

RED WEEKLY

INSIDE:
SOCIALISTS AND THE NEW RISE OF
SCOTTISH NATIONALISM

battle of **ideas**
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ANGER RISES AGAINST LABOUR POLICIES

Now Organise Against Social Contract

'BEAVER' JACK JONES and the TUC General Council are fighting hard to dam up the rising hostility of the working class to the Social Contract policies of the Labour Government. But they are finding it harder and harder.

AGAINST INCOMES POLICY

Len Murray says 'cool it', but British Leyland stewards are going ahead with a plan to launch an all-union campaign against any new round of incomes policy. Ford shop stewards will probably join the campaign after their April council meeting in Coventry, and 7,000 Corby steel workers have made a similar call. The AUEW National Committee looks likely to endorse the position of the union's North-East District and reject a further round of incomes policy, while the deep discontent revealed by the 46 per cent vote against the retirement deal in the miners' ballot speaks for itself.

The main danger is that the opposition to incomes policy will be conducted around erosion of differentials, isolating low paid workers, especially women. The best way to prevent this is by building the widest support for the Leyland stewards' initiative on the basis of demands that can unify the whole of the working class against incomes policy — such as automatic compensation for inflation.

AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

Jack Jones says 'don't jump the gun', but a national one-day docks strike against the closure of Preston docks and the loss of 450 jobs seems likely to go ahead; redundancies in the telecommunications industry are beginning to be fought by the one-day strike and lobby on 14 February.

But the continuing struggle by the Sheffield engineers against redundancies announced by Edgar Allen is the best example of how two million unemployed can be fought.

AGAINST THE CUTS

Left-talking Alan Fisher, leader of the National Union of Public Employees, says do anything you like except national strike action. But his membership's response to his regional days of action show an impatience with this delaying tactic. That's why the call for national strike action on 11 May, following the lead of London NUPE members, is important.

The call will be taken up at the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions conference against the cuts on 26 February, and by lobbyists of the 22 March public service unions conference.

The naming of 11 May as a day of national strike action against the cuts should be linked with concrete demands on how to reverse the cuts — the immediate adoption of a programme of public works to employ the jobless and meet the need for health, education and housing.

The fight against the policies of the Social Contract is now being waged with more determination than ever. But no trust can be placed in the leadership of the trade unions — whether right or left — to bring that Social Contract to its deservedly ignominious end. What can be effective is the unity of all those on the left who are organising action against Labour's right wing policies.

Not the unity of the trade union leadership and the Labour Government, but the unity of those in struggle. The duty of militants everywhere, regardless of what unions they are in, regardless of political differences, is to build that class struggle left wing.



Hemel Hempstead workers give a hot reception to Minister of Health Roland Moyle. Story page 3.

INSIDE:
ERNEST
MANDEL
REPLIES TO
SHIRLEY
WILLIAMS'
ATTACK ON
TROTSKYISM

RALLY FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS 26th FEB

TWO MILLION REASONS FOR FIGHTING THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

At a conference held last Thursday in London, John Cassals, director of Manpower Services, said: 'There are going to be many more school-leavers chasing jobs this summer than there are jobs for them. All the signs are that the going will be tougher this year even than last'.

Sitting at the same conference was Sir Arnold Weinstock, managing director of the General Electric Company. He seemed unmoved by the thought of thousands of young people facing the dole. For him, 'The most decisive social and political problem is how to control those groups in the community which have the power to disrupt the life of the nation if their demands are not met'.

Weinstock was not referring to the International Monetary Fund, who have demanded massive cut-backs in social spending — after all, their demands have been met.

He was not talking about the bosses of British industry who have demanded cuts in the standard of living of working people — their demands too have been met.

He did not mention the right wing Labour cabinet who, through Albert Booth, have told the trade union movement that they have to face the prospect of two million unemployed. Those demands too are in the process of being granted.

No, Weinstock was referring to those such as the 10,000 newly qualified teachers which a latest survey has shown have been unable to get jobs in education; such as the two million which the 'Minister of Unemployment' now admits could face the dole; such as the rapidly increasing number of women workers who are especially hit by rising unemployment.

That unemployment continues to rise, that the Labour Premier Callaghan admits in Parliament 'it isn't possible to halt the rise in joblessness', that Shirley 'witch-hunter' Williams says 'we still have no real answer to unemployment'—all this is evidence galore of the need to 'control' the profiteering class of the Sir Arnold Weinstocks and their backers in the labour movement.

Because contrary to what Williams says there is an answer to the scourge of unemployment. The high level of teacher



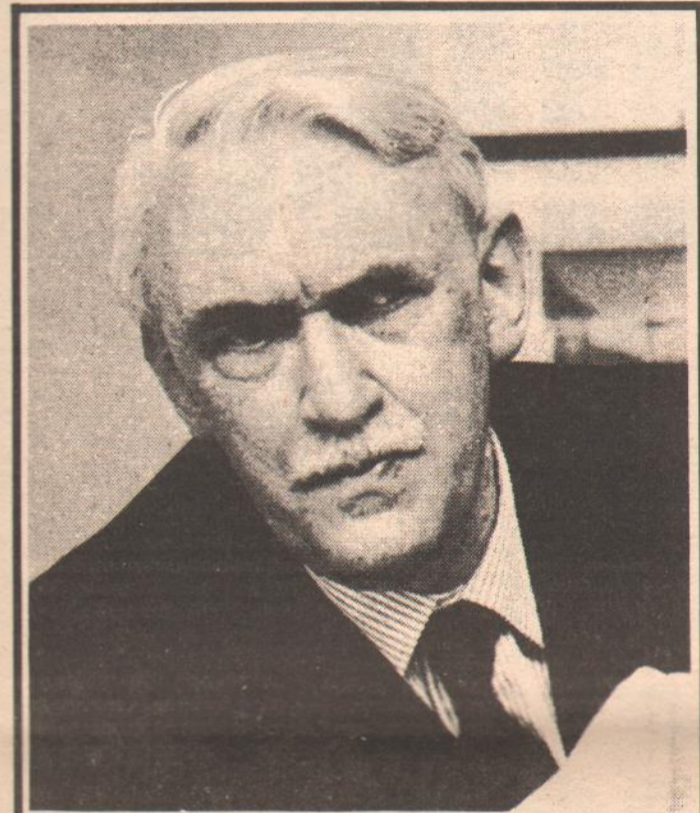
ALBERT BOOTH



SHIRLEY WILLIAMS

unemployment and the high level of unemployment among building workers could be reduced immediately by a programme of expansion in educational facilities. The same applies to unemployment in the health service, to the increasing cut backs in other areas of social expenditure.

Shirley Williams, James Callaghan, Albert Booth, could plead there is no money available for such a programme of useful public works. But last year Sir Arnold Weinstock's GEC made profits of £200 million. The 'control' of such operations by and for the working people of this country would build and maintain a lot of hospitals, and a lot of schools.



ALAN BULLOCK

Why the right opposes Bullock

The Bullock Report on Industrial Democracy endorsed the TUC's position of worker directors on company boards. But differences exist within the TUC on this question. In particular a large number of trade unions are, for one reason or another, opposed to the TUC's concept of 'Industrial Democracy'.

In fact both the electricians union, the EETPU, and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers have already voted at conference against participation in companies within the so-called private sector. Indeed at last year's Sixth AUEW National Conference the resolution and document calling for opposition to the TUC's policy was carried with no votes against. Both the right wing and left seem to be united.

Among the hard-core right wing in unions like the GMWU, EETPU, AUEW, etc., there is a position which argues against even the TUC proposals because they are too 'radical'. Namely that they seek to involve the shop stewards as the main agents of collaboration rather than the trade union officials, who are written off as ineffective.

So contemptuous of the shop-floor are these officials that they have hidden behind the rhetoric of the 'left' in order to try and safeguard their privileged position within capitalism. Essentially their hidden position amounts to

anyone is going to have the honour, the union officials are.'

The fact that the left within the AUEW and the EETPU has not blown the whistle on such goings-on is another scandal as they are allowing the right wing in these unions to disguise themselves as militants opposed to 'sitting round the board-room table with the gaffer', while in reality they are merely seeking to preserve their own particular privileged power-base within the trade unions.

What is necessary now is for the rank-and-file to prepare its own response. As against all the 'commissions of inquiry' and the reports of the trade union officials there must be a concerted effort to draw those sectors of workers who, like those sections and factories of BLMC, fought and voted against such forms of collaboration to prepare their own inquiry into workers control. Useful starts have been made by the 'Lucas Plan', 'The Chrysler workers answer' and the forthcoming report by the Institute for Workers Control Working Group 'Inquiry into the Motor Industry'.

These should be extended in other sectors of the movement and in particular local conferences convened to discuss the way forward against the offensive opened up by the publication of the Bullock Report.

Telephone Enquiries Needed

IT IS A SIGN of the times when a right-wing trade union leader like Frank Chapple feels compelled to agree to a national one day strike in protest against unemployment.

Which is what the leader of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union has agreed to do. This Monday to coincide with the strike the EETPU will be lobbying Parliament and holding a mass rally in Albert Hall in protest at cuts in the telecommunications industry.

Since the call for strike action was made, other unions have agreed to join the protest. TASS, the staff section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, are also on strike for the day, while members of the Transport and General Workers Union who work in the communications industry will also be joining the lobby.

LOSS OF JOBS

The background to the strike action is the threatened loss of what the unions estimate to be anything up to 20,000 jobs, due to cutbacks in Post Office orders to the telecommunications industry. The Post Office is expected to announce yearly profits of £400 million and GEC, the main sup-

alternative to cut backs.

Take the case of falling demand. This is based on recent estimates that the growth in the use of the telephone is declining, and in some cases actually falling. This does apply to the use of the telephone before 1pm.

TARIFF

But the reason lies in the introduction by the Post Office of a penal tariff operating during the morning, which has shifted much of the traffic to the afternoon. In other words, it is the Post Office's own decisions which have led to the fall off.

Then there is the case of the fall-off in the demand for telephone installation. Again it is the high price of such installation which has led to this decline. But as the unions in the telecommunications industry have pointed out, the revenue from such installations is only £2 million.

If these charges were abolished it would increase demand, provide a much-needed social service especially for the old and infirm — free installation of telephones — as well as maintaining jobs.

That the threatened redundan-

entire industry to be centralised and planned — by nationalising the telecommunications industry. Then there would not be 'competing interests', then the industry as a whole could start to be run for the benefit of both the telecommunications work force and the community at large.

So while the one day strike action being taken this Monday is long overdue and needs to be repeated and extended, it is not enough. An alternative strategy, based on the need to maintain jobs and run the telecommunications industry in the interests of working people, is what is needed.

Central to such a strategy would

be:

- * The abolition of telephone installation charges for private households;

- * The freezing of telephone charges — the abolition of the high tariff rate;

- * No redundancies in the industry — work sharing with no loss of pay and a cut in the working week.

- * The nationalisation under workers control of the entire telecommunications industry.

Given the profits of both Post Office and telecommunication giants such an alternative makes sense both in social and economic terms.

GEOFF BELL

Welsh Day of Action

ACCORDING to official figures eight per cent of Welsh workers are now unemployed. In some areas the percentage out of work is higher still; in the Swansea and Amman Valleys, 15,000 recent redundancies have pushed the figures up to one person in ten.

One of the reasons for the growing dole queues is Labour's cuts. Healey's latest attacks on social expenditure have meant that two South Wales teacher training colleges will close — hitting both employment and teaching standards. Cuts in the South Wales transport system have meant hundreds of bus workers losing their jobs.

In West Glamorgan even the Area Health Authority admit that the health service is 'on the point of collapse', and yet as with the rest of the country, all new hospital construction work has been suspended.

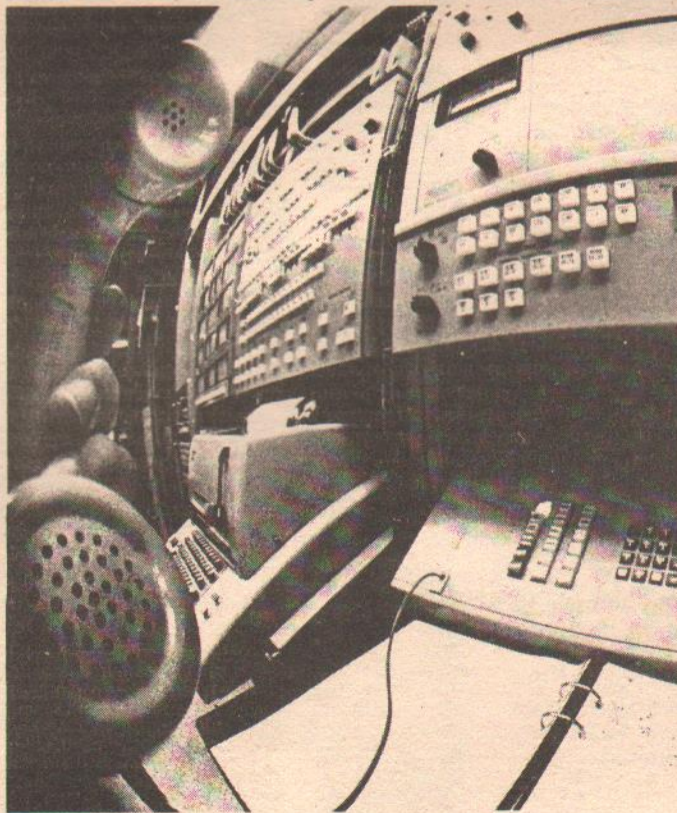
Such are examples of the increasing social hardship which has prompted local public sector

unions (including NALGO, NUPE, ASTMS, CPSA), trades councils, community organisations, students and South Wales miners to support the West Glamorgan demonstration against cuts and unemployment, to be held in Swansea on 19 February.

The march, initiated by West Glamorgan Committee Against Cuts in the NHS, has shown the possibility of uniting broad support against Labour's policies.

It will be addressed by Emylyn Williams, President of South Wales National Union of Miners and speakers from the National Union of Public Employees, the occupied EGA Hospital in London and the local education college facing closure. The marchers plan to leave Swansea, Dyfatty Lights, at 11am.

* An all-Wales 'Day of Action' against the cuts has been called by national public service unions on 26 February.



pliers of the Post Office, had profits last year of nearly £200 million. While the Post Office cuts are meant to save £220 million, figures submitted by both the suppliers and the unions earlier this month show that the loss of jobs would cost far more in terms of redundancy pay and social security and other payments. The Post Office decided to make the cuts because they expect less telecommunications 'traffic' in the future — that is there will be less demand for the use of telephones.

It seems like the usual sob-story of capitalism — 'sorry, demand is falling, jobs must go'. But like all

such will cost the state more than the Post Office will save is of no interest to the Post Office, because it works as a private concern, with its private interest, inside the state.

There is an alternative. Both the Post Office and the telecommunications giants are making huge profits. A workers enquiry into the books could establish a fighting alternative to the sackings around the demand of sharing out the existing work and cutting the working week. But such an alternative would need a high level of integration between the Post Office and the telecommunications industry, at present operating separately, with separate interests.

Leicester closure

Wildt Mellor Bromley, part of Sir Charles Clore's Bentley Engineering Group has proposed the closure of their Aylestone Road factory in Leicester.

The closure of the factory, announced last week, which manufactures knitting machines, will result in the loss of 390 jobs.

The company justifies the run-down by stating it wants to consolidate its operations at the 'more modern' factory in Leicester at St. Saviours Road.

But while making similar claims in the past the Group has reduced its workforce from 4,000 to 2,000 in the last two years by closing other factories in Leicester. Meanwhile the company announced a profit last year of £1,980,000.

At a recent mass meeting workers showed their anger and frustration at the redundancies. The factory has been working overtime in recent months, and given this obvious indication of available work the workers see no justification for the redundancies.

instructed them to take whatever action was necessary to prevent the closure.

So it is worrying that the action taken so far by the shop stewards and full-time officials has repeated the pattern of past experiences — top level meetings with management, local MPs, and ministers of state for industry. As in the past this has produced nothing but calls for enquiries into the knitting machine industry. If the shop stewards and full-time officials were serious about the redundancies, they could for a start implement the 1975 policy of the district committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers which resolved to occupy factories declaring redundancies.

As for any enquiry, it would be pointless unless the company was forced to disclose all its plans, open all its books to the workers.

In the meantime, the demand for the nationalisation of the entire knitting industry, under work-

IN FOCUS

Fighting Incomes Policy

We welcome the decision by British Leyland Combine Shop Stewards Committee to press for a cross-union, rank and file campaign against a new round of incomes policy.

The proposal, which will go for approval to a meeting of 600 senior shop stewards in Birmingham on 15 February, reflects the anger of car workers at the steady erosion of their real wages.

Phases one and two of the Social Contract's wage restraint—the £6 limit and the 4½ per cent limit—have done their job well for the employers in cutting real wages and boosting profits. But for the car bosses they have also prevented effective productivity dealing, which is part and parcel of participation schemes, and narrowed differentials.

These problems of the employers lie behind the campaign by certain sections of the ruling class for 'more flexibility'.

But those views are also voiced by Derek Robinson, Chairman of the Leyland Combine Committee and Communist Party member, 'much respected by company executives for his level headed approach to emotive issues' according to *The Times*.

An example of this 'level-headedness' was the joint letter signed by Robinson and Derek Whittaker, managing director of Leyland, appealing to the Government for a more flexible pay policy from August. Robinson seeks to argue the case that a return to free collective bargaining in August is best for bosses and workers. But 'flexibility' in the mouth of Whittaker or Jack Jones is a very different thing from the free collective bargaining which rank and file militants in the car industry are fighting for.

The flexibility of Jack Jones and Whittaker is within the framework of a wage-cut, not the reversal of the cuts made in the standard of living of the whole working class.

Robinson's letter, far from adding justice to the car-workers' case in the eyes of the rest of the working class, can only sow suspicions that the Combine leadership is launching the campaign as a way of bringing pressure on the Government, leaving unskilled workers, women and youth high and dry.

It is also in line with the Communist Party tactics of directing their action towards an alliance with the left reformist trade union leaders. The Communist Party has done nothing for two years to fight incomes policy because of the support which that policy has been given from all shades of 'left' on the General Council. If they swing in line with Murray and Jones once again, it will be in the name of 'flexibility'.

The best guarantee to prevent such a course is to give the planned conference the widest publicity, building for it in all sections of the trade unions. Revolutionaries will be fighting for demands to bridge the potential divisions caused by differentials, in particular for the class-wide alternative of a sliding scale of wages to compensate automatically for the effects of inflation.

EGA building, are bought off by the AHA, the unions, without central organisation, will be mopped up afterwards.

The best way of ensuring that the consultants do not sabotage the struggle is for the unions to demonstrate in practice an absolute resolve to do all they can in the

COLIN ROBINSON

A DEMONSTRATION estimated by the Daily Mirror to be 11,000 strong marched through Hemel Hempstead last Wednesday to lobby Minister of Health, Roland Moyle, who was visiting the local slum hospital.

Six factories were closed in support of the march, which was aimed at securing a new hospital for the town. The existing hospital includes a workhouse built in 1880 and a collection of World War Two temporary huts.

It also has a ward recently refitted at the cost of £84,000. But the ward has lain idle since 1975 because the health authority has refused to pay for the staff needed to run it.

Now the latest round of Labour's cuts has meant that plans to build an entirely new hospital have been scrapped. Which is why it is important that a central part of the local campaign for the new hospital should have at its forefront opposition to all cuts in public spending.

This the local Communist Party and Labour Party leadership of the campaign has refused to do, saying that such a stand would upset 'progressive' Tories whom they have roped into the campaign.

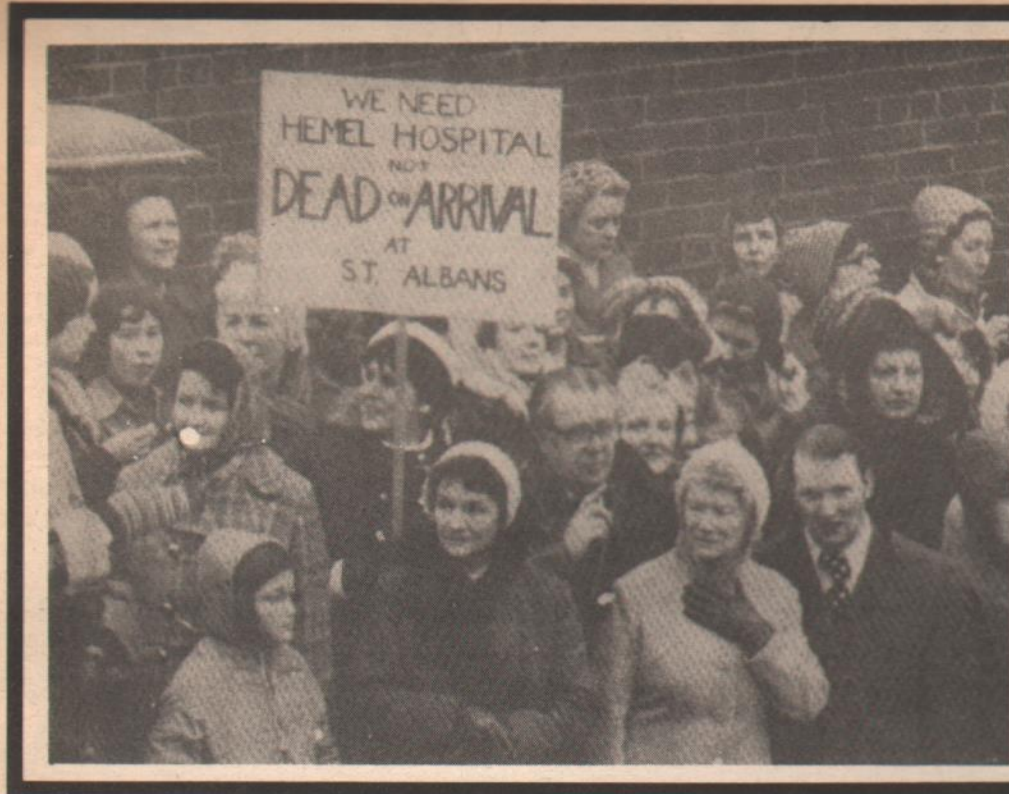


Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

RUMOUR HAS IT that the '17 November' joint steering committee of public sector unions set up last year may call their long awaited joint conference for 22 March at London's Central Hall.

I say 'rumour' because the conference has not been mentioned since the idea was first floated after Healey's December 'mini-budget', and at the time of writing had still not been publicly announced.

Though open to other unions it is sponsored by the nine member unions of the steering committee: the National Union of Teachers, the Confederation of Health Service Employees, the National and Local Government Officers Association, the National Union of Public Employees, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, the Civil and Public Services Association, the Society of Civil and Public Servants, the Association of Scientific Technical and Managerial Staffs and the National Association of Probation Officers.

REGIONS

Since the time the conference was announced, NUPE's leadership has been engaged in pulling out its members region by region. These were much the same tactics they used during the hospital ancillaries strike in 1973 — attempting to let off the head of steam built up by the rank and file.

By all accounts the conference will be one more step in this pro-

By Dominic Costa, W. London delegate to ASTMS London Health Advisory Committee.



cess — a big grand rally for the union leaderships with no resolutions from the rank and file being discussed.

If the conference is to serve any purpose other than to 'put pressure' on Healey's deliberations for the April budget, national strike action must be organised. That is why ASTMS healthworkers in London have called for a mass lobby of this conference calling for such action, to demand that the union leaders turn their left words into action.

The Health Advisory Committee of ASTMS Divisions 8 and 15, covering the whole of London, has called for the lobby as part of their campaign to build for strike action on 11 May behind London NUPE. This call should be supported and taken up in every union in the

country.

London ASTMS delegates to the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions conference against the cuts on 26 February will be fighting for that body to support London NUPE's call for action, to campaign to turn 11 May into a day of national action and to lobby the conference of public sector unions with that aim.

But the LCDTU has always put unity with the left trade union leaders before unity in action of the working class. In pursuit of their version of unity they have

turned democratic procedure at previous conferences into a joke. That is why we will have to fight for democracy to fight for strike action.

The willingness is there. NUPE has responded to rank and file pressure with its 'days of action'. NALGO is committed by its special conference to an overtime ban from April, and to strike action in Scotland. The task of the left in the public service unions must be to turn that potential into a movement of national strike action starting from 11 May.

Dangers at EGA work-in

SHOP STEWARDS at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in North London are organising a trade union conference this Saturday 12 February to discuss support for the fight to prevent the hospital's closure.

The conference follows hard on the heels of the news that the local Area Health Authority (AHA) has postponed its closing date, originally scheduled for 15 February, by a further two months.

This concession clearly reflects the momentum which has been built up in the campaign to save the hospital over the past year. It gives the stewards at the EGA a vital, and probably final, opportunity to organise the wide potential support for their struggle, both outside and inside the hospital.

CONFERENCE

A big step forward in this direction could be taken at Saturday's conference. Delegates are expected from all over London, not only from the hospitals but from other public sector and industrial unions as well. The EGA stewards must seek a firm commitment from these wide-ranging forces for strike action at a moment's notice if and when any attempt at closure takes place.

Only this type of broad inter-union industrial action is capable of saving the EGA. For this reason the conference should also join the ranks of those forces calling for the day of action against the cuts, organised by London NUPE for 11 May, to be turned into a one day national public sector strike.

Necessary though they are, however, pledges of industrial action from other unions will mean nothing unless the workers inside the hospital itself are effectively organised. To date this has been far from the case. There has been a 'work-in' at the EGA since November — but it exists in name only.

The hospital administration, the doctors and even many of the

doubtful support of the doctors, has been hard pushed to make any serious attempt at involving the mass of workers.

Mass meetings are infrequent, the hospital bulletin appears irregularly and few steps have been taken to develop the type of organisation necessary if the workers are to take over the running of the hospital.

If the consultants, who have always made clear their willingness to negotiate away the present



School catering staff, local government workers, firemen, and teachers were part of a 3,000 strong protest march which filled Aylesbury's town square last Thursday. The demonstration was in opposition to the plans of Buckinghamshire Tory Council to chop £5.5 million in council services. Members of the National Union of Teachers, the National Union of Public Employees, and the National and Local Government Officers Association went on strike to join the protest. Meanwhile in nearby Berkshire the Tory Council has announced cuts



Photo: DAVE EVANS (IFL)

New Student Leadership Needed

THREE COLLEGES in Manchester have been occupied by their students in the past fortnight. The issues at stake have ranged from declining local authority financing of student unions to the discriminatory fees increase for overseas students to inflated meal prices.

At Manchester Poly, where the occupation continues, a new hall of residence nearing completion will not be used because the college claims it cannot afford to run the building.

At the London University Institute of Education a royal opening of a new building by the Queen Mother has been cancelled after students announced plans to use the occasion to protest at the £140,000 cut in the College's budget.

The missing factor is a lead from the National Union of Students.

Students who have shown a willingness to fight, like those at Middlesex and Teeside Polys last term, and Manchester Poly this term, have been left isolated with no nationally co-ordinated support.

But since the collapse of the services companies, the attitudes of socialist students have begun to change. The steps are underway to organise the left on a united basis, giving a lead to the mass of students and presenting a challenge to the ruling Broad Left leadership.

Overseas student activists will be meeting at Middlesex Polytechnic on Saturday to discuss mounting a national campaign against the government's fee increases and entry quota proposals. The setting of a date for nationally co-ordinated action for the abolition of all fees, no cuts, and against all immigration laws and quotas, would win massive support from students and force the NUS leaders into activity.

On the same day in Sheffield militants from the Women's Left Caucus will be arguing for the NUS to commit itself to activity on

the Women's Campaign.

Rounding off this busy weekend will be a meeting at Middlesex Poly on Sunday open to all student militants who reject the Broad Left's compromise with the right wing. It will discuss joint initiatives in campaigns and a united electoral challenge for the next executive elections.

The most important task will be to hammer out a common strategy to oppose the government's cuts and closures, and to ensure jobs for all college leavers this summer. IMG militants will be arguing for support for all moves in the labour movement to mount national strike action and for the complete close down of education on 11 May in support of the already called London NUPE strike.

An agreement on a united left slate for the executive elections, on a principled basis that can unite the widest forces, will be an important component in showing to the mass of students that there is an alternative strategy to that of the Broad Left.

The failure of the left to present a coherent alternative strategy and leadership during the occupations of last summer was a major factor in allowing the NUS Executive to get off the hook and sell out the struggle. Learning from that lesson this conference can start to build that sort of much-needed alternative.

The IMG will be fighting for the involvement of the National Orga-

nisation of IS Societies in building a strong united socialist wing in the NUS.

But the recent NOISS decision to march separately from the mainstream forces fighting the anti-abortion rights Benyon Bill, and their refusal to participate in the Women's Left Caucus in the NUS Women's Campaign are not encouraging signs.

Last summer 30,000 trained

teachers joined the dole queues, this year it could easily be 50,000. The numbers of colleges facing closures has grown from 13 to nearly 50. The steps taken this weekend could be decisive in uniting students to defeat these attacks.

PAUL BROOK [IMG Student Organiser]

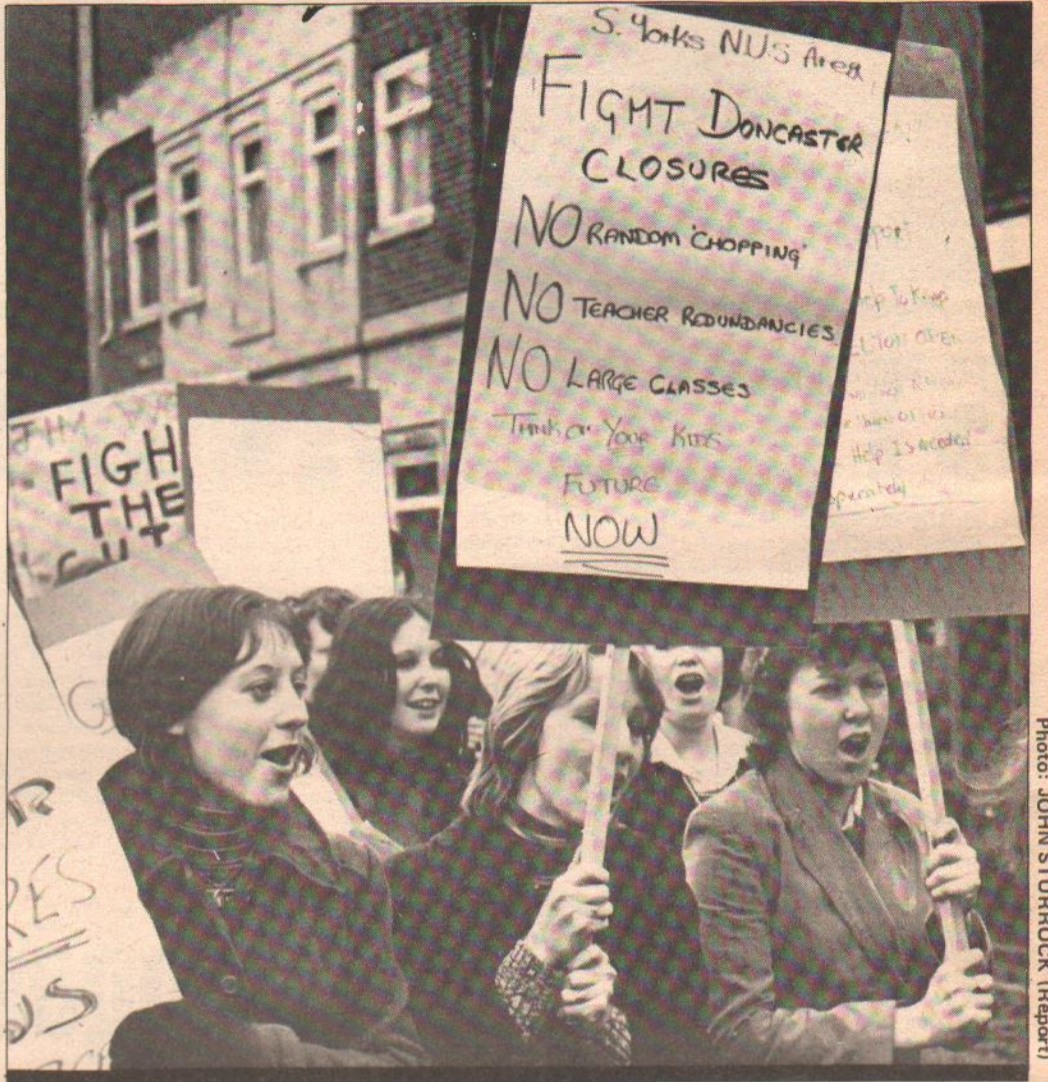


Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Broad Left Boosts Jubilee

CHARLES CHARKE, Broad Left President of NUS, has at last decided to take action over student-teacher unemployment, the cuts in social services, and our 'Monarchy'. He has decided to support all three.

That's the only conclusion that can be drawn from a letter being sent to student Community Action groups. The letter comes from that august body 'The King George's Jubilee Trust (For Youth)' — Patron H.M. The Queen. Under the crest of the Palace of St. James, in bold heading, comes 'The Queen's Silver Jubilee Appeal'. This appeal is 'to help young people help others'. Sounds nice, doesn't it?

What this 'Appeal' is really all about is unemployment, cuts and bolstering the Monarchy.

It helps to hide the massive unemployment, like the 20,000 unemployed student-teachers by giving young workers the 'alternative' of low paid voluntary work.

It helps to plug up the holes in the Welfare State by using cheap untrained labour.

Lastly, it's helping to cover up the fantastic orgies of spending on lavish celebrations of the Queen's Jubilee — huge banquets for the rich and famous while the masses suffer massive cuts in living standards.

Initial reactions from students involved in genuine Community Action is far from favourable. NUS staff who work on Student Community Action were incensed when they received a copy of the letter. Not only were they opposed to the policies of this Monarchist welfare organisation, they were also irate that Clarke had not consulted any of the NUS staff concerned — although he did manage to supply the Appeal with the NUS's Community Action mailing list.

Local Community Action work-



CHARLES CLARKE

ers were equally opposed to Clarke's actions. Keith Hackett, a Community Worker at Manchester University, said he thought 'it's typical of NUS's dual standards. They don't discriminate between self-help community groups, and State controlled services. Community Action groups are not there to fill the gaps left by cuts'. Keith also explained that of £300,000 the Appeal was expected to raise in Manchester, almost half would go on 'administration'.

Clarke is in good company for his actions. Besides being Chaired by Prince Charles (no relation), another co-signer of the letter is Stuart Bayliss. Bayliss of a reactionary Tory, President of Nottingham University Students Union and Tory candidate for NUS Treasurer.

Perhaps the most fitting comment came from a hospital porter, Jack Sutton, a member of the National Union of Public Employees National Executive: 'What we need in the NHS is not Queens Own Do-Goodness but enough money to run a decent health service for working people. My union is currently running a campaign against "contract" cheap, non-union labour. This sort of "voluntary" thing is even worse.'

COLIN TALBOT, Chairperson, Manchester Area NUS.

Register threat to Blacks



The Cypriot Defence Campaign on the march in North London last Saturday against the deportation of Cypriot refugees under the 1971 Immigration Act

THE FRANKS REPORT to be published this week says that the only way a register of black immigrants could work is by making it compulsory by law.

The plan to register all those entitled to come to Britain as immigrants was promised by the then Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, as a concession to the anti-immigrant campaign run by the right wing of the Tory Party. Part of that campaign was the carefully contrived 'leak' by Enoch Powell of the bogus 'Hawley Report' last summer.

The Franks Committee was set up as part of a Government package which also promised to crackdown on 'illegal immigration.' Its report points out the difficulty of a voluntary register, but gives respectability to the idea of registration by law.

Combined with the other elements of the 'package', the long threatened Nationality Bill, the overall effect would be to permanently separate immigrant workers from their dependents.

The Labour Government has obviously taken notice of the policy passed at the last Labour Party Conference to repeal all the existing immigration legislation. As usual they are doing the direct opposite.

Photo: MARK RUSHER (IFL)

T & G leaders refuse hotel blacking call

The fight for union recognition at two Trust House Forte hotels, the Randolph in Oxford and the Grosvenor House in Sheffield, is threatened with total betrayal by the leadership of the Transport & General Workers Union.

The union's district committee in Oxford, and the national trades group, voted unanimously to undertake complete blacking and sympathy strike action against the company. But national officials in London cynically refused last Thursday to implement the decision, which was called for by the workers themselves.

It is now more important than ever for trade unionists to take up the strikers' demands and prevent Jack Jones and the T & GWU leadership from selling out these struggles. In the West Midlands the blacking has gone ahead anyway, and in Oxford the Trades Union Council has called for a demonstration of support for 19 February.

If these examples are to be followed, and the disputes won, workers everywhere must force local T & GWU officials to listen to their members and not the bureaucracy.

Meanwhile, at the Linton Lodge hotel in Oxford, where a similar strike is now in its twelfth week, the pickets and blacking have begun to bite. But although the owner has been forced to discuss terms with the union, and has implied that he is ready to concede. He has also threatened to sell the hotel and sack the rest of his workers.

TILEHURST FUELS of Theale, Reading, delivered a consignment of fuel to the Randolph under heavy police guard at 11 o'clock last Thursday night. This isn't the first time they have done this. Have nothing to do with this firm — they are highly professional scabs.

WAGE CONTROL & UNION DEMOCRACY - RECALL CONFERENCE

THE IMPATIENCE of workers with the Government's never-never land promises of economic recovery in return for wage restraint is breaking into open hostility.

Calls for action against the cuts multiply; 'conciliatory' proposals of the trade union bureaucracy are outright rejected; the instructions in the resolutions for the union conferences this summer clearly reflect growing opposition by trade unionists to the class collaborationist deals of their leaders.

The bureaucracy are not blind to these developments. They understand all too well that their precious relationship with the Labour Government rests on a quiescent membership. To this end they seek to suppress every norm of trade union democracy. Nor do they hesitate to deal harshly with militants, even suspending them from the union, as in the case of the Little Ilford teachers.

The 'lefts' in the bureaucracy, and their allies in the Communist Party, find it safer to give way to these pressures by organising stage-managed days of protest and demonstrations.

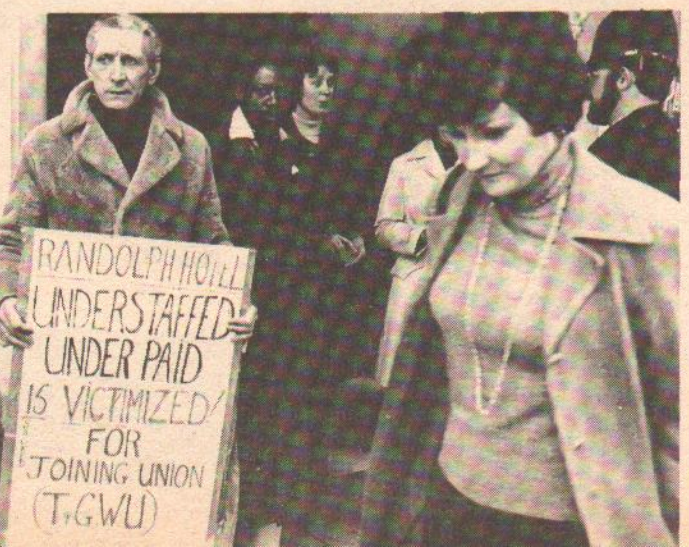
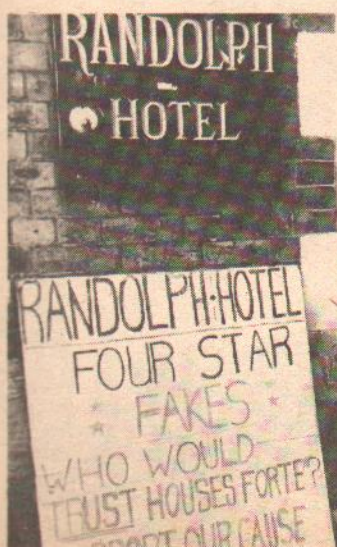
pect of a Tory Government.

It is vital that all militants who understand that an effective fight against the Social Contract requires an alternative set of policies, join forces to see how best they can take these into the unions.

The Conference on Wage Control, called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement on 27 March in Birmingham, offers an opportunity to begin to forge such unity. Although Red Weekly has political differences with the main political force behind the call, the Workers Socialist League, we believe they can be discussed fruitfully within the movement for the conference.

Without joint initiatives, however, such a debate is sterile. If the Conference can agree to a set of common initiatives, an important contribution to counteract the bureaucracy's offensive will be made. We urge all militants to support the Conference and to participate in the debates to build it.

ANNA LARKIN



BLACK STRUGGLE a journal against racism and capitalism
 volume 2 number 1 February/March 1977
 POLICE VERSUS BLACKS
 THE STATE AND RACE RELATIONS
 WOMEN IN INDIA
 25p

ONE YEAR ON FROM THE SDA
FEB 26th
1977
11am

WOMEN'S RIGHTS RALLY

The Planning Committee explains why you should support the Rally for Women's Rights at the Alexandra Palace on 26 February.

IT IS FIVE YEARS since the Equal Pay Act was introduced and one year since the Sex Discrimination Act was passed. Has it been one year of equality? The facts speak for themselves:

★ Despite the EPA, women still earn only half the wages of men. A recent survey in Woman's Own reports that two-thirds of women do low paid jobs which cannot be compared with men's work. Therefore they are not covered by the Act.

★ Of the women covered by the Act, 10 per cent are still not getting equal pay.

★ The General and Municipal Workers Union: 'Even with union backing, many women lost their claims because of the loopholes in the legislation, often provided by ambiguous wording and arbitrary and erratic decisions by tribunals'.

★ The Labour Research Department: 72 per cent of equal pay applications and 73 per cent of SDA applications were dismissed in the first six months of the legislation.

★ Equal Pay and Opportunity Campaign: 'Dissatisfaction with the legislation is due to the high rate of failure when cases are taken to the tribunals and the lack of effort on the part of many unions to encourage women to stand up and fight for their rights'.

Trico was not the only dispute at which women have been in the forefront. There have been at least ten equal pay disputes, fights for the full £6 and 4½ per cent such as at Orlakes in Dagenham; against redundancies, EPS Banbury; for safety conditions, the cleaners at North East London Polytechnic; against hospital closures, the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and East London hospitals.

These struggles have strengthened the fighting spirit among women workers which began with the great GEC and Ford strikes in 1968.

For the majority of women the legislation has done nothing to make their daily lives easier. It has not provided those facilities to allow them to work. The TUC, trade unions and Labour Party have recognised all this in their demands for increased childcare, free abortion and contraception on demand from the NHS, financial independence, equal education and adequate maternity provisions. These demands are totally ignored by the SDA. The reality is that women's rights are under fire as cutbacks in social expenditure and unemployment push women back into the home.

★ Provisions for childcare are under attack. For every 200 under-fives, there is only one nursery place. Last year 37 local authorities dropped their allocation of funds, leaving nurseries empty or unbuilt, and nursery nurses unemployed.

★ Further restrictions to women's abortion rights.

★ Unemployment stands at 2 million — women are particularly hit. The increase in women's unemployment stands at 89 per cent compared to 60 per cent for men.

★ Proposals for child benefits to be paid to the mother slashed from £300m. to £95m.

No section of the working class — male or female, black or white — should take responsibility for economic problems not of their making. The National Union of Public Employees states: 'Cuts is one of the areas where women are being worst hit at present, both as workers and wives and mothers — being forced back to take an increasing responsibility for children, the old and the sick.'

The acceptance that women should make these sacrifices weakens and divides the working class in its fight against cuts, unemployment, rising prices and ever-decreasing real wages.

Women are however already showing the way forward. Workers fighting against the closure of the EPA have realised that protest to MPs and management are not enough. By occupying the hospital they show that the strength of militant action will protect their jobs.

When the Government brought in the EPA and SDA, it was greeted by many as a step towards equality for women. It is time to take stock. The evidence is mounting that the battle for equality and independence, far from being over, has only just begun.

★ The Rally will draw together the experiences of all those fighting for women's rights. By drawing the lessons of the last year, we can carry the struggle forward and begin to counter the mounting attacks.

★ Many trade unions, women's groups, and members of the campaigns for women's right to abortion, financial and legal independence, etc will be participating in the Rally. Through speakers, theatre exhibitions, stalls, literature, etc, those organisations can exchange their experiences and begin to organise joint action on a national scale.

The Secretary of the Rally Planning Committee is Mandy Snell, 33 Wemyss Rd., London SE3. Tel: 01-318 3763.

ABORTION TRIBUNAL: Lessons for the left

By DODIE WEPPLER

THE CLEAREST message coming from the successful National Tribunal for Women's Abortion Rights held on 29 January was the need for mass action to win the right of women to decide if and when to terminate pregnancy. Before and since the Tribunal, the National Abortion Campaign has worked towards this end. Plans are now well underway for a march, followed by an evening meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, on Thursday 24 February — the day before the second reading of the restrictive Benyon Bill in Parliament.

Yet at a time when a strong, united offensive against this latest threat to women's abortion rights needs to be urgently mounted, most organisations on the British left continue to drag their feet, refusing to take seriously their proclaimed commitment to the abortion issue.

CONSISTENT

Only the International Marxist Group has made a consistent commitment alongside the militants of NAC to the building of mass action for abortion rights. The Tribunal itself reflected the failings of the other left organisations. Its success was despite these organisations, and in no way because of their efforts.

The Socialist Workers Party's journal *Women's Voice* claimed that NAC could not provide leadership for the abortion movement. It was necessary for the SWP to take leadership and offer a socialist alternative. For a group concerned about taking leadership of the pro-choice movement, the most conspicuous feature of the SWP's impact at the Tribunal was its absence.

Even the few members of the SWP who did attend the Tribunal failed miserably in providing any alternative perspectives for the campaign. All that independent activists attending the Tribunal were offered was a *Women's Voice* leaflet pointing to self-help as the way forward for the abortion campaign.

FOCUS

The SWP had argued that the Tribunal could not provide a focus

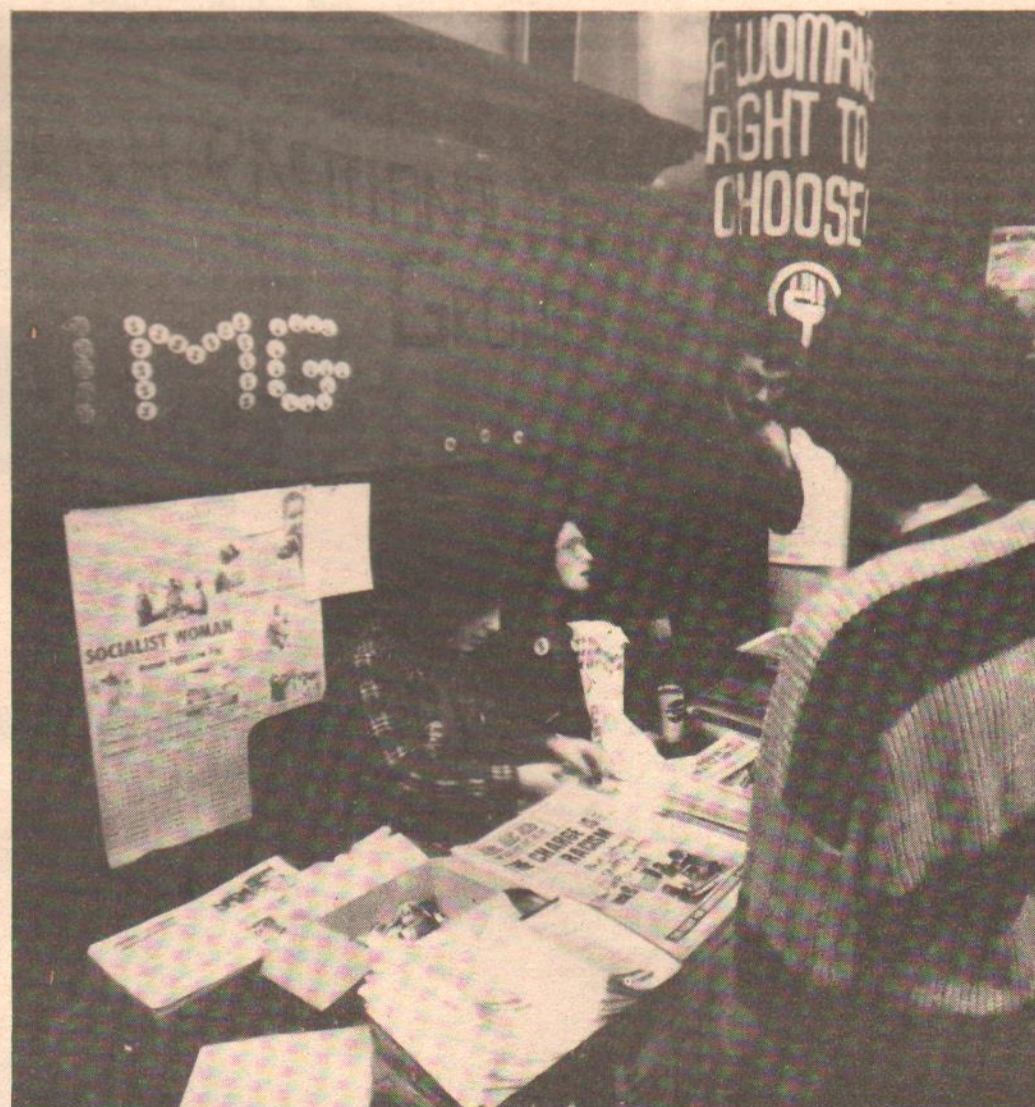


Photo: G.M. COOKSON (Red Weekly)

abortion campaign on a national scale following the Tribunal around the positive perspectives it offered, with the impact of the half-dozen local anti-SPUC actions which the SWP saw as a focus.

The SWP's latest tactic in the fight for a socialist alternative is their call for their 'own' demonstration, just one day after NAC's march. *Socialist Worker* (29 January) claims this step was taken 'because NAC seems to be doing little to mobilise opposition'. If the comrades of the SWP

are aware of NAC's plans well over a month ago.

The fact is, the SWP is not interested in what NAC is doing. Its only interest is to build the new 'party', even if this means dividing the pro-abortion movement.

According to *Socialist Worker*, Magazine Branch of the NUJ voted support for the SWP's 25 February demonstration. They failed to mention that this resolution did not specify the SWP march at all, but all activities against the Benyon Bill

built and that the SWP as part of the movement will at least have a platform to fight for their policies.

The Communist Party could have made an important contribution to building the campaign, particularly through mobilising its supporters in the labour movement. But the leadership of the CP did nothing to swing its forces behind the abortion issue. The leaflet issued by the CP was none other than that which appeared on the 3 April demo last year!

Although this leaflet claimed

Association has drafted. But this model Bill in no way gives women the complete right to decide! According to the new Bill, women have this right, but only for a limited time.

In later periods of pregnancy, the right to decide somehow reverts back into the hands of the medical profession. Surely any Bill which claims to be a 'model' should not compromise on one of the fundamental tenets of the abortion movement.

TRAP

Morning Star also favourably reports 'progressive medical opinion' that 'the upper time limit for abortion should be 24 weeks' — a full month less than that allowed under the existing 1967 Act.

Because the CP fails to understand the fundamental politics of the abortion issue, it falls into the whole trap set by the anti-abortionists on foetal viability clauses. International experience has shown time and time again that the minute 'foetal viability' clauses are introduced into the law, this will be the attacking area of the anti-abortion forces.

They will use these clauses to push back the limit on women's right to abortion until it effectively disappears.

Whether or not women choose — on the basis of full and relevant information — to exercise their right to terminate a pregnancy even in its latest stages is a secondary question. The abortion movement must be based on a commitment to ward off any attempts to compromise, in law or in practice, on the right of every woman to take the decision, whenever she deems it necessary.

EMPHASIS

The emphasis which the *Morning Star* has placed on the draft Bill by the Abortion Law Reform Association is not surprising. Although the earliest time this Bill could be introduced is next autumn through another Private Member's Bill, ALRA want to 'prepare public opinion' for it now. Tied to the coat tails of the left bureaucrats and to a hardened commitment to a parliamentary perspective of

by the National Abortion Campaign up to date. NAC is committed to mass action to win women's abortion rights, not relying on left MPs who have only too readily in the past sold out the interests of the campaign.

The response to the march called by NAC for 24 February, leaving from Bressenden Place, Victoria at 6pm, will provide a firm basis for building the 14 May demonstration, the next national action in the abortion campaign. Only through organising support for initiatives like these will the threat of the Benyon Bill be confronted.

Advertisement

IMG NOTES

IMG National Working Women's Charter Fraction: Saturday 12 February, 10.30-5, LSE TV Room, St Clements Building, Houghton Street, London. Nearest tube station Holborn.
Iberian Commission: Sunday 20 Feb, 11.00 at national centre.
IMG North West Teachers Fraction: Sunday 13 February, 11am-5pm in Manchester Red Weekly Centre, 14 Piccadilly, Manchester. To discuss: History of Left in NUT, Building the STA, The No-Cover Campaign in the North West. Open to IMG and sympathiser teachers/student teachers.

IMG Trade Union Commission, Saturday 12 February, 11am. At National Centre.

IMG Women's Commission, Sunday 13 February, 11am. At National Centre.
Extended IMG Irish Commission, 13 February, London.

National IMG Anti-Racist Caucus, Sunday 13 February, 11am. All branches should send one delegate. Details of venue from National Centre.

National IMG Teachers Commission, Sunday 20 February.
National IMG Teachers Fraction, Sunday 27 February.

IMG Women's Liberation National Fraction. One representative per branch, pooled fare. Saturday 19 February, 10.30am.

IMG National NAC Fraction. One representative per branch. Sunday 20 February, 10.30am.

IMG School on the Family, for members and close contacts. Saturday 5 March, London. Further details of venue next week. Kits for the school (which include selections from Mitchell, Evelyn Reed and Gough, as well as the FI World Congress Document on Women's Oppression) are now available at £1. Order through branch organiser.

'*Socialist Review*', new IMG bulletin, for sale to members, sympathisers and supporters of the IMG only. Contents include National Committee document

Shirley Williams to Social

Shirley Williams, Minister of Education in the Callaghan Cabinet, is one of the major representatives of the Labour right in Britain. On 21 January she delivered a speech entirely devoted to an attack on Trotskyism, a speech which received very broad coverage in the British press. The day

after her speech, the liberal daily *Guardian* gave her the main headline on the front page as well as close to a full page inside.

Obviously this is no accident. Shirley Williams's speech, like the press campaign of the bourgeoisie, is part of a systematic preparation for a witch-hunt against the

entire left within the Labour Party. This campaign is itself the extension of a similar campaign launched a few years ago against the most combative layer of rank-and-file militants in the unions.

SOCIALISM OR DEMOCRACY?

In her speech, Shirley Williams tried to bring together the major arguments with which to justify in the eyes of the average British worker a declaration of incompatibility between membership in the Labour Party and the revolutionary socialist convictions of the majority of the far-left militants of this party. She thus deliberately abandoned the field of organisational and administrative quibbling ('entryism', 'party within the party', 'outside manipulation', and even the claim, as ridiculous as it is odious, that the Trotskyists are 'financed from abroad'), which has been the preferred terrain of most of the right-wing Labour bureaucrats. She at least has the merit of placing herself on the field of ideas, of the problems of principle, tactics and strategy of the socialist movement. This enables us to better grasp the ideological coherence and incoherence of social democracy today.

Williams's main argument for the expulsion of the Trotskyists from the Labour Party is the alleged contempt for democracy of Marxists in general and Trotskyists in particular. This is also the argument that was joyfully taken up by the bourgeois press to support the campaign for the witch-hunt within the Labour Party. It is

thus that she prepares the way for state repression against a wing of the workers movement — all the better to demonstrate the strength of her democratic convictions.

But the evidence Williams is able to assemble in support of her supposed thesis on the alleged 'undemocratic' character of Trotskyism is as meagre as can be. In fact, the sum total of this evidence amounts to a few quotations taken out of context.

The difficulty for Williams is clear. In its polemic against the Stalinists, social democracy can rely on the partial or total justification of the repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on the part of the CPs: 'Some of us... reject the double standards of those who denounce the vicious suppression of political opponents in Chile and Rhodesia, but fall silent when law-abiding dissenters find themselves thrown into Soviet mental asylums or blown up trying to leave East Germany.' But this sort of argument cannot be used against the Trotskyists, at least not without grossly falsifying the political positions of the revolutionary Marxists.

Revolutionary Marxists have been in the forefront of defence of victims of Stalinist repression for more than forty-five years now, including during times when the

major leaders of social democracy refused to commit themselves resolutely to this defence — for reasons of 'political opportunity', which is to say crude opportunism. (Note, for example, the social democrats' refusal to resolutely defend the victims of the Moscow trials.) They have likewise been in the forefront of the defence of democratic rights in the capitalist countries, including when these rights are restricted or eliminated by social democratic ministers (for example, the torture and repression introduced on a grand scale in Algeria by the government of the social democrat Guy Mollet, the fierce repression introduced in Malaya and Kenya by the Attlee social democratic government at the end of the 1940s, the ban on the employment of 'radicals' in the public sector introduced in West Germany by the social democrat Helmut Schmidt). The **practical balance-sheet** of the attitude of the Trotskyists and the Fourth International as far as defence of democratic rights is concerned is thus clear and coherent — much clearer and much more coherent than that of any other current of the contemporary workers movement and certainly clearer than that of the social democratic right.

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY!

Unable to rely on the facts, Williams must instead resort to crude sophism, the two major examples of which are as follows:

'Do you accept that if the cause of socialism (as you define it) and the cause of democracy should come into conflict, you will stand by democracy?'

'The saddest illusion of revolutionary socialists is that revolution will transform the nature of human beings so that those who inherit total power in the revolution will act with disinterested fervour for the good of the whole community. It is not what history demonstrates; better by far that the tenure of power is limited both in time and in extent.'

Our response to these sophisms is unequivocal. For us, socialism is defined by the total emancipation of labour, that is, by the elimination of all forms of exploitation and oppression among human beings. The self-administration of citizens — like the planned self-management of the producers — is an integral part of the Marxist conception of socialism. Thus socialism as the Trotskyists understand it **cannot** exclude the enjoyment of the broadest democratic rights for all, at least in the indus-

trialised countries. There is no socialism without socialist democracy. There is no socialist revolution in these countries without the conscious support of the majority. For the Trotskyists, the Soviet Union is not socialist but a society which has become bogged down and bureaucratized midway between capitalism and socialism as a result of its isolation under conditions of underdevelopment (an isolation for which the co-religionists of Shirley Williams of the 1920s and 1930s, from Ebert-Noske to MacDonald and Léon Blum, bear the major responsibility; Stalin is their offspring, illegitimate perhaps, but theirs nonetheless).

True to themselves, from the founding congress of the Fourth International the Trotskyists have demanded a plurality of political parties in the USSR. They did not wait for the belated contortions of the 'Euro-Communist' parties before pronouncing themselves forthrightly and without reticence against the principle and practice of the single party and against any form of the monopolisation of the exercise of political and economic power after the abolition of capitalism.

To present the socialist revolution as a

project to establish 'total power' in the hands of a small clique is absurd. The whole history of proletarian revolution, from the Paris Commune to the Portuguese revolution, confirms that the revolutionary process is accompanied by an enormous **extension** and not any reduction of the activity and political power of the broad masses, that is, a **distribution** and not a **concentration** of real power. The programme of the Fourth International, which integrates all the lessons of the revolutions of the twentieth century in this regard (both positive and negative), aims above all at the institutionalisation of this distribution of power through the creation of a society in which **direct democracy**, the democracy of workers councils, neighbourhood councils and consumer councils, will seize the essential reins of power now held by the hyper-centralised state. The point is, in other words, to prevent a **counter-revolution** subsequent to the revolution from depriving the masses of the power they have won. And historical truth requires that it be noted that the social democrats have played just as vigorous a role in these counter-revolutions as have the Stalinists.

CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM

But Shirley Williams's argumentation is not only absurd. It is also profoundly dishonest. For this entire tirade against the revolutionary socialists is actually designed to camouflage the **deeply anti-democratic character** of bourgeois society such as it now functions in the West, not to mention the semi-colonial countries.

In fact, a good dose of sophistry is required to accuse the Trotskyists of harbouring an alleged project of 'monopolising power' through a future revolution, while simultaneously maintaining silence on the **real monopoly of power** that exists in Britain today, which is the monopoly of power of big capital and its executive agents, that is, the several thousand members of the boards of directors of the big industrial, financial and commercial trusts and the high functionaries and executives over whom the majority of the population has not the slightest control, whom it has never elected and whom it can never oust so long as the political conceptions of Shirley Williams are adhered to.

Britain today is in the grip of a serious economic depression. There are a million and a half unemployed workers. Real wages are going down and drastic cuts are being made in social spending, which has led to the massive re-emergence of the harshest poverty in a country which not so long ago was still presented as the paradise of

Who made the decisions that led to this tragic situation? The masses of citizens and voters? Take a look at the programme on the basis of which the present Labour majority was elected and Shirley Williams 'governs'. There is no hint of any such proposals! Nor will we insult Wilson, Callaghan, Healey and Williams by suggesting that they prefer unemployment to employment. It may be said that these decisions were imposed on them by the 'gnomes of Zurich and the City', to paraphrase the formula of Harold Wilson. In any event, these are but two sides of the same coin.

But in the concrete this means that when Shirley Williams and company were confronted with a specific choice — respect the mandate of the voters, carry out their election promises, stick to the declared goal of their party (which **includes** the socialisation of the means of production, as stated in the well-known Clause Four of the official Labour programme) or else yield to the dictates of big capital — they deliberately opted for the second path.

This proves beyond doubt that under the 'democratic representative parliamentary' system combined with the capitalist system, both the mixed economy and the 'distribution of power' are mere myths. The real powers commanded by ministers and elected deputies are quite minor. Real power is

latter has an interest in allowing the 'elected representatives of the people' to command the **appearance** of power so long as conditions permit. But when economic and social tensions became too acute, appearances vanish and realities emerge. The Wilsons, Callaghans and Williamses make speeches, mislead the workers, and slander the Trotskyists. The 'gnomes of Zurich and the City' govern and impose decisions.

The real counterposition between the social democratic right and the revolutionary socialists is thus not the choice between socialism and democracy. It is the choice between socialism, with the support of the majority, and capitalism. The social democratic right rejects socialism. For them it is adventure and chaos. ('I hate revolution like sin', said Ebert.) And they are prepared to trample on the will of the majority in order to avoid a break with capitalism.

Moreover, Shirley Williams affirms this openly, proclaiming that in a democracy one can only govern through 'consent'; the alternative would be coercion. The conclusion is clear. When the parliamentary majority is bourgeois, one must bow down before the bourgeoisie, for the bourgeoisie is the majority. When the parliamentary majority is anti-capitalist, one must still bow down before the bourgeoisie, for fear of breaking with consent and of being forced to move to coercion.

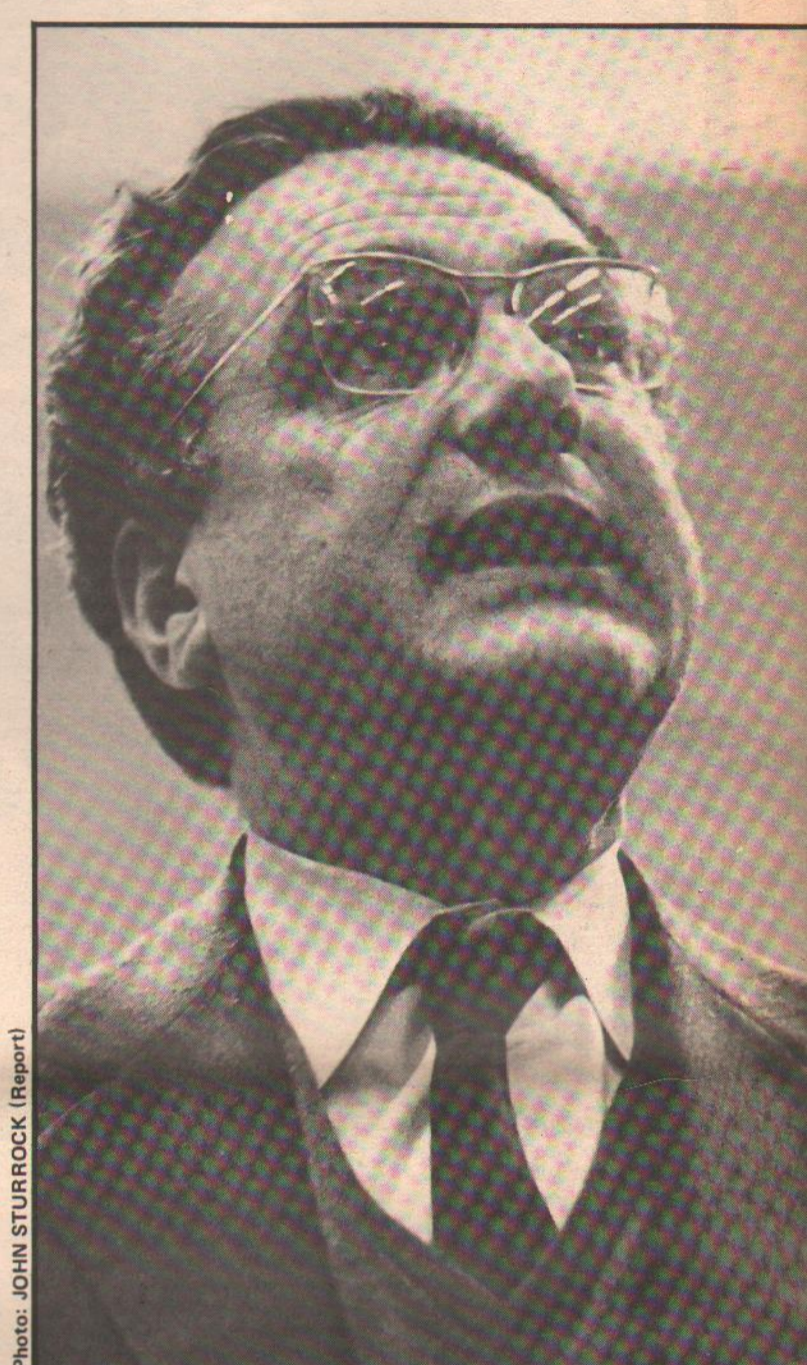


Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

by Ernest



This article by Ernest Mandel is taken from the organ of the United Secretariat of the Fourth

s on the road Samara



Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

t Mandel

CAPITALISM OR DEMOCRACY

The hypocrisy of the argument is striking. When Shirley Williams uses the word 'consent' she hints, without saying so clearly, 'consent of the bourgeoisie and only of the bourgeoisie'. For who could suggest that in Britain today the unemployed have 'consented' to unemployment, the workers have 'consented' to reductions in real wages, the pensioners have 'consented' to poverty, the students have 'consented' to reductions in grants?

In all these cases coercion was most definitely applied, both the coercion of the law and the coercion of 'economic necessity'. But such is the logic of the social democrats that they find it normal to compel the victims of the capitalist economy, with no consent whatsoever, to submit to exploitation. But they are not prepared to eliminate capitalism, except with the assent of the capitalists. Obviously they will wait quite some time before receiving that assent. In the meantime, coercion is applied in only one direction — against the proletariat and even, on occasion, against the clearly expressed desires of the majority of the voters. Deep is the mystery of this alleged devotion to democracy.

We are still not at the end of the ideological incoherence of Shirley Williams. By deliberately confusing democratic rights with 'parliamentary democracy' (that is, indirect democracy) she plunges into an endless chain of contradictions. She writes: 'Do you share our belief in the liberty of each individual human being, in his or her right to express his opinions and religious beliefs truly and without fear of consequences?'

Our response is 'yes' without any restrictions, precisely because we are convinced that there can be no counterposition between these rights and the struggle against the exploitation, degradation and alienation of humanity.

But the response of those who, out of a desire to win the consent of the bourgeoisie, place maintenance of the social status quo on the same level as defence of elementary democratic rights and on a higher level than the struggle against capitalist exploitation cannot avoid ambiguity.

So long as the majority of the workers accept the 'rules of the game' of bourgeois society in exchange for reforms and material concessions, this contradiction can remain veiled. But as soon as the accentuation of social contradictions, the aggravation of the political crisis, the growing radicalisation of sectors of the broad vanguard of the working population, and the growing politicisation of the workers shake this equilibrium, a new painful choice is imposed on the social democratic leaders. The defence of the 'consent' of the bourgeoisie, that is, of capitalist law and order, then requires restrictions on democratic rights. 'Each human being must be free to express his or her opinions without constraint', except if

they are 'subversive', revolutionary Marxist, 'anarcho-spontaneist' opinions.

The 2 February issue of the *Sun* reported that the right-wing Labour MP, Neville Trotter, had accused a group of young revolutionary socialists of having distributed 'inflammatory' leaflets that 'provoked anarchy' in a school in Newcastle. The aim of the leaflets was to organise protests against corporal punishment of the pupils. What convictions are involved here? The dictatorship of the proletariat? Hardly! Simply the need for pupils to organise to fight against corporal punishment and police repression.

Is Shirley Williams in favour of corporal punishment, a barbaric and despotic practice if ever there was one? We don't know. Is she prepared to guarantee the right to agitate through the spoken and written word against this barbaric practice, even if the consequence of this 'freedom of conviction' as expressed in leaflets is that 'anarchy' takes hold in the school? We have strong doubts in this regard, but we would be pleased to be wrong.

If, however, our suspicions are confirmed, what does this mean if not that the 'law and order' of the despotic stick wielders is more important to the social democratic leaders than the complete defence of freedom of speech and the press, and that they are prepared to resort to repression and to limit freedom of the press in order to avoid 'agitation' and 'anarchy'? Then the formula of Shirley Williams becomes: 'We are prepared to guarantee the right of every human being to freely express his or her convictions, except when such expression really threatens the "law and order" of the bourgeoisie, in other words, capitalist exploitation.'

Let us take another example. Under the social democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, any person in West Germany who expresses Marxist opinions, let alone revolutionary Marxist ones, knows that he or she will no longer be able to find a job in the public sector. Doesn't this mean that there is 'fear of consequences' and enormous intimidation, especially for the hundreds of thousands of students who have no alternative but to seek employment as teachers in the public schools? We are unaware of any vigorous campaign on the part of Shirley Williams in favour of freedom of conviction, speech and the press for German revolutionaries and Marxists. Undoubtedly it must be concluded once more that faced with the choice of 'defending bourgeois law and order' or 'completely defending the freedom of conviction of all individuals without fear of consequences', the social democratic leaders prefer to defend capitalism and restrict democratic rights.

It may be objected: The cases you are citing concern the limitation of the rights only of a few thousands or tens of thousands of revolutionary 'extremists',

dangerous agitators. This objection, however, would be inconsistent from the very outset, since it is Shirley Williams who insists on the need to recognise and guarantee the right of freedom of opinion for all individuals. Why grant this freedom to the (very small) minority which is the big bourgeoisie and refuse to grant it to the revolutionary minority?

But be that as it may, the concrete dynamic, confirmed by all recent experience, demonstrates that limitation of the democratic rights of 'small revolutionary minorities' is but the beginning (if not the pretext) for a much broader repression against an entire wing of the organised workers movement, if not against the working class as a whole. In the situation of aggravated social crisis of late capitalism, given the pronounced fall of the average rate of profit, and the prolongation of conditions that hover around stagflation, capitalism is less and less able to tolerate the unrestricted right to strike, the freedom to negotiate wages, the free organisation of the workers struggle against the implacable class struggle waged by big capital, particularly through the introduction of massive structural unemployment. Hence the universal offensive of the bourgeoisie for an incomes policy, enthusiastically supported by the social democratic right.

Now, given the present relationship of class forces, it is impossible to impose an incomes policy without limiting the right of free expression. How can wildcat strikes be outlawed without also outlawing calls to wildcat strikes? How can factory occupations be outlawed without suppressing written defence of factory occupations? How can lay-offs of 'dangerous agitators' in the factories be legalised without suppressing the right to speak, distribute leaflets, and produce newspapers calling for active solidarity with workers who are laid off?

The leaders of the West German Social Democratic Party who set the infernal machine of repression in motion in West Germany have already been faced with a situation in which a portion of their own organisation is subject to state repression for reasons of opinion. For Franz-Josef Strauss, leader of the ruling Christian Social Union in Bavaria, 'agitation' in favour of the collective appropriation of the means of production is 'contrary to the constitution'. But this call for collective appropriation appears in the basic programme of the DGB, the West German trade union federation equivalent to the British TUC. Can one be so naive as to fail to understand that for the British bourgeoisie, the witch-hunt in the Labour Party against the Trotskyists is merely the preparation if not the pretext for a repression waged by the employers and the state against the most combative trade union militants and the most combative wing of the proletariat?

IMPLACABLE LOGIC OF CLASS STRUGGLE

In this sense, the identification social democracy makes between 'representative democracy', institutions of the bourgeois-democratic state, and government through the 'consent' of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the democratic rights on the other, leads social democracy into genuine suicidal disasters.

The 'consent' of the bourgeoisie and respect for the bourgeois state apparatus is partially compatible with the survival of democratic rights for the masses only during relatively stable and prosperous periods for bourgeois society. When social and economic instability mounts increasingly, social contradictions sharpen in such a way that the bourgeoisie seeks to crush the freedom of action and organisation of the workers movement, including that of social democracy itself. Towards this end, the bourgeoisie uses the permanent state apparatus, of which the repressive apparatus is the decisive element.

The only means by which to avoid the advent of bloody dictatorships when the objective basis for parliamentary democracy disappears is the extra-parliamentary mobilisation and action of the masses to break the conspirators and their inspirers in time, that is, to break the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie. But for the social democrats this is to depart from the terrain of 'legality' and 'consent'. Fixated on the impotent parliament until five minutes past midnight, they stand powerless before the liquidation of democratic rights and their own annihilation, for they

reject the only possible defence of these democratic rights, which is the unrestricted mobilisation of the masses, which entails going beyond the 'law and order' of the bourgeoisie.

In curbing, fragmenting, discouraging, and even breaking this mobilisation during a period of inevitable general class confrontation, the social democratic leaders dig their own graves as well as the grave of democratic rights. The tragic examples of the rise to power of Hitler, Franco and Pinochet attest to the price paid in blood by humanity for this parliamentary cretinism.

'But this can't happen here, where the army has a deep democratic and constitutional tradition', reply the Williamses and the Callaghans, just as Allende replied in Chile. Really? All our quotations from Williams's speech come from the 22 January 1977 issue of *The Guardian*. On page 24 of the same issue of the same newspaper, under the revealing headline of 'Unions Helped to Avoid Coup', we read the following report of a speech by trade union leader Jack Jones: 'Two years ago we could have easily faced a coup in Britain. The fear of hyperinflation was strong. There was talk of private armies being assembled. There was talk of the end of democracy...' Questioned afterwards, Mr. Jones insisted that there had been "loose talking" around the top echelons of society. He maintains that the people then — "colonel this and captain that" — were still around and were not concerned about providing decent conditions for working

people in Britain. They only wanted to "keep the workers down".'

The typical reaction of the social democrats in face of such a situation is to retreat, bow down, and demobilise the masses 'so as not to provoke reaction'. If the social crisis is grave, this is the surest road to a coup.

Granted, Britain is not yet at that point. But Chile in 1973, Spain in 1936 and Germany in 1933 all arrived there, in particular because of parliamentary cretinism and refusal to defend democratic rights effectively, thus clearing the way to dictatorship. Under similar conditions which could develop in the future, the British General Kitson will not be any better than the Chilean General Pinochet.

An old Arab legend retold by the British author W. Somerset Maugham recounts the story of the servant of a Baghdad merchant who was frightened when he met Death in the market. To escape, he hurries to take the road to Samara. 'Why did you frighten my servant', the merchant asks Death. 'I didn't mean to frighten him', replies Death. 'It's just that I was surprised to see him in Baghdad, for I have an appointment with him in Samara tonight'. Shirley Williams wants to defend 'democracy'. At the same time, she does not want to break with the consent of the bourgeoisie and wants at all costs to respect the 'law and order' of big capital, upheld by a repressive apparatus which is anti-democratic by nature. Let her take the road to Samara, then, over which hover the shadows of Hitler, Franco and Pinochet.

LETTERS

FARE FIGHT

SWP and women's movement

WITH reference to your article on the new pamphlet from the SWP ['Why You Should Be A Socialist'] in Red Weekly, 27 January, it indeed has to be said that our case for building a new party might not be 100 per cent watertight. That's a matter of opinion though. And it will be for future practice to show.

One thing is clear at least — that our evidence for the case is far more persuasive than your evidence against.

For example: the charge that 'every single worker depicted in Phil Evans' very funny accompanying cartoons is a man'. This you seem to think is very significant — strange, since it's factually wrong [see pages 33, 38, 42, 51, 79 and 80, comrade Bell].

A good case of deliberate distortion to back up a claim [that IS never has nor ever will have any serious interest in the women's movement etc] that is clearly incorrect? Again, see pages 31-33 if you need further proof.

Your good work of countering the slandering of such as Healy [see the same page in Red Weekly as the article referred to] is but completely undone by your own wide use of the same techniques. BILL COLLINS (Sec., Durham SWP).

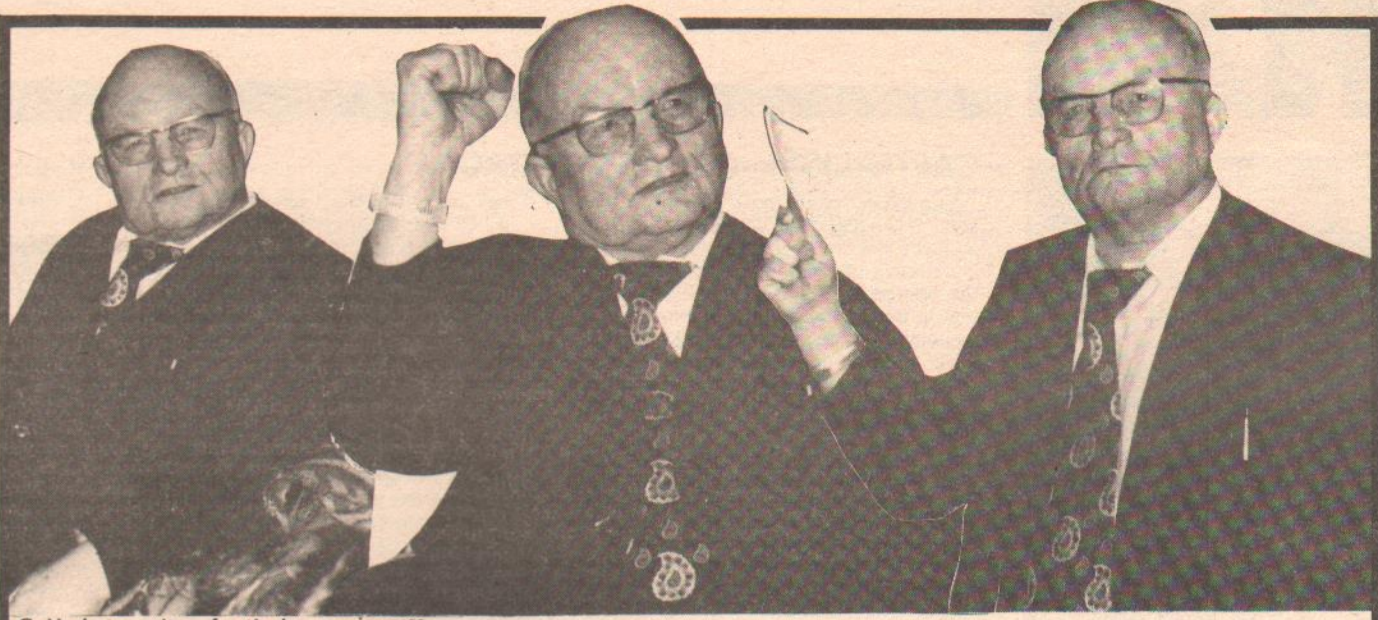
*** Geoff Bell replies:**

The cartoons to which Bill Collins refers show women writing a letter to an agony column, reading a billboard, voting, reading a letter, holding a placard and ... shopping.

The men depicted, on the other hand, are mostly wearing factory overalls, seen in conflict with bosses, or actually working in a factory.

As to the IS/SWP and its 'serious interest in the women's movement', it is interesting that Socialist Worker was the only paper on the left — including the Morning Star — which did not mention the recent NAC Tribunal in any previous issue before it took place; and it is the only paper on the left which has yet to publicise the rally on women's rights on 26 February.

The best way the SWP can show its seriousness to the women's movement is to build its campaigns, whatever criticism it may have of them. Until it does, I will remain sceptical.



G. Healy turns it on for the bourgeois press.

Why so defensive?

WHY SUCH a defensive reply to Barry Wilkins (Red Weekly, 3 February) on why Gerry Healy of the Workers Revolutionary Party was denied the right to speak at the 14 January meeting in London against slanders and frame-ups in the workers movement?

Obviously his plaintive paper waving at the end of the meeting was a publicity stunt aimed at the short-sighted hacks of Fleet Street. But just say Healy had approached the organisers of the meeting beforehand for a 'debate' on whether or not Joseph Hansen and George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party of the USA were 'accomplices of the GPU' in the murder of Trotsky?

Would we have changed the format of the meeting? No. I hope

we would have told him to go take a running jump. There is nothing to discuss and nothing to debate concerning the record of Hansen and Novack.

What does need explaining is the political degeneration of Healy's organisation. That was the aim of a meeting organised by London IMG on 25 January addressed by Tim Wohlforth, an ex-running mate of Healy's in the SWP, but now a member of the IS.

Now that meeting was not reported in News Line — or The Observer. The reasons aren't hard to find. Virtually the whole of Healy's paid scribblers from News Line turned up — not to debate the history of the Trotskyist movement but to repeat their slanders against its founders. This they

were allowed to do.

But when Wohlforth or even members of the audience replied they were met with howls of personal abuse and, during Wohlforth's summary, systematic barracking of 'liar'. Their deliberate intention, not knowing that the Trotskyist left is made of different stuff than themselves, was to promote violence in the workers movement.

To return to the 14 January meeting. We defend the right of any political tendency in the workers movement to decide the format of their own meetings, including the right to have platform speakers.

What was being repudiated at the 14 January meeting was not politics but slanders as a means of settling differences in the work-

ers movement. To allow Healy to repeat those slanders would have negated the purpose of the meeting which was to defend workers democracy against such methods. The only thing that was wrong was even to take a vote on whether Healy should be allowed to speak. What we do contest is the right of the trade union and labour bureaucracy to fix the platforms of labour movement meetings and deny contributions from the floor as a means of smothering opposition to their own policies. Fighting this and defending the right of any political tendency in the workers movement to decide on the character of their own meetings is what we mean by workers democracy.

MICK GOSLING [London].



because nothing in Britain for 50 years could be so described; we are not in a pre-revolutionary situation.

However that does not mean that squatting action cannot be important in an exemplary way — it can and does lead to expropriation in situations of mass struggle.

Does the revolutionary left wait until the 'real' housing struggle of rent strikes begins? This would ignore the fact that squatters are now in the forefront of the housing struggle, and in Lambeth for example are in the forefront of agitation against rent rises and cuts in housing spending! There, too, squatting action has been the motor-force in mobilising working class opinion against the right wing leadership of the council.

Through the Squatters Action Council, activities like this are being extended, and links with the labour movement established — by, for example, the call for a crash programme of house building and repairs to end unemployment in the building trade.

We hope revolutionaries will take up these ideas further and assist in building an effective fight back against the cuts and legal repression, starting with the struggles on now. We suggest the following tasks must be prioritised:

- * Mobilise in the labour movement for the CACTL demonstration in London on 19 March;
- * Give serious and consistent support to squatting action locally and nationally;
- * Promote the Inquiry into anti-squatting stories perpetuated in the media and councils, already backed by three trades councils.

Sandra Shafee (NUJ Book Branch), Emma Tait (NALGO and

Ireland - wrong method

I REGRET that your correspondent Steve Bell [Red Weekly, 27 January] found my article '1976 — year of tug-of-war' woolly. However I strongly refute his assertion that I view imperialism as without a strategy in Ireland.

Regular readers of the '7 Days' column will know that both Mike Pinter and myself have over the last few months consistently opposed this view which Steve Bell says is 'held by the majority of British Trotskyists'.

I agree in fact with Steve's characterisation of Britain's political project but I must disagree with his assessment of the immediate possibilities for Britain implementing this project.

Steve lists six points making for British success 'in the very near future':

* 'the introduction of the State of Emergency in the South' — while this clearly marked a new level of collaboration on the part of the Southern bourgeoisie it expresses more the position which they would like to be in than what they are capable of at present. Thus the offensive has been primarily directed at isolated militants in an attempt to lay the ground for the suppression of the anti-imperialist movement.

But the Government has not been totally successful, witness the resignation of O'Daigh and the demonstrations in Dublin, Ennis, Limerick and Killala. Most important of all the State of Emergency must be seen in the context of the collapse of successive British 'solutions' which pushes to the fore the inherent instability of the Southern state as well as that in the North.

* 'the acceptance by the majority of the Loyalist organisations of the necessity to have... rapprochement with the SDLP' — this is only partially true. The important point to grasp is that this 'acceptance' merely conceals the divisions and confusion within Loyalism and the increasing alienation of the Loyalist masses from Britain and the Loyalist politicians. Nor are the SDLP in any position to make the concessions

Council, 14 Rust Square, SE5, 01-701 7644.

The pamphlet Squatting — What's It All About? promoting the inquiry into anti-squatting stories is available from there,

necessary to meet this 'rapprochement'.

* 'the demoralising effect of the "Peace Movement"' — fortunately the account of the 'Peace Movement' given in the '7 Days' column is rather more accurate than the eulogies which appear in the capitalist press. Suffice it to say that as a fifth column operating within the Catholic ghettos, the 'Peace Movement' has long since run out of steam.

* 'the reassertion of bipartisanship in Britain' — Steve will forgive me, but I was not aware that it had ever been in jeopardy.

* 'the failure of the trade union bureaucracy in the South to defend Southern workers' living standards' — Steve will agree that the defence of living standards is never a job we can leave to the trade union bureaucrats. However, the problems that the Southern Irish trade union leadership has experienced in concluding a new National Wage Agreement points to the restrictions which are imposed on it by the militancy of the Southern workers over the past year.

* 'the failure of the Provisionals to make the political turns required in an increasingly difficult situation for the minority' — I think this was amply dealt with in my original article.

Steve's last two points seem to me to show the wrong method. In confining himself to the leadership of the mass organisations, he fails to recognise the dynamic of the struggles which the vanguard layers have involved themselves in. Indeed, all of Steve's 'proofs' go no further than the accomplished fact and so his method is more likely to lead to the 'political passivity' which he fears may entrap me. Far from standing on the threshold of success, imperialism today is further away from cementing together 'a devolved government'.

These of course are my personal views and not necessarily those of the Irish Section. JOHN MAGEE (Belfast).

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

More from the pages of those 'little blue schoolbooks'. Government and Politics at work in Britain, by W.R. Page [Longman], gives this objective account of the far left today under the heading 'Revolutionaries'.

'This brings us to the revolutionaries who, believing our present society to be irremediably corrupt, want to smash it and replace it by a new civilisation, with new customs, new institutions that will enable man to live a life unconfined by the dead practices of the past.

'They are prepared to see things worse before they are better: when pressed, they acknowledge that their policies might well produce chaos for a number of years. But then ...

'Many people can remember the 1930s when there was the misery of mass unemployment — 20 per cent of the entire working population. But even then there were 80 per cent at work. Chaos, now, would mean 80 per cent unemployed and 20 per cent at work. This, surely, must be avoided at all costs. Change, yes [and this book is a plea for change] but always, we may hope, from worse to better.

'Of course, revolutionary change appeals, especially to young people. But the new dawn envisaged will not be the golden sunrise of our imagination, viewed from the mountain top, with air like wine and we, hand in hand with our comrades [of the other sex, of course] running down to meet the old. If the revolutionaries have their way we shall be shuffling in the ashes of a burnt-out civilisation.'

SQUATTING AND FAR LEFT

ON BEHALF of the Squatters Action Council we take issue with Mick Sullivan's letter (Red Weekly, 27 January) on squatting.

Squatters — a section of the broad labour movement — are under massive political and physical attack. This is because, first of all, they are an important part of the fight-back against the housing cuts in their struggle to force councils to accept greater responsibility to house people. Second, it is so squatters can be used as a smokescreen to pave the way for vicious new laws — the Criminal Trespass Bill — directed at the fighting strength of the whole working class. Third, squatting action is attacked in order to conceal the strength and effectiveness of self-organisation; barricades and defence groups against evictions, for example.

Presumably Mick Sullivan and all serious revolutionaries agree with this analysis. But Mick then goes on to say, 'the very reason why squatters are being used as scapegoats is because of their isolation from the main labour and tenants movement, and the best way to fight these attacks is not so much by intervening among squatters, but by raising the issue in the labour movement'. But this is a banality, it dodges the question of who is going to raise the

way to raise the issues concerned is by intervening in the labour movement? No, of course not! The fact is, revolutionaries (many of whom are squatters) must intervene among squatters and assist in organising squatters to intervene in the labour movement on the issues of housing and squatting as well as intervene on these issues directly. The revolutionary left fails to do either seriously.

The presence of only three or so trade union banners on the Campaign Against A Criminal Trespass Law (CACTL) demonstration last February is an expression of this failure to get the issues across to the mass of the labour movement (despite formal support for the campaign from much of the trade union bureaucracy) and it would be absurd for any revolutionary group to claim 'credit' for this minuscule, hardly serious, mobilisation.

Now that the TUC has been persuaded by the activities of the CACTL to oppose all the proposed Trespass Law offences (apart from the one relating to embassies) it is doubly vital for revolutionaries to seriously seize the opportunity to actually take up the issues of squatting and the Trespass Bill. Mick Sullivan's statement that 'not even the largest organised

I WAS interested in the article 'Fare Fight' and Martin Eady's letter on the subject last week. However, none of the contributions pointed out what is the central weakness of the campaign.

As a strategy for fighting fare rises, it relies primarily on individual confrontation between the 'fare-fighter' and the transport authorities, unless he or she normally travels around in groups (not practical for the ordinary commuter).

Whether one is prepared to argue out one's case with the ticket-collector or the inspector (who more often than not do delay and harass one, despite the 'legality' of one's case) becomes a question of personal, individual confidence or stubbornness.

Surely one of the central elements of any socialist strategy for fighting any aspect of social oppression is the use of our collective strength, to help even out and combine our different capacities and levels of confidence? As a correlate of this, there is the need to openly and publicly manifest the existence of determined, collective resistance, to convince others that some people will not tolerate their oppression any longer.

The Fare Fight campaign as presently operated, ingenious as its scheme to clog up London Transport with paperwork may be, fulfils neither of these criteria.

It seems to correspond far more to the confused, individualist politics of the '60s 'counter culture' or certain strains of anarchism. I am surprised Red Weekly has not commented on this. KEVIN TODD [London].

Photos: G. M. COOKSON (Red Weekly)

SEND LETTERS TO: Editorial Board, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Analysing Apartheid

THE CIS PAMPHLET *Black South Africa Explodes*, reviewed in *Red Weekly* (27 January), points out the failure of the Black Consciousness Movement to link up with the black trade unions.

The limitations of this tactic clearly pose the question of an alternative. It is by drawing on the analyses provided by Dorcas Good and Michael Williams in their study of the link between the apartheid economy and Britain and on the work of David Hemson and Martin Legassick on the South African social formation that this question can begin to be answered.

Hemson and Legassick develop in some depth the possibilities of trade union action in South Africa: 'The whole structure of South African legislation is designed to repress, impede and control authentic trade unionism, and the full conditions for the authentic assertion of the workers' interests cannot be met without the transformation of the South African state and social structure. But this does not mean that the managements' repressive apparatus should not be attacked or that no authentic representation of the workers' interests can be made in the present context.'

Working class action in South Africa does indeed have a certain efficacy as the strikes in Natal in 1973 and in Soweto last year clearly demonstrate.

Many of the firms employing black labour are British subsidiaries. This poses the question of what can be done in Britain to encourage the formation of organisations of the black working class.

Good and Williams note that, 'In 1958 a government-appointed commission of enquiry — whose specific task was to examine the role of the state in promoting economic growth — unanimously concluded that South Africa's industrial programme would serve little or no purpose without the aid of foreign investment. Accordingly it urged the Government to "encourage industries in the Union by publicising overseas the advantages of the country in regard to industrial development and by actively encouraging foreign firms voluntarily to establish themselves in the Union".'

High profitability in manufacturing together with a tightly controlled labour force was precisely the encouragement foreign investors needed. Between 1956 and 1972 direct foreign investments rose by just over 300 per cent.

In a condensed version of their paper, Good and Williams remark on Britain's share that, 'The latest census on South Africa's international investment position shows that at the end of 1973 direct foreign investment in South Africa amounted to £3,585 million. If we assume that Britain was responsible for 60 per cent of this (which is a modest assumption since Britain's share in 1972 amounted to 66 per cent) this would mean that British companies have a direct

stake in the apartheid economy of about £2,150 million at the end of 1973.'

The problem with the disinvestment campaign is not so much that it is wrong — obviously it would have tremendous effects if it was at all successful — but the reactionary manner in which it can be understood. A disinvestment campaign poses the question of what to do with disinvested capital.

For the Communist Party the crisis in Britain is caused by unpatriotic businessmen investing abroad. However, as Good and Williams show, if the capital was to be invested in Britain under conditions of capitalist production, the rate of profit would have to be massively increased at the expense of the working class.

Rather the example of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement in the US should be followed. According to Hemson and Legassick, 'Workers in the Cambridge, Massachusetts plant of the Polaroid Corporation demanded that Polaroid should withdraw completely from South Africa, should make a public statement condemning apartheid in South Africa and should turn over some of its ill-gotten gains (not even all) to the liberation movements in South Africa.' We would of course argue for all the money to go to the liberation forces.

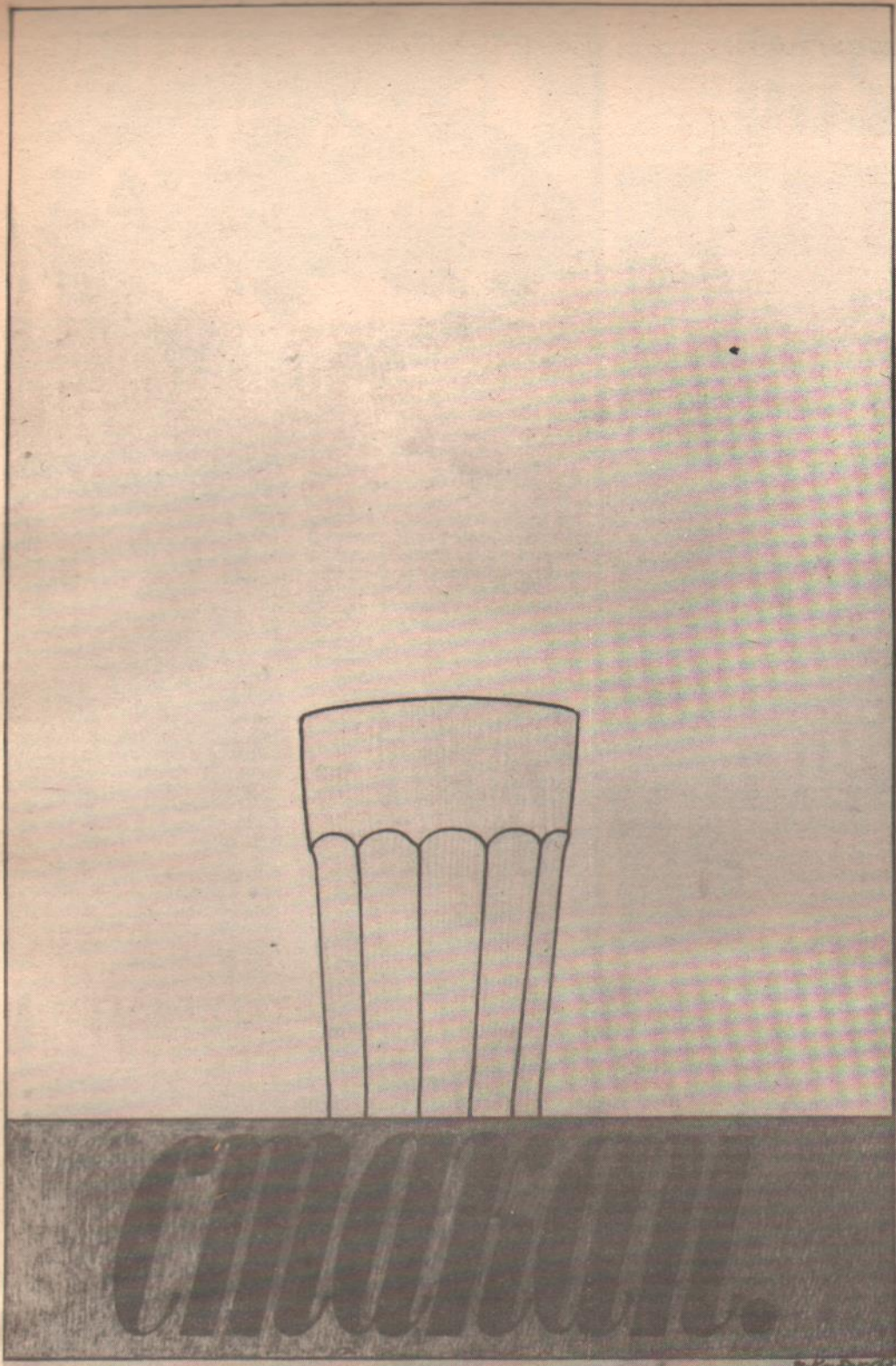
Besides the disinvestment campaign the extent of involvement by British firms means that British workers can play a powerful role in the creation of black trade unions in South Africa.

Hemson and Legassick put the point well: 'British workers in companies which have investments in South Africa should also struggle for the full disclosure of their activities in South Africa... The call by British workers must be: open the books. For it is possible for actions by British workers to have direct effects on reforms in South Africa, even reform by the South African state. For complex reasons the boycott imposed by American miners on South African coal imports to the US produced the repeal of the Master and Servant Act, which applied particularly harshly to the gold industry.'

Any solidarity movement in Britain must have these as its aims. These articles are extremely rich in both information and analysis and are recommended reading for militants. Unless the British labour movement begins to take up the question, the future for militants struggling against the apartheid regime is very bleak.

CLIVE BALDWIN

• Dorcas Good and Michael Williams: 'South Africa: The Crisis in Britain and the Apartheid Economy' David Hemson and Martin Legassick: 'Foreign Investment and the Reproduction of Racial Capitalism in South Africa'. Both published by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.



ILYA KABAKOV — 'Tumbler'

UNOFFICIAL SOVIET ART

Last week PAUL RUSSELL reviewed the exhibition of unofficial Soviet artists at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London. His comments have proved controversial. Here RICHARD CARVER provides an alternative view.

A GROTESQUE, twisted, naked figure is hanging upside down from a stake. He is being pierced with spears by two executioners, a man and a woman, also naked except for thick leather belts and boots. Crowded around are the clothed figures and impassive faces of Red Army commissars. The scene is very familiar. In atmosphere, if not in precise form, it is a crucifixion.

The painting is Alexander Makhov's *Execution*. Although the styles of the unofficial Soviet artists vary widely, this scene is typical in its preoccupation with the grotesque — it is almost a fantasy world — and with its evocation of more or less explicit religious symbolism to describe repression in the Soviet Union.

In this respect Paul Russell's very critical review of the exhibition does not go far enough in discussing the explicitly reactionary content of many of the paintings. I suspect that, paradoxically, this is partly a product of the incorrect aesthetic framework in which he sets his criticisms.

He maintains that what is wrong with Socialist Realism ('a sound revolutionary programme') is simply the degeneration of the Soviet Union. The core of this doctrine is that there should be a party and state art 'to glorify and uphold the proletariat'. Yet, in sharp contrast

attempt to advance the development of art as a means of commenting on reality.

Socialist art, which comrade Russell is correct to bring up, is not a method or a 'programme'. The issue is not 'political' painting, but the formation of particular ways of looking at reality. The basis of this must be Realism, not in the sense understood by Zhdanov and the Stalinist cultural policemen, but in opposition to Formalism (represented by most of the paintings in this exhibition) and Naturalism (represented by Socialist Realism).

The development of modern painting from the Impressionists and Cézanne has provided the basis for such a dynamic presentation of reality, an interpretation of the working and relationships of the real world. No prescriptions can be laid down for either the form or content of this Realism. The work of artists like Tatlin, Lissitsky and Malevich in the 1920s — abstract rather than figurative — would all fall within this definition.

Much of the painting in this exhibition is the mirror image of official Soviet art. For the official doctrines laid down by the Academy it substitutes a supposedly classless formalism. The 'glorification of the proletariat' becomes the glorification of those ideolo-

Russian chauvinism which is so characteristic of Socialist Realism itself. This can be seen most clearly in Plavinsky's *The Walls of Novgorod*.

Only two artists consistently reject this approach. Comrade Russell says that the work of Ilya Kabakov would be at home in any Western collection of Pop art. I think not. The function of Pop art is an elevation of everyday objects to the status of art.

Kabakov uses a very similar style to question the nature and functions of these objects. The device of using captions to supplement the visual image, also favoured by Western Pop artists, becomes for Kabakov a way of redefining the object.

Most of his painting is trivial, if often very witty (particularly a series of paintings of a man in a shower). But his view of his own method is valuable: it 'prefers a dialogue, presupposing a correlation between the content of the painting and the perception of the spectator and vice versa. Painting and spectator have a foreknowledge of one another and a dialogue between them springs up immediately, because it is a dialogue they have conducted before, albeit separately'.

It is a pity that Ernst Neizvestny, the only artist of high international standing, is so thinly represented.

pictures, enough to convince us that he has a part to play in the struggle for a genuinely socialist art in the Soviet Union, and a number of pen and ink drawings.

These two artists apart, the paintings are disappointing and derivative, though an interesting document of the effects of artistic repression. In subject matter and style they are the Solzhenitsyns of the visual arts, but without his talent. Igor Golomshtok's essay in the catalogue tries to play down the impact of Western influences on these painters. But many of the paintings are second rate copies of the major Western movements of recent years.

It is not surprising that the formative period for many of these painters was the half liberalisation of the Krushchev years when Western art began to be exhibited in Moscow and Leningrad. Oscar Rabin's *The Chemise*, for example, makes a specific acknowledgment to these exhibitions.

My conclusion, with the exception of one or two artists, would have to be the same as Paul Russell's. The low quality of the painting is a critique by default of the regime which finds it necessary to ban it.

The exhibition continues until 27 February at the Institute of Contemporary Arts, Nash House, The

• a reply

DOUBLE YOUR MONEY

THE IMG Fund Drive Target has been doubled — from £15,000 to £30,000. Fortunately a Red Weekly supporter who has recently come into some money has made us all an offer we can't refuse. For every pound we raise towards our old target of £15,000 this comrade will give an extra pound. This means that the £3,072 we had raised by last week is now £6,144.

So despite the target being doubled, IMG branches and other supporters of Red Weekly are still only being asked to raise a total of £15,000.

Despite the slow start to this month's target, some branches have already planned their fund raising activities. One branch is reproducing the text of Tim Wohlforth's recent speech, 'The Rise and Fall of the International Committee', some are planning weekend Marxism schools, and others are arranging a variety of activities.

We will report on these activities regularly, and on the projects being planned at the IMG centre. In the meantime, rush in as much as possible and we'll double your money. Send to: Fund Drive, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Or why not make a regular commitment to building the revolutionary movement in Britain? Just fill out the bankers order form below and send it to the same address.

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Spanish police arrest 1200

militants

REPRESSION against the organisations of the far left continues. It is estimated that some 1200 people have been arrested since the suspension of habeas corpus after the wave of fascist terror.

The MC [Communist Movement], for example, reported that one of its leading members had been abducted during a train journey and they 'feared the worst'. The police reply was that he was quite safe in jail! Very reassuring.

Only a handful of those arrested have been from the far right, mainly Italians and Argentinians. It is clear that the killings in Spain were tied in to an international fascist network. But the Spanish Government is using this as a scapegoat for the activities of overt fascists on its own payroll. Most of the hit men are recruited from the ranks of the police and Civil Guard.

The Government is well aware of this but, despite its crocodile tears and its fake reform, will do nothing to clamp down on the fascists. That would mean smashing the dictatorship once and for all.

The most publicised arrests have been of alleged members of GRAPO, the far right provocateurs who kidnapped two leading Government figures and killed three policemen. In fact the five people detained appear to be members of the Reconstituted Communist Party, a Maoist group which the Government has tried to link to GRAPO. Probably the arrests are another cover for the complicity of the state repressive forces in GRAPO's activities.

* Next week: a special investigation into the Spanish far right and its international connections.

SPAIN IN STRUGGLE, the Spanish solidarity magazine, has called a meeting to discuss the present situation in Spain and the organisation of solidarity in Britain. Friday 11 February, 7pm, Room S101A, St Clements Building, London School of Economics, Houghton St., London WC2.



ATHLETIC DE BILBAO team displays the Basque flag. Athletic was one of the founder members of the Spanish Football League [it is currently lying seventh] and a focus of Basque national feeling. A few weeks ago two of the team left the field during a match to lead a demonstration carrying the then illegal flag.

Stalinist acrobatics

IN THE PAST fortnight, the Communist Party (PCE) has surpassed even its own acrobatic class collaboration.

At the same time as making an 'energetic' protest against the anti-working class repression, Santiago Carrillo, PCE general secretary, has been appointed to a sub-committee of the negotiating commission between the Government and the 'democratic' opposition. Nothing, not even the vicious repression of the past weeks, can dissuade the PCE from its belief in the democratic character of the dictatorship.

In a public statement the PCE was upset at the 'contradiction' between the Government's democratic positions and the arrests of

the far left. But there is no contradiction. The Francoist dictatorship has always used the fight against 'terrorism' as a shorthand for the repression of the workers movement. The PCE cannot see this because of its own scandalous record of condemnation of the action of the Basque freedom fighters.

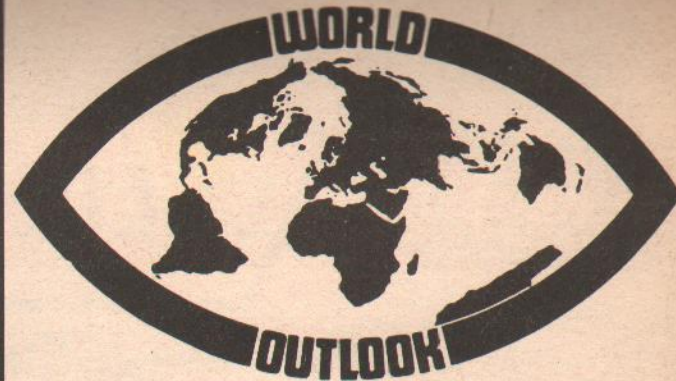
But even this disquiet did not prevent the PCE from issuing a joint statement with the UDE (Democratic Spanish Union) which numbers four Government ministers among its membership.

The Maoist organisations, pale reflections of the PCE, were piqued at not being allowed to sign this statement. The PTE, for example, said that it 'wants to

support the Government in destroying the manoeuvres of the terrorist groups'.

None of these organisations want to admit the direct responsibility of the Government and its hired police gunmen for the attacks on workers organisations. Only the Trotskyists are arguing for workers to rely on their own organisations to defend against the fascist and police terror.

The demand for the dissolution of the repressive forces of the dictatorship threatens the cosy position of the PCE and the Maoists. But that is the slogan being raised by growing numbers of Spanish workers.



★ Ethiopia

The crisis of the Derg, the ruling military council, has sharpened in the past week. Firstly, a demonstration organised by the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party attacked the US Embassy and the offices of the British Council. American imperialism is the principal backer and arms merchant to the 'socialist' Ethiopian regime.

Then, on Thursday, it was reported that Teferi Bante, the head of state, and six other officers were killed in fighting around the Grand Palace in Addis Ababa. Bante was allegedly planning a coup under the instructions of the EPRP and the Ethiopian Democratic Union. This is unlikely since the EDU is a far right and the EPRP a far left organisation!



example in a battle at Bailaco, near the capital of Dili, where six hundred Indonesians were killed. Another victory has been the desertion of a number of units of Indonesian marines to join FRETILIN.

★ Chile

A former Chilean senator has received a document outlining the expenditure of DINA, the Chilean secret police force. It is a photocopy of a letter from the head of DINA to Pinochet requesting a \$600,000 increase in its annual budget.



TEFERI BANTE

It is possible that Bante had links with the EDU which supports the late emperor Haile Selassie. But the main reason for the killings is the need to find a scapegoat for the catastrophic defeats of the Derg's forces in the war against the Eritrean separatist movement and the growth of opposition among the working class and students of the capital itself.

Extra troops have been drafted to Eritrea and the north-eastern provinces to replace the many casualties — and those who have deserted to the side of the Eritreans.



★ Italy

The Andreotti Government has implemented another round of austerity measures with the support of the Communist Party (PCI).

An agreement between the unions and Confindustria, the employers' federation, cut 'labour costs' by attacking redundancy payments, absenteeism and public holidays. Productivity clauses will now be tied to wage increases. All this is done in the name of the 'historic compromise' and the need for a 'Government of National Unity' to fight inflation.

Not even the PCI union leaders were able to manage a sell-out on index-linked wage increases, so the first stage of the austerity plan, announced last Friday, greatly increased taxation on items not included in the 'threshold basket' by which the wage rises are calculated.

The PCI supports this attack on working class living standards. It will continue to abstain in the Chamber of Deputies to allow the Christian Democratic Government to carry on. In a speech in Milan PCI general secretary Berlinguer sold the austerity plan to reluctant party workers, earning the praise of the right-wing paper *La Stampa* for his 'Ciceronian fluency combined with the intensity of a Demosthenes'.

★ Timor

An independent investigation by an Australian diplomat has revealed war crimes by the Indonesian invading army in East Timor. James Dunn reports mass executions, particularly directed at the Chinese population, as well as torture, murder and rape. About half the Chinese population, or 7,000 people, have been killed.

At the same time the FRETILIN resistance forces are making gains. Eighty-five per cent of the country is estimated to be under FRETILIN control. FRETILIN troops have won a number of

It explains the need to increase DINA personnel in foreign embassies in order to 'neutralise' oppositionists. Peru is a particular object of spending, with bribes to navy officers and sections of the press. Another important item is the training of DINA officers in anti-guerrilla techniques at a training camp in Brazil.

★ Iran

Chrysler shop stewards have come up with a good idea for fighting redundancies. No, not a sliding scale of hours but a deal with the Shah of Iran's own motor manufacturers.

Shop stewards from Stoke visited Teheran and came back full of admiration for the Iranian system. It seems that they missed the prison camps and the political executions but, as the Coventry Evening Telegraph put it, they discovered that 'there is a company union known as the syndicate which negotiates on pay and conditions'.

This apparently did not worry the visitors from Stoke, who were more impressed with Chrysler's deal to sell engines and transmissions to the Iran National Industrial Manufacturing Company, to stock the Teheran taxi fleet. This is another part of the Shah's strategy of conspicuous consumption, while avoiding the real problems of industrialisation and chronic urban and rural poverty.

One of the shop stewards summed up their visit: 'We as trade unionists now have a far better understanding with management than we have ever had before'. No doubt the Iranian working class

PORTUGAL: Rough ride for Soares

THE FIRST six months of the minority Socialist Party Government in Portugal have not been altogether happy ones. And they ended on a particularly unhappy note for Prime Minister Mario Soares when two of his pet projects came dramatically unstuck.

First a special Socialist Party congress called to tighten up party discipline had to be abandoned without completing its work, even though a total of 1,200 militants had already been expelled from the party in the months beforehand. The latest casualties include two parliamentary deputies expelled amidst familiar cries of 'Trotskyist infiltration' after having had the temerity to vote against the Government's austerity plan at the end of December.

FIGHT

When the congress opened, however, Soares first discovered that only 600 of the 900 delegates had bothered to turn up, and then that a third of those present, led by former Agriculture Minister Lopes Cardoso, were prepared to mount a vigorous fight against the leadership's proposals for revising the party statutes.

The conference finally had to be suspended with less than half of the 85 articles approved after a walk-out by some delegates meant that a quorum could no longer be reached. A motion was pushed through to allow the national committee to approve the remaining articles without a further congress, but enforcing them may be a different matter if the left is able to consolidate its base on the field of struggle against the Government's austerity plan.

This is the nub of the problem for Soares: the fact that the opposition inside the SP is over-



Delegates at the conference of Portuguese trade unions denounce the Government's austerity plan

increased willingness to struggle against the Government's attacks was also shown at the recent conference of Portuguese trade unions called by the Communist Party dominated Intersindical. Delegates from 269 unions — including 70 unions not previously affiliated to Intersindical — attended the conference, representing 1.7 million workers (85 per cent of the unionised workforce).

The only unions not represented were those of the 'Open Letter' group set up last year by Socialist Party members. This initially won some support from workers disillusioned by the bureaucratic practices of Intersindical, but the SP 'democrats' soon showed their true colours.

It rapidly became plain that the leaders of 'Open Letter' were more interested in establishing a privileged negotiating position with the

than 20 unions pulled out, and others remained only because of the most incredible bureaucratic manoeuvres by their leaders.

The conference sponsored by Intersindical was not democratically prepared either. Comparatively few general assemblies were held to discuss proposals for action, and even these were called hastily with low participation by the workers.

Nevertheless, such is the feeling among the working class against the Government's attacks that at the last minute the conference organisers withdrew their original vaguely-worded resolution in favour of one calling for 'the coordination of struggles on the basis of stoppages of work, strikes and demonstrations'.

For the Communist Party this is nothing more than a tactical manoeuvre which will enable it to

become secretary general of the new confederation) and put the heat on Soares to include the CP in the Government. Having merely abstained in parliament on the austerity measures, the CP also made sure that the successful resolution included a commitment to 'respect the Constitution' as a further earnest of its good intentions.

But good intentions aren't always enough. Although the conference resolution falls a long way short of the kind of action which could really challenge the Government's attacks — a 24-hour general strike, for example — it could well provide the impetus for a new outbreak of workers' struggles. Already the country's 30,000 fishermen are out on strike against Government attempts to restrict union rights in the industry.

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

Residents in the Catholic Clonard area of Belfast have been busy during the past few weeks organising a campaign to get the notorious Parachute regiment removed from the area. Barricades have been built again in the area for the first time since the no-go areas of 1972 and a petition signed by all but three of the residents has been presented to the Northern Ireland Secretary, Roy Mason. The three residents who did not sign were elderly women living on their own who expressed the fear that signing the petition might lead to their homes being visited by the Paras.

Such fears are easy to understand for the Clonard area has received special attention from the Parachute regiment since it arrived in Belfast two months ago and indeed on the occasion of every previous visit by this crack outfit of the British Army. The present campaign was sparked off by an incident which well illustrates how the Paras and the rest of the British Army have been 'keeping the peace' in the Six Counties.

In the afternoon of Tuesday 25 January, a patrol of the 2nd Battalion, Parachute Regiment raided the home of the Moyna family in Bombay Street. During the raid Francis Moyna suffered a fatal heart attack. His

wife, Mary, has described how when the soldiers entered the house with a sniffer dog, her husband began to gasp and show signs of heart trouble — he had had similar attacks in the past, including an attack during a previous Army raid.

Mrs Moyna explained that the soldiers would not allow her to get help and a number of times had pulled her away from the window when she tried to summon help. This has been confirmed by seven local women who told a press conference the following day how Mrs Moyna had been dragged away from the window as she cried out for medical assistance and a priest for her dying husband.

One of the women described how a priest was summoned from nearby Clonard monastery and arrived to find a soldier barring the door. 'Father Burns arrived and they weren't going to let him through. I jumped the para and I grabbed him and I distracted his attention. The hall door got open and Father Burns was able to squeeze in. A soldier said he would arrest me for assault and I said "You do whatever the f... you like. You're a murdering bastard anyway"....'

Following Mr Moyna's death the Army claimed they had radioed for a cardiac ambulance at 4.20pm but according to the hospital log the request was not received until 4.42pm. The Army also claimed that the patrol carrying out the raid had given assistance to Frank Moyna but according to Mrs Moyna the only response her husband received from the paras was to be ordered: 'Shut up'.

Mrs Moyna, her family and neighbours have already given their verdict on the Paras' actions: 'They killed him!' They are unlikely to be swayed by the police inquiry which has been ordered. The almost total absence of prosecutions and convictions of British soldiers for what the Northern Ireland Office calls 'errant' behaviour stands as a rare tribute to the skill and competence of the RUC in covering over the crimes of their allies in the 'security forces'.

Nor are the people of Clonard impressed by the demand put forward by Social Democratic and Labour Party leader Gerry Fitt for a full inquiry. Five years after Bloody Sunday they have not forgotten the whitewashing given to the Paras' actions that day by just such an inquiry. They have no reason to believe that the death of Frank Moyna

would not be 'widgered'. No unit of the British Army is welcome in nationalist districts of the North of Ireland. In all these districts you will find walls and gable ends adorned with slogans demanding 'Brits Out'. Whatever the regiment the complaints are the same: beatings, kickings, houses torn apart, youths and women humiliated, people forced to take off their shoes and socks and to stand for long periods in puddles of water, illegal detentions. But when the Paras come to town you can rely on the volume of complaints rocketing.

In the modern history of Ireland only the Black and Tans and the SAS have evoked more revulsion. Many people in the Six Counties would see the Paras as trying to outdo the barbarity of these forces. No wonder they often describe the Paras as 'sick' and 'psychopaths'. In the Clonard area the locals complain of one para whom they call 'Mad John'. They describe him as a big man, six foot three at least, claiming that he beats them up, stomps on them, abuses their children, hits them with his rifle butt, and poisons their dogs.

'Mad John' is a member of the Paras 2nd Battalion and is based at Springfield Road Police/Army barracks. As this column reported two weeks ago, cases of brutal assault which have taken place in this station have been documented and responsibility laid at the door of the Parachute Regiment. Injuries have included fractured skulls and broken ribs. However, these activities are not the work of unbalanced individuals but part of the administrative policy of 'law and order' followed by the British Government in the North of Ireland.

In the wake of bombings in Britain and amidst an atmosphere of witch-hunt stirred up by the Government and the media these events are all too easily forgotten. But they are the story of everyday life in the Six Counties and while this remains the case then Republicans will probably continue to take action in Britain. Bombs in Britain will not bring freedom to Ireland but while the British Labour movement continues to condone the armed occupation of the Six Counties by British troops, then they have no right to condemn the violence of the IRA. In the Clonard area of Belfast the working class people are raising the demand 'British Army Out Now!'. It is the same demand which should be on the lips of every British socialist and worker.

BAD NEWS ON IRELAND



FOUR BRANCHES of the National Union of Journalists have submitted motions on press coverage of Irish affairs for the Annual Delegate Meeting of the NUJ, to be held in April.

The motions are linked with demands for an NUJ inquiry into such coverage; a typical motion submitted by the North London branch reads:

'ADM takes note of the superficial and frequently biased manner in which much of the mass media in Britain has dealt with the war in Ireland. Whilst most TV, radio and press coverage focuses on the day to day incidents of the war, next to nothing is presented about Britain's 800-year involvement in Ireland, and the consequential developments in the island's long history leading to the present war. Although the views of successive British governments are widely publicised in Britain, those of the other main protagonists in the war are not.

'This ADM shall therefore elect from among delegates an ad hoc committee of ten to examine and report on the mass media's coverage of the war in Ireland.'

The need for a thorough examination of press treatment on Ireland is almost as long overdue as is the removal of British troops from that island.

Take the example of a recent court case heard in the Six Counties.

Three weeks ago a court in Strabane was told how five men dragged a woman into an empty house, how one of the men raped her and the other four made various sexual assaults.

It is the sort of story which normally the gutter press blow big, in a nauseating, sexist way. But this case was not even mentioned in the *Mirror* or the *Sun*. What makes this all the more surprising is that the five men were originally let off; three received suspended sentences, the other two were fined £50 each.

All the elements of a shock! horror! story were present for the news hounds of Fleet Street, but they preferred to ignore the trial

and Fleet Street does not like to publicise such examples of 'peace-keeping'.

Nor is it just Fleet Street where the lie machine operates. Last month a great row developed when it was disclosed that Roy Mason, Secretary of State for the North of Ireland, had attempted to persuade the head of the BBC there to yet further censor their coverage of Irish affairs. He demanded a complete black-out on all reports of Republican activities.

The response of the BBC was to send a memorandum to Mason. It detailed how they had given three times more coverage to the pro-British 'Peace People' in the last three months of 1976 than they had given to 'paramilitary' activities in the whole of the year. The implication was that further censorship was not necessary.

Mason was not satisfied. Within the last two months several representatives of public bodies in the North of Ireland have been asked

by the Northern Ireland Office to sign the Official Secrets Act. They include eight members of the Housing Executive, the centralised Government body which controls subsidised housing. Mason has also written to 40 quasi-governmental bodies warning them that he is 'disturbed by recent disclosures of classified departmental documents to the Press' and 'is reviewing all possible sources of such disclosures'.

Mason has also talked about imposing 'D Notices' on such bodies, who include dangerous organisations like the North Ireland Tourist Board.

Censorship of news from the North of Ireland is just about the one booming industry Britain has left. If Mason doesn't censor, Fleet Street will, and of course there is always the British Army's 'public relations' service to back up the web of omission, distortion and lies.

A recent study carried out at the



Free speech on Ireland — one of the major themes of the Bloody Sunday Commemoration demonstration on 30 January which attracted over 1,000 marchers.

Centre for Mass Communication Research at the University of Leicester offered this judgement on the Army's press corps:

'Evidence has accumulated of journalists being deliberately and repeatedly misled (by the Army), mainly to implicate the IRA in violence carried out by Loyalist extremists'.

Which explains why Ian Smith has recently recruited the former head of the Army's special propaganda operation in Belfast, one Major Richard Stannard. Stannard's history in the field of black propaganda, misrepresentation, slander and all the rest is just the sort of record which would appeal to Smith.

For once the *Guardian* is right when it comments 'Mr Stannard's experience in Northern Ireland will give the Smith regime a significant boost in the propaganda battle'.

A well-attended meeting of Tameside Trades Council, Greater Manchester on 3 February agreed by an overwhelming majority to sponsor a new pamphlet being produced by People Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Passed after the Birmingham bombings nearly two years ago, the PTA gives the police wide-ranging powers to arrest, hold

incommunicado and deport people without even telling the victims what they are meant to have done.

The Act has been used to create an atmosphere of fear among Irish people and drive Irish republicanism underground. By launching

the new pamphlet PAPTAA have given the opportunity for militants in the labour movement to raise the Act and to win sponsorship for the pamphlet.

For more details contact PAPTAA, 37 Middle Lane, London N8.

WHAT'S ON

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

FILM SHOW and Social to mark opening of Manchester Red Weekly Centre. At the Centre (14 Piccadilly), Sat 12 Feb, 7pm, with Cuban film 'The Battle for the Ten Million'.

'LOCAL Labour Party Democracy' conference—Campaign for Labour Party Democracy with Hackney North & Stoke Newington Labour Party, Sun 20 Feb, 2.30-6pm at Hackney Free and Parochial Secondary School, Paragon Rd, E8 (opp Hackney Town Hall, Mare St). Buses 22, 30, 38, 55, 106, 253, 277. Chair: Ernie Roberts (Asst Gen Sec AUEW). Speakers: Coun. Jane Chapman (Haringey), Coun. Gerry Ross (Hackney), Adrian Ham (N. Islington CLP). Ample time for discussion from floor.

MARXISM and the Mass Media: series of fortnightly forums. Sun 20 Feb: 'Sexism and Racism in the Mass Media'. 7pm at London Film-Makers Co-op, 44 Fitzroy Road, London NW1 (Chalk Farm tube/Primrose Hill BR).

BATTLE OF IDEAS: London IMG public meetings. Tues 15 Feb, 7.30pm. Brian Grogan on 'Party and Faction'. Room C101A, Claremarket Building, London School of Economics, Houghton St, WC2.

LONDON Education Cuts Action Committee: mass meeting for all teachers. Thurs 10 Feb, NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, 6pm.

SOCIALIST VOICE — First issue just out. A journal of news and analysis. Includes articles on Milton Friedman, Weinstock and GEC, and T&GWU election. 15p from Workers League, 12 Edwin Road, Birmingham B30 2RY.

'DIRECT ACTION and the Labour Movement': Southern Area Day Conference on the Criminal Law Bill, organised by CACTL. Sat 12 Feb, 10am-5pm, at the Pavilion Theatre, New Road, Brighton.

NAC National Planning Meeting, Sat 12 Feb, Sheffield.

NAC National Conference, Sat 19 March, South Bank Polytechnic, London.

MARCH with the National Abortion Campaign against the Benyon Bill: Thurs 24 Feb, from Bressenden Place, Victoria to Central Hall, Westminster.

LONDON Socialist Feminist meeting on Women's Unemployment: 13 March Caxton House, St John's Way, N19 (women only).

THE RE-AWAKENING: February issue now out of journal produced by Chinese militants on the class struggle in China and Hong Kong. Contains articles in both English and Chinese on the situation in China since the death of Mao and on Sino-Soviet relations. Price 15p (inc p&p) from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1.

INTERNATIONAL Communist League public meeting: 'Imperialism and the Class Struggle in the Middle East'. Speaker: Jack Price. Sunday 20 February, 7.45pm, at the Roebuck, 108a Tottenham Court Road (Warren St tube).

REVOLUTIONARY Communist Group: 'The material basis of women's oppression'. First of a series of six fortnightly forums on women's oppression under

Speaker: Carol Brown. Admission 20p, Thursday 17 February, 7.30pm, Roebuck pub, 108a Tottenham Court Road (Warren St tube).

MANCHESTER Revolutionary Communist Group Public Forum: 'Can the British Road to Socialism Defend the Working Class?' Weds 16 Feb, 8pm, Lass O'Gowrie, Charles St, Manchester 1.

'TROTSKYISM and Revolution': Geoff Roberts (CP) debates John Ross (IMG). Thurs 17 Feb, 7.30pm, at Collegiate Theatre Conference Room, Gordon St WC1. Organised by University College FI Soc/Comsoc.

BRISTOL Socialist Challenge Forum: 'Women's Liberation and Revolutionary Socialism'. Speaker: Anne Chesterton (women's movement activist and NUPE steward). Tues 15 Feb, 7.30pm, at Baptist Mills Centre, Horley Rd, St Werburgh's (off Mina Rd, nr M32).

WEST GLAMORGAN demo against the cuts: Swansea, Sat 19 Feb. Assemble 10.30am, Dyfatty Lights. Rally with Emylyn Williams (S. Wales NUM) and speakers from NUPE, NUS, EGA.

POLISH WORKERS Defence Campaign: Film Benefit Night with film from Poland and speakers. Weds 23 Feb, 7pm. Seats £1.50, unemployed/students 50p. Other Cinema, Tottenham St W1. All proceeds to Polish Workers Defence Campaign in Warsaw.

FOUR DAYS of Marxist discussion on the Soviet Union: on the class character, Stalinism, political economy, women, state power, social structure, change. Organised by Critique. Speakers include: Hillet Ticktin, Mick Cox, David Law, Sandy Smith, Alex Holt. 4-7 April, Central London. Registration limited. Write for further details to: Critique, 9 Poland Street, W1.

'WHICH WAY for the Working Women's Charter Campaign?' The WWC will be holding their National Conference in London on 21-22 May. Venue to be announced later. All enquiries to 1a Camberwell Grove, London SE5 (01-704 4173).

BIRMINGHAM Trades Council Conference on Racism: Sat 19 Feb, starts 10.30am. Digbeth Civic Hall. Credentials from Birmingham Trades Council, Ruskin Buildings, 191 Corporation St, Birmingham.

ETHIOPIAN Cultural Evening: Fri 18 Feb, 7pm onwards, at the LSE. Organised by British Ethiopian Information Group and LSE Afro-Asian Society.

PORTUGAL/CHILE/BRITAIN: Popular power/popular culture. 3-day festival 18/19/20 February at Conway Hall and The Other Cinema, London. Special all-inclusive ticket for £2 available only in advance by post from: Portugal/Chile/Britain, 54 Bruce Road, London E3.

'ONE YEAR On From the Sex Discrimination Act': public meeting organised by Hammersmith WWC group. Speakers include: Pat Turner (GMWU), Ann Holmes, Ernie Roberts. Songs from Broadside Mobile Workers Theatre. Thurs 10 Feb, 7.30pm, Swan pub, King St/Hammersmith Broadway. Crech

REPEAL the Prevention of Terrorism Act! Public meeting called by Trade Union Committee Against the PTA. Speakers include Pat Arrowsmith and Alastair Renwick. Fri 11 Feb, 7.30pm

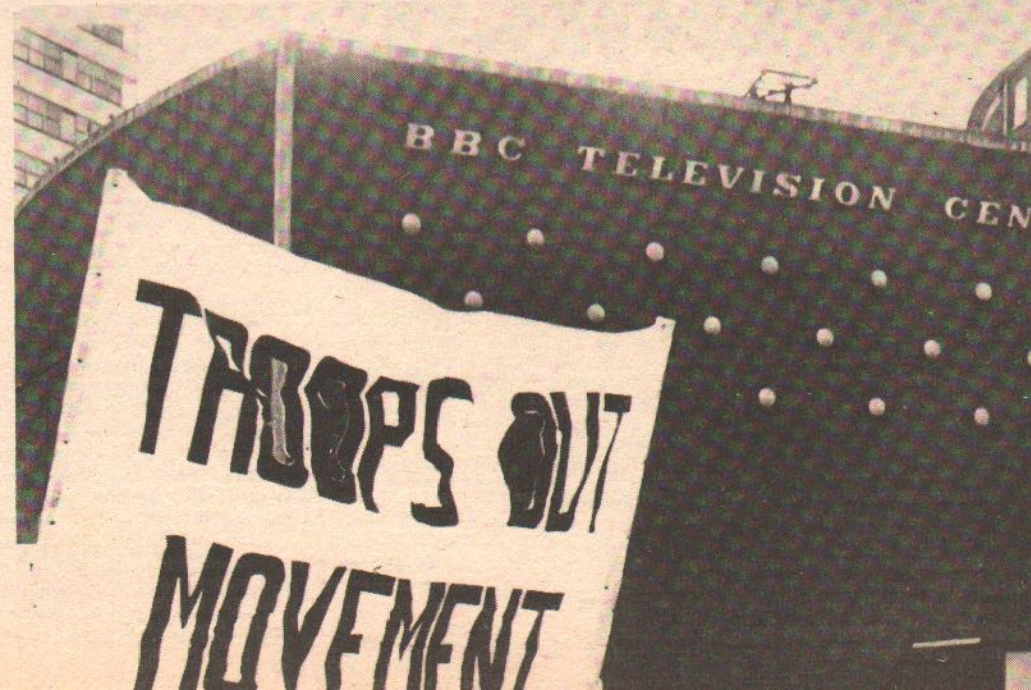


Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)



As the stench of an impending 'deal' wafted through the sewers where abide the Home Office and its minister Merlyn Rees, the campaign to stop the deportation of Phil Agee, the former CIA agent, reached something of a climax in London last week.

The Labour Government's grovelling before the CIA has clearly caused more opposition, and from some unexpected sources, than expected. Rumours abound, therefore, that Mark Hosenball, the former radical journalist also threatened with deportation, will be 'reprieved' within the next two weeks, presumably as a sop to liberal opinion.

On the evidence of the Agee-Hosenball Campaign's meeting in Central Hall last week, this trick will fail. Apart from the presence of three Labour MPs, including two former ministers, the platform included a former US Attorney general, Ramsay Clark, a recent head of the American version NCCL, and Morton Halperin, a former aide to Henry Kissinger.

Apart from this range of supporters, Agee received messages from Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Andreas Papandreu, Alvaro Bunster, a former Chilean ambassador under Allende, Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda, and Sean McBride.

The true measure of Merlyn Rees's treachery was pointed out by Agee himself, when he turned from the issues of civil rights to what the CIA meant for people in Latin America:

'A whole generation is being wiped out at this very

moment', Agee said. 'They can't even clear away the bodies — they're doing mass cremations in Argentina — and all this because of what the CIA has been doing for fifteen years.'

Ralph Miliband echoed Agee's sentiments: 'they leave Smith, Vorster and Pinochet alone of course, but look at Allende, Michael Manley, and what will happen in Spain, Italy or France tomorrow. We are not just fighting the CIA here, but the Labour Government's complicity in the deportations.'

For the Defence Committee, the problem now is to focus its extensive trade union support, which ranges from the TUC General Council to dozens of local Labour Party and union branches, on Rees as he makes his final decision.

Although 151 MPs have opposed the procedure used against Agee, it is very unlikely that they will practically do more for Agee than they have on other issues in the life of this Government.

A call has gone out to all political and trade union organisations opposed to the deportations for an instant response should a decision to deport be announced. Pickets of Home Offices in London, Liverpool and other cities are planned for such an event.

Further details of plans for the final stages of the campaign may be obtained from: Agee-Hosenball Campaign, 186 Kings Cross Road, London WC1 [01-278 4575].

RTZ Confronted by SWAPO

RIO TINTO ZINC, the foremost representative of British imperialism in southern Africa, faces another threat from its workers in Namibia.

It is only two months since the last strike at the Rossing uranium mine ended. A consistent problem in that dispute was the division of the workers along tribal lines. Now SWAPO [South West African Peoples Organisation] is attempting to launch a unionisation drive which will cut across that divide.

Rossing is the world's largest uranium mine and vital to the British and Japanese nuclear industry. No doubt RTZ, with the tacit backing of the British Labour Government, will do all in its power to crush this threat to its bank balance. RTZ has international operations. We must be international in our support for the struggle for black trade union organisation.

* See page 9 for reviews of two recent pamphlets on British investment in South Africa.

RED WEEKLY

SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN NEWS

The urgent need for the building of a British solidarity campaign with the Zimbabwean freedom fighters was the subject of a meeting called last week by the Review of African Political Economy, The Institute of Race Relations and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. These three organisations had previously organised a successful teach-in on Zimbabwe.

A wide range of speakers from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mozambique Solidarity Action, Zimbabwe Medical Aid, War on Want, African Students Union, International Defence and Aid, Zimbabwe African National Union, National Union of Zimbabwe Students, Zimbabwe Solidarity Committee, the International Marxist Group, plus the sponsors and a number of individual militants, all outlined their present activities and plans.

Three general areas of Zimbabwe solidarity work were outlined. Firstly, raising funds for the liberation organisations, which in fact Mozambique Solidarity Action and Zimbabwe Medical Aid have already begun. Secondly taking up the distorted press coverage in Britain. Thirdly, launching a week of action in late April or early May. This last point was agreed by all those present, although a precise date was not established.

demonstration on 6 March. Speakers from Africa invited include Sam Nujoma, leader of SWAPO, the Namibian liberation organisation; O.R. Tambo of the African National Congress of South Africa, and Mugabe and Nkomo of the Patriotic Front.

The IMG representative at the National Committee proposed three further speakers. Firstly a representative of the Muzorewa ANC of Zimbabwe, not because the IMG agreed with the politics of this group, but because by simply inviting only the Patriotic Front the AAM in practice lined up with only one of the liberation organisations. This was in fact contrary to AAM policy passed at the last Annual General Meeting, but also took a decision as to who represented the Zimbabwean

VORSTER COMES OUT FOR SMITH

THE BRITISH plan for a neo-colonial Zimbabwe received another blow last week.

Although US imperialism in the person of liberal UN ambassador Andrew Young has backed the British scheme for the transfer of power, South African Prime Minister Vorster has come out in support of Ian Smith. One of the most important tasks of Ivor Richard's mission to southern Africa was to win Vorster's help in pressuring the Salisbury regime.

In the past, Vorster has favoured the Anglo-American proposals as the best way of buying off the nationalists in Zimbabwe and the black working class in South Africa. It was he who managed to sell the Kissinger proposals to Smith, persuading him to attend the Geneva constitutional conference.

Now Vorster reckons that the battle lines are clearly drawn and he knows which side he is on. He is not prepared to use 'that sort of power to force a man to do something against his will'. Admirable sentiments on human rights, but they only apply to white racists.

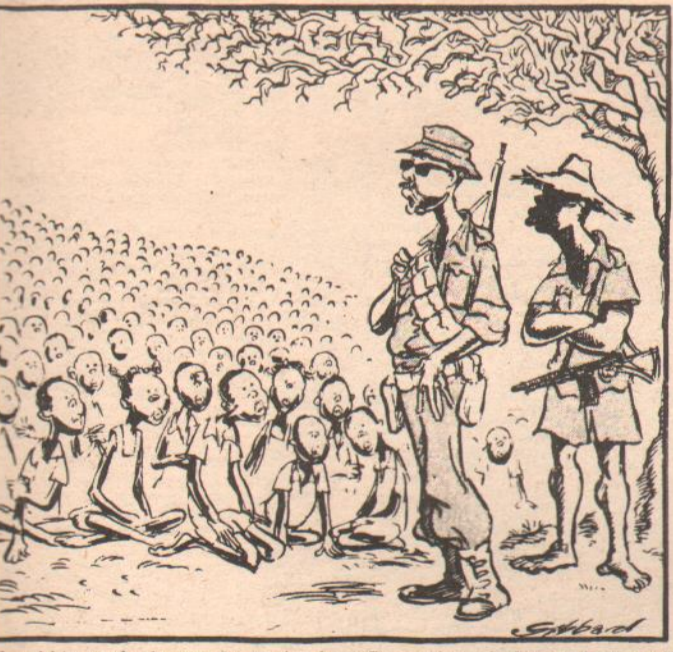


We the undersigned support the call put out by the African Students Union to build the 6 March demonstration in London in solidarity with all freedom fighters in southern Africa, on which the ASU will be building an African contingent.

Ethiopian Students Union in UK
Africa in Struggle
Asian Socialist Forum
Namibia Support Committee
Scrape Ntshona
Pal Luthra, chairperson Overseas Student Group, Middlesex Poly
Black Struggle
Samaj
Portsmouth Polytechnic Pan-African Society
A. Sivanandan, Director of the Institute of Race Relations. (personal capacity)
National Union of Zimbabwe Students

NATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE: 'Southern Africa in Crisis'. 19 February, UMIST Students Union, Sackville Street, Manchester. Further details contact: Colin Talbot, MANUS, Old Music College, Devas Street, Manchester 15. Telephone 061-273 5947.

For details of the AFRICAN STUDENTS UNION and its conference write to: The Organising Committee, African Students Union, 103 Gower Street, London WC1E 6AW



'Okay kids, you're here to learn the three Rs — rifles, rioting, and revenge'

Scratch a liberal and you find a reactionary underneath. This cartoon from the Guardian is typical of the racist garbage put out by the British press in the name of objective reporting. Underlying the media coverage of the 'abduction' has been the assumption that nobody could voluntarily oppose the Smith regime.

SUFFER THE LITTLE CHILDREN?

IT SEEMED like a propaganda victory for the Rhodesian Government. Armed guerrillas crossed the border from Botswana and abducted 400 youth from a mission school for indoctrination as terrorists. The world bourgeois press was up in arms and Tory MP Patrick Wall called an emergency debate in the House of Commons.

Unfortunately, however, the youth themselves revealed that they had left voluntarily. In fact the headmaster's report of armed guerrillas robbing the cash-box was a lie. There were no guerrillas. The youth left of their own free will to join Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU freedom fighters.

The Government's story was implausible anyway. The Smith regime never explained how a handful of men were able to shepherd 400 unwilling youth several miles through the bush at night.

When the truth came out it was the Smith regime rather than the guerrillas which was embarrassed. The youth said that one of their

er of civilians by the Rhodesian army to boost their 'kill rate' (the ratio of Government to guerrilla casualties). Not only does this expose the brutality of the racist regime's army. It also indicates that it is being less successful than it claims in the war against the 'terrorists'.

The youth, a majority of them female, were emphatic on the need for armed struggle to overthrow the Smith regime. Susan Munhamo, aged 17, said: 'We are going to be freedom fighters and we know what that means. I don't mind killing people because look what Smith does to our people. We want to rule ourselves and we will choose our own leader when we have won.'

Tory MP John Davies found it inconceivable that children could have made the decision to leave without consideration for their parents. Susan Munhamo answered him: 'We will only miss them when they are dead. They are too old to fight. We are not. They will be very angry. We all know

The main discussion at the meeting came over what structure this Zimbabwe campaign should take. The IMG and many other militants put forward the need for a coordinating committee made up of representatives of all the organisations present, and open to all others, and including individual activists.

This was opposed by Paul Fauvet, a member of the Mozambique, Angola and Guine Information Centre and the Communist Party. He argued that an organisation already existed that could spearhead this campaign and that was the Anti-Apartheid Movement. These remarks failed to grasp that there were many activists and organisations outside the AAM that wanted to organise action over Zimbabwe.

In the event another meeting was set for all the organisations present and many others who could be encouraged to attend for 13 March which would discuss the precise details of the Week of Action on Zimbabwe.

The day before another important meeting took place — that of the National Committee of the AAM. The meeting discussed the campaigns around British military collaboration and disinvestment of British interests in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

people, which only they can decide.

Secondly, that one of the Soweto students in exile in London should address the rally as they represented the militancy of the youth of South Africa and had led the Soweto uprising of last June.

Finally, it was proposed that Tariq Ali, as a black militant and a representative of the revolutionary left, speak. It was argued that as had been the case over the Chile demonstrations, it was necessary to have the broadest range of organisations represented on the platform, especially from amongst those actually building the demonstration.

An amendment referring these proposals to the Executive Committee was carried. Readers of Red Weekly will be able to see on 6 March what decision the Executive took.

However all were agreed that the urgent task of the hour was to leave the NC and build the largest possible demonstration on 6 March. It is only in that way that the Labour Government will change its present policies which objectively back the racist regimes in southern Africa. Red Weekly urges its readers to support the demonstration.



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AGENDA

The agenda also included an item on a special policy statement on the situation in southern Africa, which again made clear the AAM call for the Labour Government to cease all military links, halt all new investment and loans to South Africa, support a mandatory United Nations arms embargo and tighten sanctions against Rhodesia. These were considered to be minimum demands that the AAM expected the Labour Government to enforce.

A brief report was also given on

RIC SISSONS

Build the African Students Union Conference March 5

Build Southern Africa Solidarity Demonstration March 6

in struggle

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