direct political response to our suit and the widespread public support this case has mobilized is transparently absurd," said Syd Stapleton. Stapleton is the national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which was established to organize support and raise money to cover the costs of the omnibus lawsuit.

"It's quite a coincidence that of all the groups targeted by the FBI, the SWP is the first one Levi reviewed," Stapleton continued. "What did they do, go through the cases alphabetically, beginning with 'S'?"

Stapleton told reporters that the party's lawyers would insist on immediate action by the FBI to withdraw all informers and turn over the complete files on its informer operation.

"Levi's ruling removes the last shred of legal justification for the use of informers. It also completely demolishes the government's labored claims that they don't have to give us the complete, uncensored files on these rats because they are protected by the spurious doctrine of 'informer privi-



'I do not note in these activities any gross abuse of authority.'



'How many times do I have to explain, Henderson? There are good guys and there are bad guys and no matter how it looks, we're still the good guys!'

"The files themselves constitute an illegal arsenal against the SWP and YSA so long as they remain in the hands of the FBI. Their retention by the bureau also amounts to a continuing cover-up of their forty-year conspiracy to disrupt and destroy the SWP. The Justice Department ruling, if implemented, removes the last barrier to our obtaining those files."

"You must remember that the censored files we have already forced out of the FBI archives are only a minute portion—and, we can assume, the least damaging to the government—of what exists. Now we are going to insist that we get immediate possession of all the rest. And without one word deleted!"

"If the FBI doesn't go along, then we can only assume that the FBI's investigation isn't really over. Why else would they retain the files?"

Stapleton added that the party would fight any move to destroy the files. "The SWP and the YSA, and every single one of our supporters and former members, have a right to know what is in those files. The American people have a basic right to know. What's more, the files are important evidence in our suit."

The socialists are also demanding from the government the full text of the orders to the FBI's field offices ending the "investigations" of the SWP and YSA reportedly sent out by FBI Director Clarence Kelley.

## New from Red Books

Red Books is now in temporary premises at 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

### THE GENERAL STRIKE, MAY 1926

We have had a glut of books on the General Strike in this 50th anniversary year. This, however, is a book with a difference — a reprint of a contemporary account first published in 1926 in the aftermath of the strike. The author, R.P. Arnot, sketches the events which led up to the strike, and goes through the main events of the nine days in a systematic manner. The book is very well documented throughout. Price £3.50, post 29p.

### ABORTION IN DEMAND

This book traces the history and impact of abortion law reform in Britain. It also describes the forces at work, inside and outside Parliament, which are campaigning for and against the right of abortion. The authors set the topic within the framework of the wider issues involved — limits of reformism, politics of population control, the anti-abortionist forces, etc. — and stand for the right of free abortion on demand. Price £1.65, post 14p.

### CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

This is sub-titled 'Inflation and the State', and the authors, A. Gamble and P. Walton, winners of the Deutscher Memorial Prize, intend it to be a short introduction to the present impasse of capitalist economics. They survey Keynesian, monetarist and Marxist theories of inflation. They dismiss the argument that trade unions are responsible for inflation, but emphasise the role of the failure of the mixed

POSTER for the defence of Iranian political prisoners [3 colours, A2]. Single copies 30p [plus 6½p postage]. 10 or more copies, 20p each. From: Red Books [Iranian Poster], 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.



زندانیان سیاسی را آزاد کنید!  
STOP THE TORTURE! STOP THE KILLING!  
FREE ALL IRANIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!

# Workers Power in Szczecin

GRANADA TV performed a real, if unintended, service to the socialist cause last week by clearing its peak viewing hours for *Three Days in Szczecin*, an authentic account of the Polish shipyard workers' struggle against the bureaucratic dictatorship in 1971.

The bulk of the programme consisted of a re-enactment of the historic confrontation between Gierek, the new boss of

the Polish United Workers Party, and the shipyard workers during the night of 25 January 1971. A tape of that meeting made by the shipyard's broadcasting studio — which was being operated by the workers during the strike — was subsequently smuggled out of Poland, and Granada's re-enactment kept strictly to the words translated from this tape (another edited version of this tape was published in *New Left Review* 72).

The dramatisation of this meeting was interspersed with flashbacks to the incidents which had taken place during the three previous days of the shipyard workers' occupation-strike. These incidents had been mainly reconstructed from the memories of Edmund Baluka, the chairman of the Szczecin strike committee who was subsequently forced into exile by the regime.

The strike began when workers in the tool room read in the papers that they had agreed to set themselves higher production targets. They flooded out to the shipyard gates to find them locked. At this point they decided to occupy the yards and hold them until they had won

their demands.

The demands of the Szczecin shipyard workers went far beyond the issue of production targets. They called for freedom of the trade unions and free elections within the unions; they demanded freedom of the press from censorship and manipulation; and they called for the cancellation of the price increases announced by Gomulka the previous December.

During the confrontation on 25 January, suddenly arranged by Gierek so that the strike committee had no time to prepare their own tactics, the party leadership managed to get the shipyard workers to call off the strike, accepting many of their less important demands in the hope that these concessions could be destroyed at a later date. At the same time, Gierek was able to avoid giving way

on the price increases, and was able to confuse the issues of press and trade union independence.

## Facts

All these facts were vividly portrayed in the Granada programme. The workers presented a picture of appalling working and living conditions: how welders on ships hulls were unable to stop work in the freezing winter rain, in spite of the fact that this had resulted in death by electrocution for some; how, during the December strikes, the police and the army had chased, beaten and killed shipyard workers 'like rats'; how the price increases were producing malnutrition among the shipyard workers and their families; how the standard of living of many workers

had been going down during the previous years; how the unions had been turned into weapons against the working class and the press was filled with lies.

The one weakness of Granada's programme lay in the fact that it did not sufficiently set the Szczecin strike in context. As a result, the shipyard workers appeared more isolated and the party leadership stronger than either actuality was.

Virtually the entire working class of Szczecin was on strike with the shipyard workers. Furthermore, wave after wave of strikes swept through Poland from the middle of December 1970 right through March-April 1971. A further confrontation between Gierek and women textile workers in Lodz stretched right through the night of 12 February 1971 while a general strike gripped the city. The following morning Gierek emerged from the meeting after failing to budge the women strikers. He had no choice but to capitulate to their main demand and cancel the December price rises.

During the early 1970's a number of Western Communist Party leaderships tried to claim that Gierek had turned Poland into a model socialist democracy. John Gollan in his recent article on the Soviet Union in *Marxism Today* implies that Gierek had put right the 'errors' of the previous leadership.

## Grisly

But the grisly story of what happened to the Szczecin workers' leaders months after the end of the strike gives the lie to such fairy-tales. One member of the strike committee was found gassed to death; another claimed that the police had attempted to gas him in his home. Others were sacked from work, while Baluka was forced into exile.

Fresh confirmation of this reality is given by the killing, wounding and jailing of workers who successfully protested against price increases in June of this year.

It is ironic that British socialists have to rely for such information largely on the bourgeois mass media, rather than papers like the *Morning Star*. But the Granada programme will hopefully be of real assistance in the campaigns of protest that must be launched by the British labour movement for the release of the Polish workers now languishing in jail.

Oliver MacDonald.

## FREE ELECTIONS?

In a scandalous act of censorship revealing the farce of parliamentary democracy, West German TV has refused to transmit an election broadcast by the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (German section of the Fourth International). The reason given was that it contained an interview with Ernest Mandel, who is banned from entry into West Germany.

In the interview, Mandel had pointed out: 'Through its attack on the freedom of opinion and the right to free speech of certain currents in the labour movement ... the social-liberal federal government has already today created the instruments to enable a future reactionary government — following Hitler's example — to ban all Marxist propaganda in the Federal Republic of Germany.'



## That's Capitalism

By ESTHER RANCID

Look down at your legs. If you're not sitting in the bath reading Red Weekly, it is possible that you are wearing something dangerous, immoral and a threat to the West. At least, that's the verdict on denim of the 69th congress of the South African Women's Federation.

Mrs M. Kritzinger told the congress that the trouble with denim clothing is that it 'makes all races look the same', and makes it 'easier for outside indoctrination to take a hold of people. I feel that the original idea of wearing denim is an attack against the West.'

One branch of the federation said that clothes which carry the peace sign or motifs of butterflies or chewed apples 'have immoral implications'. And apartheid?

But perhaps the warnings of the South African Women's Federation come too late. 'Retire to a healthy pot plant' ran the headline in the *Daily Mirror* on 24 September. 'Pensioners should be allowed pot plants on the National Health, a report said yesterday. The plants would do many of them a lot more good than pills ..... old folk would forget their aches and pains while tending the plants .....

But as visions of senior citizens passing joints down the pension queue appeared before my eyes, I noticed that the report did come from the Potted Plant and Growers Association and the Flower and Plants Council. Mind you .... !

Meanwhile it would appear that Brian Walden MP intends to apply for associate membership of the South African Women's Federation. Asked whether he thought marijuana should be legalised, he replied: 'I used to think so. But what I didn't realise is that pot-smoking is associated with a culture that holds anarchic views about society, that it is part of an ideology of life for which I have the most profound contempt.'

A 'Labour' MP, Mr Walden isn't actually against anarchy — of the capitalist sort, that is. Apart from receiving £5,000 a year to represent the bookies' interests in the House of Commons, he suggested last year that the Cowley car plant should be closed and 20,000 workers and their families thrown on the dole.

That one third of the world's population enjoys four fifths of the income is a fact. It's a fact that Oxfam wanted to put across in television adverts for Oxfam week. Apparently this fact is too 'political' for the Independent Television Companies Association. They've banned it. Sceptics might think that that was the political decision.

To end on a thoroughly rancid note. Two hunt members who horse-whipped a 60-year-old anti-blood sports protester were discharged by a court last week.

# The Indian dictatorship testimony for the prosecution

Last week the Indian dictatorship of Mrs Gandhi announced that the leader of the Indian Socialist Party, George Fernandes, would go on trial next month charged with 'conspiracy'. While this announcement was being made, Fernandes' wife Leila was in Britain in an attempt to pressurise the Labour Government and Labour MPs into raising their voices against the Indian dictatorship. The Labour leaders — the supposed 'comrades' of George Fernandes in the Socialist International — are unlikely to heed the words of Leila Fernandes, but in an attempt to alert the labour movement as a whole in this country to what is taking place in India, we publish below a message recorded underground by George Fernandes shortly before his arrest in June.



'In this country hundreds of us are hunted and hounded by a ruthless dictatorship, for the simple reason that we will not give up the fight — a fight to restore to the people their lost rights and freedom. Some months ago we belonged to a country that took pride in

citizens of "free" India, operating like fugitives in our own country.

'I do not want to take your time reporting on the situation in India. Does it really matter any more if the number of people imprisoned without trial is 100,000 or 200,000? The Attorney General of India and the government advocates of all Congress-ruled states are on record that under the new dispensation of Mrs Gandhi, citizens not only do not have fundamental rights, including the right of habeas corpus, but even natural rights, including the right to live, do not exist any more. The Attorney General said: "A man can not only be deprived of his liberty, but also of his life, without trial, and without even being given the reasons for it."

'But I must say that the dictatorship still has its sense of humour — morbid though it is. For the Attorney General told the same court, in the same breath: "It is, however, open to the dependants of the man who has been killed to later — after the emergency has been lifted — go to court and claim damages for the loss of life." Do you still need reports of what is happening?

'Political prisoners are subjected to third degree torture and humiliations unheard of even during the days of the struggle against British imperialism. But as I said, let me not take your time on these matters. The only point I want to make is that if this is the price one has to pay for the trains to run on time, for people to stand in bus queues, then let the trains run late and let there be no bus queues. But let the people have their liberty and the right to live.

'The emergency in India has nothing to do with rising prices or the running of the trains, nor with any threats to the security of the country. Its one and only purpose is to protect the personal power of Mrs Gandhi, her utterly corrupt and thoroughly incompetent government. A gang of criminals and professional cheats is tightening its grip on the country. Most thinking Indians are aware that there is no going back now for Mrs Gandhi. If I may use a time-worn cliché, she cannot dismount the tiger any more. Therefore the battle lines

LABOUR MOVEMENT DELEGATION HEARS OF

# EIGHT YEARS OF REPRESSION

THIS WEEK sees the eighth anniversary of the beginning of the latest round of the Irish 'troubles'. On 5 October 1968 five hundred civil rights marchers in Derry were batoned to the ground by thugs of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Much has happened and much has changed since then.

The violence of cracked heads of peaceful marchers which shocked the world appears like a pin prick compared to the daily round of death and repression which is commonplace in the six northern counties of Ireland today. The simple demands of the civil rights marchers — one man, one vote; one man, one house — have been replaced by a national liberation struggle, the like of which Western Europe has not seen since the Second World War.

## Hostile

For most of those eight years the British working class have remained indifferent or hostile to that liberation struggle, fed as they have been by a gutter press and a Labour leadership which has brutalised the truth as savagely as the Army has brutalised tens of thousands of working class Irish people. But on the weekend of 17-18 September, fifty trade unionists and Labour Party members went for them-

selves to Ireland in an attempt to gain a first hand impression of what the Irish war is all about.

## Delegation

They went as members of the National Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland, which had been organised by the Troops Out Movement. In visiting Dublin, Crossmaglen and Belfast, they met representatives of a number of Republican and nationalist organisations in an effort to hammer out a policy which the British labour movement could adopt to aid the Irish people in their struggle for self-determination.

While the nature of the agenda did not allow delegates to return with a complete picture of what was happening in Ireland — the delegation was boycotted by supporters of the Communist Party of Ireland and the Official Republican movement, while the delegates themselves boycotted all Loyalist groups — the experience of the venture will at least aid the delegates to counteract much of the propaganda which British imperialism spews out.

THE MYTH of the troops as a peace-keeping force was literally shot to pieces when the members of the delegation visited a social club in Catholic dominated

Ballymurphy, shortly after it had been raised by troops. As the delegates picked up plastic bullets and shells of real bullets to take home as souvenirs, local residents told how the troops had smashed their way into the club and tried to break it up. Fortunately the only casualty was a dog, killed by a plastic bullet — a 'terrorist' dog no doubt.

THE MYTH of the Provisional Republican movement as universally hated gangsters was demolished by the evident popular support the Provos still enjoy, as illustrated by the large number of their supporters who attended the various socials to which the delegates went.

THE MYTH of the women of Andersonstown marching to the last woman behind the 'peace' movement was shown to be an invention of the British media as woman after woman got up to speak at a meeting in Andersonstown. They spoke not only of their contempt for the women who led the peace movement, but of the

active role many women themselves have played in the war against Britain — with over 200 political prisoners being in Armagh women's prison as a result.

THE MYTH of the possibility of a meaningful dialogue with Loyalist groups — a myth out over by both the British press and the Official Republican movement — was denounced even by Seamus Mallon, a member of the collaborationist Social Democratic and Labour Party, who said: 'As far as Loyalism goes, in search for an agreed solution, there is nothing more to be done; we have reached a cul-de-sac.'

THE MYTH of winning 'reforms' in the northern state was demolished by a speaker from the Belfast Socialist Women's group, who explained that even the limited reforms won in Britain on such issues as divorce and abortion did not apply in the Six Counties. Belfast priest Father Wilson also explained how he talked with 'many middle class and professional people who agree there are many innocent people in prison, but they refuse to accept that this is necessary'.

## Accurate

So the delegates returned with, at the very least, a more accurate description of what is taking place in Ireland than they had when they went. Unfortunately some of the many problems of the Irish liberation struggle were barely mentioned — the lack of a strategy of mass orientation by the Provisionals, and the ambiguity of the Provos themselves on the issue of the immediate withdrawal of troops, the real problems the 'peace' movement does pose. Similarly, in relating the experiences of the delegation to workers in this country, the delegates

were given no firm lead.

It remains to be seen whether the delegation can have a significant impact in Britain. But if nothing else is achieved, fifty odd members of the British labour movement have seen something of the reality of British occupation of Ireland — a reality which suggests that in the eight years since 5 October 1968, the only way in which the attitudes of the guardians of 'law and order' have changed is that the troops have replaced the RUC as the main oppressors, and that live and plastic bullets have replaced the police batons. But Ireland remains unfree, and accordingly not at peace. GEOFF BELL

Available from: Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London. N1.

### IMPORTANT EPISODES FROM IRISH HISTORY

Cork Workers' Club have kept up their service to the movement by producing two more excellent 'Historical Reprints':

**The Irish Crisis**, by William Paul. This is sub-titled 'The British Communist Stand on Self-Determination', and is a reprint of a CPGB pamphlet of 1921. This was, of course, written at a very crucial stage of the struggle in Ireland. Paul, a prominent leader of the CPGB, and before that the SLP, puts a very principled position, declaring that it is the 'sacred duty' of British Communists to 'help Ireland in her struggle against Britain'. Post facto, his views on the evolution of the Protestant working class have proven to be optimistic, but this remains a fine example of revolutionary literature. Price 15p, post 7p.

**The Struggle of the Unemployed in Belfast, October 1932**, by Tom Bell. This is also by a leading CPGB member, and was written on the morrow of the beginnings of unity between Catholic and Protestant workers in Belfast. It describes the activities of the Revolutionary Workers Group of Belfast (the precursors of the CPI) among unemployed workers, and quotes a RWG manifesto which states that it is struggling for a 'united independent nation' and a 'Workers and Farmers Government'. Price 12p, post 7p. (NB the two would cost 27p, plus 7p post)

*TARIQ ALI recalls a recent meeting with Orlando Letelier, latest victim of the Chilean dictatorship, and his tragic premonition*

# 'They will kill me'

ORLANDO LETELIER, an important leader of the Chilean Socialist Party, and a close friend and colleague of the late Salvador Allende, was murdered by Pinochet's agents in Washington last week. A bomb attached to his car exploded as he was passing the Chilean Embassy, killing him and a colleague.

Only a few weeks ago I had a lengthy discussion with Letelier at the offices of the radical Transnational Institute of Policy Studies in Amsterdam. Our talk covered a wide range of subjects, but from a selection of his remarks, it is possible to give an idea of the kind of man he was, and why he became a target for the junta's murderers.

As a leader of the Socialist Party, he stressed its unique character, denying that it was a social democratic party. 'We never joined the Socialist International, and I am proud of it. Politically we were to the left of the Communist Party on all questions, though some — like our comrade Altamirano — were more to the left than others. Of course we made mistakes, crucial mistakes which cost us everything, but what was the character of these mistakes?....

'You know I was in the same cell as Luis Corvalan of CP for a brief period. He is a fantastic man — brave, courageous, unrelenting. But he kept repeating to me: "Orlando, we went too far. We were too impatient." I think he is wrong, but the fact is that the CPs actually believe this. This is what makes it doubly tragic.'

Letelier told me of the shock with which he learned of the Chilean collaboration with the junta. 'I was one of the leaders of the SP considered to be pro-Chinese. Well, when we were on Dawson Island, the regime used to put its filthy propaganda on the wall and we, as prisoners, were marched to this wall and made to read it. One day we saw a Chilean news clipping which showed Pinochet receiving the Chinese Ambassador and the announcement of a Chinese loan for the junta. I could not believe it. Surely it must be a forgery. But no...

'I find the Chinese policy to be outrageous, disgusting, a scandal. When I was at a function in Washington recently, I was seated next to the Chinese chargé d'affaires. He offered me his hand to shake. I didn't want to, but being polite and well-trained I was about to when my wife shouted: "Traitor, have you forgotten." So I didn't. That's what I feel about the Chinese.'

Letelier was very emphatic on the need to maintain solidarity. 'The solidarity movement must go on, even if it appears unrewarding. Every action is a help and an encouragement to the people of Chile. So please tell the comrades throughout Europe that they must never stop till we have toppled the dictatorship. And we must do it on the broadest possible basis. Involve everyone to be more effective.'

Orlando Letelier was becoming effective. He recently succeeded in halting a planned Dutch investment of seven million dollars in Chile. The junta then revoked his citizenship on 10 September. He told some friends: 'When they do that, it means they will kill you.' He was right.

It is ironical that Corvalan in a Chilean concentration camp is today more safe than Orlando Letelier was on the streets of Washington DC. All the facts in this affair have yet to be revealed. Let us end with one question: has the Chilean DINA so much confidence and autonomy that it would murder in the US capital without any discussions with American agents? To ask the

their standing army of 15,000 guns! 'There are those who say that troops out now would pose problems. The only problem is one of mathematics — how to get 15,000 soldiers on one ferry.'



PAT ARROWSMITH, Delegation sponsor who met leaders of the women's peace movement: 'We asked them about the troops, and they said it will take them a year to work out any policies. They seemed sincere, but not very relevant... all in all, it was a bit wishy-washy.'



MIKE KNOWLES, Hackney Trades Council, for the Delegation: 'What the British Labour Movement needs is a dose of truth about itself. What I am doing is making an historic apology to the Irish people for years of criminal neglect by the British labour movement.'

PHIL FLYNN, Deputy General Secretary, Local Government and Public Employees Union: 'We are in a vicious circle. The only way to break it is by united working class action. But that cannot be built while one section of the working class is given

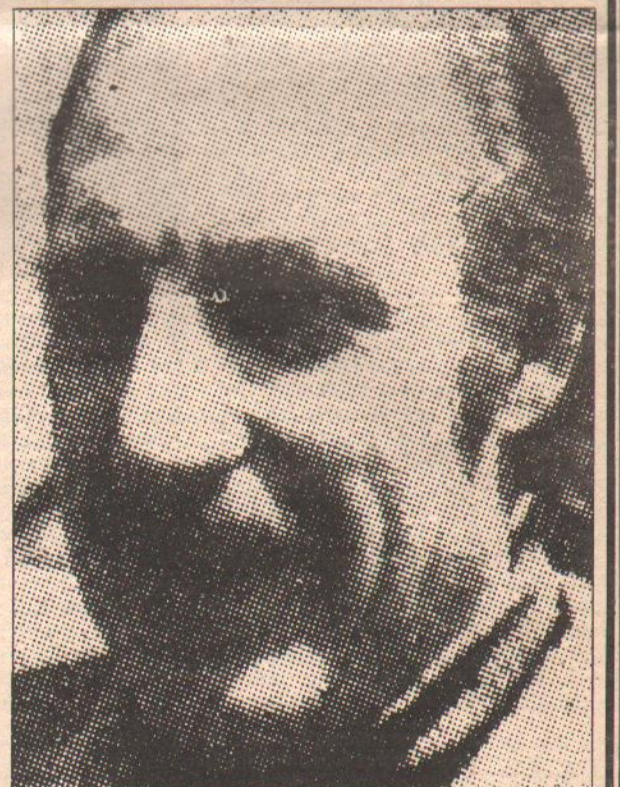
## What they said:

SEAN O'BRADY, Director of Publicity, Sinn Fein: 'The Provisional Republican movement is the only real threat to the status quo today. What we are demanding is a phased and orderly withdrawal. There is only one thing that is not negotiable and that is the sovereignty of the Irish people.'

EDDIE FENNELL, delegate from NUR, North London District Council: 'Until one has been in the ghetto areas of Belfast and seen the violence of the troops — the violent arrest of individuals, the attacks on social clubs, the continual mass arrests — no-one can accept that this goes on in "Britain". If British troops can treat "British" nationals in such a manner, then God help anyone they deem as an enemy. We all hope for a dialogue between all sides, but the possibility of this seems very bleak.'



BERNADETTE McALISKEY: 'If Callaghan says "sort it out for yourselves", fair enough. But we cannot sort it out while there is a British standing army in this country. They



ORLANDO LETELIER — Not safe in the streets of Washington DC.

General PRATS - similarly assassinated by DINA in Buenos Aires.



# RED WEEKLY

## TRICO - HOW TO WIN THE STRIKE

**Eighteen heroic weeks. That's how long the 400 women and 150 male workers from the Trico-Folberth windscreen-wiper factory in Brentford, West London, have held out for equal pay. Their claim is for £6.50 to bring their rate in line with male workers doing the same job.**

The strikers have stayed solid and maintained pickets throughout in the face of vicious management provocations, ranging from picket busting with cowboy trucks and police help to a series of derisive offers. In a further effort to divide the workers, management laid off 250 workers who had black-legged on the strike from the beginning. They also announced lay-offs at the other Trico factory in Northampton.

This strike for equal pay has become a symbol of the struggle for women's rights throughout the labour movement. And indeed, Roger Butler, Southall Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers District Secretary and a leading figure in the Strike Committee, wrote in the September issue of the AUEW Journal: 'The Trico equal pay strike is the most important dispute at present taking place in the country. The outcome of the strike will have major implications for the entire trade union movement and, in particular, for thousands of women still struggling for equal pay.....'

But for all the rhetoric in the AUEW Journal, the Engineering Union officials controlling the conduct of the Strike Committee have all along worked to prevent the determination of the women workers from

spilling over into a direct clash with either the national leadership of the AUEW or the policies of the Labour Government. The strike is after all an embarrassment to both the AUEW leaders and the Government.

The fact that equal pay settlements are formally allowed to exceed both the £6 and the 4½ per cent pay limits carries the danger that male workers will be provoked into challenging the pay limit themselves. Furthermore, since an Industrial Tribunal (boycotted by the strikers) ruled that the Trico claim had nothing to do with equal pay but was a straight money claim, the £6.50 demand of the women becomes a direct challenge to the 4½ per cent limit.

### Blacking

Finally, since Trico have a virtual monopoly on the supply of wipers to the motor industry, the traditional trade union tactic of national-blackening of the product raises the question of lay-offs — perhaps even the shutdown of car plants on a national scale. When the union leaders are up to their necks collaborating with the Government and car bosses to boost profits, such a prospect must make AUEW officials' flesh creep.

This is why the district leadership, in running shy of these issues, has allowed the strike to drag on for so long and demanded such tremendous sacrifice from the workers involved. These officials are not right-wingers. On the contrary, the



The national demonstration in support of Trico organised by the Working Womens Charter Campaign for 2 October has been CALLED OFF. The secretariat of the Campaign took its decision for a number of reasons: the AUEW Southall District Committee are considering organising a demonstration themselves; the Greater London Association of Trades Councils, which has previously discussed such an initiative, will be meeting on 5 October and will be discussing it once more; finally a misunderstanding occurred between the strike committee and the WWCC over its attitude to organising a demo in support of equal pay on a national level. Until all these considerations have been cleared up, the mobilisation has been postponed.

Southall District Committee is strongly influenced by the policies of the Communist Party.

But under pressure from the right in union elections, the CP are determined not to antagonise the leaders of the AUEW, hoping that one day they might regain their cosy relationship with Scanlon. In the meantime the class struggle can wait, and workers such as those at Trico must suffer for eighteen weeks with the possibility of an eventual defeat.

These are harsh words. But they are carefully chosen, even though the District Committee have certainly pursued the strike. They declared it official, maintained pickets, raised a district levy and secured strike pay. They have launched a country-wide appeal for support and resolutions, and appealed in the AUEW Journal for national blacking.

It's what the CP — through the District Committee — haven't done that is the problem. The Strike Committee has never been run completely democratically in a way that could involve the mass of strikers. And the DC have avoided a call for a district strike which could really turn the screw on the Employers' Federation and bring the Trico management to heel.

### Open call

The record of the District Committee on national blacking is not much better. Certainly the calls have gone out, but nowhere has there been an open call on the AUEW Executive to issue a national instruction to its members in the motor industry to black. In these circumstances, the plant leaderships have shifted the decision to area officials.

In the Leyland Rover Solihull factory, a decision taken by the stewards to black Trico was reversed by the local Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. The Works Committee of British Leyland, Longbridge, in Birmingham delayed a decision until the result of the Industrial Tribunal was known. Since that body ruled against the strikers, they have decided that any decision must be taken by the Transport and General Workers Union Regional Committee. It would be no surprise if that body, led by a well-known supporter of Jack Jones, decided against any action.

As the Trico strike enters its final critical stages, militants in all unions, but particularly the T&GWU and AUEW, should step up support. Resolutions calling for the National Executive of the AUEW to mount a campaign for a district strike in West London and for the leaders of both unions to instruct their members to impose a complete black should bombard union headquarters. Such a campaign can make a return to work without victimisation in return



LOOKING FOR LEADERSHIP: Trico women at last week's mass meeting heard some fine rhetoric from AUEW District Secretary Roger Butler. But their still looking for effective action on blacking.

Photos: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

## VOLUNTEERS NEEDED!

There is nothing unusual in two city company bosses getting increases of £118 and £120 a week. So says the Department of Employment, and Red Weekly agrees with them. But wait a minute, what about the incomes policy? Purely voluntary, they declare. So that was the reason the seamen had such an easy time when they crossed swords with this 'voluntary' agreement.

Now it just so happens that the £120 a week extra given to the big-wig in the city is just the extra amount we want to help Red Weekly expand its coverage and improve its presentation. Very few groups of our supporters are making a regular monthly contribution to the Fighting Fund. There are honourable exceptions. Every week we get a cheque from our Southampton friends. Follow their example. If no fund-raising is being done in your area, ask why. Better still, get a cheque in the post today. Send it to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.



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## Stechford: Bar-room politics or class struggle

EVERY THURSDAY, Clive Wilkinson sits drinking in Stechford Labour Club. He has been there every week since Roy Jenkins was appointed President-elect of the EEC. Jenkins is the MP for Birmingham, Stechford. Wilkinson is determined to be elected his successor.

Despite the Tribunate tag which he has recently proudly acquired, Wilkinson was well on the right when leader of Birmingham Council, backing the cuts up to the hilt. He is a member of the building workers' union UCATT, but he didn't let that stand in his way when he presided over the introduction of the lump into council building jobs. For some reason the local UCATT is totally opposed to his selection as Labour candidate for Stechford. But he is still, despite scattered opposition, the firm favourite.

Mr Wilkinson is evidently not going to be at the forefront of the fight against this Government's policies. The IMG in Birmingham has fought consistently for united action in all sections of the labour movement. The most successful example of this has been the Birmingham Committee Against the Cuts, in which the IMG has played a leading role. For the IMG the Stechford by-election offers the opportunity to extend the fight for united action in the electoral arena.

In the selection procedure for the Labour Party candidate, Birmingham IMG is calling on its members and supporters in affiliated trade unions to fight for a candidate committed to mass action against the Labour Government's anti-working class policies. If the local Labour Party put forward such a candidate, the IMG would not be proposing an alternative candidate.

But time is short. Wilkinson seems to have got things sewn up. The IMG has proposed to all groupings and political organisations fighting the Callaghan-Healey offensive that a meeting be held to discuss putting forward a class struggle candidate in the Stechford constituency.

They propose the meeting:  
\* Discuss the platform of the candidate, centring on the campaign against incomes policy, unemployment and the cuts, as well as the struggle against racism, the demands of the Working Women's Charter and the withdrawal of troops from Ireland.

\* Puts forward militants for nomination as candidate. The IMG is proposing Tariq Ali, but is prepared to withdraw him in favour of a better candidate.

\* Starts to organise a campaign committee on a democratic basis consisting of representatives from each organisation supporting the campaign.

\* The IMG is making it clear that all these proposals in no way cut across the right of all tendencies and organisations supporting such a campaign to put forward their own positions as well as the material produced by the campaign committee. The letter they have sent out concludes: 'The Stechford by-election offers an important opportunity for carrying forward the fight against Labour's attacks. If the efforts of militants and organisations are not to be weakened by abstention or fragmentation with several far left candidates, then a united response is vital.'

Meanwhile the Labour candidate is carrying out his own campaign. Every Thursday. In the bar.

RAY CANNON