

RED WEEKLY

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21 April 1977

No. 195

Price 10p

Take up the call of Heathrow, Port Talbot, Fords

NO CON-TRICK HERE!

THERE IS ONLY one reason Jack Jones has started to hedge his bets on the future of the Social Contract. Throughout the country workers are determined to resist any Phase 3 of the 'con-trick' he himself foisted on the working class.

The resistance began with the Leyland toolroom workers, it has spread to the steel electricians in Port Talbot and to the Heathrow engineers. Now the carworkers at Fords have added their voice. They have submitted a claim for a 15 per cent wage increase, plus wages linked to the rate of inflation and a reduction of the working week, with no loss of pay.

What has scared Jones most is that the workers in these disputes are attempting to link up with each other and build as broad and as a united fight-back as possible.

★ That is why Vic Barnes, chairperson of the Ford convenors' committee promised, 'If we have to we will combine with other workers — British Leyland, the engineers and the miners — to smash the Social Contract'.

★ That is why the Port Talbot steelworkers invited to their meeting last Monday representatives from the Heathrow workers and the Leyland toolroom workers.

★ That is why the Heathrow workers have given the backing to the occupation of



Heathrow transport workers decided on Monday to close the airport if lay-offs were used to divide and rule.

Hounslow hospital workers fighting to resist another side of the Social Contract — the cuts in the NHS.

★ That is why the members of the Transport and General Workers Union at Heathrow have pledged to close down the airport if the management tries to exploit the dispute to throw people out of work.

When Red Weekly talked to

those involved in these disputes they were very clear what was at stake, WYN BEVAN of the Port Talbot workers told us:

'Our struggle is not just for electricians, but for the whole trade union movement. The employers are hiding behind the Social Contract'.

IAN MORRIS, AUEW shop steward at Heathrow, added

his assessment of the 'con-trick':

'There never was any Social Contract. It was only a question of trade union bureaucrats agreeing to reduce the standard of living of their members'.

And ROY FRASER, leader of the Leyland workers told us the conclusion many workers are drawing from the role their

'leaders' have played in policing the unemployment, cuts and incomes policies of the Labour Government:

'It is a fact that the union bureaucracy is becoming removed from the rank and file. In order to instil discipline in their own members the bureaucracy are aligning themselves with the employers'.

So powerful a momentum has

now been built up to destroy all aspects of the Social Contract that it would be the gravest mistake if that momentum petered out because of a few carefully chosen words from Jack Jones.

— Place no faith in social contractors!

— For the unity of all those in struggle!

Kick out Mobutu and his paymasters

FRENCH military aid to the Mobutu regime in Zaire is an attempt to prop up a brutal dictatorship and threaten neighbouring Angola.

Red Weekly has already reported on the imperialists' 'Operation Cobra 77' (31 March). This means the build-up of troops along Zaire's border with Angola, ready for an attack later this year. American and French military expertise plays an important part in this plan.

Already the Zaire Government has given its backing to right-wing guerillas in Angola. Regular Zairean troops are known to have fought in Angola during the civil war last year.

The exact nature of the Congo National Liberation

Front (FNLC), more generally known as the Katangan gendarmes, is unclear. But it is certain that opposition to the Mobutu regime extends beyond the few hundred guerillas who entered the country from Angola.

There is also no doubt that the Angolan people have a right to defend their borders against imperialist threats from outside. To that end if Cuba aid is being given — which is not proven — it is fully justified.

We offer our unconditional support to the Angolan people in their defensive struggle and to the Zairean people in their fight to overthrow the Mobutu regime.

The imperialist interest in Zaire is quite different from the

Angolan or Cuban.

The Zaire army of 45,000 is incapable of defeating what Mobutu describes as a handful of guerillas. It is clear that there is mass opposition to his Government.

That is why imperialist powers like France, Belgium and the USA — and their clients such as Morocco, Egypt and the Sudan — are sending aid.

CAUTIOUS

The Americans have been cautious. So far they have only sent non-military supplies. But Zaire is already armed with the most modern US weapons.

There is now strong evi-



dence that the CIA is involved in recruiting mercenaries in the US and Britain to fight for the Mobutu army.

French President Giscard has been more open in his support, seeking to bolster his prestige at home by a display of chest-beating in Africa.

In the face of opposition from the workers' parties at home he has been forced to moderate his statements. But his protestations that he is not sending military aid are pathetic.

What are 'military advisors', skilled technicians and Mirage jets if they are not military aid? What is shipping in hundreds of Moroccan troops if it is not military aid? And how does

Giscard explain the death of a French soldier near Kolwezi last Friday?

The hypocrisy of the French and Belgian Governments is sickening. Above all their interest is an economic one. Katanga, now called Shaba, is the richest region of a rich country, with massive copper and cobalt deposits. Already it is reckoned that French big business will do very well out of the intervention.

CLAIM

They claim that they are going to protect Zaire against secession and outside interference. But in the 1960s imperialism, Belgium above

all, supported the right-wing Katangan secessionists when that seemed to be the best way to get their hands on the mineral wealth.

There is another reason for the intervention. All over southern Africa the liberation movements are making big advances. Portuguese imperialism has been thrown out and the Rhodesian regime is tottering. As long as Mobutu is a buffer against these struggles the imperialists will back him to the hilt. Mobutu must be kicked out. And so must the imperialist and their troops.

* See page 11 for details of the imperialist intervention.

All Out Against Benyon Bill 14 May

Teachers back pay policy, but left grows

The 2,000 delegates at this year's National Union of Teachers conference gave overwhelming support to the line that the Executive has been pursuing over the last year. They voted to support a third round of the wages policy, endorsing an Executive memorandum which failed even to mention a figure to negotiate around.

The principal guidelines laid down in the Memorandum were 'maintenance of teachers' pay relativities with those of other groups of employees' and the need for 'flexibility' to 'correct distortions and defects in salary structures'.

Conference also approved the Executive memorandum on the *Defence of Educational Standards, Class Size and Teacher Employment*. By next school year, the number of unemployed teachers

will have grown to 44,000 due to the Executive's inaction. But the Memorandum simply advances more of the same.

Whilst the NUT leadership has singularly failed to mobilise the membership over the last year in a fight against the cuts, they haven't been so 'soft' when it came to dealing with members who wanted to take action. Teachers at Little Ilford school in Newham in London were suspended from the Union when they took action.

Tucked away in an appendix to the Executive's annual report was a proposal to compel local associations to elect officers by secret ballot. This was accepted by conference, as was a proposal to give the Executive tighter control over the Union's paper, *The Teacher*.

Despite conference's acceptance of the Executive's right wing line, however, there was a definite shift to the left on the conference floor.

THE LEFT

The organised left-wing has been undergoing a steady development over the last months. Traditionally the Rank and File grouping, dominated by the Socialist Workers Party, has been the principal

year about 15 delegates were members of Rank and File.

Its place as the main tendency has been taken by the Socialist Teachers Alliance. The STA has existed only for 5 months. But in that time it has won the support of many left-wing NUT members who oppose both the sectarian claim of R&F that it constituted the left in the NUT, and the undemocratic internal structure of R&F. Thirty-five delegates were STA members when conference began. This number had grown to 50 by the end of conference.

An STA-sponsored public meeting against the Social Contract addressed by Port Talbot convenor Wyn Bevan attracted seventy delegates. The meeting raised nearly £90 for the strike.

STA speakers were in the forefront of the struggle against the

right wing on conference floor. Outside of conference, the STA continually pressed for united action with Rank and File and all individuals and organisations on the left seeking to reach out to wider forces, and in particular turn the 100,000-strong 'class size vote' into action. An eighty-strong joint STA-R&F meeting was held on the eve of conference, and a joint STA-R&F leaflet produced in response to Shirley Williams' conference speech.

CAMPAIGN

Most important was the meeting called by a number of associations and supported by both the STA and R&F to organise a national campaign against the cuts.

The meeting, held on Tuesday,



Betty Hunter an STA delegate from Wandsworth NUT moves the main motion on racism.

attracted more than 100 delegates and supported a proposal to carry forward the fight against the cuts and Social Contract by organising an open conference in mid-June. A steering committee was set up to include 5 STA members, 5 R&F, and 5 independents elected from the meeting itself.

Scanlon and Gill disarm TASS

The TASS Executive Committee will be calling on conference delegates to oppose any continuation of the Social Contract at the annual conference of the union this week in Bournemouth.

TASS has had a policy of opposition to the Social Contract for the last two years. In that time, General Secretary Ken Gill agreed with Scanlon's decision to withdraw a motion in opposition to wage restraint at the TUC in the name of 'unity'.

TASS has gone on record with the other 20 unions in British Leyland against the recent tool-makers' strike. And the 'four point campaign of action' issued by TASS to increase wages has remained a dead letter.

One of the motions on the agenda of conference calls for 'the Executive Committee to pursue a National Wage Claim for a substantial across the board increase together with a sliding scale of wages which would automatically increase the basic wages of all members at weekly or monthly intervals to keep pace with inflation'.

The Executive report argues that 'we will be unable to make a major breakthrough without mass involvement of other organised workers'. It doesn't mention that the best way to bring about the 'mass involvement' is by giving a fighting lead to focus the opposition to the Social Contract.

The union leadership has failed to mount a national fight. They are left prey to the manoeuvres of the right wing. They are disarmed in front of the measures proposed by Scanlon yet again this year. The National Executive of the AUEW engineering section has decided that all of its 52 delegates to the conference of the Amalgamated Union will be bound by the policies adopted by this body. A block vote of the engineering section delegates will once again automatically outvote the other three sections in the union, including TASS.

The TASS executive refuse to launch a real fight against the Social Contract. But they are only too eager to attack the involvement and democratic organisation of the rank and file in the union. This will make the annual conference a shadow of democracy. Conference will debate a proposal that Divisional Councils — not the branches, as at present — should elect delegates to conference. It will decide whether branch resolutions need divisional approval before going to conference. The union executive will probably find it more difficult to convince the rank and file of the union of these policies.

They are a far cry from what union militants expected in electing their Broad Left and Communist Party leadership.

Lewisham lesson for TASS members

By AUEW (TASS) Shop Stewards at GEC Elliotts, Lewisham.

A THREE WEEK STRIKE in defence of three workers at the GEC Elliott Process Instruments factory in Lewisham ended last week.

The workers, members of the technical and supervisory section of the AUEW, were suspended by management for refusing to break existing grading scheme agreements.

One outstanding feature of the strike was the support from other workers. TASS members raised over £1500 within the factory through a levy.

Backing by the shop-floor unions was supported by picketing and regular strike bulletins. Donations came in from local AUEW and electricians union members. The GEC Maryport factory made a substantial donation.

Contrast this with the actions of TASS officials and the local Divisional Council, who despite declaring the dispute official raised NOT ONE PENNY. Then there were the sell-outs:

* Sell out No. 1. The officials and Divisional Council refused to sanction any action beyond financial support of the three suspended

* Sell out No. 2. TASS stewards rejected this inactivity and proposed a strike of 30 members from key areas, supported by a levy from the rest of the membership. Then the officials made clear that since we had ignored their 'advice', financial support was unlikely to be given.

It was only after the dispute ended that the Divisional Council made the empty gesture of donating £75.

* Sell out No. 3. The officials deciding that they could not control the dispute devoted their efforts to getting a return to work. Against the view of the stewards a mass meeting voted by a small majority to reluctantly return.

The re-instatement of the suspended members with pay was gained, but the wider issue of management unilaterally breaking existing grading agreements was left unchallenged.

The TASS Annual Conference this week will see proposals by the Executive for increasing the power of the officials. The Broad Left, who are behind this move, also stand opposed to the direct election of all full time officials.

Full control by the rank and file over full-time officials and the union apparatus will be necessary if we are to end such sell-outs as GEC

'Murder by TV' was the headline run by the Daily Express when a member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary was shot a few days after the BBC Tonight programme screened an interview with a victim of the RUC's interrogation techniques.

So the National Union of Journalists' representative at BBC-TV Current Affairs rang his opposite number at the Express. Had it occurred to the Express staff, he wanted to know, that when they joined the NUJ they had agreed to oppose news suppression?

The reply spells out what will be the theme of several key debates at the union's annual conference in Yorkshire this week. 'The NUJ's primary concern is pay and conditions,' the father of the Express chapel said. 'You must take up any editorial questions with the editor.'

The union's leadership is anxious to agree with him (while supporting the Social Contract). It has just reached partial agreement with the press proprietors and editors over a Press Charter, conceding that editors must not be 'interfered' with, except by the bosses who can determine 'basic editorial policy and practices'; and promising not to discipline members for anything they write.

BIAS

What is at stake is the NUJ's code of conduct, which conference resolutions demand should be the basis of any Charter, and in any case be publicised within the labour movement. Among the obligations the code places on journalists is that those criticised in the media must have a right of reply.

The battle against racist reporting is the reason for an unprecedented number of complaints against individual members, and

used by the Campaign Against Racism in the Media.

Media coverage of Ireland is another issue on which the proprietors' and editors' press freedom will be challenged, with a call for the conference to elect a committee to investigate the 'trivial and frequently biased' coverage of the war.

Journalists, according to the code of conduct, must not 'origin-

ate material which encourages discrimination on the grounds of gender or sexual orientation'. A resolution from the London Freelance and Magazine branches seeks to instruct the union's equality working party to recommend means of ensuring that this policy is implemented.

NUJ members in the International Marxist Group, responsible for initiating many of the resolutions that aim to break the media bosses' monopoly control over editorial content, will be arguing at fringe meetings that the Journalists Charter group has to place the fight for press freedom at the

In Black and White
Racist reporting and how to fight it

Campaign Against Racism in the Media
In Black and White — Racist Reporting and How to Fight It. An excellent expose of racist reporting by the media, by the Campaign Against Racism in the Media. From Campaign at 13 Cleve Road, London NW6, 35p plus 10p for p&p.

centre of its initiatives. This, together with a policy of mass action against the Social Contract, should be the basis of nominating a left candidate in the election of a new general secretary.

BRISTOL STUDENT POWER ERUPTS

AFTER A deceptively quiet Monday at the end of last March, the reality of student power erupted in Hartcliffe Comprehensive in Bristol.

A mass walk-out following Tuesday morning's tutor period headed for Avon House, home of the Education Authority. There were two issues at stake. Avon Authority was depriving 'free' dinner children of the right to dinner. And there was strong opposition to the cuts, in line with the non-cooperation policy in lunch-time supervision taken by teaching and non-teaching unions in the school.

Most of the students marching to Avon House were stopped by persuasive teachers urging a return to school. But the determination of the students could not be ignored. The school's timetable was suspended. Talks and meetings were organised so stu-

dents could discuss the cuts and the actions taken in protest by the teachers. 2000 students engaged in lively debate. A girl and boy from each tutor group were elected as delegates to represent the interests of the students.

ACTIONS

The next step in the campaign was a large public meeting. Petitions and lobbying weren't adequate. The campaign needed to reach out, involving parents. The students proposed a mass march and lobby of the Resources Committee. This body decides where cuts are to be made.

The meeting was arranged at short notice. But 700 people came. The mood was militant. Speaker after speaker endorsed

the initiatives by teachers and students. An overwhelming vote supported the march and lobby on the 21 April. An Action Committee to organise these activities and continue the campaign was set up.

A resolution from Hartcliffe NUT has put out the call for a weekday demonstration, involving other unions. This could be a focal point for organising active unity. The task now is to pressure the union leadership to name a date. This would be the first step in breaking down the isolation and divisions amongst teachers. But unless similar steps are taken elsewhere, the nationally coordinated fight against education cuts and the rest of Labour's Social Contract will remain a burning task for the working class.

ANGELA TRIKIC

Press freedom central to NUJ Conference



Police prevented picketing by journalists at the offices of the Evening Telegraph, Kettering last Friday as NUJ members from all over the country attempted to stop a scab delivery van taking papers out of the works.

Journalists opened the back doors of the van and unloaded the papers while others at the front of

attempt to stop it moving. But police moved in and as the van drove off empty they told the pickets that any attempts to stop the management reloading papers into their cars and delivering them would result in arrests.

The mass picket mobilised journalists from Sheffield, Birmingham, Northampton and London,

Kettering colleagues who have been on strike for 19 weeks, and locked out for the past 7 weeks. But although this picket was official, the Executive of the NUJ did nothing to build it and make a real show of strength. Despite this, over 30 people turned out to heckle the scabs.

Youth support 14 May abortion march

The largest meeting at YS conference which did not get the support of the Militant was on women's rights. Shortly after the debate on conference floor, one hundred and fifty women and men heard Mandy Moore of the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign (LARC) and Pat Longman of the Working Women's Charter Campaign (WWCC).

both campaigns, but none of the Militant supporters on the NC attended the meeting, which discussed support for the National Abortion Campaign's demonstration on 14 May against the Benyon Bill. Many speakers talked of the need for a national conference of YS members to carry on the fight for women's liberation. They were appalled by the statements by Militant sup-

porters on conference floor that the Women's Liberation Movement was 'feminist rubbish' and by Militant's opposition to resolution 168 from Lewes. Militant speakers opposed the Lewes resolution arguing that recognition of 'the right of women to organise autonomously to fight their oppression' was divisive. It was pointed out that Militant did not think it was divisive

for the youth to organise autonomously! The very successful meeting decided to go all out to build the NAC demonstration and to press for special meetings and the forthcoming conferences of LARC and the WWCC later in May where YS members could discuss how to continue the fight.

Labour Youth - action needed

Rogers and Hammerstein could not have done better. There was a great deal of sound and light from the platform at the Sixteenth National Conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists. But in the best traditions of the Hollywood musicals, the noise of the fighting speeches from the YS Militant leadership was to little effect.

Certainly, the Conference decisions of opposition to the Lib-Lab pact, for ending the Social Contract and unemployment and for reversing the cuts could act as a focus for Party members and young workers opposed to the line of the Labour Government. And the policies that were advanced to replace the class collaborationist Social Contract do represent elements of a socialist alternative to Tribune's capitalist so-called 'solutions' to the crisis, such as import controls and deflation of the economy.

Composite 36 on the Economy, passed by Conference, called for 'automatic cost of living increases to be written into every wage agreement', 'a national minimum wage of £60 for a 35 hour week, tied to the cost of living' and for pensions and grants to be tied to this, for 'opening the books of big business to the Labour and Trade Union Movement', and for radical proposals for nationalisation.

Left Action supporters lead the fight against the Militant for class struggle policies on conference floor. On South Africa, Ireland, women's rights, as on the economy, Left Action supporters debated Militant and the 'Young Tribunes' of Clause 4.

But Kevin Mayes of Northampton North, a Workers Action supporter and Left Action candidate for the position of YS representative on the Labour Party's NEC won only 15 votes. With the 8 votes mastered by Chartist Graham Durham, this was one more than the 22 Durham received in the same election last year, but eight less than Vincent Moss's vote.

Delegates from Sheffield Brightside and Cardiff, West moved and seconded the composite. They explained that it wasn't enough to call for the Labour Government to implement socialist policies or for the TUC to 'lead a campaign against any further effort to impose policies of wage restraint', as Militant-supporting Gateshead East had done, when it was the Labour Government and the TUC who had organised the attacks on working class living standards.

The difference shows how a unified fight around Left Action is the most effective way of the far left winning wider forces to its ideas.

Only mass action can throw back the Government's attacks' said Linda Gregory moving the composite. 'We must actively organise for and fully support strike action to smash the Social Contract'. She called for the building of an organised opposition within the labour movement which could fight to remove the Callaghan leadership and its supporters.

This Composite certainly made its impact. Despite being defeated, it was the only composite or resolution to be mentioned by the Sunday papers. The Observer and Sunday Telegraph trembled as they thought it had been passed! They were not so scared of the Militant's leadership's calls for 'bold socialist policies'.

Gay Trade Unionists meet

Sixty militants — from twenty trade unions — gathered in London on 2 April to discuss the special problems of discrimination faced by homosexuals in the workplace. Half of the collection taken to cover Conference costs was donated to the Grunwick Strike Fund. This step is one of the few taken by activists in the gay movement which are vital in breaking down barriers between the gay and labour movement.

Conference pledged itself to ensuring a strong trade union voice at the National Conference of the Campaign for Homosexual Equality, scheduled for 26-29 August in Nottingham. But it was recognised that left unity in the gay movement — around such issues as fascism, which go well beyond the struggle at work — is vital to taking the fight against discrimination forward. Working with the left in CHE is a first step in achieving left unity in the broader gay movement.

The need to organise a left opposition within the YS to fight for a campaigning YS against the Militant's leadership's phrasemongering was clearly shown by this debate on the economy. The appearance at this year's Conference of Left Action, a bulletin fighting for such a perspective was a real step forward.

The politics of Militant

...It would, of course, be a disastrous error, an outright deception, to assert that the road to Socialism passes, not through the proletarian revolution, but through nationalisation by the bourgeois state of various branches of industry and their transfer into the hands of the workers' organisations."

Participants at the Conference agreed that pays needed to be organised independently to develop consciousness and confidence. This helps in the main aim of activity — to fight discrimination against all oppressed groups within the labour movement.

Further information about CHE Conference from: Richard McCans, 28B Weathill Road, Brighton, BN13RT

Left Action could command the support of more than 30 delegates. Vincent Moss of Hemel Hempstead YS who stood for Standing Orders Committee as a Left Action supporter received 31 votes. A public meeting of Left Action held on Sunday night attracted over a hundred delegates and visitors.

Leo Trotsky
A SOCIALIST CHALLENGE PAMPHLET

New pamphlet, just out! 25p (plus 10p for postage) or 20p each for bulk orders of more than 10. Orders to Bob Murphy, 87 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Election Action

Scotland

The Scottish Socialist League — recently set up by socialists undemocratically expelled from Jim Sillars' Scottish Labour Party — will be contesting 7 wards in next month's local elections.

strike against job and service cuts in Cumbernauld; it was the SNP who pushed through social spending cuts in Edinburgh. And the SSL opposes the nationalist policies of the SNP which will weaken the labour movement by dividing the unions along national lines.

Their policies provide a socialist alternative to the anti-working class measures and corruption which have become the hallmark of many Labour Councils. The SSL also rejects the Scottish Nationalist Party as an alternative to Labour.

In contrast to these anti-working class policies, the Election Manifesto of the SSL, published in Scottish Socialist, calls for unity of the working class around measures which open another road in the interests of working people. The fight against the Social Contract is placed at the forefront of the election platform of Scottish Socialist.

Its manifesto calls on working class voters to put a 'stop to the march of the SNP whose policies would break up the organised strength of working people'. The responsibility for many set-backs suffered by the Scottish working

Scottish Socialist candidates from Edinburgh are Pauline Tierney, Jenny Donaldson, Ross Greenock

Birmingham

REVOLUTIONARY candidates will be standing in the elections for West Midlands County Council in the Birmingham area.

One of the candidates, Raghib Ahsun, will be standing in the Salfrey constituency for the Asian Socialist League. The ASL was formed as a result of the anti-racist activities that were organised during the recent by-election in the nearby Stechford constituency. Ahsun is a transport shop steward in the Rover Solihull car factory.

Another steward from the car industry will be standing as a Socialist (IMC) candidate in Stechford itself in the Washwood Heath constituency. John Graham, who works at the Wilmot Breddon plant, is also an AUEW delegate to Birmingham Trades Council.



IN FOCUS

RED WEEKLY

CENTRALISE THE FIGHT-BACK

SOLIDARITY has been the keynote of the struggles of recent weeks: the Leyland toolroom workers have offered their support to the Heathrow workers; the Heathrow workers have given their support to the Hounslow Hospital work-in; Port Talbot engineers have tried to link up with all the other sectors taking action; the Heathrow day shift has come out against the lock-out of the night shift; the transport workers have met the airport bosses' threat of lay-offs with an all-out strike warning and, most recently, the Ford workers are talking about linking their fight to that of other sectors of the working class.

Still the TUC leaders are talking with the Government over Phase 3 of the pay policy. But even Jack Jones can see the way things are moving. In preparation for his intervention at the Scottish TUC this week he has chosen to resurrect his left face and the chatter about 'an orderly return to free collective bargaining'.

He is not the only one. The rail unions look set to come out against pay restraint. At the NUR conference not a single resolution on pay supports the present Social Contract. Joe Gormley says that a third round of pay policy does not stand 'a cat in hell's chance' at the miners' conference.

But this growing verbal 'opposition' to pay restraint has nothing to do with the fight which is going on now against the present policy.

It is the Social Contract — the direct cause of the present struggles — which is responsible for the plight of the Labour Government. The Liberal-Labour pact was concluded for one purpose — its continuation. Electoral defeat at Stechford may well be followed by another massive reduction in Grimsby and Ashfield. The local government elections in May will show widespread Labour defeats with gains not just for the Tories, but for the fascists as well.

Sadly, the organisers of the 20 April lobby of Parliament, the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and the Leyland stewards, offer no clear alternative to this disastrous policy. Derek Robinson, Leyland convenor and Communist Party member, said last week that the toolroom workers' strike had damaged the prospects for 20 April.

This madness is the precise opposite of the truth. The damage is done by those who cannot see the possibilities of building an alternative to the Government's policies on the basis of the struggles going on at the moment. The chances for a united opposition fighting for class struggle policies are there. The crucial task of uniting different groups of workers against the Contract has already been begun by those workers taking action at the moment. Further national initiatives — strike action against Phases 2 and 3 — can carry on the job by extending that unity. Not just industrial workers should be involved in this. Organising LCDTU conferences in the locality, like that held in Durham last weekend, can draw in a wide layer of militants.

Jack Jones tells us that the Social Contract and wages policy are not the same thing. But all workers have been affected — through cuts and unemployment as well as loss of pay. This gives the opportunity for an opposition which fights for socialist answers to these attacks. The chance is there. It can be taken.



Boycott of Trust House Forte vital

FOUR AND HALF MONTHS! That is how long workers at hotels in Oxford and Sheffield have been on strike. The disputes at the Linton Lodge and Randolph, Oxford, and the Grosvenor, Sheffield, may not have captured the headlines as those at Leyland, Heathrow and Port Talbot have done. But they are equally important, and it is as equally vital trade unionists actively back the hotel strikers as much as they can.

For as at Leyland, Port Talbot and Heathrow the dispute is more than a simple 'trade union' issue — in the case of the hotel strikes, union recognition and opposition to victimisation of union members — it is also about the way in which the leadership of the union involved have treated their striking members.

Since the end of last year the Oxford and Sheffield pickets have not only had to endure rain, snow and police violence. They have also faced the apathy, at times hostility, of their Transport and General Workers Union officials and leadership.

Understandably the strikers are now bitter and angry. They may have expected their management to have resisted their demands, for once unionisation in the catering industry spread the high profits which are made by exploiting the immigrant and women workers employed are threatened. But the striking hotel workers did not expect their union bureaucracy to act as it has done.

we're not fighting Trust House Forte, we're fighting the Randolph and the Grosvenor. Trust House Forte will be laughing their heads off!

It is the issue of the union leadership refusing to agree to national blacking of THF which is causing the strikers bitterness. Jack Jones, Jo Testi explained, 'said national blacking wasn't feasible or practical. He said he couldn't call the workers out because T&G membership was minimal in THF, and where we have recognition we'd be in breach of agreement if there was blacking.'

'The Cowley canteen shop stewards said they'd come out, but were stopped by their officials... The idea of the union has been trampled on by the officials. They don't take any notice of their members'.

Margaret Radbourne offered a similar conclusion: 'The union were hoping it would fold up and we'd go away. Jones doesn't give us any hope and said we'll have to accept what they offer us. They're going to sell us out. Don't ask me what I think of the union. Everyone is disgusted'.

Such are the words and opinions of workers who from first hand experience know what life means in this era of the Social Contract. For it is no coincidence that one of the main architects of the 'contract' is the same Jack Jones who now refuses to take the type of action that could win these disputes — the national blacking which the strikers are demanding.



Pickets from the Randolph, Linton Lodge and Grosvenor hotels outside T&GWU headquarters, Transport House in London on 23 March. All their

pleas for national blacking of Trust House Forte have been turned down by Jack Jones.

NOTHING

Jo Testi, shop steward at Linton Lodge told Red Weekly of the part played by T&GWU officials: 'They have done nothing except making it official and paying us £6'.

Margaret Radbourne, shop steward at the Randolph told of the role of union boss Jack Jones:

'If we don't do things ourselves, nothing gets done. Jack Jones told us there'll be no blacking. He said

Such national blacking would turn the Oxford and Sheffield disputes into the type of national militant action which for Jones is to be ruled out while the Social Contract survives.

APPEAL

So it is left to trade unionists to do the job Jones is elected and paid to do. The massive support the

Leyland toolroom workers received shows it is possible to appeal to rank and file unionists over the heads of a backstabbing union leadership. Which is why it is essential that a campaign for national blacking of Trust House Forte gets under way immediately.

While the hotel workers at the Linton, Grosvenor and Randolph may not have the 'muscle' of workers at Port Talbot and Heathrow if the issue is raised

widely enough there is every reason to believe that the hotel strikers can win the type of backing which can sweep away the Victorian management at Trust House Forte. And with it sweep away the timid backpeddling of Jack Jones and his fellow guardians of the social contract.

TOM MARLOWE

The dispute at the Night-Out Club in Birmingham continues. The strikers received welcome publicity when comedian Freddy Starr refused to perform in recognition of the picket line. The strikers have called for mass pickets every Saturday evening from 7pm onwards. Regular picketing throughout the week.

Donations and support to: Night Out Strikers, Transport House, Broad Street, Oxford.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Defend John Deason



THE FOUR Socialist [IMG] candidates in the Greater London Council elections have appealed for support for the mass picket organised by the Right to Work Campaign on Wednesday 4 May at 9.30pm.

This is the day when John Deason, secretary of the Campaign, appears at the Old Bailey on charges arising out of the vicious police attack on the Manchester to London unemployed march last year.

The 21-day march ended in violence when police moved in on marchers at Staples' Corner in North London, arresting 43 of the 80 marchers. Comrade Deason is the last of those charged to have his case heard. He has been singled out by the state to face the most serious charges. If convicted he stands to receive a long prison sentence.

Of the other 42 marchers, 17 were acquitted and 24 received fines and suspended prison sentences.

A strong demonstration of solidarity is vital. The fight for the right to work is crucial at a time when the Government's policies have forced 2 million on the dole queues. And defence of the right to launch this fight is fundamental if Labour's anti-working class measures are to be challenged.

Letter from Right to Work Marcher

In the last few weeks I've begun to feel an all-too-familiar anxiety. It's the same feeling I had back in September when I was on trial with other Right to Work marchers, facing accusations of assault by the same police who attacked and beat us up at Staples Corner. The most terrible weekend of my life was between the Thursday when all the evidence in our case was finished, and the Monday when verdicts were announced. I got off. But the anxiety was back gnawing at my guts as I watched Mike Lynch battling for bail pending his appeal and even more so when I fruitlessly gave evidence in the appeal itself.

Today I'm anxious for the last of the Right to Work defendants, John Deason, the secretary of our campaign, for whom the monsters of the legal system and their sub-human police accomplices have conspired to save the most serious charges. Facing six months in jail was bad enough. John is threatened with 3-7 years.

When I saw Mike Lynch sent to jail on one bit of 'evidence' that convicted him was a piece of clothing he was supposed to have worn on 19 March, 1976. He didn't; I was wearing it when he was arrested. Mike Lynch was innocent. No-one is in a better position to know this than me. John Deason is innocent. I know, I was there.

Despite the frame-up, despite the massive power of the state, John's battle to stay free is far from over. Three full-time officials of his union, the engineers', are backing him and demanding an official enquiry. So is the Barnet Trades Council in whose area the events took place, and who held their own independent trade union enquiry; now, so we have recently heard, so is the Scottish TUC. Add that to the overwhelming sympathy of hundreds of rank and file trade unionists who support the Right to Work campaign and you see that already John has more support than the courageous Shrewsbury pickets who were shamefully disowned by George Smith of UCATT when he said that 'British Justice' could not convict innocent men. I've seen what British Justice did for Mike Lynch.

- To keep John out of jail we must,
- Send resolutions up through our union hierarchies to get them to add their voices to the demand for an official enquiry.
- Collect signatures for a petition to send to the TUC to say we believe John is innocent and get the General Council to call for an official enquiry. (Tonight I went to a 'Save our Hospitals Campaign' meeting and got 27 signatures).
- Keep a picket outside the Old Bailey on 4 May, and every day until the trial ends.
- Especially send banners and a delegation to the picket on 4 May.

Rank and file action freed the Pentonsville 5. A rank and file campaign freed George Davis after he had been stuffed away for 20 years. Let's build a campaign to stop John Deason from even putting one foot inside a prison. For an official enquiry! Drop the Charges!

I will go anywhere at any time to speak about the case. My address is 151 Corporation Street, London N7, and my phone number is 01 607 2237.

The General Strike that never was

by Eddie Wright [COHSE], Socialist Against Cuts Candidate in Humberside Local Elections.

EVER HEARD of a General Strike being sold out before it had even begun? Well it happened in Hull the other day.

Three weeks ago Transport and General Workers Union leaders had organised the largest meeting of shop stewards (500 strong) since 1926 to call a one-day strike for Area Development Status for Humberside.

A week of feverish activity followed in which other trades were drawn in. Then it was announced... a statement was imminent from the Cabinet'. The strike was called off.

STAN SUDDABY [Chairperson, 10/64 branch T&GWU] and an Executive Secretary of Hull Trades Council told me how the strike was sold out.

Why do you think the strike was called off? Well, I reckon it was all a put-up job from the beginning. The local bureaucrats who gave the go-ahead for the strike for 'development area' status were using it as an election gimmick for 5 May — so that when some sort of 'concession' is given they can say Labour is responsive to the needs of the people. I know this to be the case because I was told by a Prospective Labour Councillor that he'd seen Labour Manifestos with Development Area Status on it! What a stunt!

At a meeting of the Trades

Council Executive a resolution was put forward to call off the strike. You vehemently opposed this and were the only member of the Executive not to vote for the resolution. What happened?

I am a delegate to Trades Council representing 2000 building workers in Humberside and I believe in consulting my members and Branch officers before acting. They had voted for strike action and the right wing were selling them out without consultation. I opposed this. A motion of censure was then put for speaking against the EC resolution. They demanded I submit to this. I resigned and left with my members.

'They had voted for strike action and the right wing were selling them out without consultation.'

Do you think winning Development Area Status is the way out of the slump for Humberside?

I'm a building worker, and looking at Merseyside who have this 'status' — we see that there are 16,000 building workers on the dole. That's as many unemployed as there are in the whole of Humberside. So it's no panacea, it's simply an attempt to play off the workers in one region against workers in another.

What do you think the way forward is then, both nationally and in Hull?

I think the way forward is to elect a Government committed to socialist policies who will bring down the capitalist system. On the local level all those councillors who supported the one-day strike should be supported. The rest should be treated with the contempt they deserve and be removed from their positions.

On this basis I will be standing as a 'Socialists Against Cuts' candidate in the Humberside May elections. As you may know, Socialists Against Cuts are a state of 'Red Weekly' supporters and independent socialists who recognise the necessity of putting it over to thousands of people that there is a socialist alternative to Labour's betrayals in this area.

We will be campaigning on the streets, in the shopping precincts and outside factories to make it clear that there is a socialist opposition capable of leading a fightback.

Correction

Due to an error in punctuation, the *Bowers Appeal* (Red Weekly 5 April) appeared to list among its sponsors the Anti-Apartheid National Committee.

In fact the appeal has the support of an individual member of the AAM National Committee — Paul Blomfield. The AAM does not see itself as

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

"...they have stirred up the whole black community"



On 25 April the trial of 18 black youths from Islington, North London, begins at the Old Bailey. The most serious charge against them is conspiracy to rob, which carries sentences as long as ten years.

The trial is the police revenge for the defeat they suffered at the hands of black youth at last year's Notting Hill Carnival. But, as CLEMENTE MAHARAJ, one of the main organisers of the Islington 18 Defence Committee, explains: 'The police think they can put black kids away to keep them in their place, instead they have stirred up the whole black community.'

Clem talked to Red Weekly about the case and the background to it which reveal that the racism of the police is just the tip of the iceberg for black people in Britain.

The way in which the 18 were picked up in early November and consistently refused bail reveals that this was no ordinary police operation. 'The 18 were picked up by six policemen touring the streets in two cars. Then they went to the parents' homes at the crack of dawn and demanded they produce their sons.'

'One youth was picked up on the Tuesday and beaten till he confessed to a lot of crimes. They kept him inside for six days forcing him to write statements implicating other youths. When he appeared in the Magistrate's Court his face was swollen unrecognisably, yet the judge never raised an eyebrow.'

'When the kids went into court bruised and battered the police were obviously afraid they were going to come out. So they opposed bail asking for another week to press further charges. OK, says the Magistrate, remand them for a week.'

'The next week the parents of two of the 18 got two lawyers quite near the court. Now apparently these two solicitors are friends of the Magistrate. So one got £100 bail and the other £1000. His solicitor was just a little further away from the Court, so the judge seems to measure his friendships by the distance people work from Highbury Corner.'

'The other 16 were kept inside without bail application for another five weeks. Finally on 23 December a woman who wanted her son out for Christmas sent a bail application to the judge in chambers. The police claimed the youth was a dangerous criminal — because he had been convicted of stealing 4 pence in school. His mother, who is rheumatic and on social security was told to find £3000 bail.'



'Politicians here talk about police states all over the world but for black people this must be the biggest police state of all. Look at the Spaghetti House siege. The youths claimed they did it to take their sisters off the streets of Soho. But because Sir Robert Mark was got out of bed they got 21 years. Yet the people who murdered two Iranian students in Wood Green

were freed. 'The police have planned this case down to the last detail to keep black youth down. You just look at the charge sheets and you can see the work that's gone into it.'

'We're demanding a public enquiry to put the police on trial, not just here but throughout London. They are the criminals.'

'They killed a guy in Hornsey Road police station when they

picked him up after a husband and wife quarrel. They put him in a judo hold, pressed the wrong vein and stopped the blood going to his brain. He was black. They ran Stephen McCarthy's head into a lamp-post in Upper Street.'

'They brutalised the youth from Wood Green. They brutalised the 18. The police have been allowed to get away with murder in this area, hoping that they're the fucking law and people will accept it.'

Clem is particularly bitter about the role that the Labour Party has played in the area. When a motion to the General Management Committee asking them to support the Islington 18 was discussed recently, the North Islington Labour Party instead voted 36 to 4 in favour of having discussions with the police about more 'law enforcement'!

SHIT

'These people rant and rave in the Town Hall in favour of spending £7 million to turn the old Agricultural Hall into a skating rink when kids here have to compete with dog shit for a place to play; when we have the highest percentage of houses without an indoor bathroom; when they are closing down factories and replacing them with nothing.'

Mick Sullivan is standing as the Socialist (International Marxist Group) candidate in the Greater London Council elections in this area. Clem Maharaj will be supporting him.

'I've seen Mick Sullivan around this area for a number of years. I don't expect to see him in County Hall! What I do hope to see is Mick stirring up as much as possible all the shit that exists in North Islington and raising the questions that need asking. He knows what they are through his work as a housing aid worker.'

'You could go ahead and support the guy standing for the Labour Party, whoever that may be, and you know it won't do anything, because those people have got an interest in the system.'

'When you see someone coming out of the system then you can really say: Right on brother, do your thing, because it needs to be done. You can put your name to something like that.'

(Interview by Mick Gosling)

DEFEND ISLINGTON 18!
STOP POLICE BRUTALITY NOW!

THURSDAY 21ST APRIL, 7.30 pm

GLC
ELECTION
MEETING

INTERNATIONAL
IMG
MARXIST GROUP

UNITE AGAINST
RACISM

HEAR:
MICK SULLIVAN
(SOCIALIST [IMG] CANDIDATE; ISLINGTON NTH.)
CLEM MAHARAJ
(ISLINGTON 18 DEFENCE CTTEE)
BOB SINGH
(AUEW TRICO)

CAXTON HOUSE
ST JOHNS WAY, N.19



ROOTS

Alex Haley searched for 12 years to discover his African ancestors. The result, his book *Roots*, was published in Britain last Monday. But millions of people who will never read *Roots* have watched its dramatisation on British TV.

In America the programme was screened on eight consecutive nights. It caused a sensation. By the end of those eight days 130 million people had seen all or part of 'Roots'.

OMARI MUSA, a correspondent of Militant, the American Trotskyist paper, describes the reaction to the series in the USA.

Benjamin Cole, seventy-three, lives near Judge Waller in Partlow, Virginia. He remembers his grandfather telling him about the slave days on the Waller plantation.

'I remember him saying they had to turn a pot over a hole on the door when they were praying to the master couldn't hear them,' he said. 'They weren't supposed to be praying and, if they got caught, they got whipped.'

Julia Thompson, eighty-four, spoke about her grandmother 'being auctioned off on a block in Charles Town, W. Va.' Later she found herself on the Waller plantation. Mrs. Thompson's daughter-in-law now does housework for the judge.

All 'just history', judge? The *New York Times* reports a discussion of a white family in Queens, New York: 'It doesn't show any good white people,' said the wife. 'There must have been some decent white people...'

'No, the good whites had their day with 'Gone With Wind' said the husband. 'Anyhow, how good could any whites look to a slave?... All the white bosses must have looked pretty bad, like Nazi Party members did to Jews.' Getting closer.

A young brother stopping in a coffee shop before work said, 'I tell you one thing, those white folks better not mess with me today. I just might have to stamp one.' Another blood cautioned him, 'Don't do that. Things ain't changed that much. And jobs don't

Many parents kept their four- and five-year-olds up to watch 'Roots.' Some cried, others were angered. None of them had seen so many Black people on TV. 'Roots' was not cartoons or 'Sesame Street.'

One youth was roasted out of bed the morning after with, 'Okay, Mandinka warrior. Time to go hunting in the forest.'

Sasha, my four-and-a-half-year-old, was shaken by the whippings, and the tears of Kizzy when she tells Sam she can't be with a man whose soul massa got for free.

According to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, four Black students at Harrisburg Middle School were suspended after a shoving match with some white students. The Black students had been chanting 'Roots, Roots' before the scuffle began. Harrisburg Middle School is 76 per cent Black.

'Roots' was one big consciousness raiser. One hundred thirty million people got a glimpse of how Afro-Americans were made. They got a peek at what chattel slavery was and what it took to maintain it. And they learned that at least one-third of our ancestors didn't make it across the Atlantic.

There were some holes and inaccuracies, though. Nat Turner's rebellion took place in August 1831. The TV placed the date in 1841.

However, the impact of the rebellion — only one of many — was shown. Whites in the South lived in constant fear of slave rebellions. Their terror was graphically portrayed in the scene in which Chicken

be greeted by Tom's wife emptying the barrel of her pistol at him.

The Civil War was not dealt with adequately. This clash between the slavocracy and Northern industrialists was decided by the participation of 200,000 Black troops on the side of the North.

But it would be easy to conclude from 'Roots' that slaves were not concerned. The mere fact that white men had to go to war and fewer were around to brutalize Blacks was something to cheer about.

Even more important was that once it became clear slaves stood to gain something if the North won, they actively supported victory for the North.

'Roots' will continue to have an impact.

One example: the day after the series concluded the New Jersey Assembly debated reinstating the death penalty. Leading the fight against the death penalty were two Black Democrats, Eldridge Hawkins and Ronald Owens. Hawkins said he hoped that other assembly members had watched the unfolding of the TV drama 'Roots', since it might 'explain why Black folks get a little upset when some laws are passed... We know some laws are going to hit us harder.'

'Viewing 'Roots', I was drawn to the continuous battle not only to survive, but to be free. Kunta Kinte was not a happy-go-lucky dandy. Kizzy and Matilda were not happy mummies. Tom and Chicken George were not Uncle Toms. All were freedom fighters.

'Roots' will undoubtedly cause Blacks to look into their ancestry. The TV programme will boost sales of the book — already over 800,000 copies in print.

I suspect whites will be looking at Blacks a little differently, perhaps with a little fear and respect.

That 'Roots' will increase Black pride is already clear. Check out the sisters and brothers at Harrisburg Middle School.

It has caused and will continue to cause a re-evaluation of our history. A young brother in the subway asked me, 'How did they let all that happen?' Then a second later said, 'They were fighting all along.' That is the thing everybody watching 'Roots' saw.

Thousands of Kizzys and Ireens tried to fight off rapists; thousands of Kintes and Toms were whipped, mutilated, or lynched. All continuing to fight oppression. ABC's drive to increase its profits definitely scored on its rivals NBC and CBS. Certainly it wasn't in the minds of its board of directors to encourage Black pride or militancy. But I'm afraid they may have succeeded in doing exactly that.

Millions now have the idea that since 1619 Blacks have been fighting for freedom, never accepting slavery, segregation, and racism, and that the struggle continues today.

UNITE TH

'We are being accused of being anti-British. Well we are fighting the British — the British Steel Corporation. Just as at Heathrow they're fighting British Airways, and the toolmakers fighting British Leyland.'
— Port Talbot Striker



Port Talbot shop stewards. Wyn Bevan is fourth from left

Behind the Steel Strike

THE STRIKE by 560 electricians at the Port Talbot steel works, now in its fifth week, is steadily winning labour movement support.

The strike is strong despite the refusal of their union, the EETPU, to support them. Even the demand of the TUC Steel Committee to call off the strike has not shaken the resolve of the Port Talbot workers.

The electricians, who are demanding a wage increase to take

conference fringe meeting last week, organised by the Socialist Teachers Alliance.

'Our union is run by a right-wing executive who are firmly in support of the Social Contract, and they have told us quite clearly that we are getting no support or strike pay for our claim.'

He explained that after a mass meeting of the strikers where the instruction by the EETPU executive to return to work was rejected by 400 votes to 60 votes, the local EETPU official went on the local television to denounce the strikers.

The electricians' mass meeting then replied by a vote of no confidence in the executive. The EETPU leadership replied by calling off the annual conference of steel stewards that was due to be held last Friday to prevent the strikers approaching other steel workers for support. Again the strikers responded by calling their own meeting of steel stewards.

The ISTC, the main steelworkers' union at Port Talbot, added its weight to trying to break the strike by sending a letter to all its branches in Port Talbot asking them not to support the electricians on the grounds that it would mean breaking the Social Contract.

Wyn Bevan and the strikers are however very clear on what is involved.

'Our struggle is just, not for elitism, but for the working class as a whole.' They asked for support because:

'If we do not succeed in getting a better deal for our electricians, in breaking the Social Contract, then it will not be done right throughout

the labour movement'.

The electricians are also very conscious of the need for unity of all those taking action against attacks on living standards.

The electricians have already called a public meeting to be held in Port Talbot next Monday, at

which they have invited speakers from Heathrow and British Leyland toolmakers to speak.

Success for the electricians in their struggle will be a major blow against Phase 2 and the best way of fighting Phase 3 of incomes policy.

SPARKS APPEAL

Fellow Trade Unionists,

We Members of the EETPU have withdrawn our labour from the Abbey Works, Port Talbot. 500 men are involved and the issues are simple. We are expected to work through and through with Technicians who are categorised as Grade 3 Foremen who have Staff Status and a salary of £95.85p per week. We are fighting for comparable pay and conditions. Negotiations have dragged on for a considerable time with no results.

The Management aggravated the situation by sending home 5 of our members who refused to work the new system as instructed.

The Management took this course although they knew that a mass meeting was to be held the following day to consider the whole issue. We are involved in difficult struggle and are not receiving Strike Benefit from our Union or State Aid for ourselves.

We appeal for your moral and financial support. Please help by discussing our Strike which is just. Please take collections at your Industry, Factory, Workshops and Branches. All aid will be used to offset the hardships of we strikers for justice. You can help us to win this struggle.

Please send donations to: Brother Bill Curtis/Secretary, 23 Hawthorne Avenue, Baglan Estate, Port Talbot, and pledge continuous support. The Strike Committee thank you in anticipation.

WYN BEVAN Convenor, 43 Habrow Road, Clydach, Swansea, Clydach 543912.

FIRST it was the Leyland toolmakers, then it was the steelworkers, now it is the Heathrow engineers. The vote and file trade unionists in action, expressing their trust their anger at the wages and conditions they have been suffer under a Labour Government.

Nor is it restricted to a struggle on the wages occupying hospital workers at the Elizabeth Garrett hospital have been joined by the hospital workers at Hospital staging their own occupation.

The toolroom workers did not achieve the victory hoped for. But what they did was open the breach in the of the Social Contract. The Port Talbot workers remain and the signs are that their determination and the support receiving from other workers grows as the strike goes. Heathrow workers have so far resisted all attempts to them into defeat. The EGA and Hounslow occupations a

Each of the wage disputes has a striking similarity in are taking place against the wishes of the trade union who seem to endorse every new tactic the management to defeat the workers. The disputes are also similar because trade union bosses and the management bosses try to strikers from other workers by claiming they are fi 'sectional interests'.

But there is nothing 'sectional' — the Heathrow w demanding the same rate of pay as others outside Britis who do broadly similar work. Just as the Leyland workers were driven to demanding separate rights by the their union leaderships to fight for their case, so too the engineers have been forced to say that they should have talk with management.

LCDTU organises locally

150 delegates, angered by the Government's policies, attended one of the first local LCDTU Conferences, held Saturday in South West Durham. Despite a growing cynicism amongst trade unionists towards their leaders, only 2 or 3 delegates offered any alternative policies apart from the 'cure-all' of free collective bargaining.

As at the National LCDTU Conference in London, the main speaker was Bob Wright, the CP-backed left candidate in the AUEW elections. In the face of betrayals by union leaders at Leyland, Heathrow and Port Talbot, Wright did no more than warn against 'those who divide the movement from its working class roots by adventurist policies'. He advised delegates to 'force Labour to carry out the policies on which it was elected — and no more'.

It was left to IMG member Alan Ryan, delegate from AUEW/TASS to seek support for one of the groups of workers striking against these policies of Labour — the Port Talbot electricians. He argued that 'the best way to defeat Phase 3 wage controls is to support those fighting Phase 2'.

This was echoed by Brian Gibson, convenor at Courtauld's Spennymoor plant who said that 'We should not have to wait until August to press for wage rises'.



account of new skills, have been told that their demands cannot be met because of Phase 2 of the incomes policy which limits pay increases to 4 1/2 per cent.

Wyn Bevan, Chairperson of the strike committee and convenor at Port Talbot, explained the developments in the strike at a NUT



4,000 transport workers vote overwhelmingly to crush another airway bo

THE STRUGGLES

These workers are fighting in a 'sectional' way because their national leadership have denied them the means to fight in a united way against the Social Contract. They compare their wage-rates with other workers in claiming parity because their leaders are not advancing policies like automatic compensation for inflation which can protect all workers.

This is not elitism.

This is not 'worker against worker'. When the miners struck and brought down the Heath government in 1974 and smashed that 'Phase III' in the process, no trade unionists said the miners were trying to race ahead of other workers. Everyone knew then that a victory for the miners would smash a hole in Heath's 'social contract' which every other worker could wade through.

That is the situation today. For what is at stake in these disputes is not a sectional interest: it is the right of the Labour Government and the trade union bureaucracy to hold down the standard of living of working people.

So the broadest possible support must be built for all workers in both wage struggle and in actions against the cuts. The aim of that support must be to build a united and coordinated fight back.

The desire for a linking up of the different types of struggles has been shown by the Heathrow workers giving their backing to the Hounslow Hospital occupation.

The efforts of the Port Talbot workers to invite representatives from Heathrow and Leyland to their meeting is similarly the type of action that is necessary — a linking up of struggles, and the building of united action of all those willing to struggle in the interests of the working class.



Hounslow hospital work-in.

Hospital work-ins continue

In the past three years the bureaucrats of the NHS have succeeded in closing over a hundred hospitals throughout the country. In London alone, hospitals have been closed in Willesden, Walthamstow, Islington and the East End.

But since last November the workers at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in North London have shown to all hospital workers and the rest of the labour movement how to resist such cuts in the health service.

For over four months the EGA workers have staged a work-in at the hospital which has forced the hatchet-men of the Area Health Authority to back down again and again. The hospital was to be closed by the end of December last year, but it is still treating patients in its wards. The latest threat to close the hospital on Monday 18 April came to nothing.

SYMBOL

The action of the EGA workers has made their struggle a powerful symbol of the general fight-back against the cuts. By campaigning in the local community, the NHS unions and women's organisations as well as the wider labour movement, the EGA workers and their supporters have built a firm base of solidarity against the manoeuvres of the AHA. This has been achieved in spite of the attitude of the national leaders of their unions; the National Union of Public Employees, National and local Government Officers Association, Confederation of Health Service Employees, and the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs.

Typically these gentlemen, whose mouths are always full of the grandest words but are utterly devoid of teeth, have given their official support to the EGA workers but have not lifted a finger to practically support their fight.

LESSONS

But the lessons of the EGA have not been lost on health workers. Since the end of March the workers in the Hounslow Hospital in West London have been staging the second ever occupation of a hospital. In Hounslow the District Management announced that they were going to close the in-patient services at the hospital and use the wards for storage.

On top of this it was announced that two other smaller hospitals in the area, the Brentford and South Middlesex, were also to be closed.

By organising a strong Area Joint Shop Stewards Committee the local health workers had been preparing for the resistance against such dictates. Already they had gained support from the local trades council, Labour Party wards and the Heathrow workers. So on 28 March a mass meeting of the hospital workers voted to follow the example of the EGA workers and stage a work-in.

SERVICES

By keeping the services to patients operating the Hounslow workers, like those of the EGA, are showing that hospital workers by themselves can provide a health service which serves the interest of working people. The EGA work-in has also shown the necessity of campaigning among all hospital workers for solidarity action. Last July workers at four hospitals went on strike in support of the EGA.

Now it is important to build 11 May into a similar show of strength. This is the day London NUPE has named as a day of London strike action against the cuts.

CLASH — the all-London hospital shop stewards committee — has called for mass pickets that day at the EGA, Hounslow and Weir, Wandsworth Hospitals and a contingent from these hospitals will be marching on the NUPE demonstration later that day.

Airport bosses dirty tricks defeated

LAST SATURDAY the management at Heathrow had tried to use every trick in the book to force the engineers to work.

They had used the Maoist tactics of Reg Birch, to try and get the men to go back.

They had said the whole of British Airways was threatened by the dispute; they had withdrawn their 'legs charter' after it had been decisively rejected by the rank and file.

At the determination of the Heathrow workers remained 'Left' Reg Birch was met with contempt by the strikers, the lies of a threat to

British Airways future were exposed for what they were, the attempts of management to bring in the AUEW leadership against the Heathrow workers only strengthened the resistance of the strikers.

DESPERATE

The management was getting desperate. They knew that any serious examination of the strikers' case showed its justice. As the AUEW British Airways Shop Stewards Committee Bulletin explained, 'At the moment the Monday to Friday double day shift rate in British Airways is £4.15. A

survey of the rest of Southall District showed that the lowest allowance outside the airport for comparable shifts is £9.20 and the highest is £17.'

Not being able to use the facts of the engineers' case, the management resorted to one last dirty tactic. They told a press conference all about a 'Red Plot'.

British Airways management alleged there was a 'shadow committee' operating the strike which in turn was manipulated by members of the Socialist Workers Party.

They alleged that at least five of the shop stewards were members of the SWP — a number reduced to two by Keith Harris, chairperson of the engineers' shop stewards committee.

They alleged that the strike bulletin of the shop stewards committee was produced by the printers of Socialist Worker — which was true, but as Harris pointed out, SW Printers are one of the cheapest and quickest available.

HIDE

These attempts at a McCarthyite witch-hunt were backed by 'communist' Reg Birch who, according to the Observer, said the allegations were 'very likely'.

This tactic is a last desperate attempt to hide the true facts of the Heathrow dispute. There are a number of SWP members who work at Heathrow and they have every right to argue for their politics. There are SWP shop stewards. They have been elected to these positions because what they are saying about the engineers' conditions, about the Social Contract, and about the



Ian Morris is a Heathrow shop steward and a member of AUEW Southall District Committee. 'The demand is for shift payment comparable with that paid in general engineering and paid as a percentage of the rate.'

- Is it against the Social Contract?
- 'In my personal view there never was any Social Contract. It was only a question of trade union bureaucrats agreeing to reduce the living

standards of their members. In return they were to be allowed some say in the priorities of the Government. In practice of course they never got any effective influence at all.'

'I think that many members of the Shop Stewards Committee are rapidly coming to the same point of view, though many people are still cagey about expressing them at a meeting in case they alienate those stewards restricted with a blind loyalty to the Labour Party.'

- What of the role of the District and national leadership of the AUEW?
- 'Both nationally and locally there has been an attitude of thinly disguised hostility. The aim is to get us back to work on any terms.'

- What kind of backing and support are you asking other workers to give to the dispute?

'Financial support to alleviate hardship is always helpful in these circumstances. But the best kind of support is if other workers are inspired by the struggle and start a struggle of their own.'

AUEW leadership has support from the workers.

Management and the press will defend to the end the right of 'Marxists' like Birch to present their policies to workers, so long as the message is 'back to work'. If they accept that message they are 'thinking for themselves'. But when they reject it they are being 'manipulated'.

MATERIAL

It does not take much imagination to see why there is a real material reason for dissatisfaction. When a union leadership signs a 'blacklegs charter', when strikers are denied the same conditions of other workers in the same industry, when the dispute began not as a strike but as a lock out, then of course there will be a mood of militancy.



Photo: ANDREW WILKINSON (Report)



ELECTIONS

World Outlook

★ Zimbabwe

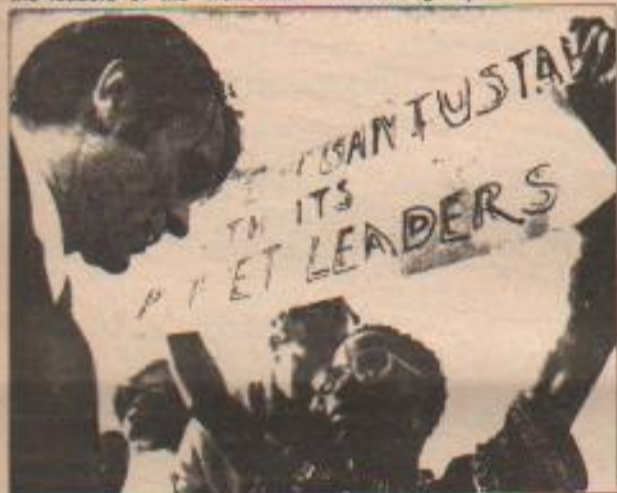
David Owen, the darling of the press, is the latest Foreign Secretary to have headed for the elephants' graveyard of Zimbabwe negotiations.

He has just returned from Salisbury after talks with racist leader Ian Smith. His plan is for a series of Anglo-American sponsored conferences to discuss the 'transfer of power'. But, even with the public support Owen has won from the leaders of the 'front-line'

states, these will be little more than a re-run of the abortive Geneva talks.

Britain's attitude to the Rhodesian regime was shown by its treatment of 'anti-communist' campaigner Roy Davaston, charged with recruiting people to emigrate there. Most of these would be drafted into the army when they arrived.

Three of the ten charges against him were withdrawn and the judge ruled that the other seven were wrongly worded under the Rhodesia sanctions Act. Davaston was found not guilty.



Owen is confronted by demonstrator protesting racist treatment of his village.

★ Ethiopia

Anyone who believes that the Soviet Union is sponsoring a campaign of 'subversion' in Africa would do well to look at its aid to the right-wing regime in Ethiopia.

Thirty-one T-34 tanks and 40 armoured personnel carriers have recently arrived in Ethiopia and a number of transport helicopters are expected soon.

It looks like the Derg will need them. Eritrean nationalists have captured the important town of Tessenai and are poised to mount an attack on a number of other important centres. The Ethiopian army continues to suffer heavy losses.

★ Pakistan

The Bhutto regime is more fragile than at any time in its five year history.

Popular opposition has been concentrated by the revelations of widespread ballot-

rigging in the recent elections. A number of important Government figures have resigned and 50,000 opposition supporters marched through Lahore last week.

Government-backed thugs have rampaged through the city in the last few days, in some cases shooting down oppositionists. The opposition has answered in kind.

The opposition Peoples National Alliance is a pathetic collection of retired officers and political careerists. The size of its support shows how far the popular base of the Bhutto Government has been undermined.

★ China

Three weeks ago Red Weekly gave evidence of how the ruling faction of the Chinese bureaucracy is doctoring photographs to remove the 'Gang of Four'.

It is interesting that the latest charge against the 'Gang' should be... doctoring photographs.



★ Italy

The Italian women's movement is furious at the light sentences handed out to seven gang rapists.

Claudia Caputi was raped by a number of youths — at the invitation of her boyfriend.

Before the trial started she was raped again by the same men. She is still in hospital.

Thirteen of those involved have not been found by police. Three of the seven brought to trial received short prison terms. The other four, including the boyfriend, got suspended sentences.

SWP and Stechford

It is encouraging that there were 871 votes cast for the two revolutionary socialist candidates in the Stechford by-election, making 2½ per cent, or 1 in 40, of the total. Although this fell far short of the 2955 cast for the racist National Front, it is the highest vote so far for the revolutionary left, and considerably better than the average Communist Party vote of recent years.

I am sure you are right that it would have been far more impressive if these 871 votes had been cast for a single revolutionary socialist candidate, supported by a united campaign, and also that such a candidate might have done considerably better than the combined vote of two separate campaigns. In that case we might at least have been seen as in the same league, challenging the NF electorally,

rather than as pathetic also-rans.

As a member of the Socialist Workers Party I wish to dissociate myself from the disgusting letter of Steve Jeffreys, a member of our Central Committee, in Socialist Worker (2 April), in which he alleged that the 'IMG were splitting the anti-racist votes'.

This hypocrisy has been shown to be nonsense by the result; but even if it had not been, I think it is important that you should know that there are some members of the SWP who agree with your campaign for electoral unity of the revolutionary left.

Let us hope that there can be an agreement between our two organisations to avoid a repetition of the Stechford situation.

MARTIN SHAW, Hull SWP.

Stechford

Congratulations on your intervention in the Stechford by-election. The fact that Brian Heron's share of the vote was small, even when taken together with the SWP vote, and that the Nazis and the Tories did well, should not be cause for discouragement.

The establishment of a revolutionary socialist presence in elections will be a slow process, far slower, unfortunately, than the consolidation of the fascist presence has been.

In this context the unity of all anti-fascist and anti-reformist groups is essential and I am sure that the revolutionary share of the vote would have been much greater had the SWP agreed to fight the election with the IMG on a joint 'Socialist Unity' platform.

Electoral legitimacy is a crucial part of the political struggle in Britain today. It is only by building a steady and substantial share of the vote that the National Front's presence can be challenged and the dominance of Labour as the working class party can be

questioned. The strategy of the far left in elections should be to present a socialist alternative to Labour and thereby eventually to erode Labour's working class support to a degree that will make it feel threatened, thereby giving credence to the considerable section of the party calling for socialist action to fight the crisis.

The growth of the National Front has been one of the factors encouraging the Tories' rightward drift and has exposed the inability of the Labour party, as currently constituted, to build any real anti-fascist campaign.

The parallel growth of a revolutionary anti-fascist electoral presence is the best means, at present, of fighting for a real socialist alternative to Labour's social democratic wing.

I enclose £2.00 to help you with your future campaigns.

A N.W. London Labour party member.

Anti-fascism

In view of the fact that the plan of the National Front to put up 318 candidates in order to have equal TV time has stirred even the Daily Mirror into some kind of action, isn't it time for all forces on the left to unite in some kind of Anti-Fascist activity?

Or are the left in Britain determined to fight Fascism separately and so follow in the footsteps of the German labour movement in the 1930s — only to ultimately inflict a bloody and crushing defeat on the working class?

Despite the many political differences between the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the International Marxist Group, the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Revolutionary Party, I am sure that most working people agree they ought to support just one left Anti-Fascist candidate in all the constituencies where the National Front (or National Party) are standing.

Where the local Labour candidate and constituency party are prepared to mount a vigorous Anti-Fascist campaign as part of the election programme (leaflets, meetings, demonstrations, posters and letters to the local press) the other left groups should unite to support this Labour candidate,

in words and actions.

In fascist-contested constituencies where the Labour Party is not prepared to mount such a campaign, the CP, IMG, SWP and WRP should divide such constituencies amongst themselves and put up one agreed left candidate only, and all help that candidate to conduct a large and vigorous Anti-Fascist campaign.

It is surely now time for the forces of the Left to make such an electoral pact for the next General Election, instead of having two or more socialists competing and thus splitting the left vote in constituencies where fascists are standing.

I believe that it is the duty of all socialist parties to fight the danger of fascism together. They owe this to the working class. For a start, why can't the left parties pool money, according to size, to produce a simple sticker and poster for use in all fascist-contested constituencies?

Similar letters are being sent to Labour Weekly, and Tribune of the Labour Party; Morning Star of the Communist Party; Socialist Worker of the SWP; and News Line of the WRP.

DAVID ROBINSON (Stockport)

France

Red Weekly obviously recognises the need to assess electoral returns as an index, however imperfect, of the relationship of class forces — as did Lenin. Yet some comments seem necessary to place gains won by the LCR/LO/OCT in the French municipal elections in correct perspective.

In a dozen of the 30 towns where the LCR/LO/OCT stood, it gained between 6.5 — 12 per cent of the vote. Yet in these towns, except Rouen, the PSU ('party of socialist self-management') was absent from the electoral struggle. In the dozen or so towns where the vote for the revolutionary left was low (1.3 — 3.4%), again excepting Villourbanne, the PSU was standing either as part of the Union of the Left, or on its own 'self-management' slate.

Where the Socialist Party and Communist Party stood separately, the revolutionary vote was marginalised. In towns where the PSU and the ecologists stood, the revolutionary vote was also low. In fact, the LCR/LO/OCT obtained best results where the Socialist Party headed the left slate, no doubt a vote against the record of that party's leadership.

Yet the overall picture is not one of the revolutionary left making significant inroads into the support for the Union of the Left. The electoral returns are promising, but indicate that support for the PSU continues to hedge the success of the revolutionary left, and obstruct the latter's emergence into an effective national force in French politics.

PETE JENKINS (Manchester)

Who's got the wrong line here then?

As everybody knows, 'with constabulary duty to be done, a policeman's lot is not an 'appy one.' But their lot suddenly became a bit worse three weeks ago when Red Weekly published an article on the Police by Richard Carver.

Red Weekly came out against police unions: police affiliation to the TUC, the struggle for pay rises and the right to strike!

Richard Carver seemed to argue like this: 'In a conscript army the struggle is advanced by the fight for union rights. However, this is not true for the police. The Police Federation is reactionary and a police union would have 'all the same defects'. Hence the job of Trotskyists is to denounce the Stalinists who want to democratised the state and point out that 'in general' we are opposed to improvements in police conditions because that would help recruitment and thus help the bourgeoisie repress workers. Instead we should support cops joining the T&G.'

As Frank Serpico would doubtless confirm — that line is just plain mad! It presupposes a

on individual cop! It is simply useless! Instead we should be supporting the right to form a police union. Since when have Trotskyists opposed democratic rights for police because a future union might possibly mirror the reactionary hierarchy?

According to that logic we might just as well oppose political rights for soldiers on the grounds that they'd all join the NFI Police affiliation to the TUC would bring with it the right to strike. As such it would be a big step forward. O.K. the Federation is reactionary 'through and through' but what is the best way to break its hold on the rank and file?

Precisely to put it in a position where the cops see that their officers ally with people who won't defend their interests and that they will not lead a struggle against the interests of the ruling class. As for the notion that this is a 'Stalinist' position. On the contrary, it is Carver that makes precisely the confusion which we denounce the CP for making — It confuses the struggle for democratic rights with the democratisation of the state.

— we should denounce them for not defending that right unconditionally against the bourgeoisie (China!)

As for the ludicrous notion that improvements in police conditions aids the bourgeoisie! This is precisely the logic that 'if the police's jobs is badly paid no one will do it! Nonsense!

If the wage rises are won through the offices of the Tory Party, or if the struggle for wage rises is defeated, THEN the police will become more racist, lumpen, reactionary etc. It is enough to pose the question, 'if the police won the right to strike, went on national strike, formed a union and won a wage rise would that take the class struggle forward or back?' for Carver's line to collapse in shreds — the answer is so obvious.

We believe that Red Weekly should say the following. Let us intervene to lead the fight for a democratic police union affiliated to the TUC enjoying all democratic rights. Would this put the cops in a 'better' position to repress workers? In the real world the conflicts involved in such a struggle would push the police time

The bourgeoisie will pretend to defend 'democracy' anywhere except in the factories and armed forces — but we defend it there too! Revolutionaries have to combine the revolutionary road to power with a struggle for proletarian hegemony, not merely in civil society but also amongst the agents of repression.

Thus we simultaneously reveal that the police and army will always (even on low pay) contain a subaltern core of reaction which must be crushed by force of arms and create the best conditions for proletarian power by fragmenting the central bourgeois command structure, demoralising the bourgeoisie and sapping its will.

Remember, a crisis of this sort in a state apparatus reveals the depth of the social crisis in British society, it is one of the essential prerequisites for the onset of a revolutionary situation — don't blind yourselves to new revolutionary possibilities and openings through impotent, leftist, abstentionism!

VAL GRAHAM

New Left Review

SPECIAL HUNDRETH ISSUE

Centenary By Alan Jones

The 100th issue of New Left Review is one of the most important theoretical contributions to the debate on revolutionary strategy to have appeared for many years.

Fred Halliday, in a serious review of Livio Maitan's *Party, Army and Masses in China*, marks the farewell to the illusions in the progressive role of Maoism; Jean-Paul Sartre, in an interesting, if somewhat confused and inaccurate excerpt, discusses the issue of 'socialism in one country'.

Raymond Williams summarises some of the debates on the British left in the post-war period. Finally, in an important interview, Ernest Mandel considers the experience and problems of proletarian revolutionary struggles in Europe since 1917.

Despite the many riches of the issue, however, one contribution really stands out head and shoulders above the rest — a truly magnificent essay on Gramsci by Perry Anderson.

DEBATE

This article amounts to an overview of a whole series of the most fundamental debates of the revolutionary Marxist movement — Luxemburg against Kautsky, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks on strategy in Russia, the debate in the Comintern on the United Front, the military debate of the early 1920s in the USSR — and situates Gramsci, and contemporary strategies, within this framework.

The starting point of the essay, as with all Anderson's recent work, is the assertion of the *primacy of politics*. The famous and profound dictum of Lenin's that: 'Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism' has already been given its carefully weighted phrasing against a contemporary ideological background in Anderson's *Foreword to Lineages of the Absolutist State* where he asserts: 'secular struggle between classes is ultimately resolved at the political — not the economic or cultural — level of society.'

The significance of the essay on Gramsci is that this basic conclusion of historical materialism is turned from an aphorism into a sustained analysis of the necessary political strategies flowing from such a position. Furthermore, unlike Anderson's *Lineages of the Absolutist State* and *Considerations on Western Marxism*, this is carried out not with studied ambiguities or straightforward con-

fusions but with a clear logic that clearly separates the essay from any variety of reformism.

The essence of the question tackled in Anderson's study is, in his own words: 'what is the inter-relation or connection between consent and coercion in the structure of bourgeois class power in metropolitan capitalism?' (p41)

The first answer to this question which Anderson explores, and one which today forms the theoretical underpinning of Eurocommunism in general and the Communist Party of Great Britain in particular, is that given in certain passages of Gramsci. Boiled down to bare essentials the most crucial of these passages theoretically is that:

'In the East (of Europe including Russia) the State was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relationship between State and civil society, and when the State trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed. The State was only an outer diach, behind which there was a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks.' (*Prison Notebooks* p.238 cited Anderson p10)

From such a concept quite clear strategic conclusions flow:

'The superstructures of civil society are like the trench systems of modern warfare. In war it

Such a position can be interpreted, and is by the CPGB, to mean that in the last analysis the state is based on consent. The successful undermining of the bourgeois mechanisms of obtaining the consent of the masses can eliminate the necessity of the working class exercising violence and coercion. Against this the first, and theoretically speaking the most fundamental, theme of Anderson is the assertion and demonstration

'... It is in the nature of the bourgeois state that, in any final contest, the armed apparatuses of repression inexorably displace the ideological apparatuses of parliamentary representation, to re-occupy the dominant position in the structure of capitalist class power. The coercive State machine is the ultimate barrier to a workers' revolution, and can only be broken by pre-emptive counter-coercion.' (p76)

In short it is necessary to speak not of the determinant element in the last instance being consent but of 'The determination of the capitalist state in the final instance by coercion.' (p77)

INEVITABLE

Gramsci himself of course never questioned that revolutionary violence was inevitable and necessary. However for the present CPs the correct point, considered in isolation, that the state cannot be reduced to 'armed bodies of men' is used in reality to deny that, in the last instance, the state is based on coercion. Anderson states the real character of such a position succinctly:

'... To forget the "fundamental" or determinant role of violence within the power structure of contemporary capitalism in the final instance is to regress to reformism.' (p42)

The task of Anderson in relation to this reformist distortion is however primarily one of defence of what he terms 'the classical principles of historical materialism' — although he achieves this task with remarkable force and precision. The real originality and contribution of the essay however, and in this it builds on previous work of *New Left Review*, is its assertion of the primacy of the political not merely in coercion but in determining consent. The domination of politics asserts itself not merely in the last instance and the clash of armed force, but in maintaining the 'day to day' domination of capital.

It is this which, following Lenin, radically marks Anderson's exposition off from any form of

100 *new left review*

REVOLUTION WEST AND EAST

Perry Anderson	The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci
Fred Halliday	Marxist Analysis of China
Ernest Mandel	Revolutionary Strategy in Europe
Jean-Paul Sartre	Socialism in One Country
Raymond Williams	Post-war British Marxism

£1.70



ANTONIO GRAMSCI

would happen sometimes that a fierce artillery attack seemed to have destroyed the enemy's entire defensive system, whereas in fact it had only destroyed the outer surface of it; and at the moment of their advance and attack the assailants would find themselves confronted by a line of defence which was still effective.' (*Prison Notebooks* p234 cited Anderson p9)

Poles apart

A BOOK which goes a long way towards rehabilitating Trotskyism as a legitimate current in the workers movement has been published ... In Poland. Nor is it any old book but the third and final volume of the history of the Polish Communist Party from 1918 to 1938, published by an official State publishing house.

The author, Jozef Kowalski, argues that Trotsky expressed 'certain rational ideas' in the early 1930s when he defended the policy of the united front against the Comintern's characterisation of social democracy as 'social fascist' — a characterisation whose consequences included Hitler's rise to power in 1933. Kowalski also defends Isaac Deutscher — a leader at that time of the opposition inside the Polish Communist Party, and subsequently to become Trotsky's biographer.

Deutscher — still described officially in Poland as a 'traitor' — clashed with the PCP leadership in 1933 when he wrote an article after Hitler's takeover calling for unity between Communists and Socialists in Germany. Forseeing the likelihood of a bloodbath, Deutscher argued that the German Communist Party was too weak to stand up to it alone. But the PCP leadership ordered him to withdraw the article, saying that it would only 'lead to panic'.

ments in the party: 'It would have been entirely in the interests of the workers movement for the central committee of the PCP and the Executive of the International to have drawn the lessons from this and other signs of confusion and doubts in the party, and above all to have come to terms more precisely with reality.'

Kowalski recalls that the PCP leadership even resorted to crude anti-semitism against the opposition, accusing them of being mainly of Jewish origin. This criticism has a direct echo today, for a similar wave of anti-semitism against the Jewish revolutionary intelligentsia was launched by the party leadership as recently as 1968. Kowalski was one of the few to speak out against it at the time.

You might think from all this that a new flowering of democracy is now underway in Poland. Unfortunately not. Although this book was published in 1975, it has only just come to notice in the West [mainly through an article by Manuel Lucbert in the Paris daily *Le Monde*]. Why? Because the Polish regime thought it necessary to print only 3,000 copies of this third volume [the first, non-contentious volume, by contrast, merited 30,000 copies]. This in a country of more than 30 million people!

The message: 'Facts may show that Trotsky wasn't a fascist agent after all, but keep it from the

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syndicalism or economism. The issue of defining a specifically political orientation cannot be put off until the final clash — today working on a crude combination of economic and social agitation until finally comes the emergence of the soviets — but becomes the dominant element in defining line at all phases of the struggle. As this analysis is crucial it is worth citing some of the most central passages in full. Anderson states the following as the chief line of reasoning of 'militant social-democratic circles':

'Experience shows that... elections never produce a government dedicated to the expropriation of capital and the realisation of socialism.... What is the reason for this paradox? It must lie in the prior ideological conditioning of

the proletariat before the electoral moment as such. The central locus of power must therefore be sought within civil society — above all, in capitalist control of the means of communication... based on the control of the means of production. (In more sophisticated variants on commodity fetishism — A.I.)... Yet whether the primary emphasis is given to the effect of cultural or economic apparatuses, the analytic conclusion is the same. It is the strategic nexus of civil society which is believed to maintain capitalist hegemony within a political democracy.' (p27)

ILLUSIONS

In contrast to this Anderson argues:

'This characteristic syndrome of left social-democracy contains a number of illusions. The first and most immediate of its errors is precisely the notion that the ideological power of the bourgeoisie in Western social formations is exercised above all in the sphere of civil society, its hegemony over which subsequently neutralises the democratic potential of the representative state.... In fact, it might be said that the truth is if anything the inverse: the general form of the representative State — bourgeois democracy — is itself the principal ideological lynchpin of Western capitalism, whose very existence deprives the working class of the idea of socialism as a different type of State.' (p28)

CONCLUSION

It is not possible to go into a full examination of this conclusion here. Properly integrated into an economic and social framework the present reviewer considers the conclusion to be essentially correct. However in the form in which it is presented by Anderson there are dangers and errors — notably a dangerous, potentially ultra-left, theoretical tendency to confusion of consent to a particular form of bourgeois rule with consent to bourgeois rule as such; a failure to integrate the political instance properly into the economic; and, most seriously of all, a failure to sit the central role played within bourgeois democracy by the labour bureaucracy. These must be discussed out. Overwhelmingly, however, the response must be positive — the main

ary Marxist themes. It leads logically in its last section to the questions of the united front, dual power and other central Trotskyist concepts which Anderson takes up in the final section.

Finally the 100th issue *New Left Review* is an appropriate point at which to assess the trajectory of that journal and the work of its editor. From the point of view of theory Anderson's recent works only confirm what was already known. A long time before he wrote the essay on Gramsci Perry Anderson was the most important Marxist political theorist in Britain — the most original in ideas, the most coherent in execution, and the most embracing and comprehensive in vision.

But Marxist theory is not the same as Marxist politics. It is unfortunately quite possible to combine brilliance in the first with renegacy in the second — Lukács is merely the latest in a long line from Plekhanov, Hilferding, Bauer and Kautsky onwards. Anderson, by establishing the primacy of the political yardstick, set up the finally decisive criteria by which his own work must be judged.

FORWARD

On this terrain the essay on Gramsci marks a qualitative step forward. In a period when various of the theoretical forces of the British Marxist left have confronted the upsurge of the European working class by retreating into economics, philosophy and culture, *New Left Review* has set itself the task of analysing the dominant element of the class struggle — that of politics.

In the present essay Anderson draws the line clearly on a number of fundamental issues with any reformist or centrist interpretation.

To transform and integrate these ideas into a coherent political practice requires far more than their simple development on the pages of print. However in this contribution, and the words are chosen with care, Perry Anderson has given us one of the most important essays on revolutionary political theory in Western Europe since the death of Trotsky. No informed debate can take place on strategy in the West without reading it. It opens the way for a serious dialogue on revolutionary strategy of a quite different char-

SPAIN: elections announced 15 June

THE SPANISH Communist Party has been legalised. Tens of thousands of workers will see this as a victory, a recognition that the major party of the working class cannot be ignored.

But it is also a victory for the Government's reform plan. It had hoped to avoid a tricky problem by referring the case to the Supreme Court. The court handed the problem back to the Government, saying that since this was a political question a political body should make the decision.

The opposition of a number of leading officers in the armed forces was the first serious opposition from inside the regime faced by the Government for many months. That it got away with no more than a

couple of resignations shows how far its project has advanced.

Now the Government has to decide whether or not to legalise the far left. Even if the right wing in the army decides to take its opposition to the CP's legalisation no further it will put up massive resistance to this measure.

The CP has no intention of taking up that campaign. On the contrary it has decided to recognise the 'democratic' monarchy as the legitimate ruler of Spain.

Government legalises CP, releases Trotskyists



LCR/LKI prisoners welcomed in Ondarrou. From left to right: Andoni Arrizabalaga, Andoni Bedialaunets and Inaki Garcia Arambarri.

Trotskyists come home

AFTER EIGHT years absence — all but a day — Andoni Arrizabalaga has gone home.

Home is Ondarrou, a fishing village built into a small ledge of rock jutting out from the steep Basque hillside. On an early April day the narrow, cavernous streets, surrounded by water on three sides, might seem more suited to an Easter pageant than a political demonstration.

The Ondarrou fishermen have been on strike for more than three months, a hard struggle which is no nearer victory now than at the beginning of January. Much of the town has been reduced to poverty and near starvation.

Andoni was born there 36 years ago. When he was arrested, on 4 April 1969, he was a member of ETA, the radical Basque nationalist organisation. He was the first member of ETA to be sentenced to death — for alleged terrorist activities. Strikes and demonstrations

saved his life.

The same workers who had defended Andoni in 1969 were out to greet him on 3 April. He came out of his Madrid cell a member of the LKI — the new name for the LCR in the Basque country. He was not expected but three thousand militants met him in Bilbao under a wide red banner of the LKI: Ongi Etorri Gureak — 'Welcome Comrade.'

At six in the evening the car from Madrid arrived in the Plaza Zaballuru. Five militants of the LKI stepped out, thin and weakened by hunger strikes, to be chaired to the platform. With Arrizabalaga were Josu Ibarretxe, Inaki Garcia Arambarri, Inaki Biar and Andoni Bedialauneta.

The crowd went wild. The ikurrina, the Basque flag, was everywhere. But it was outnumbered by the red flags of the LKI and the Fourth International youth movement, the Iraultza Taldeak. As wagonloads of riot police looked on impotently, the workers shouted for total amnesty for political prisoners, for the legalisation of all workers organisations and the dissolution of the repressive forces.

BETRAYALS

Of the working class parties only the PSOE, the social democrats, did not send representatives to greet the comrades. Lopez Inasegui spoke for the EIA, the organisation set up by the ETA (V Assembly). He, like a number of the LKI comrades, was condemned at the Burgos trial in 1970. He welcomed the comrades of the former ETA (VI): 'Despite our differences we are convinced that we will be on the same side of the barricades.'

Rosa Olivares spoke for the MCE, a Maoist organisation: 'I am very moved to salute the comrades of the LKI. Thank you for your struggle. Thank you for your example....'

The police got down from their jeeps to clear the square. No-one moved. When the comrades were arrested the far left was underground. They could not believe

Vitoria's Day of Struggle

AT LEAST 10,000 people defied driving snow, rubber bullets and police barricades to celebrate a Basque national day of struggle in Vitoria. About 8,000 people also demonstrated in Durango.

The call for an 'Aberri Eguna' of struggle was made by a united left wing nationalist body — the Erakunde — and the LKI and LC, sympathisers of the Fourth International. The Communist and Socialist Parties and the Basque Nationalist Party insisted that the only demonstration should be a peaceful one under the single banner of the Basque flag. Their demonstration, in the village of Loyola, was authorised by the police.

A year ago it had been the workers who had thrown up barricades around Vitoria and controlled who entered and left. On Easter Saturday, the

day before Aberri Eguna, armed police had set up road blocks on every road into the town.

Militants from all over the Basque country were turned away. Deterred neither by the police nor by the rain and snow they took to the hills.

On Easter Sunday, Vitoria woke up to a blanket of snow. But it was also filled with thousands of militants who had marched over the mountains and slipped into the town by an undiscovered route.

Police were waiting when they tried to assemble in the centre of the town. Rubber bullets and repeated baton charges broke the marchers into small groups. But 3,000 people managed to regroup and hold a short demonstration until, for once, discretion was held to be the most sensible course.

Josu Ibarretxe set off for Eibar. The other three joined a long caravan of cars on the hilly road to Ondarrou.

The entire town and many thousands more must have been out to meet them. No-one could move through the streets and the square. The hills around the town were swarming, the fishermen's idle boats filled, every balcony straining under the weight. An ikurrina or a red flag hung from every window. The people of Ondarrou had fought hard for this day.

The tiny Citroen with the three comrades on the roof could hardly move through the crowds. Everyone was jostling to shake their hands. It is not only the young who are militants in the Basque country. Old women chanted from the

balconies: 'Andoni, Andoni'. Everyone's eyes were filled with tears.

At last the little car made it to the square. Under a massive banner of the Fourth International the dancing and singing went on late into the night. The comrades spoke. Again they called for the legalisation of all political parties and pledged their support to the struggle of the Ondarrou fishermen. Above all they called for a total amnesty, for the release of our comrades still inside.

Inaki Sarasketa, a clerk, was arrested in 1968 and condemned to death. Working class action saved him but he was sentenced to spend the rest of his life in prison. He is still there.

Lucio Solaguren, an electrician, was sentenced to 18 years in 1968.

He is still there.

Enrique Geslagna, a Basque worker, was one of the Burgos defendants in 1970. He was shot in the lung when he was arrested, but he escaped from his 50 year stretch in Segovia jail. Recaptured by the police, he is still there.

The knowledge that our comrades were still in jail was not the only cause for bitterness in Ondarrou. Some nationalists saw the comrades' membership of the Fourth International as a betrayal of the Basque cause. They tried to tear down the red flags and smear the Trotskyists as 'Spaniards'.

Our comrades explained how the fight for national rights in the Basque country could only be successful through an alliance with the workers of the Spanish state as a whole. The LKI does not betray the Basque struggle. On the contrary we are uncompromising in our support for self determination.

What further price do our comrades have to pay to show that determination?

'STRIKE'

In other Basque towns and villages our comrades got a similar greeting as they left the prisons — eleven of them in all.

Andoni Arrizabalaga went with Sabit Arana when he returned to Sestao, an industrial suburb of Bilbao. Sabit had spent many months of his nine years inside on hunger strike, apparently oblivious of the tuberculosis which has dogged him all that time.

The scene in Ondarrou was repeated. Thousands came out with red flags and ikurrinas to hear the LKI call for strikes and demonstrations on Aberri Eguna, the Basque national day. Again there were those, nationalists and reformists, who objected. Aberri Eguna, they said, should be a peaceful protest under a single banner, the ikurrina. The mass of red flags and hammers and sickles gave them little encouragement.

Sabit Arana could hardly speak. He wept. 'I only ask one thing. That is to take my place among you to continue the struggle for total amnesty.'

From Special Correspondents of Red Weekly and Rouge in Bilbao and Ondarrou.

WHAT'S ON

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

WHAT IS a Socialist Feminist Practice? — a series of workshops for women. No 2 — 'Sexual self determination and the fight to control our bodies'. Sunday 24 April, Caxton House, St John's Way, N19. 10am-5.30pm. Coat 50p (40p for claimants). Grabs provided and drinks, but bring food. Papers can be obtained in advance by sending a large SAE to the planning group, 19, Mallory Road, SE5.

'STALINISM' a school organised by Brighton IMG, 7-18 May, Sussex University. Registration 50p. Comprehensive documentation for school 50p. Registration and reading 11. Registration, reading and further details all available from 'Weekend School', 16 Dean St., Brighton. Tel: 0273-202780.

NORTH WEST Gay Weekend 7-8 May in Oldham welcomes all gay women and men. For details ring 061-824 1010, or 061-682 7458, or Littleborough 70458.

'THE CRISIS and the struggle for a vanguard party': Speaker Frank Richards. Friday 6 May, 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. First public meeting of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency.

SOUTHAMPTON Red Weekly May Day Social, Thursday 28 April — live group and disco — 'The Anchor', East Street. Start 8pm. Admission 40p at door.

ZIMBABWE — Who are the Real Terrorists? Public meeting organised by Southampton Anti-Apartheid Group — speakers from Zimbabwe, St Matthew's Church Hall, 7.30pm, 11 May.

FREE THE MURRAYS, Marie Murray faces retrial on murder charge on Monday 25 April. Murray Defence Groups are planning a week of action, Friday 22 April, Public meeting. Speakers from Defence Groups and PAPT. 7.30 Small Hall Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1, Saturday 23

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST Papers Number one — out now. Contains a full discussion of the political differences that emerged during the recent split in the RCG, articles on party-building and internationalism, Stalinism and the British Communist Party. 50p plus 13p postage from the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RWT), BM RCT London, WC1V 6XX.

MODEL GERMANY, Conference on the current situation in West Germany. Organised by Campaign against Repression in West Germany. Speakers from West Germany. Background documents available from The Campaign (West Germany), 35 Wellington Street, London WC2. Send large SAE and 40p. 7 May, North London Polytechnic, Holloway Road, Islington, London N1. 10.00-6.30. Further details from the Campaign.

BIG IMG May Day Social: 30 April, Caxton House, St. John's Way N19. 8pm-2am. Bar extension, food, band, disco. Admission E1.

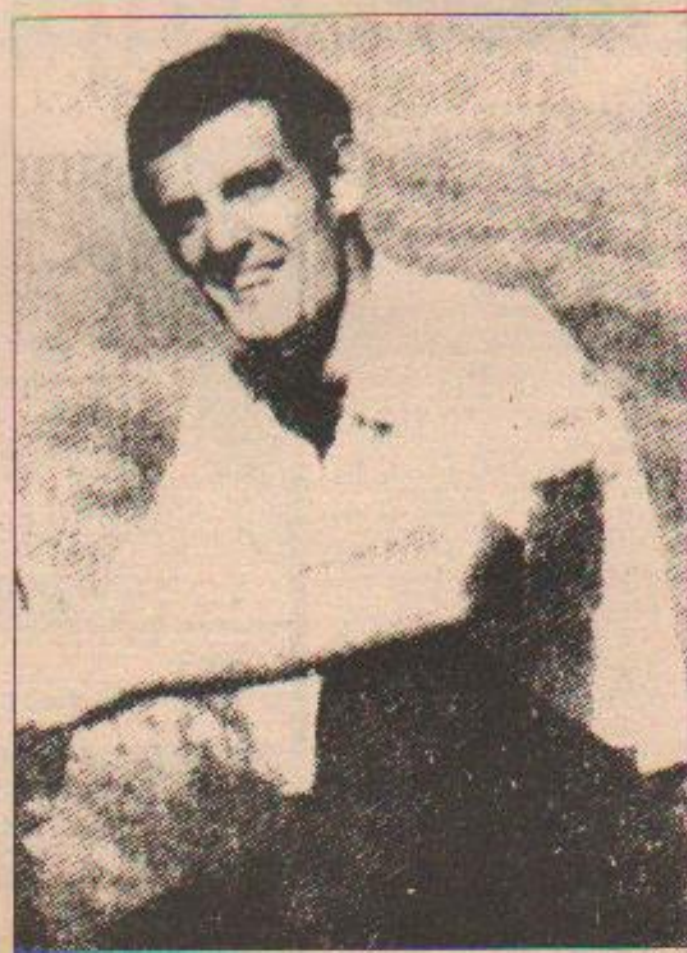
MANCHESTER International Forums: Wed 27 April, Perry Anderson on 'The Western Communist Parties', 8pm in the Council Chamber, Barne Wallis Building, UMIST Students Union, Adm 20p. Organised by IMG.

London Socialist Teachers Alliance Public Meeting, Weds 27 April, 7.30pm, Prince Albert pub, Wharfedale Road, London N1. **London Socialist Teachers Alliance Public Meeting** 8 May 'Fight the ILEA/ILTA Compulsory Transfer Agreement - Fight the Cuts'. Venue to be announced later.

CARDIFF May Day, March in Solidarity with Spanish Workers, Saturday 30 April, 2pm Museum Place, Cardiff.

BIRMINGHAM Gay Socialist Group meets first Monday in each month at Lopez's Social Development Centre, 1 Finch Road, Bham, 8pm. Tel Peace Centre, 021-543 0996.

ISLINGTON Bus Company, Benefit



IMG Notes

Colonial Revolution Commission, Saturday 23 April, 11am, At National Centre.

National Student Fraction 23/24 April in Manchester. Starts 10.30am on Saturday. Sessions include: Restructuring of Higher and Further Education; Balance-sheet since September; the Socialist Students Alliance, and training of new members. All student members should attend. Open also to sympathisers who work with the IMG in the colleges. Those travelling a long distance should arrange to arrive on Friday evening when a social will be arranged. **National WLM Fraction**, Now on Saturday 30 April, 10.30-5.00pm. Further details to follow.

National Health Commission, Saturday 30 April, At National Centre.

National WWCC Fraction, Saturday 7 March. Further details to follow.

National NALGO Fraction, Saturday 20 April, 11am, At National Centre.

IMG International School, 4/6/6/7 June. For members and sympathisers. More details to follow next week. Comrades to note date for keeping free. Watch this space for further details.

National Branch Organisers Aggregate, 19 or 20 June in London. Further details to follow.

'Labour Focus on Eastern Europe', The IMG has purchased a bulk order of this journal, so all IMG branch orders should be sent to: Redcross, 97 Caledonian Rd., London N1.

IMG International Bulletin, No 1 of this new bulletin is just out — for IMG members and sympathisers, including Rousset on Vietnamese CP & the

WHY THE IMPERIALISTS PROP UP MOBUTU

IT IS no coincidence that French intervention in Zaire should come when the Congo National Liberation Front guerrillas were threatening Kolwezi.

Kolwezi is the capital of Shaba province, formerly Katanga, and the centre of the country's mining industry. The battle for the town will be decisive for the future of the Mobutu Government.

French collaboration in the exploitation of the Shaba mines — and their workers — has in the past been less than that of other imperialist powers. No doubt one of Giscard's considerations was a wish to expand French business interests in Zaire.

Financial and military cooperation between the two countries has increased in recent months. French aid to Zaire was increased in 1976, including a Treasury loan of 59.3 million francs to finance a telecommunications system. Panhard armoured cars and 17 Mirage jets have been supplied to the Zaire armed forces.

Since the Mobutu coup in 1965 the USA has been the main military backer and economic exploiter of

Zaire. Still the Americans are sending substantial supplies to Mobutu and economic aid exceeds US aid to the rest of Africa put together.

But the attitude of the Carter administration — most clearly expressed by UN ambassador Andrew Young — is resolutely neo-colonial. Whatever their apparent political complexion, argues Young, governments will still want to trade with us.

Mobutu has increasingly turned elsewhere to supplement US aid. He is known to have strong links with BOSS, the South African secret police, and a rabidly anti-communist consortium of international financiers.

These were the people behind Operation Cobra 77, the planned attack on Angola later this year.

All the evidence points to a carefully planned imperialist intervention when the rebels' advance on Kolwezi and the level of support from the population became clear. There was a division of labour between France [transport planes

and military advisers], Morocco [combat troops], Egypt [air and artillery support], Uganda [commandos] and Belgium [economic aid and a number of troops stationed in Kaminu]. West Germany helped out with £1 million worth of 'humanitarian' aid.

The only problem is that they might stop the guerrillas' advance but they are unlikely to kill the movement. Western military sources are already predicting a protracted guerrilla war.

In case you are wondering why everyone finds Zaire so attractive, here are some figures. The country produces 31 per cent of the world's diamonds, 2 per cent of its manganese, 2 per cent of its tin, 10 per cent of its copper, 0.3 per cent of its gold, 1.3 per cent of its zinc and 0.6 per cent of its silver. That is not to mention its cobalt — of which it is the world's major supplier — carbon, uranium, tantalum, platinum and recently discovered oil and methane deposits.

They all want to keep their hands on that little lot.



A VICTIM of Irish 'terrorism' the British media preferred not to publicise: one of the many who were attacked by the police of the Southern Irish state at an Easter demonstration held in Dublin to protest about the treatment of Irish Republican prisoners in Port Laoise prison.

The Irish Times revealed that the police removed their identification numbers prior to their attack on the demonstration. Proof that the action was planned and premeditated. 20 prisoners are at present on hunger strike in Port Laoise, a number of them very seriously ill.

The demands of the hunger strikers are: 'The right to free association; an end to degrading and humiliating strip searches; an end to solitary confinement; open and respectable visits; the right to engage in craft work; the right to educational facilities; adequate recreational and exercise facilities; the right to communicate with legal advisor of choice'.

Photo: Republican News.

REPUBLICANS & SECTARIANISM

Thankfully the murder last week of John Short in Belfast did not lead to the Official/Provisional feud many had feared. But the incident did raise a number of important questions about the politics of both the Official and Provisional Republican movements.

THE POLITICS of the Official Republican Movement — which has now renamed itself 'Sinn Fein — The Workers Party' — are counter-revolutionary and pro-imperialist. As such those politics must be fought by all republicans and socialists in Ireland who have any interest in taking the anti-imperialist struggle forward.

But there is one tactic which will not defeat the Officials' politics, and that is the assassination of individual members of that organisation. And as a tactic, the shooting last week by the Provisionals of John Short must stand condemned not just as a politically wrong tactic, but an act which can only bring comfort to the main enemies of the Irish people — the British occupying forces.

But it is important to put the murder of John Short in a proper context. The immediate background to the death is the clashes which occurred between Official and Provisional members at Easter weekend.

BOMB

The first incident was the bomb which killed a seven-year-old boy, timed to explode as the Officials were preparing to start their Easter march. The Provisionals have emphatically denied responsibility for this bomb, and as they have admitted to the murder of John Short, there seems no reason to doubt this disclaimer.

Accordingly, the most likely people to have planted this bomb were either Loyalist paramilitaries or the British Army. The intention was clear — to spark off a shooting feud between Officials and Provisionals.

The Officials were the first to

Belfast Easter commemorations, following scuffles between members of the two organisations. Officials fired into a crowd of Provisional supporters. The bullets in the guns were blanks, but as these were the first shots of any description that the Officials have fired in recent months, it is understandable that members of the Provisionals reacted angrily.

The murder of John Short was the answer to this provocation. As the Provisionals originally denied the murder it seems likely that it was not carried out on instructions from the Provisional leadership, but by individual members of the Provisionals intent on getting back at the 'Stickers'.

PROBLEM

The ingrained sectarianism of the Provisionals is part of the problem. The mystical notion that all authority resides in the 'Army Council' through the abrogation of those rights by the Second Dail 'legitimises' all actions of the Provisionals. An article in the latest *Republican News*, although arguing for a political discussion of the ideas of the Officials, reeks of this sectarianism. For the paper had argued: 'We need to continue to pick up the Sticks, chew them over, and spit them out into the gutter where they belong... the Sticks could play a treacherous role in a widespread conflict situation. Their form would not only be to spread confusion. Even worse they could gun down Volunteers engaged in defending our areas against Brit-backed Loyalist aggression'.

The reason for this outburst in *Republican News* was the latest policy statement the Officials had published in their newspaper *United Ireland*. The March edi-

tion of *United Ireland* (the Workers Party is committed to accepting majority rule given that the Bill of Rights programme is introduced'. In other words, if the British Government ruled kindly, the Officials would accept the division of Ireland. Worse followed when the article talked of the 'possibility of a coalition between the Republican Clubs (Officials) and the majority rule Unionists'. The only way such 'unity' would be possible would be by — as the Officials do — accepting the Northern State, the 'Protestant Parliament for Protestant people' — while hoping that the British Government would legislate away all the grievances of the Catholic Northern minority.

One form of such 'unity' which the Officials have already accepted is that of the now totally discredited 'Peace People'. For at the annual conference, held in January, the Officials were unequivocal in their support for the 'Peace People'. Justifying this stand, the Officials' President, Tomas MacGiolla made the absurd assertion that 'The British Government does not want the peace movements to succeed'. This is presumably why the Government lifted the ban on Trafalgar Square for the 'Peace People'.

FRAUD

These are the type of politics that stand readily exposed for the fraud they are. Politics which continue to offer remnants of socialist rhetoric, but urge Britain to rule the North by legislating a Bill of Rights, that support the division of Ireland, that support the 'Peace' dealings of the British ruling class press.

The only way representatives of these politics can gain any sympathy from militants in the North of Ireland is by having thrust open to them the cloak of martyrdom. That is what the Provisional movement did to them last Monday when they murdered John Short.



President Mobutu, above, and, below, unloading of imperialist military supplies.

Workers' Jubilee 1917-1977



'Down with the war' the Petrograd workers and soldiers cried in February. Everybody was waiting for the announcement of peace and an end to the death and destruction of the bloody imperialist war. The people waited in vain for the Provisional Government to act.

RIC SISSONS continues our week-by-week account of the Russian Revolution.

On 23 March, Miliukov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, made public the attitude of the Government on the war. Amidst idle chatter about the rights of nations to self-determination, the leader of the Kadet party laid his cards on the table — seize Constantinople, Armenia and Northern Persia, divide Austria and Turkey. Kerensky, acutely embarrassed, explained that this was 'Miliukov's personal opinion'. However this personal opinion coincided with that of the Kadet Party, the majority of the Government and the ruling class.

Four days later the Government, under pressure from the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, refined its position:

'... the goal of free Russia is not domination over other peoples... nevertheless complete observance of the obligations undertaken to our allies.'

ESCAPED

This last sentence escaped the attention of Stalin and Kamenev, the editors of Pravda, who the following morning declared:

'The Provisional Government has clearly and definitely announced before the whole people that the aim of Russia is not the domination of other nations'.

Lenin was still four days from Petrograd.

Russia, under the old calendar, celebrated its first May Day free from tsarist autocracy on 18 April. Everybody took to the streets. Even at Moghilev, the military headquarters, soldiers, former Generals of the Tsar and the reactionary Cavaliers of St George marched shoulder to shoulder. Miliukov chose this day to reaffirm his position on the war. A note was despatched to the allies

versal desire to carry the world war through to a decisive victory'.

The idea of this note had been cooked up by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Soviet Executive. In exchange for the note, along the lines of the 27 March statement, the Soviet would support the raising of a 'liberty loan'. The executive put its name to a blank cheque which Miliukov gratefully filled in and cashed.

The Executive was stunned. The full Soviet was summoned, but for the purposes of information. A report was made that 'this was not at all what the Executive Committee had expected.' However the Executive had put its trust in the Government. It had no wish to upset the rotten apple cart. It hoped this affair could be settled amicably. The masses felt otherwise.

Factories stopped. Workers went on strike. 25,000 armed soldiers strook at the head of a demonstration whose cry was: 'Down with Miliukov'. No party, nor Soviet called this protest. The masses had intervened to redirect the course of history. They marched to the Mariinsky Palace, home of the Government. The Menshevik leaders of the Soviet met them there and persuaded the crowds to disperse.

CALM

That evening the Executive of the Soviet met. Something had to be done to calm the situation. Perhaps another note could be issued? Maybe Miliukov could become the Minister of Education? The Minister of Foreign Affairs rejected both suggestions. The Executive Committee backed down, for to pursue their case would mean to challenge the

The Bolshevik Petrograd Committee also met and called a further demonstration the following day. Led by 100 armed soldiers, workers flocked from the Vyborg district to support the call. Chaidze, Menshevik President of the Soviet, met the crowd to request that they disperse. The demonstrators refused. Kornilov, the new military commander of Petrograd, proposed a solution — shoot on the crowd. While the Kadets organised a counter demonstration, Kornilov moved cannon into Palace Square.

ORDERS

The Executive of the Soviet met again. Orders were issued — No troops were to leave their barracks; all troop movements were to be countersigned by the Executive; 'To the Executive Committee alone belongs the right to command you.' The Soviet was obeyed, not a soldier moved. Nevertheless, shots were exchanged between the demonstrations. For the first time the two opposing class forces clashed openly on the streets of Petrograd.

The Executive met again. A few changes in the Miliukov note to the allies was sufficient to buy the Soviet support. The Soviet, meeting in plenary session, unanimously agreed that no demonstrations should be held for two days. The Bolsheviks supported this vote. Nobody disobeyed.

Within the camp of the working class the strength of the Soviet became apparent. No troops moved without their permission. No important political steps could be taken without their endorsement. Yet the situation remained as before, because the Menshevik leaders of the Executive had no intention to challenge the Government.

As Trotsky had recognised in 1905, and Lenin in the April Theses, the completion of the bourgeois revolution could only be accomplished by the working class seizure of state power and a successful socialist revolution.

Next week: The first coalition

MARCH AGAINST THE FASCISTS

12.00pm Saturday 23 April, Salt Street Bradford
*All IMG branches north of (but excluding) Birmingham to mobilise

MARCH AGAINST THE NATIONAL FRONT
1pm, Saturday 23 April
Ducketts Common
[Tumpke Lane Tube]
Hornsey, North London
★ All IMG branches south of Coventry to mobilise

RED WEEKLY

FASCISTS OFF THE STREETS...

ONE OF THE MOST UNITED anti-fascist demonstrations in years is underway to counter the National Front's national demonstration through north London on Saturday 23 April, St. George's Day.

Twenty four organisations, ranging from anti-racist and anti-fascist committees to the Indian Workers Association (Great Britain), from Hornsey and Tottenham Labour Parties to the International Marxist Group and the Socialist Workers Party, are united in their determination to stop the Front marching.

This unity comes not a moment too soon. The final list of candidates for the Greater London Council elections on 5 May shows the Front standing in no less than 90 out of a possible 92 seats. The National Party are fielding a further 17 candidates.

The St. George's Day march is intended to be the high-spot of the National Front's campaign and they have deliberately chosen an area which they describe as 'particularly inundated with immigrants and Red groups of all kinds' to test their strength. This provocation is a new departure in Front tactics which are normally to march in 'safe' racist areas.

If the Front does succeed in hitting its target of 100,000 votes in Britain's capital city it won't be hard to pin-point where the blame lies — in the policies pursued by the Labour Government and endorsed by the Labour GLC.

By Mick Gosling

Commenting on the size of the Front's slate, Gerry Hedley, the Socialist (International Marxist Group) candidate for Ealing Southall, said:

'Our worst fears have been confirmed. Many workers disgusted with Labour's record will vote for the Front rather than the Tories in the mistaken belief that it's a workers party.'

'We need to drive the fascists off the streets on 23 April, but that's no longer enough. Support must be won for overall socialist solutions to the crisis. The left in the Labour Party, both nationally and in London, have failed to go

beyond Sunday speechifying on this score. Organisation for struggle is needed.

'If other socialist organisations had answered our appeal for a joint state in the GLC elections we could at least have dented the Front's support in 20 to 30 constituencies by building a socialist opposition to Labour's policies. Revolutionary unity in elections — and in general — isn't simply a question of overcoming the fragmentation of the left — it will be a major factor in the development of the class struggle.'

The National Front is promising its members a 'VERY LIVELY' activity on 23 April. Anti-fascists must unite to ensure they get a very lively response.

in the North too

ANTI-FASCISTS are organising in the north. Saturday 23 April is the date set for a mass demonstration in Bradford on the same day as the National Front demonstration in London.

Reuben Goldberg, spokesperson of the ad-hoc committee organising the demonstration, explained why the demonstration is vital.

'A demonstration in Bradford is the only way we can effectively counter the National Front's decision to field candidates in every one of Bradford Council's 19 seats. Due to the election laws we cannot give out leaflets calling for an

anti-NF vote. 'Merrick (the area NF organiser) has already made it quite clear that he would sue us. Two CID officers came to see me the same day that the NF announced they were standing candidates in every seat.'

'The only way we can counter their leafletting, not to mention the press and radio coverage they will inevitably be getting is through a mass leafletting campaign around our demo on 23 April.'

The demonstration has already attracted broad support on the left including the Communist Party, International Marxist Group, Socialist Workers Party, Indian Workers Association, Samaj, as well as Bradford Trades Council.

...Police off our backs!

FOR BLACK PEOPLE in Britain today the immediate racist threat comes not from the fascists but from the institutionalised racism of the state. The upcoming show trial of the 'Islington 18' is the latest and largest in a long series of such trials.

Over a period of a week in October 1976, 18 young black men from Islington were arrested on charges of conspiracy to rob and conspiracy to steal from persons unknown on days unknown from 21 August to 31 August 1976.

It was the 'filth's' revenge for the defeat they suffered at the hands of rebellious black youth at

last year's Notting Hill Carnival.

But it is also the local reply of the state nationally to the increasing resistance and rebellion in the black community everywhere: the West Indians in Leeds on Bonfire Night, Asians in Southall and the East End, the 34 week long strike at Grayswick's and the daily confrontation between police and young black students in the schools.

It is the state's attempt to put young black people 'in their place', back at the end of every queue — for jobs, better wages, their own housing, their own independence from racist schools,

racist police, racist employers and racist Social Security officials.

The police did not expect the parents of the Islington 18, especially their mothers who are out at work all day and then come home to do the housework, to join with and organise support and defence for their sons.

They did not expect the young people to organise their own resistance to these charges in youth clubs and in the neighbourhood, as they have done.

The Islington 18 Defence Committee is marching on Saturday 23 April to challenge the right of 'the law' to be lawless, and challenge

the right of the police or any arm of the state to discipline any of us in any way.

It is demanding freedom for the Islington 18, an end to police harassment and a public enquiry where the black community can testify as to what it knows about police activity and behaviour.

12 noon, Highbury Magistrates Court, Highbury Corner, London N1 (Highbury and Islington tube).

*INSIDE: Interview with CLEM MAHARAJ, one of the main organisers of the Islington 18 Defence Committee.

ABC Campaign... continues

On 28 April, Aubrey, Berry and Campbell are due to make their next court appearance for breaking the Official Secrets Act. There will be a picket of the Tottenham Court House, Lordship Lane at 10.30am on the day of the hearing.

At 6.30 that night there will be a meeting of the campaign in the Northumberland Arms, Kings Cross Road. A video tape of the Agee-Hosenball campaign will be shown.



PIERS CORBYN, the Socialist (IMG) candidate for Lambeth in the GLC elections, has said that he intends to make the recent allegations of racial discrimination by the Lambeth Council a 'major issue'.

These allegations are contained in a confidential report sent by a Lambeth Council community worker to chief officers which says that there has been racial discrimination in the allocation of new homes in two new council estates.

The report discloses that on one modern estate at Cressington Gardens there was not a single black family among the first 73 lettings, while at the inferior Colcharbour estate there is a preponderance of black families.

Most startling of all, the Community worker discloses that housing allocation cards with the words 'white only' written on them exist in Lambeth council offices. Lambeth housing

SOCIALIST CHALLENGE TO BE LAUNCHED 9 JUNE

THE CAMPAIGN for the new 16-page weekly paper — Socialist Challenge — will be formally launched at a Rally at Hamersmith Town Hall on 29 April. Then six weeks of hard work to win political support for this paper will be underway before its publication date on 9 June.

Already stickers, posters and brochures have been printed to appeal for support for Socialist Challenge. A national speaking tour in May will provide an opportunity for militants — who see the need for a paper like Socialist Challenge — to discuss how they can become involved in achieving its goals.

Socialist Challenge stands for building a broad united class struggle opposition which can lead the fight back against the attacks of the ruling class and the betrayals of the Labour Government. It will also advocate and fight for the unity of the revolutionary left. It will be a non-sectarian polemical paper with space in its columns for those militants or campaigners without normal channels to express their views in print.

The launching of Socialist Challenge and the fight to make it successful will be a difficult task. The commitment to this task extends beyond sending messages of support. It involves writing for the paper, discussing the issues it raises and mobilising for actions it supports. Above all, it means financial commitment.

Without finances the new paper will falter in its early days. We want to get it off on a strong start. We want to be able to put into practice all our ideas for the type of weekly that can meet the burning needs of the working class today.

Already a comrade has offered to match every pound we collect for the Fund Drive. At this rate we might even manage to keep up with inflation! The message for militants concerned with the fragmentation of the left in the face of Labour's betrayals and the gains of the fascists is a simple one. It is to join the campaign to launch Socialist Challenge, and match your commitment by giving funds necessary to make it a success!

Our thanks for a total of £630.65

this week to:	
Leeds IMG	£20.60
Nottingham	£25.00
Anon	£2.00
Bristol IMG	£30.00
Newcastle	£9.75
Birmingham	£9.00
Cardiff IMG	£1.80
Oxford IMG	£32.50
West London	
RW supporter	£100.00
London Election Fund	
Drive Appeal	£400.00

Trotskyism today

For a Class Struggle left wing

For a unified Revolutionary Organisation



INTERNATIONAL RALLY

29th APRIL, HAMMERSMITH TOWN HALL, 7:30pm (50p)

SPEAKERS

ALAIN KRIVINE [editor of the French daily paper Rouge]
A Member of IMG Political Committee
A Member of LCR [Spanish sympathising section of the FI]
Plus open discussion from the floor

ORDER TICKETS NOW FOR THE 'TROTSKYISM TODAY' RALLY from 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Contact your local