

RED WEEKLY

NOEL JENKINSON MURDERED

See page 11

14 OCTOBER 1976

No 170

Price 10p

THE COST OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

YOUR MONEY AND YOUR LIFE

When he stood up in the House of Commons on Monday, Denis Healey said two notable things. The first was that 'the social contract remains central to our policy'. The second, that 'living standards will continue to fall'.

It seems a long time since the Labour leadership promised the trade unions bountiful rewards in return for their compliance in the wage cut policies of the social contract. Increases in public spending,

investment in industry, a coming boom — these were the carrots dangled. That fraud has had a very limited life span. Healey now admits that the trade union leaders bargained for nothing but a fall in the living standards of their members.

With one hand he cuts wages. Now he has introduced yet another 'squeeze' which threatens to push unemployment to the two million mark.

With the other hand Healey presides over massive cuts in public expenditure, hitting at the gains the working class has fought for and won over thirty years — improved education, social benefits, the National Health Service. Healey is both taking money from the working class and, through their cuts, their lives as well.

Already 52 hospitals in London are threatened with partial or total closure. Already, according to the National and Local Government Officers Association, there are 10,000 vacancies in the NHS. The cuts mean these vacancies will stay unfilled, and the hospitals will remain closed.

And there is yet more to come. Even the ruling class press admitted last week that even more severe cuts are on the way, and that the squeeze is only the start of Healey's latest version of the 'social contract'.

But as the cliché goes, you cannot fool all of the people all of the time. Resistance is growing. Union leaders in the public services — feeling the pressure of their membership — are being forced to give at least token support for the Day of Action against the cuts planned for 17 November.

That Day of Action is a start, but only a start. Healey is now fighting for capitalism with the gloves off. Working class militants must do the same: build for 17 November and after; support any resistance against the social contract; take the class war into the Labour Party itself, directing it against Healey and all his cohorts up and down the country.

The over-riding need is for a fighting alliance of all those prepared to resist. The time is now.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

TRICO DEMO: IT'S 6 NOV

EQUAL PAY - NO DELAY!

THE TRICO STRIKE came of age this week. But after 21 weeks on the picket line, the 500 women and men strikers have still not achieved their aim of equal pay — a goal denied them by a so-called equal pay tribunal and ruled out of court by the Labour Government's pay code. However, the bosses and the Government aren't the strikers' only problem, as a Trico striker writes:

'Only this week has the Southall District Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers finally given the go-ahead to the strike committee to call a solidarity demonstration on 6 November. This delay was despite the success of a demonstration organised by ourselves as far back as the fifth week of the strike, which attracted delegations from local factories like Magnatex, BEA [Heathrow], AEC [Southall] and London Transport Acton Works.

'The District Committee has also been dragging its feet on blacking. Although it is calling for a black on all Trico products and substitutes, both District Secretary Roger Butler and the District Committee are refusing to take the issue through the

— the only way to make the black effective.

'They are arguing that it is a right-wing EC and you won't have a hope in hell of getting it through, so the only effect of trying would be to demoralise the strikers! They also use the argument that legal reasons are involved, but what they are we don't quite know.

'The Transport & General Workers Union has not been approached officially by Butler or the Divisional Organiser, Bill McLoughlin. When the strike committee agreed to lobby the TGWU National Committee the week before the Labour Party Conference, Butler stepped in and said he didn't want Jones or the T&G involved in the strike because they were also right-wing and would take the dispute out of his hands. But as far as we know, the DC itself has not written to any of the TGWU regions asking for blacking.

'Hardship is becoming an increasingly bigger problem. We have just under 500 people, both women and men, on strike [522 are laid off by the company]. They get a basic £9 a week strike pay plus £1.50 from the Dis-

source of income is the strike fund.

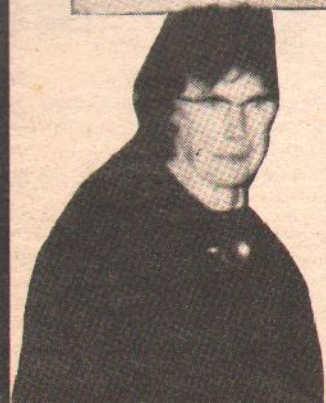
'Realistically, we need to give every striker at least another £5-£10 on top of their strike pay, but the amount of money coming into the strike fund averages £2,000 a week when we need at least £4,000.

'Non-involvement is another major problem. Due to the trade union inexperience of the workforce and the failure of the District Committee and strike committee to campaign from the outset for mass involvement and explain all the issues involved in the claim, around three quarters of the strikers only turn up to get their strike pay. We need everyone involved in picketing and visiting factories.

'But despite the problems the strike can be won. We've got the demo now which our supporters can help turn into a massive show of strength. Resolutions supporting the demonstration should be rushed to the strike committee — along with donations. Back our demand —

EQUAL PAY NOW!
Resolutions of support, funds etc. to: Trico Support Committee, AEU House, 1, Woodlands Road,

SOLIDARITY WITH WOMEN WORKERS OF TRICO



CPSA leaders plan sellout

'This meeting notes reports on progress of the campaign against the cuts in public expenditure. We resolve that the campaign should go forward and that the following NEC decision should be presented at the forthcoming series of members' meetings.

(a) In order to preserve job opportunities a ban on overtime should be made general in November. The implementation of the ban and its application to be the responsibility of the General Purposes Committee.

(b) That Section Executive Committees and corresponding bodies in all areas should encourage and guide an attitude amongst the members of one person/one job.

(c) That an all members one day strike should be considered in conjunction with other public sector unions in order to focus attention upon cuts in public expenditure to coincide with the November 17 lobby of Parliament and to initiate a more general campaign.'

The above resolution, passed on 3 September by the National Executive Committee of the Civil and Public Services Association, Britain's largest civil service union, forms the mandate on which a series of joint membership rallies of the CPSA and the Society of Civil and Public Servants have been held in the past few weeks.

However, the fact that these meetings were called to discuss the call for a total overtime ban and a one-day strike on 17 November will come as a surprise to the hundreds of civil service workers who have attended them. It will be even more of a surprise for the thousands of union members who were never informed that the meetings were taking place!

Because the CPSA national officials set about the series of meetings not with the purpose of explaining the NEC's call, but of wrecking it. Not only elected officials such as General Secretary Ken Thomas and his deputy, Alistair Graham, but elected NEC members such as Roger Castle have been fully involved in the attempt to break the strike and stifle the NEC's call to the membership.

In most areas, the 'joint membership rallies' have been organised on the basis of cliques and grapevines only. The Oxford meeting, one of Alistair Graham's favourite examples of 'membership apathy' had not been notified to most branch and office officials, far less members, by the afternoon of the meeting.

In Newcastle, the NEC member who moved the strike call, secretary of the largest CPSA branch in the country, had not been informed of the venue of the meeting by the previous evening. And when the Manchester Area Committee sought to campaign for a mass meeting in the 2,500-capacity Free Trade Hall, they were bluntly refused financial aid and instructed to stop by CPSA Head Office.

Regaled

At all the meetings, CPSA and SCPS members have been regaled with prolonged discourses on the cuts by their 'leaders', but nowhere has the policy outlined in the NEC resolution been explained except when the bureaucrats have been forced into discussion from the floor. When Alistair Graham was forced into such a discussion at the Glasgow meeting, he made his real intentions quite plain.

The resolution, he said, had merely recommended local branches to sound out the possibility of strike action on 17 November with other unions. As it was now obvious that there was no support for the proposals, the resolution was clearly a dead letter and would be 're-considered' at the October NEC. 'If we took this action, and were seen to fail', he announced, 'we would not be in a position to fight in two years time!'

Fortunately, some members of the CPSA and SCPS believe that the fight against the threat of 60,000 jobs lost

cannot be postponed for two years. The Manchester and Glasgow meetings, each attended by over 600 union members, made this abundantly clear.

Manchester voted, with only six against, to call for local and national liaison committees to build for the day of action and the strike throughout the labour movement. Less than fifty opposed the Glasgow call for support for NEC policy, a national overtime ban and strike action on 17 November.

Hacks

This clear opposition to the manoeuvres and lies of the bureaucracy has rattled the hacks as they tour the remaining meetings. Members at meetings in North-East England have been informed that the Manchester decision was 'unusual' and the Glasgow vote 'dubious'. The officials responsible for these slanders, Roger Castle of the CPSA and Alan Shute of the SCPS, did not explain why Ken Thomas assured the Manchester rally that its procedure was correct, and did not explain why none of the presiding bureaucrats at Glasgow challenged the vote.

Now Graham's argument that there is no support for strike action has been torpedoed by the decision of NALGO, the largest white-collar union, to make official any strike action by its members on 17 November. Not surprisingly, having been defeated at the two largest meetings of the campaign, the CPSA leaders now appear to be determined to delay or cancel the final meeting in Central London.

All members of the CPSA who wish to uphold the NEC policy against the impending betrayal of the union's record should demand the upholding of the strike decision by sending telegrams from offices, branches and areas to the CPSA head office, 215 Balham High Road, London. Other union branches, especially those in NALGO, should contribute to the deluge of protests.



Ken Thomas



FOR A PUBLIC

With 170,000 jobs in the public services threatened by cuts, the leaders of the public service unions are falling over each other to declare their support for the 17 November day of action. Even the most right-wing 'professional' unions, like the Royal College of Nurses and the Association of University Teachers, have been forced to mouth some form of opposition to the cuts.

But the union leaders cannot be relied upon to lead an ongoing fight after 17 November. This has already been shown by their refusal to call for national strike action on the day itself — even NALGO, the local government officers' union, has not called for a national strike but merely allowed its branches to 'strike if they want to'.

The reason is very simple. Having accepted the social contract, the official leadership wish to avoid any real action against the cuts lest it bring them into a direct confrontation with the guardians of the social

contract — the Government and the TUC.

Instead of strike action which could start a determined resistance to cuts, the leaders of the public service unions want to limit the action on 17 November to protests, in the vain hope that the Government can be persuaded to lessen the cuts. With the Government now going cap in hand to the IMF for a loan, that is a vain hope indeed.

Despite the faint-hearted attitude of these union leaders, the workers in the public services are beginning to fight back against the social contract in a way which workers in other industries have yet to do. The Dundee general strike against the cuts last March, the strikes by workers in the GLC Direct Works de-

partment, the Oxford teachers' strike, the fight to stop the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in London and the East London health workers' strikes all testify to a growing militancy.

Isolated

This is accompanied by a growing realisation that the campaign to stop the cuts cannot be waged by isolated struggles in each area, fighting to stop redundancies here or the closure of a hospital there. Local action will only finally be successful when it develops into a united national response. It is not just a case of taking on a local council or a health authority — to stop the cuts will require taking on the TUC leaders and the Government. For that, united action — including strike action — by all public service workers will be required.

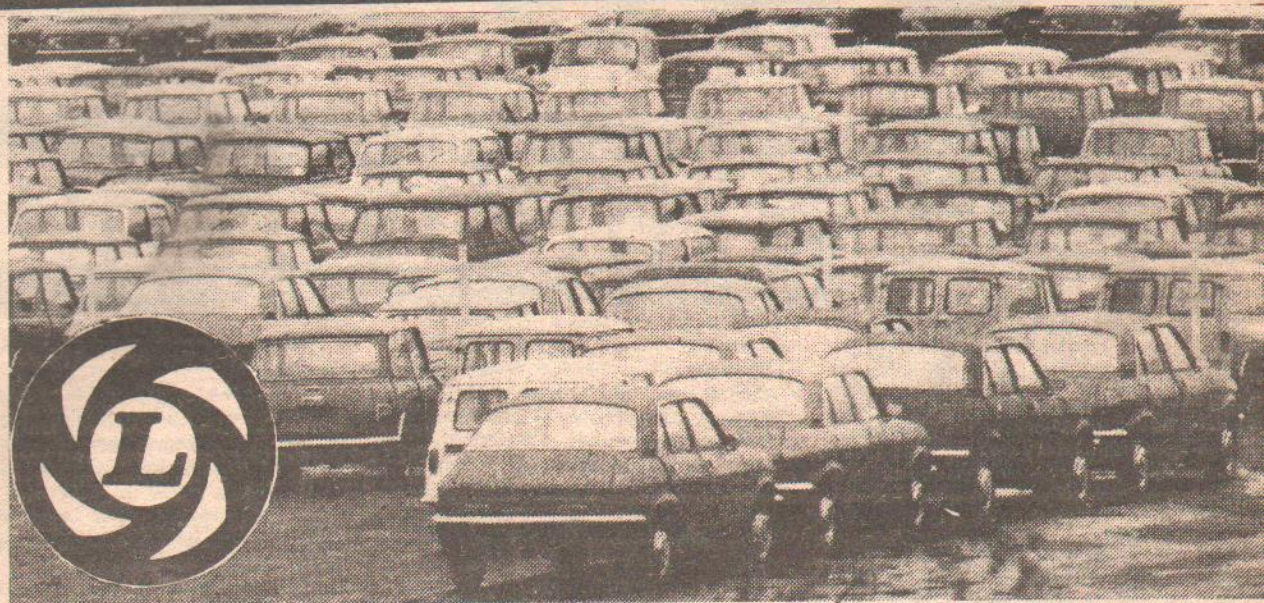
If a serious ongoing fightback is to be mounted, then a public sector alliance must be built now by workers in the public service unions. First and foremost, this means demanding that the leaders of these unions begin to take strike action on 17 November, and attempt to pull in other unions behind that call.

Building

But building a public sector alliance cannot be left to the bureaucrats — it must be built at the base of the unions. Sub-committees of union branches, shop stewards committees and district union bodies should be elected in each union. These could agitate amongst the rest of the membership for action against the cuts, organise strike action on 17 November, and prepare reports on the effects on the cuts, drawn up by involving the union membership in monitoring the effects of the Healey axe in their area.

These committees could then be linked up between the different unions — through elected joint shop stewards committees in the hospitals and elected staff/student committees in the colleges — and could draw in workers in other industries through local action committees against the cuts. Such action would mean that 17 November, rather than becoming just one more protest to pressurise the Government, could be turned into the first step in a public sector alliance — an alliance capable of mounting a campaign of strike action to stop the cuts and demand the full restoration of all those made so far.

SECTOR ALLIANCE



- the resistance grows

BULLY, bluster and bluff. Judging by the antics of Leyland car boss Derek Whittaker, these are the ingredients of successful management. Last week he tried out his formula on 18,000 workers at Leyland's Longbridge plant. He gave them just 24 hours to commit themselves to the new £120 million Mini project — or find themselves on the dole queue with another 100,000 car workers.

But the answer he got fell far short of the 'total commitment' he was seeking. Four thousand workers didn't even bother to vote, and of those who did nearly a quarter rejected Whittaker's call. This included outright rejection in some sections. All Whittaker could lamely comment was that majority decisions were good enough.

contract, a bottle-neck of sectional wage claims is building up as a result of the pay policy which can blow any commitment to the new Mini to the four winds. Indeed, the 'winds of change' at Longbridge are already evident.

the new Mini to the four winds. Indeed, the 'winds of change' at Longbridge are already evident.

A few weeks ago, at the time of the toolsetters' strike Communist Party convenor Derek Robinson was able to push a vote through a 600-strong stewards' meeting condemning unofficial action and stating that 'any action by any group that is contrary to the above will not be acceptable to our organisation'. Only three stewards voted against. Last week the stewards' vote was down to five to one in favour of accepting a compromise formula on Whittaker's ultimatum. Amongst the workforce, resistance was even higher despite the absence

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.

BENEFIT DISCO for Working Women's Charter Campaign, Fri 15 Oct, 8pm-1am (licensed bar) at Royal College of Art, Kensington Gore, London SW7 (entrance in Jay Mews). Adm 50p.

'UNEMPLOYMENT & the Cuts in Southampton — The Fight Back: new 'Red Weekly' pamphlet price 10p (plus 8p p&p) from: John Fisher, 26 Cambridge Rd., Portswood, Southampton.

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

BENGALI FRIENDS in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and 'Sranl-Dal-Biplab' (Fourth International paper) contact: Bengali, c/o Inter-

ENGINEERING VOICE: new national edition under reorganised editorial board available shortly. Subscriptions/bulk orders from: Vickers Shop Stewards Combine Committee, c/o Tyneside Socialist Centre, 235 Jesmond Road, Newcastle. Cost 10p per copy plus postage for orders. Advertising leaflets etc also available.

MANCHESTER Health Workers Meeting: for all those who want to fight for the policies of Red Weekly against cuts in the health sector. Sun 24 October. For details contact: Vicky Anderson, c/o 1 Palatine Road, Withington, Manchester 20.

WORLD REVOLUTION public forum: 'The situation in South Africa — black nationalism or class struggle?' Sat 23 Oct, 2.30pm, Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

ANGOLA Discussion Forum: 'Angola and African and Caribbean Struggles'. Thurs 21

Behind the



Big Squeeze

THE REASON for the big squeeze is quite simple. The International Monetary Fund wanted it. At the meeting in Manila of one thousand delegates of the world's top banks and finance ministries, IMF chief Dr Johannes Witteveen commented that the squeeze was 'a step in the right direction'.

The Government admit freely that the IMF has written the first paragraph in the 'Letter of Intent' to which they have to stick to get the \$3.9 billion stand-by loan to protect sterling against the speculators. The first of the IMF articles of faith reads that the money supply must be choked off.

The effect on the working class will be a further boost in mass unemployment up to 2 million as the price of borrowing shoots still higher for small firms still struggling with cash problems. The enormous increase in mortgage repayments, also pushed up by the measures, will further cut down on the living standards of home-owners, particularly white collar workers.

The massive burden of debt to the finance houses and big banks incurred by national and local government will be increased by the higher rate of interest which the Government is prepared to pay to the finance houses and banks in return for the sale of Government issued stocks to 'mop up' surplus money.

port-led boom that will lead Britain out of the slump, hand-in-hand with its West German and American competitors, rings more and more hollow as the 'upturn' in these countries flattens out.

The trade union leaders know that the economic miracle is built on foundations of sand. But their only response is to parrot the joint workers-bosses 'solution' of import controls.



Dr Johannes Witteveen.

The truth is that there are no interests common to both the main classes in society. The only way out of the crisis for the bosses is a massive jacking up of the rate of

exploitation of the working class — that the working class should pay the full cost of the crisis. That is the real meaning of Healey's two-and-a-half year track record.

The adoption of Tory policies by the Labour Government, and the inability of the trade union leaders to put forward policies that reach beyond putting the blame for Britain's crisis abroad, means that it is vital that militants are able to put forward alternative socialist policies. The debate around the nationalisation of the banks offers the possibility for the beginning of such a campaign.

The first aim of such an alternative strategy must be the stimulation of the self-activity of the working class. The utopian solutions spun out by the Labour lefts rely on Parliament to carry them through. Anything that really threatens the entrenched power of finance capital will be met with the strongest resistance.

The City fat-cats laugh behind their hands at the enquiry into their affairs headed by Sir Harold Wilson. They know it will result in the conclusion which Sir Harold has already made public in a statement last week — that the City has done a 'valuable job' for Britain.

Massive

Instead the demand for the opening of the books should be raised to reveal the massive amounts of money which local and national government pay out to the financiers in interest payments on loans, and to explain to the widest possible layers the reasons for the cuts in spending and the increases in taxes and rates.

The opening of the books can lay a real basis for nationalisation under workers control, so that the working class can direct the gargantuan funds of these institutions into a crash programme of useful public works to meet social need and employ the jobless.

Every demand must lead to the same practical conclusion — that the working class must control capital. We know that the working class does not yet have the necessary experience to run a socialist planned economy based on a workers state. The coming struggle against Labour's policies must be a school for the historic role that the working class must play, if the economic anarchy over which the Labour Gov-

Blown

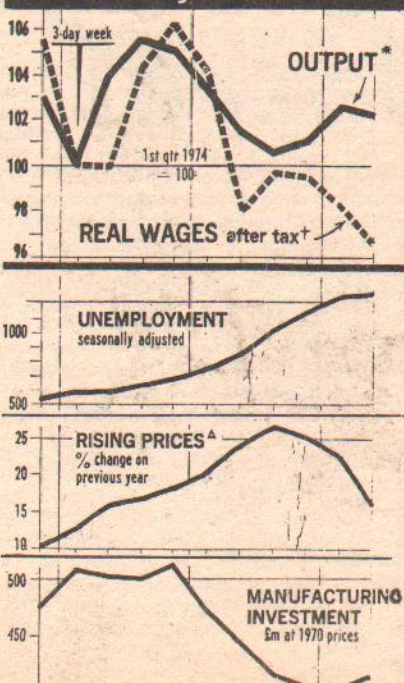
The assurance that Healey gave Parliament that the Government's economic strategy has not been blown off course is nonsense.

IT IS A LIE that the policies of this Labour Government can decrease the level of unemployment to 'only' 700,000 by 1979. The trend is up, not down.

IT IS A LIE that inflation will be down to single figures by February. The rate of inflation in imports of raw materials went up at an annual rate of 40 per cent in September alone. Wholesale prices went up at an annual rate of 15 per cent in September.

IT IS A LIE that no further radical cut-backs will be made by this Labour Government. The IMF sees this as only the first step to a further reduction of the public services: a step which would involve redundancies of up to 10 per cent amongst

The 2½ year record



IN FOCUS

The Tories and a National Government

LADBROKES THE BOOKMAKERS are offering evens on a National Government by the new year. They are on to a safe thing. The last National Government outside war-time was formed in 1931. The economic situation had the same basic characteristic as that today — a massive crisis of overproduction. But the political situation was different. The trade unions had not recovered from the defeat of 1926. Ramsay MacDonald's desertion met with no effective response from the ranks of the labour movement.

A Labour leader for a coalition is essential. But there is no candidate for MacDonald's role. Callaghan, like Wilson before him, bases himself on the apparatus of the Labour Party. He knows that without the active support of the trade union bureaucracy for such a project there would be a massive swing to the left in the ranks of the Labour Party and trade unions.

No Tory politician can command sufficient support from the working class to lead a National Government. Heath's attempts at the Tory Party conference to put himself forward failed miserably. For a bourgeois politician to head a National Government would require a deep split in the working class and someone of the stature of De Gaulle to organise it. No deep split exists and Heath himself stands knee-high to De Gaulle. The fiasco of the three-day week earned him the hatred of the working class and the distrust of some sections of the ruling class.

The Tory conference did see Heath establish a leading role for his ideas on economic strategy in the ranks of the Tory Party leadership. But Thatcher is still not threatened as Tory leader. She has played a limited but valuable role for the Tory Party. After the February election in 1974, the middle classes deserted the Tory Party in droves, voting for the Liberals and the Nationalists in Scotland and Wales. The loss of this support produced the lowest proportion of the vote for the Tory Party this century.

Crushing blows

Thatcher, aided by the crushing blows dealt at this section of the population by the Labour Government, has managed to pull some of that base back through demagoguery on the 'Soviet menace', a reversal of Tory policy on devolution, promises of massive concessions to the home-owners, and a right-wing shift on racism. She has also managed to bring about the semblance of order and unity which characterised the conference, despite the massive divisions earlier manifested within the Tory ranks.

The Tory Party split into two broad camps after the 1974 debacle. On the one hand were the remnants of Heath's supporters: Carrington, Whitelaw and Prior, in favour of the continuation of a strategy based on incomes policy. On the other stood the 'monetarist' policies of Sir Keith Joseph, centred on tight control of the money supply and massive cuts in public spending. The outcome is an uneasy alliance between the two factions (which represents a step forward for Heath), and an amalgam of the policies in the Tory policy document **The Right Approach**: incomes policy plus cuts plus monetary control. In fact, the same policies being pursued by the Labour Government.

This similarity of policies poses a dilemma of the Tories. They know that victory is in their grasp. The fall of the Labour Government will not be accompanied by Healey's 'rioting in the streets'. But they are unable to put forward a line which can win them a massive electoral victory. For that they need not only the support of the 'small men' of the town and country, but a large section of the working class.

It is only by weakening and splitting the working class that they will be able to achieve such a victory and the pre-conditions for a stable, effective ruling class government.

Hotting up

One method is by hotting up the campaign to organise racist sentiments within the working class, rather than confining themselves to vague sentiments addressed to the middle class. John Biffen, Shadow Energy Secretary for the Tories, understands this and continues to pump out the Powellite line inside the Tory Party. But his influence is still marginal. Behind the directives of the Tory Party to its members to involve themselves in the unions, the top Tories think that they can bring off a working relationship with the trade union leaders. Peter Walker has suggested a 'conservative compact'. Thatcher has had talks with Murray on co-operation under a Tory Government. All of them know that chatter of an immediate confrontation between the unions and the Tory Government is far from reality. Denis Healey's talk of 'rioting in the streets' if the Labour Government loses power is blustering, designed to whip the Labour left wing into place.

Jones, Murray and Scanlon are dedicated to holding back mass action against the policies of the Labour Government, and they will play the same role under a Tory Government which takes power as a result of those policies. The failure of the 'lefts' and the Communist Party to organise the simmering discontent in the unions against the dominance of Jones and Co demands the creation of a left wing based firmly on the policies of class struggle rather than class collaboration.

The threat of a National Government has been used as a justification for the support given to the social contract by the trade union leaders. But this is a diversion from the task of building mass action against the policies of the social contract.

Defend Andy Bevan

Whipped on by the right wing paranoia of the Fleet Street press and the rantings of Margaret Thatcher, Labour Party agents have mounted a campaign against the appointment of Andy Bevan as Labour's Youth Officer. Superficially they complain that Bevan lacks 'qualifications' for the post, but the fact that he has been chairperson of the Labour Party Young Socialists shows that this is merely an excuse.

Behind the campaign is Bevan's support for the left-wing Militant — in other words, the Labour Party agents' policy of non-cooperation with



Work-in Threat At EGA

A MASS MEETING of workers at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital for women in Camden, North London, has voted unanimously [except for the hospital secretary, who abstained] to reject the Camden & Islington Area Health Authority's decision to close down the remaining two wards. The workers decided to work-in if necessary to stop the AHA from moving the patients out.

The AHA's intention to dump the EGA patients and some of the staff in the Whittington Hospital [whose theatres are already being used for the EGA's surgical cases because of the AHA's refusal to mend the main lift at the EGA], leaving behind the out-patients, X-Ray departments and the pathology lab. After a 'temporary' stay of a couple of years there, the idea is to relocate the whole of the EGA [considerably reduced in size] in the Royal Northern Hospital's St. David's wing.

Why is the AHA so determined to close down the EGA on its present site? First, the Euston Road site

could be sold for millions of pounds to property developers — although this money would not be put back into the dwindling coffers of the AHA, but would go straight to the DHSS. Secondly, the closure would fit into the AHA's plans for implementing the massive cutbacks demanded, by the Government for the inner London area.

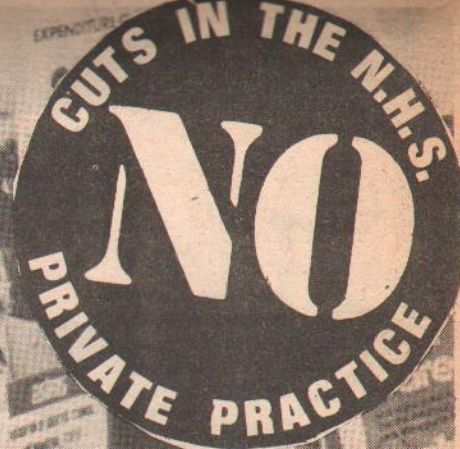
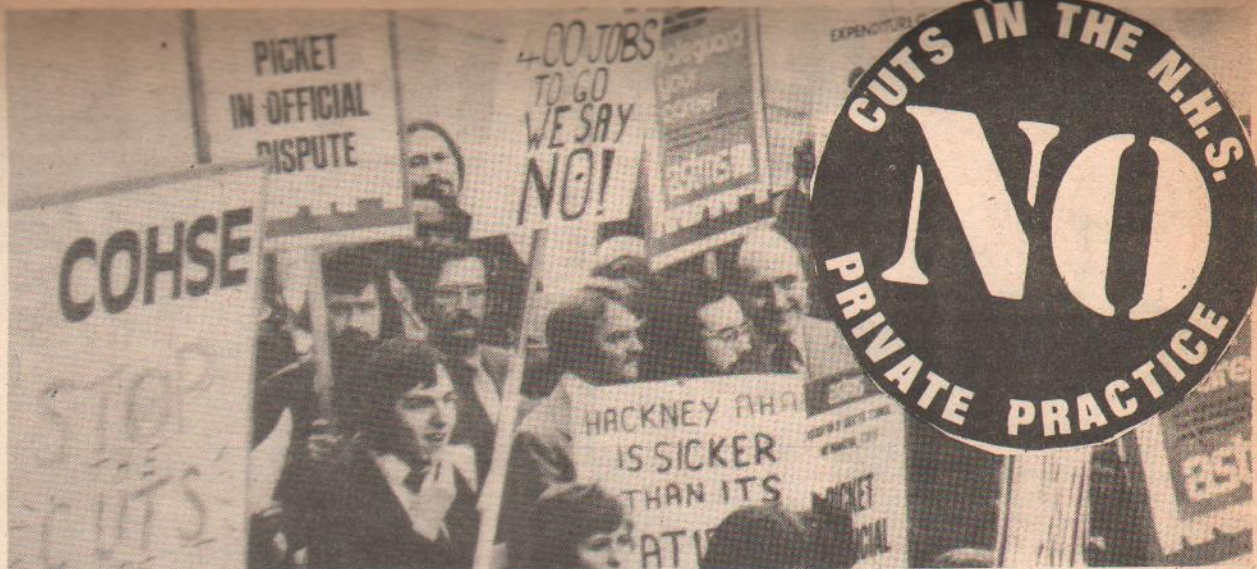
If they could move the rest of the patients and staff into the Whittington, they hope to be able to reduce the combined number of EGA and Whittington staff. And they could avoid having to employ more staff, which they would have to do if they used the empty wards at the Whittington for the patients on the waiting list in the Islington district, which the hospital serves.

The Save the EGA Campaign has been leafletting the local hospitals — some of which joined the EGA on a one-day strike in its support on 21 July — and other work-places in the area. And contact is being made with the ambulance drivers and the unions at Whittington in the hope that they will refuse to co-operate if the AHA does try to move the patients.

But this struggle, especially if it does reach the point of the first hospital occupation in this country, cannot afford to be contained within the locality.

Red Weekly supporters will be pushing for the joint shop stewards committees in both Camden & Islington and East London to support and raise the defence of the EGA at the London-wide meeting of NHS stewards and branch officials called by Hammersmith Hospital stewards. We shall also be pushing for the local trades councils in Camden and Islington to start acting upon the resolutions they have both recently passed calling for workers inquiries into the needs of the working class in the area and the effect of the cuts on them.

Mike FitzGerald (North London Hospitals G&MWU).



ON STRIKE AGAIN IN EAST LONDON

EAST LONDON hospital workers will be striking again in a 'Day of Action' this week. The recently formed City & East London Area Health Joint Shop Stewards Committee has called the area-wide strike on 14 October following the successful walk-out three weeks ago — when 4,000 hospital workers in the City & Hackney District left their jobs in a half-day demonstration.

The immediate reason for the strikes is the AHA's decision to close four hospitals in the next five months — one of which, the Metropolitan, is to be closed immediately. In addition, they want 400 jobs to go in Hackney alone and 1,000 in the area as a whole by 31 March.

In order to achieve this target, the AHA has asked the Regional Health Authority for permission to make explicit redundancies (as opposed to 'natural wastage', which has been used in the health service up till now to cut jobs). These panic measures are an example of what health workers across the country can expect as the cuts go even deeper.

However, strike action by hospital workers alone will not be enough to stop the cuts. It is vital that the Area Stewards Committee goes out to the organised working class in East London. In particular, the dockers should be drawn into the struggle. Strike action by these workers would decisively change the situation.

Meanwhile, the Joint Shop Stewards Committee at Hammersmith Hospital, which has itself been involved in strike action against the cuts, has called for an all-London meeting of health service shop stewards to discuss the policies and strategy needed for the fight against the cuts. This meeting would enable the isolated struggles — such as in East London, at the EGA, and the Hounslow Hospital in West London — to be brought together. A big item for discussion should be the biggest possible united turn-out of London hospitals on 17 November.

STEVE JOB [Camden and Islington AHA Joint Stewards Committee]

Devolution: nothing 'settled'

The question of devolution was high on the agendas of both the TUC and Labour Party conferences. After debate, both conferences decided by large majorities to support the Government's proposals to set up an elected Assembly in Scotland. However, despite the hopes of Callaghan and Foot, the issue will not be 'settled' so easily. In Scotland the disastrous record of the Government has so far lost the Labour Party ten local government seats to the Scottish National Party in the last two years. The latest austerity measures are almost calculated to drive more workers into the camp of the

SNP.

This makes it even more important to combat the bureaucratic dictates of the anti-devolutionists, who argue that 'internationalism' means imposing any form of government on the Scottish people that they themselves think suitable. As part of the ongoing debate inside the labour movement, which is obviously going to continue after Blackpool, we reprint part of the leaflet distributed by Red Weekly supporters at the Labour Party Conference.

Devolution — a 'socialist' issue?

The 'Labour Against Assemblies in Scotland and Wales' campaign has raised a lot of dust. The support of Tribune MPs like Eric Heffer and Denis Skinner has made it look as if a stand against devolution is a 'socialist' stand. But it isn't.

Red Weekly says that this is fake socialism. The views of Heffer and Skinner must be flung out and the Assembly should be supported. Scotland's right to an Assembly must be part of any socialist platform.

The Assembly — a question of democracy

The anti-devolutionists claim that devolution gives in to nationalism and is anti-socialist. The opposite is true. Socialists have always stood up for democratic rights and the right of any nation to self-determination is a fundamental democratic right. If Scots workers demand an Assembly or even independence, no matter how mistaken, then this is their right and English workers have to support it.

Has comrade Skinner forgotten Clay Cross? Should the same conference castigate the councillors for backing Clay Cross voters and their democratic right to the housing policy they voted for? Should it cut off the support which came from the twenty Scottish councils who took a similar stance by denying them their democratic rights? Clearly not.

Does devolution divide the labour movement?

The left leaders will argue that the Assembly will split the working class. Again the opposite is true. If the English workers back the Scots over the Assembly they will not lack support for their own struggles — as the Scottish miners' stand for the seamen has shown.

The democratic bodies in Scotland are no barrier to united action. The STUC has shown that the Scottish workers can



Blantyre Rolls Royce workers now in their twelfth week of struggle against redundancies have looked in vain for fighting support from the 'lefts'.

Does devolution play into the hands of the SNP?

Anyone who thinks that the growth of the SNP is a result of devolutionist policies is living in a fantasy world. Labour's atrocious anti-working class policies, the scandal of unemployment, urban deprivation, and corruption in local government on a Mafia-like scale have driven workers into the fold of the SNP. A 'left' fight against devolution is a cover up for the Tribune Group's utter and miserable failure to organise any fight against these policies.

The Scottish Labour Party gives the lie to the left

Transport House and many TUC leaders try to cover up what the SLP is doing

and unemployment. And it has set an example which no-one in Westminster cares to follow by voting against them.

We have many criticisms of the alternatives the SLP leaders have put forward. But their stand on the most important issues facing workers today is a constant reminder to the Labour 'lefts' of their pathetic and cowardly record, inside the voting lobby and out. The growth of the SLP demonstrates that a firm stand against the Government's policies can win back working class support from the SNP.

We say: give the SLP a hearing, unite in action with them in Scotland. And we say in all seriousness to Labour Party members in Scotland whatever your doubts



This East London hospital is facing immediate closure.

Behind the facts and figures - CUTS

LAST WEEK the Camden & Islington Area Health Authority produced its plan for the local health services over the next ten years. The 'Outline Area Strategic Plan' will now be the subject of a highly selective round of 'consultations'. This AHA, being a 'progressive' body, might even let the NHS unions have a copy or two.

There is a reason for the AHA's reluctance to make its plans the subject of real debate, especially among the 400,000 people who will have to live with the effects of their 'expert' schemes. Behind the soporific phrases, facts and figures and the gloss of concern to provide services which can meet people's needs, the AHA plans cuts.

Having recognised that most of the formulas and guidelines laid out by the DHSS for assessing demand for health care are wrong or inadequate or a means to make cuts (e.g. the Bed Norm — the number of beds to be made available per thousand of the population has been halved since 1961 from four to two beds per 1,000), the AHA proceeds to act on them.

Thus the area has twice as many 'acute' hospital beds as the laid-down norm. The AHA has a solution. 'Capital

ing ones, the AHA proposes to close ten local hospitals and homes over the next ten years, removing a total of 559 beds.

Still, there will be more money to run the existing services? No, the AHA will lose at least £650,000 from each of its budgets for the next two years. At the last AHA meeting it was stated that the rate of the rise in health costs (at present over 20 per cent a year) will mean that the authority will be overspent by £1 million by next April. The DHSS is unlikely to provide extra funds, so more cuts will have to be made to balance the books.

So in an area which according to the AHA has higher than average death rates from such diseases as cancer, lung cancer, TB and bronchitis, the hospital service is to be cut.

And what of the consequences of the AHA's plans for 13,000 hospital staff? The AHA uses the cosmetic phrase 'no redundancy except as the very last resort'. Perhaps the £1 million 'overspending' likely by next April will invoke this last resort, as in neighbouring Hackney. Meanwhile the filling of vacancies has to be 'argued for' (in other words not filled if the AHA can possibly help it), and the intake of nurses for training is to be reduced.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Anti-Racist Journalists Score

New Success

LAST WEEKEND Charles Harkness, the deputy general secretary of the National Union of Journalists, suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of anti-racists in the NUJ — anti-racists Harkness had campaigned to silence. The defeat came at a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the NUJ, when Harkness withdrew allegations he had made against the Campaign Against Racism in the Media [CARM]. These allegations had taken the form of a letter and resolution accusing CARM of 'bully-boy tactics' and calling upon the NUJ to dissociate itself from the campaign.

The allegations were largely based on lies provided by the *Tottenham Herald* NUJ chapel, itself under mounting pressure from anti-racist NUJ members and the local labour movement over the refusal of the paper's journalists to deal with its racism. As reported in *Red Weekly* on 2 September, CARM had initiated a local meeting to discuss the Her-

ald's race coverage. At the meeting black members of Haringey Community Relations Council had been to the fore in denouncing the *Herald* staff for their racist reports.

But it wasn't simply that Harkness had blithely accepted a statement from the *Herald* chapel without even bothering to consult the NUJ members in CARM. He was responding to the increasing frenzy of the press proprietors and editors to protect their 'freedom of the press'.

Withdraw

In the event, Harkness was obliged to withdraw his resolution and accompanying letter after CARM had submitted a six-page statement to the NEC. This argued:

'We do not ask the NEC to register its support for CARM (although we would obviously welcome such support). What we do ask, however, is that all members of the NUJ should be free to combat racism and fascism in whatever way they consider appropriate, providing that this does not conflict with the rules of the union. We take this to be a cardinal principle of trade union democracy.'

While CARM made it clear to the NEC that it considers links with the labour movement and with black organisations to be vital to any real fight against the mass media's racism, it wasn't only CARM that came under attack. A memorandum from a leading right-winger on the NEC also sought to undermine and isolate the union's official race relations sub-committee, which has largely been involved in internal discussions with journalists.

This, too, was rebutted, and the NEC resolved to endorse the anti-racist policy of the TUC, together with the establishment of conciliation bodies as the first step in dealing with the half dozen complaints against individual journalists made under the NUJ's code of conduct and race guidelines. The latest of these, supported last week by the union's Book branch, is against the *Daily Express*



Cartoonist Cummings claimed that this cartoon was about devolution! More seriously the placards held by the three figures on the left exactly echo the racist stickers of the National Party.

cartoonist Michael Cummings for the amusing little number illustrated here.

The *Express* chapel has already unanimously resolved to defend Cummings, for what he claims is a cartoon about devolution! And former father of the chapel (shop steward) David Ross attend-

ed the Book meeting to say that either the code of conduct would be smashed or the union would split, with Fleet Street walking out.

Needless to say, Fleet Street's highly-paid scribes have so far shown no enthusiasm for even discussing the race

guidelines, let alone implementing them. It would certainly be an important step forward if the pressure of the complaints forced them to consider the role of their newspapers in the racist upsurge.

CARM is now preparing for a public meeting next month to build a campaign contingent to join the TUC-Labour Party demonstration against racism on 21 November, and to begin organising for a national conference to be held early next year. This should aim to spread CARM's policy throughout the labour movement, calling on trades councils to invite local journalists to discussions on racism and suggesting that they consider direct action where newspapers are racist and the journalists unresponsive.

At the same time CARM must initiate a campaign against TV time being allocated to the National Front in the next General Election, irrespective of the number of candidates the fascists put up. This has already been called for by Labour MP Frank Allaun, a member of the NUJ, in a letter to the union's paper, *The Journalist*.

Details of CARM, which holds open committee meetings, from: 13 Cleve Road, London NW6.

NO PLATFORM!

LEADING National Front member and well-known Bradford racist Jim Merrick was prevented from taking part in a phone-in programme on Pennine Radio last Friday by the Bradford ad hoc committee against fascism. This was achieved through a successful occupation of the studio by 25 members of the committee ten minutes before he was due to speak.

Merrick was due to take part in a programme to discuss Powell's recent speech on repatriation with two moderate members of the West Indian and Asian co-

munities. The ad hoc committee offered their own speaker instead, which was accepted by the programme organiser.

This speaker took part in the hour-long programme, where he explained the anti-fascist committee's position regarding 'no platform for fascists'. The spokesperson also appealed to the Leeds and Bradford branches of the National Union of Journalists to implement their decision to prevent the National Front from expressing its views through the media.

Bradford IMG.

BLACK STRUGGLE

a journal against racism and capitalism 20p



BLACK STRUGGLE is a new journal written by active militants taking up the major questions which confront blacks in a capitalist society infested with racism.

Copies and enquiries about the editorial collective to: C/O 15 Portland Road, London N15. The journal costs 20p. — annual subscriptions [including p&p] £1.50.

That's Capitalism

ESTHER RANCID

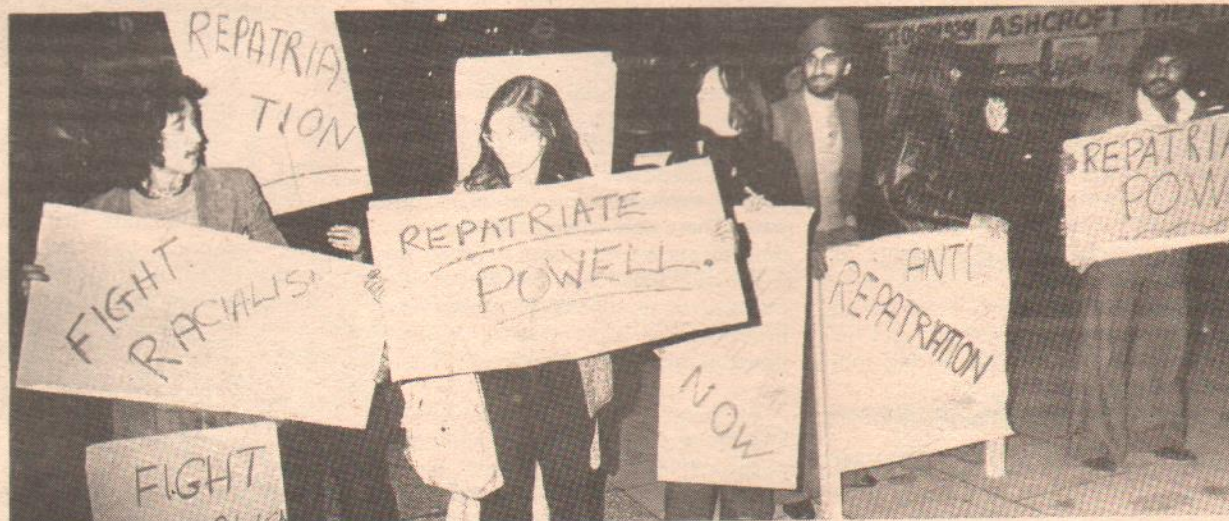
Whatever the outcome of that battle of the noble titans Carter and Ford, some at least can read the signs. In California, Governor Edmund Brown Jr has removed the carpet from the lobby of his Sacramento office and replaced it with a hard-finish acrylic wood floor — costing the taxpayer \$3,100. Brown has also banned sleeping bags, food and drink from the office. The reason for all this puritanism: an attempt to reduce the number and length of sit-ins protesting cutbacks in social services!

Cutbacks are of little concern to Lady Beaverbrook, who last week handed over £10,000 to hire a 227-seat jet to take her to Canada. Apparently this was the only way she could travel in the company of her two dogs. Had she taken a scheduled flight the dogs would have had to suffer the indignity of travelling in the cargo hold. Lady Beaverbrook was having none of that.

Amazing as this tale is, it is equally amazing that John Junor of the *Sunday Express* should seek to defend my Lady's action in his weekly column, saying: 'I do not understand the implied righteous indignation'. Of course, there is absolutely no connection between the *Sunday Express's* defence of Lady Beaverbrook and the fact that the Beaverbrook family owns the *Express* newspapers.

And while we are on the virtues of our free press, I note the reaction of *The Times* to the events in Thailand. A five paragraph article reported how the right-wing coup had upset arrangements for a public school reunion. The school in question — Trent College in Derbyshire — apparently has a tradition of educating Thailand's ruling class and the reunion was due to take place on the day of the coup.

I also see that the latest statistics from America show that twice as many psychiatrists commit suicide each year as do mental hospital patients. They must do been noting the priorities of *The Times*,



Demonstrators met Powell as he arrived in Croydon to deliver his 'repatriate them' speech.

THOSE WHO ECHO POWELL

ENOCH POWELL was condemned from all sides last week for his advocacy of a forceful repatriation policy. With Margaret Thatcher, James Callaghan, and Fleet Street writers all dissociating themselves from the Unionist MP, black people in this country are supposedly meant to sleep sounder in their beds.

But Enoch Powell has been condemned before by such worthies. In 1968 he was condemned when he said: 'We must be mad, literally mad to be permitting the annual inflow of 50,000 dependents... it is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre.'

In 1968 it was not considered proper to make public such sentiments. Even Tory politicians, not to say Labour MPs, considered these words outlandish. That was 1968. In 1976 things have changed. At last week's Tory conference, Margaret Thatcher combined her opposition to 1976 Powellism with an echo of 1968 Powellism:

'There could be as many as half a million immigrants entitled to come into this country, because they have relatives here. We just couldn't take them. We should have to change the law or have them in in a very small

James Callaghan had declared: 'In our small and highly populated island there is a limit to the number of immigrants we can absorb.'

At the Labour Party conference, Merlyn Rees spoke of limiting immigrants to 'certain defined categories'. Just what those categories involved was illustrated last month when 13-year-old Shamim Akhtar Khan was refused entry, although his father was already resident in this country.

The difference between such policies and those put forward by Powell is not all that great. Powell advocated paying immigrants to leave, and refusing payment to those on 'social security as an extra 'persuasion'. The Labour Government is not so blatant, but the denial of entry to the sons of immigrants puts as much pressure on immigrants to quit as do Powell's schemes.

Those schemes may have been rejected, but Powellism is by no means confined to the rantings of one particularly outspoken racist. The Powellism of 1968 lives and breathes in the Labour Government of 1976. The burying of Powellism 1976-style cannot be entrusted to that Government. Rather the resolution passed at the Labour Party conference indicates the way forward — repeal of all immigration laws and 'full support to the

WHO 'DISTURBS THE PEACE'?

THE FASCISTS are back in action in the East End of London. Since the summer there has been a build up of racist wall-daubing, National Front leafletting and, last week, the fire-bombing of the home of an anti-fascist.

Most of this activity is the work of fascists in Hoxton, where since the 1930s Mosleyites and ex-Mosleyites have maintained an active core. Now these scum go under the banner of the National Front, and it is under these auspices that they have recently begun to peddle their racist filth in Brick Lane — the centre of the Bengali community in London.

On 3 October these fascists were chased off the streets by local left wingers, and on 10 October they were again confronted by 150 anti-fascists. This time the National Front brought the police with them, who — being the police — acted in a predictable manner. When one anti-fascist drew attention to the murder of a 76-year-old Asian woman (featured on the front page of last Sunday's *Observer*), and pinned responsibility on the fascists, he was warned that he was 'disturbing the peace'.

The National Front members, on the other hand, waved their knives and razors at anti-fascists with impunity.

This police protection allowed the NF to finish their sales, and it is obvious that they will continue to attempt to maintain a presence in Brick Lane. What is needed now is a fuller mobilisation of anti-fascists in East London — a mobilisation whose first priority is to involve the local Bengali community.

NO NAZIS IN CAMDEN!
NO FREE SPEECH FOR FASCISTS!
Mass picket against National Front AGM at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1 on Saturday 16 October at 9am. Organised by Camden Trades Council.

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

'We want total liberation'



INTERVIEW WITH TSIETSI MASHININI LEADER OF THE SOWETO STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS. NOW IN EXILE IN BRITAIN.

Could you tell us what life is like in Soweto?

I don't know in what way I can portray the picture. But Soweto is the biggest black township in South Africa. It has about 80,000 houses, in which more than a million people have to live.

Very few houses have electricity. Of those with electricity, most of them belong to the 'bourgeoisie' in Soweto. It is ghetto life all the way. Very few gas stoves around. There are lots of basic needs people cannot afford because of very low wages. In fact, when a survey was done in 1974 it was found that for 60 per cent of the people in Soweto their wages are just enough to keep them alive, without satisfying any other needs a human being has.

You don't own any property except your furniture. The house is not yours — it belongs to the Bantu Administration Board. You are in the urban areas for the purpose of either schooling or working. If you are not doing either of the two, you are sent to the homelands.

Soweto has got very few recreation facilities; it has two cinemas, about six municipal halls and a few scattered playgrounds here and there. It has almost 300 schools, but there is no university in Soweto. If you want to go to university, you go to one of the tribal universities.

mentioned bourgeois layers in Soweto. Can you explain that further?

They are a very small percentage. In fact they live in a special township called Dubei. It's a bit like Hampstead here. That is where you find most of the big houses and mansions — most of the people who stay there are doctors, lawyers and people who have got the best jobs in town. The rest of the people are labourers and drivers.

Could you describe the conditions in the schools and the education system for blacks in South Africa?

Besides having to buy everything you need at school, you pay high school fees. Most of the students from rich families are the ones who get scholarships. The classes have almost 80 pupils in them, and there are two or three on a desk even at high school level. At primary school level you sit down on benches in rows with no desks at all.

Our schools don't have heaters. The school simply has a classroom.

Everything else in the classroom is provided by the pupils.

The school I come from, you enter at 7 and school goes out at 5.30 with two breaks in between, one at 10 for 20 minutes and a lunch break between 1 and 2 o'clock. You get punished for not having shoelaces, belts, ties and buttons, and if you are a girl and you are wearing a tunic you get punished if your buttons do not correspond with your tunic.

Can you describe how the recent student protest developed around the Afrikaans language?

A South African high school student — because the eruption started at high school level, around the South African Students Organisation (SASO) — cannot articulate in very good terms what are the elements of the operation. He cannot tell you that Transkei is another aspect of oppression because of this and this and this, but in one way or another the student understands and identifies with all elements of oppression like this Afrikaans thing — that this, our education, is simply to domesticate you to be a better tool for the white man when you go and join the working community.

WHO KILLED THE SOWETO SERVANT

16 June, memorable day.
black youth revolting
down in Soweto, in the ghetto.

White servant, white man working
in the ghetto for whiteness.

'kill everything white'
the black youth shouted

dr melville edleston
or some such name
a Soweto servant died

who killed him?
who struck the blow
that killed him
who must be charged
with murder
who spilled white blood
white valuable blood
white vulnerable blood
white unseen blood
white like black blood
white blood that killed
BLACK BLOOD????
black blood killed
and murdered white blood
that white Soweto servant
blackness killed him

So this Afrikaans issue it only compels you to qualify in South Africa and work for the racist regime, because that is the only way you can communicate with your boss. You are on different levels.

A number of junior secondary schools went on strike and then some went back, but there was one in particular, Phuti, which went on strike for six weeks and they would not go back until Afrikaans was scrapped as a medium of instruction. During that period a number of incidents happened. Any school which was involved in any incident of some sort, the press built that up as another protest against Afrikaans language.

I realised that people were fed up with this sort of thing, but nobody had the guts to start anything. I decided that if we were to demonstrate it would have an effect because there has never been a demonstration before in Soweto. There were demonstrations some time before we were born or when we were little kids, like the Sharpeville demonstration, of which we know very little because any material, written material, about Sharpeville was banned.

We heard that the students of the University of Witwatersrand had demonstrated. So I thought that if we could demonstrate it would be something out of the way. I was the President of the South African Student Movement (SASM) at my school, Morris Isaacson; I called the students together, and on the Wednesday a week before 16 June we talked about this thing. I delivered a speech on the South African situation and got the students in a mood to do anything.

On the Wednesday, Thursday and Friday I gave them the briefing for the demonstration. On Saturday we put a placard at the school gates, saying: 'Notice — no Security Branch allowed. Enter at risk of your skin.' Now the press put that up again as another protest against the Afrikaans issue. On the Sunday there was a SASM meeting of all the students in Soweto. I went to the meeting and got a few chaps from the other schools to help me, and we decided to mobilise all the high schools and junior secondary schools.

We did that on Monday and Tuesday, and then on Wednesday we went on the streets demonstrating. We were very peaceful all the time and there were just placards denouncing Afrik-

The idea was to converge on this junior secondary school and there myself and a number of other students had drawn up a memorandum to the effect that we Soweto students totally rejected Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and we were not going back until this was scrapped. We were converged already and I was still trying to tell the students to settle down so that we could address them properly when the cops started shooting.

How were the workers strikes organised after the student protests?

After 16 June we realised that there were too many killings, so we tried to get a method whereby we could hit the system and reduce the casualties. As we did not have guns, our only weapon was to cripple the economy of the country which lies in black hands. So the idea was to stop workers going to work.

We distributed pamphlets and students were circulating, that is how they were organised. All the time they wanted to be involved in the struggle, but there were no concrete organisations which could announce: don't go to work. It could only be done through the students.

What was the Student Representative Council?

The SRC was formed after 16 June when we were planning the second demonstration for the release of detainees. I requested each school to send two representatives and these representatives formed the SRC. We could not have SASM representatives — we did not want this thing to appear as if it had been organised by SASM otherwise SASM would be declared a restricted organisation. But even so, all the members of SASM were detained and I am the only one left of the national and regional executive councils.

Do you have any connections with the ANC [African National Congress] or PAC [Pan African Congress]?

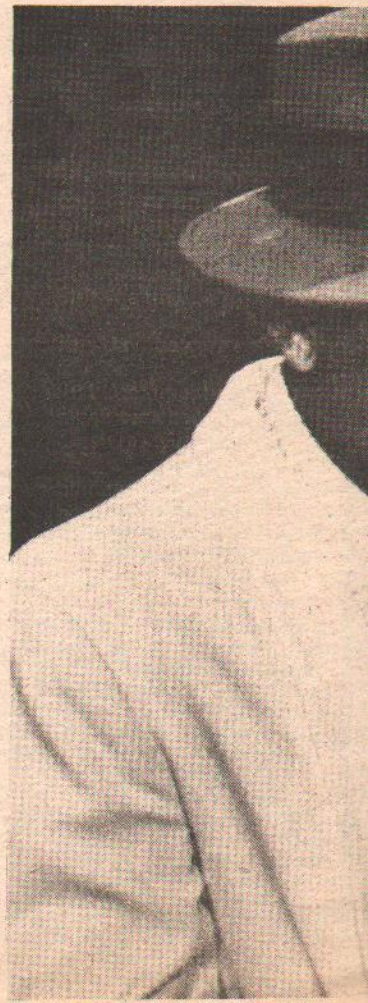
As far as the students in South Africa are concerned, the ANC and PAC are extinct internally. Externally we are aware they exist. Internally they are doing no work, there may be some underground work they are doing

Do you think there is a different political outlook between the movements, the ANC and PAC, the Black Consciousness Movement?
Yes there is. There were a number of clashes between ANC and BCM leaders because the ANC leaders did not want to recognise the BCM as a liberation movement.

Why didn't they want to recognise the BCM?

They do not want to understand BCM was formed when ANC was a liberation movement. But ANC was banned inside the country, so a liberation front had to come.

The BCM was formed in 1974. There were student councils in Natal, Orange Free State, all over South Africa, and they came together and formed SASO — that's the mother body of SASM. SASO and SASM belong to the students — SASO at a university level, and SASM at a school to lower primary level.



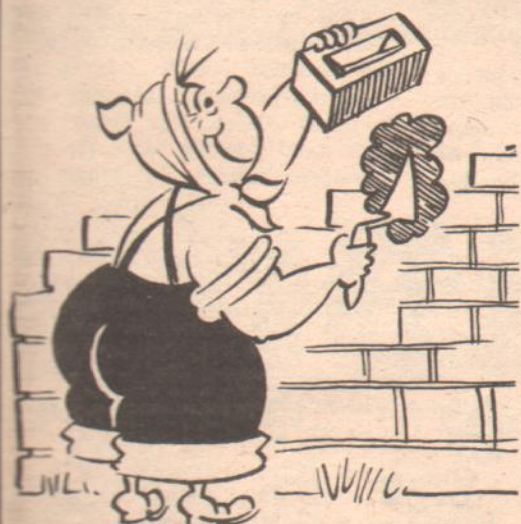
Non-sexist teaching day

Over 100 people attended a Non-Sexist teaching day called by the Women in Education Group in Manchester on 2 October. The event consisted mainly of workshops, with an hour's plenary for report-backs at the end. The topics discussed in the workshops were: Women's Studies (theory), Creative Writing, Sex Education, Women and Art, Women's Studies (practice), Pre-School, Science (domestic), Women and Media, Teacher Training, Children's Literature. There were also extra lunchtime sessions on Gay Studies and Virago Books [feminist publishers].

The participants were assembled from far afield, and from situations ranging from nursery schools through junior and secondary to adult and further education. A wide range of orientations [political and sexual] ran through the workshops.

Discussion centred mainly on practical issues, but there seemed to be a common assumption that the fight against sexism should be approached within a broader political perspective.

Several concrete suggestions arose. Amongst them: a group in Manchester will investigate pre-school facilities and perhaps work towards the opening of a non-sexist playgroup; a full day meeting in Manchester to discuss sex education, with a view to preparing material to be used in schools; publication of workshop report-backs, including details of recommended literature and resources. The Women in Education Group also produce a regular newsletter [subscriptions and written contributions welcome], and can be contacted at 4 Clifffdale Drive, Crumpsall, Manchester 8. — MARY ANDERSON (Nottingham).



GIVE US A FIRM FOUNDATION!

THE BUILDING of our paper has progressed well since the beginning of the year. We have established a stable network of foreign correspondents who give us an on-the-spot analysis of the rise of the working class revolt in Portugal, France, Latin America, southern Africa and Ireland. The Red Weekly is also the only paper which has dealt seriously with the development of the crisis in Scotland and the problems raised by the national question. And the publication of the first issue of our new regular supplement 'The Battle of Ideas' has already met with an enthusiastic response from readers.

Most importantly for us, Red Weekly is now beginning to be seen as a paper which has a genuine debate in its columns, in contrast to the staged correspondence columns of many other far left papers. Our 'Portugal Forum' remains the only serious discussion of the beginning of the European revolution in all the far left papers.

On the technical side, we hope our readers will agree that the professionalism of design achieved through our change to justified typesetting and the enlargement of our design staff has contributed to the political effectiveness of the paper.

But much still remains to be done. We aim to establish a network of worker-correspondents all over Britain. As soon as possible we hope to have regular features on the problems of everyday life, art and culture. To achieve these things, money is necessary. And not just the generous but irregular donations that we receive from our readers, but a regular and dependable flow of finance.

We aim to achieve a target of 500 pledges of a minimum of £1 each through bankers orders to Red Weekly by the new year. Even £1 a month, the equivalent of 10 cigarettes or a pint of beer a week, will be a tremendous boost for us. For those who can afford more, we urge them to do so. The bankers orders should be filled in and returned to: RED WEEKLY, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. Extra copies can be obtained from the same address.

To the majority of readers who do not have bank accounts we say: 'Please send your donations as regularly as possible.' Help us build on firm foundations!

TARGETS

London	150	Yorkshire	42
Home Counties	52	North-West	49
South-West and Wales	37	North-East	20
West Midlands	85	Scotland	40
East Midlands	25	Total	500

Standing Order Authority

TO (name of your bank) (branch) (address)

Dear Sirs, Please make payment to the debit of the account specified as per the details given:

A/C to be debited	Your Name ¹	Your A/C Number
Payee	Name	A/C Number
	RED WEEKLY	71016000

At Williams & Glyn's Bank Limited, 286 Pentonville Rd., London N1.

Sorting Code No. 15 05 70

First Payment Due	Last Payment Due	Amount	Frequency

This order cancels all previous orders to the same payee and will continue until written

LETTERS

BANKRUPTCY OF SOUTH AFRICAN CP

I'd like to make a few comments on Clive Baldwin's review of Southern Africa — The New Politics Of Revolution, in Red Weekly, 30 September. More specifically, I'd like to develop an area comrade Baldwin didn't — the actual practice of the South African Communist Party [SACP]. The SACP dominates the African National Congress [ANC], the movement paraded around as 'the' liberation movement in South Africa [in fact at least two other organisations exist — the Pan African Congress (PAC) and the Unity Movement].

Following the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, and the massive wave of repression which followed it, the SACP and the ANC made a 'turn' to organising guerilla warfare in South Africa, although prior to Sharpeville they had followed a line of 'peaceful resistance'.

The SACP and ANC had actually expected this 'peaceful resistance' campaign to pressurise the white racist regime into granting concessions. They thought that this campaign, linked to an international movement designed to pressurise apartheid's backers (the British, American etc. imperialist powers), would gradually erode apartheid. Sharpeville and the repression which followed brought a swift end to his particular schema. The SACP and ANC could not possibly continue to advance the 'peaceful road' without losing all credibility in the eyes of the masses. So they made a turn.

The call for armed struggle was basically bombast. The ANC and SACP were decimated in South Africa. The mass movement was broken and demoralised. Armed struggle would therefore be exceptionally difficult to organise — especially by two organisations which had lately been Gandhian pacifists. However there was a further drawback — the absurd notions of the ANC and SACP about how to organise an armed struggle.

Firstly they adopted a strategy of rural guerilla warfare. In South Africa, an industrialised country, they thought to organise a successful assault on the might of the South African state from the reserves [bantustans] by handfuls of guerillas. What this notion really reflects, in all its stupidity, is an unserious attitude to revolution.

It should come as no surprise that the ANC has singularly failed to organise any significant actions in South Africa in the 15 years since its turn to armed struggle. The only action it has been involved in was in Zimbabwe in 1966, an action which resulted in the massacre of many heroic but misled and ill-trained fighters at Wankie.

The South African masses themselves

are giving an indication of the genuine revolutionary road for South Africa. It is amongst the urban workers that the motor of revolution is to be found. The sorts of demands around which mass mobilisations will initially occur will be both democratic and economic. Against the Pass Laws, for trade unions. Against migratory labour, against the Land Acts. Release of all political prisoners. Against the racist state, for a Black Republic.

But it should be clear that these demands cannot be satisfied within or by South African capitalism. The socialist

revolution, the dictatorship of the black working class, is the logic and must be the aim of liberation in South Africa.

The programme of the South African Revolution has still to be written. We can be sure of one thing however. That programme will not be worked out by the Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists of the SACP and ANC. They have already demonstrated their bankruptcy. It falls to genuine revolutionary socialists to chart the course of the South African revolution. — COLIN TALBOT (Manchester).



ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE

Two articles in Red Weekly of 30 September referred uncritically to the demand for 'one man, one vote'. Pat Jordan's article, 'Whitewash', criticising the Kissinger proposals, stated: 'There is no reference to the main demand of the African nationalists: "One man, one vote".' If African nationalists do raise a demand for the suffrage, in a manner which implies the exclusion of African women from the vote, Red Weekly should take up the inadequacy of this demand, not report it without comment.

Geoff Bell's article on Ireland refers to the demand of the civil rights movement for 'One man, one vote; one man, one house' without any clear criticism of this demand. The position this demand suggests on the housing question is a

dreadful one; namely that houses should be allocated on a family basis with tenancy rights going to the man as head of the household. So much for the right to decent housing for single people, unsupported mothers, gay people or anyone else who chooses to live outside the nuclear family!

Red Weekly has carried articles on women's involvement in the struggles in Ireland and southern Africa. Why then do these outdated and sexist demands for 'One man, one vote' appear in the paper? It's not just a 'minor question of terminology', it's important to get political slogans right, if they are adequately to reflect and develop the struggles of the masses. — LIZ LAWRENCE (Newcastle).



Photo: ANDREW SPROXTON

NOTHING COMES EASY

LEFT-WING theatre has paid scant attention to the press and its relation to the class struggle. Roadgang Theatre Company have attempted to fill that gap in their current production Fifth Column, now touring the country. As a first attempt to tackle the issue, it is a partial success and certainly worth some atten-

and similarly threatened. The crux of the story concerns a militant woman reporter who, after resisting the temptation of Fleet Street, sides with the workers and gives them information about management's intentions to close the factory.

Many important issues are touched on in passing — the way that stories are

'agit-prop' form — short chronological episodes, broken by songs commenting on the plot — is too naively euphoric in tone to teach us a great deal.

Everything in the play flows smoothly and easily: the reporter's allegiance to the workers, the defeat of management's plans, the ousting of the right-wing convenor in a mass factory meeting ['A disorganised rabble taking over a factory is not the way to socialism... that sort of thing gives socialism a bad name'], the occupation itself and the militant response by the printers on the local paper.

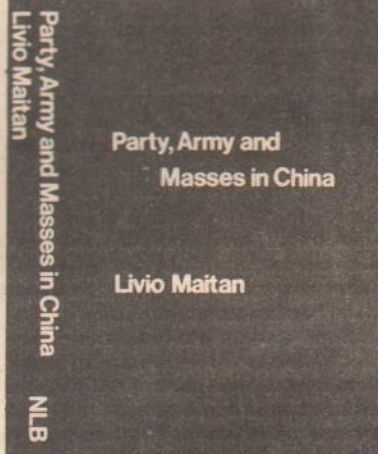
Throughout, the play is almost devoid of contradictory elements in the situations or the characters. It is this simplicity, rather than several inaccuracies concerning the functioning of the press, which limit its scope and effectiveness.

The class struggle is not necessarily helped by a demonstration of the ideal course of events. Much more important at this time would be a study of the problems, set-backs, conflicts, inadequacies and confusions which will inevitably be encountered during the course of any struggle. Without that, left theatre could remain simply a big 'Hoorah' for already committed socialists.

Perhaps it is the very form of these plays, rather than bad writing, that is inadequate to tackle the complex social democratic consciousness of the British labour movement. Certainly few companies, if any, have succeeded to date. Carl Gardner.

'FIFTH COLUMN' is available on tour:

CHINA-Party, Army and Masses



Livio Maitan's *Party, Army and Masses in China** is the first serious Marxist book in English to have appeared on the development of China since the revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party. Most studies either simply accept the myths of the Maoist leadership itself or, in the case of the International Socialists, attempt to maintain the absurd position that the revolution of 1949 merely transferred power from one section of the capitalist class to another. Maitan, however, shows both the tremendous results which have flowed from the establishment in China of a qualitatively superior form of economic organisation to capitalism, and, at the same time, the contradictions which have resulted from the bureaucratic deformations of the Chinese revolution.

The huge gains brought about for the Chinese workers and peasants by the revolution of 1949 are obvious, and are clearly outlined by Maitan.

* On the basis of radical land reform, the scourges of mass famines, epidemics and diseases were wiped out for 90 per cent of the population of China.

* After forty years of frequent disintegration into the fiefdoms of various warlords, and after 100 years of being a plaything of imperialist power, China was unified and the imperialists expelled.

* One eighth of humanity, the women of China, were delivered from a state of medieval oppression and degradation which bordered on near slavery — if the Chinese revolution had achieved nothing more than this it would have been gigantically historically justified.

* Finally, through the breaking of the domination of imperialism and the establishment of a planned economy, the conditions were created for the beginning of the industrialisation of China.

The importance of assessing what sort of social system it is which brought about such huge gains is obvious. If it were really the case that capitalism, whether in an 'ordinary' or a 'state capitalist' form, were capable of bringing about even the first three of these huge gains then, far from considering it a system in decline and decay, Marxists would have no option but to consider capitalism as a system still with gigantic potential and one capable of achieving great steps forward for large sections of humanity. The implications of that for revolutionaries are obvious.

In fact, as Maitan shows, the Chinese revolution brought its gains and had its enormous world impact because capitalism was incapable of meeting even the most immediate needs of China. Even to bring about land reform, unify the country, and bring women from semi-barbarism, the Chinese workers and peasants had to smash the power not merely of the foreign imperialists but also of the capitalist class of China. The China which emerged from the revolution of 1949 was based not on the domination of the capitalist class, production for profit, and the anarchy of the market, but on the suppression of capitalism and the creation of the social relations of planned production — of a workers state.

Destruction

The destruction of the present economic system of China, and the restoration of capitalism, would represent one of the most terrible defeats ever suffered by the working class and would throw the country back into the conditions of India or Pakistan. That is the real issue which is at stake in the discussion of what is sometimes obscurely called 'the class nature of the Chinese state'. All those who assert the capitalist nature of the Chinese economy and state, and therefore conclude that the Chinese workers have no interest in choosing between their present economic and social system and a capitalist one, are completely out of touch with reality.

All the points which Maitan makes in his book about the non-capitalist nature of the Chinese revolution, and the tremendous gains that this made possible for the Chinese workers and peasants, are absolutely crucial for any serious view of the world today. Try being a revolutionary in Asia today and explaining to a worker or peasant there that they have no interest in choosing between the economic system of China and that of India, Pakistan or Bangladesh!

At the same time as it made these tremendous gains, however, the Chinese revolution also suffered great contradictions — contradictions which came to a head in the 'Cultural Revolution' and will do so again following the death of Mao. The belief that the economic development of China to socialism can

country' in Russia. More than any other country, China needs the international extension of the revolution.

It is here that the greatest weaknesses and dangers exist. The Chinese revolution of 1949 achieved the destruction of capitalism but not the creation of workers democracy. The workers state which came into existence in 1949 was bureaucratically deformed from birth. This had two decisive effects.

Deformation

First, it prevented the working out of any rational economic plan which could tap the creative power and enthusiasm of the masses — Maitan correctly points out that all the rhetoric of the 'mass line' and 'from the people to the people' is in fact merely an attempt to find a bureaucratic substitute for those things which in reality only workers democracy can bring.

Secondly, this bureaucratic deformation — expressed at the political level in the acceptance of the theory of socialism in one country — led the Chinese leadership more and more into co-operating with, rather than attempting to overthrow, the neo-colonialist neighbours of China and the imperialists themselves. In Chapter 15 of his book, Maitan gives a blow by blow account of Chinese foreign policy from the original support of guerilla war, through the so-called 'Bandung principles' of co-operation with neo-colonial puppets such as Nehru, right up to the recent agreements with and support for the United States in the struggle against the Soviet Union.

It is an unfortunate and terrible epitaph on this, perhaps the most advanced aspect of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Chinese revolution, that apart from North Korea and Albania, the only regime to order official mourning for Mao's death was that of Pinochet in Chile!

It is within this framework of the bureaucratic deformations of the Chinese revolution that Maitan places the main theme of his book — the explanation, course, and aftermath of the 'Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution'. Maitan demonstrates conclusively the dual aspect of the Cultural Revolution — on the one hand, that it was initiated as a struggle within the bureaucracy, and on the other, that the forces unleashed went far beyond the leadership of the Maoists and began to pose fundamental questions of proletarian democracy in China.

Maitan's book is particularly strong at this point in collecting all the available material on those events which posed clearly the development of real initiatives by the working class during the Cultural Revolution. The events described include the protest march of the 'Revolutionary Rebels' of Shanghai, the most proletarian city in China, to Soochow to extract demands from the bureaucrats; the rail strikes, occupations of buildings, and the 43 day strike of food and commerce workers in Shanghai in December-January 1966/7; the waves of strikes in Peking in the same period; and the formation of workers committees in Kiangsu province. All these went far beyond the demands of the bureaucracy and anything even the most 'radical' Maoists were prepared to accept.

Factions

As soon as the movement went beyond the confines of the Maoist and Liu Shao-chi-factions to threaten the positions of the bureaucracy itself, none of the party leaders had any hesitation in intervening to smash the struggle of the workers. In Wuhan, the army intervened in the armed clashes developing

many as 100,000 people were arrested. By mid-1967 it was the army which intervened in virtually every sphere to take dominance in the organisations emerging from the 'Cultural Revolution'. It wasn't until the downfall of Lin Piao that the role of the army declined once again — and even then it didn't fall back to the previous level.

Maitan shows that it is also this fight to confine the struggle within bureaucratic limits that explains the process of the formation of the 'Revolutionary Committees' which marked the final stage of the Cultural Revolution. At the height of the upsurge of the masses, when the Revolutionary Committees were established in centres such as Shanghai and Peking, the composition of the Committees, while bureaucratically dominated, reflected the real pressure of the masses — 33 per cent represented the mass organisations of the struggle, 35 per cent 'revolutionary cadres', and 32 per cent military forces. By mid-1967, however, the proportions in the Revolutionary Committees established in other areas had shifted to 53 per cent military representatives and only 21 per cent representatives of the mass organisations of struggle.

The chapters in which Maitan describes first the upsurge of the workers and then its repression by the

bureaucracy are the finest in the book, and the most significant for understanding the internal political dynamics of China.

Entrenched

Finally, these developments also explain why there was, and could be, no decisive outcome to the Cultural Revolution; and why, despite the removal of its leaders, the faction of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping remained well and truly entrenched in decisive sections of the bureaucracy despite all the attacks of the Maoists. For either wing of the bureaucracy to have really smashed the other would have necessitated mobilisation of the masses on such a scale that it would have outrun the control of any section of the bureaucracy and, through the establishment of real organs of workers democracy, brought about a political revolution in China against all fractions of the bureaucracy.

However, allowing the workers and peasants to act only so long as they did not strike out on a path of their own meant that the 'Maoist' wing of the bureaucracy could, at best, merely strengthen itself



Red Guards demonstrate in Tien An Men Square during the Cultural Revolution. One of their most prominent leaders, Chiang Ching, has now been arrested in a crackdown against the 'Shanghai faction'.



against its rival without in any way being able to definitively defeat it. The compromise which heralded the end of the Cultural Revolution, and then expressed itself first in the fall of Lin Piao and then the rehabilitation and removal again of Teng Hsiao-ping, flows from the very nature of the intra-bureaucratic struggle. Maitan's book therefore provides the invaluable background both to recent events in China and those that are likely to follow Mao's death.

There are of course weaknesses in the book. The treatment of Lin Piao and some of the Shanghai leaders is too uncritical, seeming even to suggest at times that they should be considered as a confused Trotskyist element instead of something rather like Zinoviev — an undoubted left wing, reflecting the pressures of the workers and capable of a radical and even adventurist foreign policy, but still representing a wing of the bureaucracy rather than the interests of the working class.

The economic elements involved in the clash between China and Russia are also dealt with too sketchily. Finally, the urgent necessity of re-establishing links between China and Russia is not stressed sufficiently except in relation to the policy of the two countries on Vietnam.

However, taken as a whole the book is a mile ahead of anything else available on China and is a notable addition to Trotskyist literature on the most important single revolution of the last half century. It costs £8, which is considerably more than most readers of *Red Weekly* can afford, but force your local library to buy it. It is the best possible guide to the struggles which are to come in China.

ALAN JONES

Coup makes Thailand the next 'domino'



With the liberation of Saigon last year, it was clear that the Thai military hierarchy were merely biding their time. They had reluctantly accepted a period of democracy in 1973 and permitted free elections in the hope that the mass movement which led to the overthrow of the hated Field Marshal Kittikachorn could be contained. But their hopes were not fulfilled.

Far from being contained, the overthrow of the dictatorship was followed by a massive rise in working class strikes, a growing maturation of the student movement, and a development of links between the students and the Thai Communist Party, which has its base in the North-Eastern provinces of the country and fights an intermittent guerilla war against the regime. So the generals sat back and plotted their return. But even their supporters in Washington will be a bit taken aback by the ferocity and savagery with which they carried out their plans.

Return

It is now obvious that the return of Kittikachorn from exile, masquerading as a Buddhist monk, was designed as a provocation. The generals knew that the students would not accept the return of a

hated despot, and they didn't. As students occupied Thammasat University in protest, the plans were put into motion. Groups of right-wing thugs and soldiers attacked the university, lynched a few students, burnt others and danced around the flames laughing and screaming abuse.

Hundreds of students have been arrested and are no doubt being tortured and killed at this very moment. Richard Nations, reporting from Bangkok in the Financial Times, wrote: 'Several students were lynched with wire on trees in the large square in front of the campus and their bodies beaten and spat upon. Others were beaten to a pulp as police stood by. Their bodies were then hit with sticks, their eyes gouged out and their throats were cut.'

Barbarism

In this fashion the traditional defenders of the 'free world' reasserted their position in Thai society. The Western press and media could not ignore the barbarism, but in general they underplayed it because Thailand is regarded as a 'frontier state'.

After the liberation of Indochina, it was only a matter of time before the struggle became centred on Thailand. The generals have now virtually ensured that it will escalate. As a vicious repression reigns in the cities, more and more

sections of the masses will look to the armed bodies of men and women under the discipline of the Thai CP for answers to their predicament. The new coup has made Thailand the next 'domino'.

The attitude of the Indochinese states and the People's Republic of China will be of great importance. The Vietnamese have been extremely close to the Thai CP and their attitude is decisive as far as arms and food supplies are concerned. Radio Hanoi's broadcast on the new developments predicted that the Thai people would strike back.

Chinese

Whether or not the Chinese Government backs the guerillas remains to be seen. It will be an indication of the direction in which the post-Mao leadership intends to take China.

Finally, all socialists will have to watch closely and see how the US administration will react. If US troops are sent back in after the elections, immediate mobilisations will be required.

The murderers and butchers who seized power in Bangkok last week may not realise it yet, but the impact of their actions on world politics could well make this the most counter-productive coup d'etat in the history of imperialist-dominated Thailand.

CHARLES HOWARD

Biggest turnout since May '68

The one-day general strike in France last Thursday represented an important step forward for the French workers movement in the struggle against the policies of President Giscard d'Estaing and his prime minister, Raymond Barre. Called by the three major union federations [CGT, CFDT, FEN] it clearly showed the hostility of the working class to the new economic measures imposed by Barre.

For the first time since 1953 the French bourgeoisie has no option but to mount a real attack against working class living standards — that is, to impose a limit on wage rises without giving any real guarantee of price control. They are up to the same thing as Healey in Britain, except that Barre doesn't have the support of the trade unions — he has not even bothered to contact them.

These measures, which put a limit of 6½ per cent on wage rises, also increased taxes by 4 per cent, the price of petrol by 15 per cent, and road tax by 50 per cent. The idea is to make the workers bear the cost of inflation while the Government creates different measures to help capitalist investment and stimulate the 'French economy' in the name of the 'national interest'.

Faced with a militant reaction from their base, the three main unions issued a common call for a one-day general strike and demonstrations. This common appeal gave a real impetus to the combativity of a workers movement tired of two years of quarrels between the major parties of the Union of the Left [the Communist and Socialist parties]. But it still left many militants asking — why a common appeal and yet no common platform for struggle?

For the CGT, the strike was 'a springboard towards an active resistance which will impose negotiations'. For the CFDT it was a 'test showing the necessity of a democratic alternative to the regime'.

As for the CP and the SP, it was out of the question for them to give too specific a lead to the workers in case it disrupted their electoral perspective. The whole problem centres on this. Will the workers movement wait for two more years until the 1978 elections to overthrow a regime that openly attacks them?

It was on this problem that workers in the revolutionary contingent at the back of the demonstration focussed their demands, calling for a common platform of demands to be discussed in all factories and used as the basis for a struggle to overthrow the Government.



The new dictator, Admiral Sangad Chalawyu.

New from Red Books

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

NEW PLEKHANOV EDITIONS

Lawrence and Wishart have just brought out new editions of two works by Plekhanov which have been unavailable for some years: *The Role of the Individual in History* and *The Materialist Conception of History*. Both are minor classics and their reappearance is very welcome. Both cost 75p each, post 9p each (or 14p together).

1930s FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

The October issue of *Searchlight* has a major feature on the historic battle of Cable Street — the event which shook Mosley's British Union of Fascists to the core. A study of this incident (and its background) is important in view of the official Labour Party argument that the fascists are best dealt with by ignoring their demonstrations. This issue also contains material on Blackburn, the NF and the League of St. George, NF and racists in the Conservative Party, etc. Price 30p, post 7p.

MARXISM AND LITERARY CRITICISM

In this book Terry Eagleton analyses the major issues in Marxist literary criticism. In so doing he discusses the writings of Marx and Engels themselves, and Plekhanov, Trotsky, Lenin, Lukacs, Goldman, Caudwell, Benjamin and Brecht. It is noteworthy that Eagleton rejects the view that Marxist literary criticism can be neutral. Price £1, post 11p.

HUNGARY 1956

Despite the crucial role played by the Hungarian revolution of 1956 in intensifying the crisis of Stalinism, there is remarkably little in the way of literature on this topic. Allison and Busby have helped to fill the gap by publishing a major study of the 1956 Hungarian revolution by Bill Lomax. Price £2.95, post 26p.

BARGAIN BOOK ON FANON

We have stocks of a full-scale and original study of Fanon by Irene Gendzier. Entitled *Frantz Fanon — a critical study*, it surveys all aspects of Fanon's life and thought, including his little-known work on psychiatry. Of especial interest is the material on Algeria. The book originally cost £1.75, and is 300 pages long. Our price 60p, post 47p.

INVERGORDON, 1931

This is an account of the Royal Navy mutiny in 1931. The author, Barry Duncan, describes the struggle of the sailors against the cuts in their pay and the subsequent repression. More

SPANISH TROTSKYISTS 'GO PUBLIC'

THE FIRST CONGRESS of the Spanish Trotskyists of the LCR-ETA VI took place in August, completing the fusion between the two organisations — the Revolutionary Communist League [LCR] and the Basque Nation and Freedom-Sixth Assembly [ETA VI].

The organisation will henceforth be known as the LCR except in Euskadi (the Basque Country), where a separate congress of this nationality will decide on the name. Two other congresses of nationalities will also be held in Galicia and Catalonia, as well as a number of regional conferences to discuss the implementation of the congress decisions.

The results of the congress were

adopted can be summarised as follows:

* Against the 'constitutional reform', we demand the immediate holding of elections for a Constituent Assembly based on universal suffrage and the right to vote at 16.

* Against the attempts to legitimise the monarchy, we demand the proclamation of the Republic.

* Against the oppression of the nationalities within the Spanish state, we demand the immediate election based on universal suffrage of National Assemblies in Euskadi, Galicia and Catalonia which will guarantee full sovereignty and the right to self-determination.

parties and workers organisations and amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles.

* Against the attempt to maintain the Francoist state apparatus, we demand its complete dismantling — the dissolution of all repressive bodies, the punishment of the dictatorship's crimes, the purging of the fascists from the administration, the army, education and justice.

* Together with the struggle for these basic objectives, we shall push forward mobilisations against the attempts by the Government and the capitalists to make the workers pay for the economic crisis: for a labour amnesty, for an across-the-board wage increase, for a sliding scale of wages and hours.



and organisations in the preparation and realisation of a general strike to bring down the dictatorship.

Other decisions taken by the congress were to fight for the strengthening of the workers commissions and the construction of a single trade union federation; to develop the struggle to build an independent women's movement; and to move to the rapid creation of a federation of revolutionary communist youth.

These press conferences were also the occasion for the announcement of 'public' representatives of the organisation who will act as its official spokespersons while the organisation itself is forced to remain semi-clandestine. Three militants were announced as representatives of the organisation in Euskadi:

Anton Carrera, 32, one of the accused in the Burgos trial, who has spent seven years in jail in Burgos, Segovia etc. for his political activities.

Juanjo Sansebastian, 21, who works at a chemical plant in Vitoria and was a member of the representative commission which coordinated the general strike in Vitoria last March — for which he was arrested and briefly imprisoned in Carabanchel jail.

Ramon Zallo, 28, a well-known economist who has been arrested twice and was brought to trial in 1969.

Finally, certain figures on the composition of the organisation were given. In the course of the last twelve months, it has tripled its membership. Forty-five per cent of its militants are of working class origin and 60 per cent are wage workers. Industrial workers represent 38 per cent and students 29 per cent of the organisation. Women make up 32 per cent of the membership. The average age is 23.

The main organ of the LCR is *Combate*, a fortnightly which regularly sells

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

On Tuesday 14 September, Kieran Nugent, a 19-year-old from the Lower Falls of Belfast, was sentenced to three years imprisonment. His crime was opposition to the rule of British imperialism in Ireland. Kieran is a Republican. From March 1972 all Republicans convicted in the rigged

courts of the Six Counties have been recognised as political prisoners by the British Government. But because Kieran's 'crime' was committed after 1 March this year, he has been refused political status.

Unlike his comrades also confined in Long Kesh, Kieran is refused the company of other Republican prisoners. Instead he is held in solitary confinement. For the past five weeks he has lain in his cell with only a rough blanket to cover him up, with no mattress during the day, and with only a bible for reading material. For refusing to wear prison clothing he has been denied all visits, even from his parents.

Political status

Political status was only won after a long and bitter struggle, including a 37 day hunger strike by 40 Republican prisoners in 1972. It represented a major gain for the anti-Unionist workers and a humiliating defeat for British imperialism, which had been forced to admit that those it had labelled 'gangsters' and 'murderers' were engaged in a political

struggle. For the prisoners themselves it was no mean achievement. It meant they were generally free to organise their own daily routines, deciding what time they got up and went to bed. They did not have to carry out prison work or wear prison clothes; they were able to organise political discussions.

Now, once again, the British Government is trying to 'criminalise' the struggle in the Six Counties; to withdraw the rights the prisoners have gained. It is an attempt to isolate the prisoners within the camps and through that isolate the resistance outside. Therefore the fight to retain political status is a key issue.

But the struggle Kieran Nugent has started will not be easily won. As Dolours Price wrote from her cell in Armagh jail: 'It is a fight that will be won only with the combined courage and determination of the prisoners and the loyalty and dedication of all concerned people.' Resistance within the prisons will mean harsh retaliation from the prison officers and the British troops who are stationed in the prisons, unless there is a mass movement outside.

It will be difficult, but there is no alternative. The slogan on the wall of Andersonstown People's Co-op declares: 'While one person is imprisoned, none of us are free.'

NOEL JENKINSON



LAST SATURDAY, Noel Jenkinson was found dead in his prison cell in Leicester jail. As we go to press the precise circumstances of his death are unclear, but whatever they are, the death of Noel Jenkinson is an occasion of great sadness for all militants.

Noel had a long and memorable history in the class struggle. After seeing film of a Nazi concentration camp when he was 17 he decided, as he put it in a letter, 'to fight fascism wherever and whenever I met it'. When he moved from Dublin to London he joined the Communist Party, but was expelled for his support for Cuba — then considered to be dangerously 'Trotskyist' in outlook.

Aldershot

In 1964 he became secretary of the Highgate branch of the Transport & General Workers Union. When the civil rights movement started in the north of Ireland, he became chairperson of the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign.

Such a record made him a 'natural' suspect when the Aldershot Barracks were bombed in 1972 as a retaliation for 'Bloody Sunday'. He was later convicted of this bombing, an accusation which he continued to deny up to his death.

This death comes at a very convenient time for many. For the British Government, it means that they will probably not have to face the Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg, to which Noel was petitioning on the basis of wrongful conviction.

The conviction itself was a farce, based on items like a receipt from an Aldershot shop which the police claimed to have found in Noel's flat. This 'evidence' was later proved to have come from the pocket of a Detective Chief Inspector.

Ignored

His death will also put an end to the embarrassment of the Official Republican movement, who for the last two years had deliberately ignored their former comrade's case. Last month he made a definitive break from the Officials when he wrote in a letter, 'all volunteers, all funds, all equipment to the Provisionals'.

Noel supposedly died of 'natural' causes. But when you are framed, spend months in solitary confinement, get beaten up by prison screws and even your fellow prisoners, go on hunger strike (as Noel did in solidarity with Frank Stagg), when even some of your former friends desert you; when you do and suffer all this, the phrase 'natural causes' loses all meaning. He was

murdered, either as a deliberate act or through what he had experienced in the last four years.

During those four years, one of Noel's most determined campaigners has been Jackie Kaye, who wrote recently: 'It is certain he will not allow prison bars to silence whatever contribution he can

make to the future of his country.'

He has now been silenced, and both his fellow Irish militants and his fellow socialists in this country have reason to grieve.

BRIAN GROGAN (National Secretary, IMG).

NOEL JENKINSON ON THE 'PEACE' MOVEMENT

The lack of peace is due solely and incontrovertibly to the fact that we as a people have been subjected to the most cruel and vicious attacks by foreign invaders. For eight centuries we have been slaughtered, starved, sold into slavery, exiled and divided by the rulers of a nearby country, not one of whose 50,000,000 population can be found to say: 'Yes I know, I took part in it.'

On the contrary, they tell us they have sent their soldiers to make peace in our land. The same soldiers who presumably made peace in Palestine, Cyprus, Kenya, Aden, etc.. The same soldiers who summarily execute young children to help a 'peace movement' get publicity in the Brit gutter press.

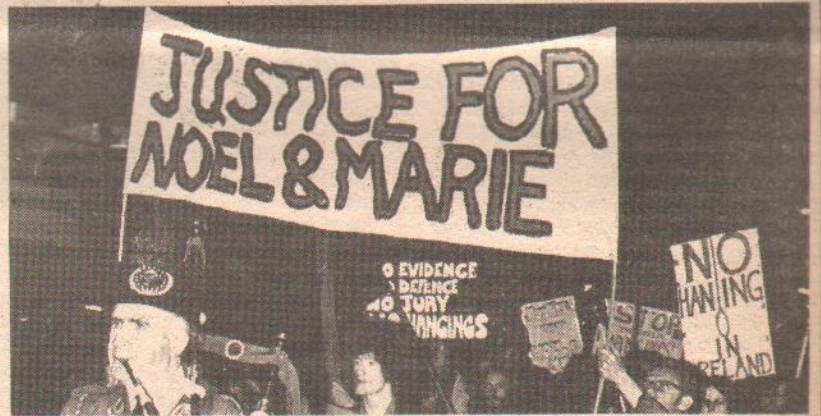
The plain fact is that there will be no peace in Ireland so long as one foreign soldier remains. The

people will only be at peace when the invaders are driven out. Nobody denies the absolute right of the Irish people to peace but nobody in Ireland will have peace so long as any trace of Brit power remains.

The violence in Ireland today is imported counter revolutionary violence — it can only be destroyed by revolutionary violence. Everybody wants peace — but not peace at any price — better to die on our feet than live on our knees.

The members of the Women's Peace Movement should clearly understand that support of their movement by the Brit press and bureaucracy will be very quickly followed by demands that they become informers on their own families. This is how they acted in the past and they will act similarly now.

[From a letter to Republican News]



NOEL and MARIE MURRAY face death as a result of their conviction for killing a policeman in the South. Noel has withdrawn his appeal as a result of the psychological and physical harassment that the campaign to stop the hangings has received. He now faces execution at any time. The demonstration above in London on 8 October is part of the growing campaign internationally to halt their deaths at the hands of the repressive regime in the South.

Eastern Europe - A New Solidarity

JIRI PELIKAN, former director of Czechoslovak television, under Alexander Dubcek, is now a leading spokesman in the west for the Czechoslovak Socialist Opposition. He was in London last week to launch his new book, Socialist Opposition in Eastern Europe: the Czechoslovak Example [Allison and Busby, £2.95], and we asked him about the background to the book.



● How big is the opposition in Czechoslovakia?

From one point of view the majority of the population represents a potential opposition. There is a silent majority and an active minority, who are fighting in different ways.

The strongest and most effective current is the Socialist Opposition, which is not a united party, but is composed of different groups from left through reformist communists to democratic tendencies.

But there are also right tendencies in the sense of people who have doubts about socialism, and who base their ideology on religious or nationalist beliefs, and who would like to introduce in Czechoslovakia parliamentary democracy or even a rightist regime. The reason for their existence is the Soviet intervention in 1968, which was justified by the existence of counter-revolutionary forces, but which has in fact created the conditions for a counter-revolutionary situation.

● Do you think that it is necessary to build a new party?

A very burning problem. Until now the feeling has been that it was not necessary, and above all not possible to create a new political party. It would have to be

ature and so on, and the need to elaborate an alternative programme of socialist democracy always put the question of some organisational structure on the agenda, because it is difficult to do all this work on the basis of spontaneous action.

● How do you see socialist democracy being won in Eastern Europe?

Only by pressure from inside, by the workers, who are the class of which the present regime are most afraid. Then there is the progressive intelligentsia who reject elitism, and are able to express the aspirations of the population and to formulate a programme; and thirdly the younger generation which feels the contradiction between the ideal and the reality of Czechoslovak society and which is ready to risk confrontation.

If actions are carried out by all these forces together, then the opposition can be really effective, as recently shown in Poland.

● Did the Polish events have a big impact in Czechoslovakia?

Yes, the workers' strikes in Warsaw, Radom and Ursus have been followed with great interest. Despite the official blockade of news, people have heard

mobilisation of the Czechoslovak army on the border.

In the past, the Soviet bureaucracy have played on national hatred between one nation and another in Eastern Europe. I think there is now a new feeling of solidarity overcoming nationalistic barriers. If the events had gone on longer in Poland, I think that there is no doubt that we would have seen similar actions in Czechoslovakia.

● It seems that Soviet dissidents in particular have been very impressed by the Helsinki agreement on human rights.

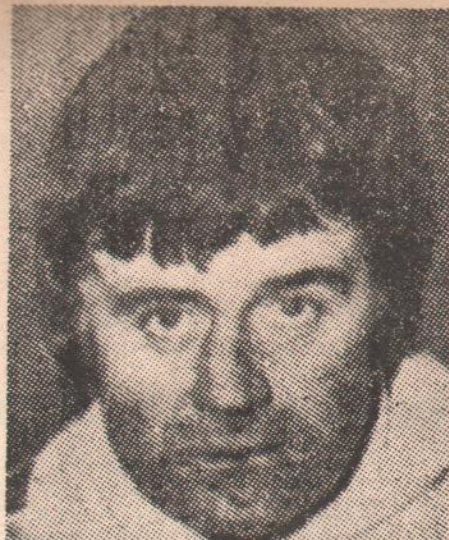
Yes, Soviet dissidents place great hope in external pressure on the Soviet Union, and this is an expression of the weakness of the opposition inside that country. We also think that the easing of international tension and outside pressure can be a positive factor, but this can only be a favourable condition for making the fight inside the country easier.

Of course, the Helsinki agreement was an attempt by the two superpowers to fix the division of Europe into two zones, and this is a negative thing. On the other hand, the Soviet leading group were obliged to make certain concessions

WHY NEWCASTLE NEEDS A CLASS STRUGGLE CANDIDATE

RED WEEKLY

'T. DAN' SHORT has finally departed for rich pastures new. As chairman of Cable and Wireless Ltd he will be well catered for. But if Short has finally gone, the legacy of the machine built up by him and his old pals T. Dan Smith and Andy Cunningham lives on. The need to challenge this machine in the forthcoming by-election has been emphasised anew by two examples of what law and order means in the North-East Kingdom of Short and Friends Ltd.



LIDDLE TOWERS

as 'I saw.....'

Two of the police involved, Constables Ray Irwin and Frank McDermott, are of special interest. PC Irwin was picked out as one of the police who had kicked Towers. But these two 'guardians of law and order' were involved in a previous important trial in the North East. They were two of the three main pro-

secution witnesses at the trial of Robert Henderson, one of the 10 pickets arrested during the Eldon Square strike.

All 10 of the Eldon Square pickets were cleared of all charges. Any involvement by Irwin and McDermott ought, therefore, to be treated with extreme scepticism.

The inquest at Durham was a complete farce. Liddle Towers' own testimony, written shortly before his death, was dismissed as 'hearsay'. The police were allowed to refuse to give evidence. Despite promises that witnesses would be called in strict chronological order, the police were allowed to give their evidence last.

The verdict on Liddle Towers has far-reaching conclusions. It means the police now have a licence to kill. All they have to do is to claim someone resisted arrest and it was necessary to kill them.

The coming election in Newcastle Central gives us an opportunity to ensure that these examples of ruling class justice are not forgotten. Socialists must demand that not only does Labour candidate Harry Cowans call for a real fight against cuts, 'unemployment and racism, but that he also demands an immediate enquiry into the running of the Labour Party in the North East, the exposure of all corruption in the labour movement, and supports the call from the Towers family for a trade union enquiry into the murder of Liddle Towers.

If Harry Cowans is not prepared to fight for these demands, then Red Weekly will campaign for a labour movement candidate who will.

1. The Affair of John Ryman

The day before Short announced his resignation, John Ryman, Labour MP for Blyth, was acquitted of all charges of fiddling his election expenses. Ryman, it might be remembered, replaced Eddie Milne after the latter was sacked by Blyth Constituency Labour Party for demanding an investigation into the corruption of the Smith/Cunningham/Short regime in the North-East Labour Party.



JOHN RYMAN

Ryman is very much in the Short mould: a smooth and successful (i.e. rich) barrister. Through his court-room agility, he was able to find lots of loop-holes in bourgeois law through which to escape conviction. His election agent, Peter Mortakis, was less fortunate. He was found guilty on two charges of fiddling election expenses, fined £400, and banned from holding any

public office or voting for five years.

Much of Ryman's defence was based upon a supposed plot by Milne and Trotskyists to discredit him. As an example of this plot, Ryman cited the case of Dr Raymond Challinor, a 'leading member of the Workers Revolutionary Party'.

Red Weekly would of course defend Dr Challinor if he were a member of the WRP. However, in all fairness to the WRP and Dr Challinor, we must point out that he is not, nor has he ever been, a member—let alone a 'leading member'—of the WRP. The 'skilled lawyer' Ryman is obviously not so concerned about 'facts' if it will get him off the hook.

2. The death of Liddle Towers

Liddle Towers was a shop steward in the electricians' union, the EEPFU. On 15 January he was arrested by police outside the Key Club in Gateshead for being drunk and disorderly. He was knocked to the ground and savagely kicked and beaten by the police. On 9 February Liddle died as a result of his injuries. Last week the jury at the inquest into his death returned a verdict of 'justifiable homicide'.

All of the non-police witnesses stated that they had seen the police beat up Liddle. Despite the fact that they were all sure they had seen this beating, the coroner claimed that each witness had said 'I think I saw.....' Seven of the eight policemen involved in this murder refused to give evidence. The one policeman to testify had his statement recorded



The Eldon Square Strike.

BUILD A NORTH WEST RED WEEKLY CENTRE

Over the past few years, many IMG branches in important industrial centres have made major gains. Not through fly-by-night recruiting stunts, but through a constant fight for the politics of Red Weekly — the building of a class struggle opposition in the labour movement. The fruition of these policies is displayed in the North West, where we are faced with the necessity of opening a regional centre to meet our expanding needs.

The Manchester comrades have launched an urgent appeal for £300 to open this North West Red Weekly Centre. This money is required by 7 November in order to cover the cost of rents, repairs, etc, and to meet the planned opening date of 8 November. We appeal to all Red Weekly readers — especially those in the North West — to give as generously as they can. Send cheques, postal orders, to 'The Week', Manchester Red Weekly Centre, 14 Piccadilly, Central Manchester.

An example of the work our comrades are doing is their forthcoming series of

International Forums, details of which we print below:

Weds 20 October: Robin Blackburn on Marxism and Problems of Revolutionary Politics.

Weds 27 October: John Ross on Faction, Party and International.

Weds 3 November: Dave Purdy (CP) and Pete Gowan (IMG) debate The Class Nature of the USSR.

Weds 10 November: Michel Lowy on Marxism and Latin America.

Thurs 18 November: Tariq Ali on 'Euro-communism', the Italian Turn.

Weds 24 November: Hilary Wainwright on The Labour Party and the Working Class.

Weds 1 December: Julian Atkinson on Fascism, Racism and the Strong State.

Weds 8 December: Ian Gough on Marxist Theories of the Welfare State.

All to be held at 8 pm in UMIST Students Union main hall (near Piccadilly Station).

...and so does Stechford

THE FIGHT for a class struggle candidate to oppose the Labour Government's right-wing policies is also being pursued in Birmingham Stechford, the seat which Roy Jenkins is shortly to resign. Birmingham IMG have sent the following letter to all left-wing organisations in the area posing the need for a united response:

We would like to invite you/your organisation to a meeting on Wednesday 27 October at 7.30 pm at Digbeth Civic Hall. The purpose of this meeting is to discuss the forthcoming Stechford by-election, and the response that working class organisations should be making to it.

In Stechford there is an opportunity to run a class struggle candidate. We believe that the fight against the policies of the Labour Government should be carried into the electoral arena. This by-election offers a platform for militants to extend the struggle for united front action to wider layers.

To those who argue that putting up candidates against the Labour Party splits and weakens the labour movement, we say that it is the attacks of the Labour Government that are cutting the living standards of the working class, and it is

the failure of the Labour Party and trade union leadership to organise against those attacks which calls for an alternative lead to be given. If the local Labour Party put forward a candidate committed to opposing the Labour Government's attacks, in practice, not just with words like the Tribune MPs, we would not propose a candidate.

In Stechford, we believe that if a candidate opposing the central attacks of the Labour Government is to have the maximum impact, then he or she must have the broadest support of all those opposed to those attacks. It is for this reason that we have proposed this meeting on the Stechford by-election:

1. To discuss the platform of the candidate. We propose that this centres on: incomes policy, unemployment, the cuts in social expenditure, the struggle against

racism, the demands of the Working Women's Charter, the withdrawal of troops from N. Ireland.

2. To discuss who the candidate should be. We have proposed Tariq Ali, but we are prepared to withdraw him in favour of a better candidate.

3. To discuss the organisation of the campaign. We propose the election of a campaign committee, including representatives from each organisation supporting the campaign.

We will fight for the right of all tendencies and groups to put forward their own propaganda as well as that produced by the campaign committee.

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.

BIRMINGHAM IMG



NAME..... SUBSCRIPTION RATES

ADDRESS..... DOMESTIC: £7 per year

£3.50 for six months

FOREIGN: £9 per year surface mail

£12 per year airmail

Youth unemployment demo

LIVERPOOL Trades Council has called for a lobby of Parliament on Wednesday 3 November to protest against youth unemployment. The call is being backed by the Youth Committee of the staff section [TASS] of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

Although launched by the Communist Party-dominated Campaign Against Youth Unemployment, whose main slogans are hopelessly reformist, it is the first opportunity for the unemployed youth to mobilise on a national scale. The importance of this has been underlined by a recent survey conducted by a social researcher. This found that racial prejudice was growing at a faster rate amongst the youth than older sections of the community. Increased class sizes, poorer teaching facilities, training for the dole queues — these are the demoralising prospects driving the youth into the arms of the racist.

Only response of the Labour Government has been to give £10 hand-outs to the bosses to employ young people. In fact it's up to the trade unions to force jobs for youth through industrial action to maintain apprentice levels and create additional jobs for school leavers at the adult rate of pay. Linked to this should go the demand for full training for all in socially useful jobs, an end to cuts in education and the social services, and the launching of a crash programme of public works at trade union rates of pay.

Trades council youth advisory committees, junior workers committees, the National Union of Students and Labour Party Young Socialists branches should be approached to bring as many youth as possible onto the lobby.

JOHN GRAHAM (Secretary, Birmingham AUEW, Junior Workers