Red Action

LAMBS IN WOLVES CLOTHING

iery rhetoric, as at a Labour Party conference, when they re in opposition. Speaker after speaker will thunder out reat pledges about all of the various changes they are going o implement, after the coming victory at the next election, hrases such as fundamental redistribution of wealth, and econstruction of society, are the order of the day. Certainly f the Labour Party in government, were to do even half of what the Labour Party in oppostion promised, we would certainly be living in a much better society today.

hose who remember past Labour governments know, it doesn't work out that way. Time after time in the past, we have seen the spectacle of Labour governments reneging on one election pledge We have another. watched as the have implemented policies of cutbacks in public spending, incomes freezes, in fact all of the sort of things you would expect from a Tory government, but not from a party which claims to be socialist, totally disillusioning many of their supporters in the process. There has in fact been seven Labour governments, and we are no nearer socialism today than we were before the first

So why is it that this happens ? Just why do Labour governments, so regularly ? Where they perhaps just lying to us all along.

Doubtless there are quite a few totally corrupt careerists in the Labour party, who would say whatever they had to, to get votes. Yet alongside them, are many people who would genuinely want to try and implement socialist policies, and yet these people in the end, find themselves also reneging on their pledges and principles just as surely, if perhaps a little more reluctantly.

SELL OUT

Basically, the reason that the Labour Party find themselves selling out so often, is because of their insistence on clinging to the belief, that it is possible to work towards socialism gradually, within the capitalist system, without the need for any sort of upheavel

The nature of British society today suggests that past Labour governments, haven't

Unfortunately however, as taken us very far along that gradual road. In fact it is a strategy that is hopelessly flawed on several counts, If you want to work within the capitalist system, then of course it has to be in a healthy state. So if, when the Labour party are in power, the system gets in a mess then they have to try and get it out of it. But the only way in which they can do this is by adopting pro-capitalist methods such as incomes freezes service cuts etc. So they find themselves carrying out the very sort of measures they are supposed to oppose, and dropping all of those that they pledged themselves to support from working towards socialism from within the system, they become little more than managers of the system.

FIGHT

Capitalists and the capitalist system don't give anything away for free. The only way to get anything out of it is to fight for it, through strike campaigns or whatever, Similarly, the only way that you can change the capitalist system, is by confronting it with sufficient force to make it change.

This is something that the Labour Party refuse to acknowledge, and that is why all of the fiery talk and grand proclamations that we hear from them, will never be anything more then that. To put it in a laymans terms they talk a very good fight but that's as far as it goes. They threaten the capitalist system with the direst warnings, but as soon as they are in a position to do anything about it, they bow down to it. They truely are lambs in wolves clothing



THE HOUSE OF MANY FINE WORDS AND PRECIOUS LITTLE ACTION, YOU WILL CERTAINLY NEVER SEE ANYTHING REMOTELY RESEMBLING SOCIALISM COM-ING OUT OF THESE FINE HALLS.



ONCE CONSIDERED TO BE A LEFT WINGER, NEIL KIN-NOCKS ONLY CONCERN NOW IS TO BE THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER, HIS EVERY MOVE IS

GUIDED BY ONE CONSIDERATION.

WILL IT WIN OR LOSE VOTES

National

A National demonstration has been called by Anti Fascist Action on Sunday the 9th of November, to oppose the National Front's proposed Rememberance Day march to the Cenotaph. The demonstration will be assembling in TRAF-ALGAR SQUARE from 12pm onwards. We urge all our members and supporters to make every effort to attend this event.

Vovember

Issue No 27 October 1986. 20p

PREDICTABLE INJUSTICE

The clearing of a Royal Ulster Constabulary Officer, from all charges arising from the incident in which Sean Downes was shot dead by a plastic bullet, at a Republican rally in Belfast two years ago, proves once again, that as far as the British state is concerned, in Ireland, policemen can quite literally, get away with murder. Downes was merely the latest in a long list of victims of plastic bullets none of whom have been armed or involved in any illegal activities. So far not one member of the security forces, has been convicted of any offence in connection with these killings.

in the case, gave a vivid in- draw attention away from the sight into the attitudes of the fact that whatever the rights judiciary in Northern Ireland, and wrongs of that particular and their contempt for the incident, ' did nothing to Nationalist community. He change the fact that dozens laid great stress on the fact of R.J., C. nen, had without that the R.U.C. man had to any warning, brutally attacked fire at Downes, because he was apparently about to at- min women and children of tack a police officer with a all ages and sizes. For those sentence for assault on a police officer in Northern Leland ming in terror as the R.U.C. is instant execution.

In actual fact, it is extremely unlikely that Sean Downes had any intention whatsoever of attacking any policeman. He was completely surrounded by dozens of them and the supposed "stick" that he was carrying, was no more than one of those thin little things that carry placards. In all probability, when he dashed across the road, he was probably trying to do exactly what the rest of us were doing (Red Action members were present that day) Get the hell out of the way.

However that dash gave the judge his excuse to let the R.U.C. man off, and he grabbed. The argument about what Downes' intentions were was justified in firing, also

The comments of the Judge served to quite conveniently a peaceful rally made up of stick. So there you are. The who witnessed it, the picture of young school girls, screaarmoured cars drove into them, is not something that is likely to be soon forgotten.

> If by some chance Sean Downes had been trying to attack one of those carrying out this attack. Then I would suggest that he should be considered as a hero, for trying to defend the lives of innocent children who were being attacked by a large body of armed men.

The brutal killing of Sean Downes, will not cower the nationalist people of Ireland, They will face it with the defiance with which same have faced countless they other examples of British state terrorism. And they will stand uncowered and defiant until they have rid their and whether the R.U.C. man country of that terrorism once and for all.



THE CHARGE SUSPICION OF POSSIBLE ASSAULT ON A POLICEMAN THE SENTENCE, DEATH BY SHOOTING

of racialism in British Society

THE EVIL WITHIN

If you were to watch a bunch of kids playing, in the playground of any typical inner city school, you would probably see something quite interesting. There would almost certainly be groups of children from a wide variety of racial and cultural backgrounds, playing together quite happily, totally oblivious to the differences between them. What's so remarkable that you may ask ? and indeed, there shouldn't be anything remarkable about it at all, but can you think of a situation where adults of different races come together, and are totally oblivious of the differences in the same way that kids are. Racism is an issue that pervades every aspect of our lives today. Even amongst people who genuinely try to be, and believe themselves to be anti-racist the very fact that you have to consciously make the effort to rid yourself of any racialism, shows that it has at sometime had some affect upon you. It can sometimes seem that racist attitudes amongst all sections of society are so strong and imbedded, that perhaps they are somehow inevitable. That it is the most natural thing in the world for people to be suspicious - and much worse - of others simply because they have different colour skins. That's the way it may seem, but in fact that isn't the way it is. There is nothing natural or inevitable 2 about racialism. The way in which young children can be so totally unaffected by it is sufficient proof of that. They are unaffected because they haven't yet been taught how to hate. For racialism is and always has been a manufactured evil. Manufactured and maintained by evil people, to serve their own ends. The better we understand how it came about, the better equipped we are to begin to fight against it.



STALAG LUFT HEATHROW, ONE OF THE VIC-TIMS OF THE RACISM OF THE BRITISH STATE

too hot to work) unashamed

of their nakedness and sinful.

Therefore, it was only right

to enslave them, and stamp

filthy, drunken

worst of all, were idolatrous

catholics, who might outbreed

the virtous evangelical Prot-

estent British, and destroy

The list if racist carica-

tures, was as endless as the

number of peoples subjected

to brutal exploitation, and

from them first began to

the idea that some races are

better than others, Such ideas

well suited to the aims and

thinking of the British upper

classes. The rest of the world

was theirs to deal with as

they saw fit, because they

of the empire, if people from

those countries were to con-

tinue to be exploited, they

would have to be brought into

this country. It was then,

grants from the Common-

wealth states began coming

into this country, with the

full support of most of the

British upper class, who saw

them as a source of cheap

labour. It was then that, from

being merely a justification

for the atrocities of the Em-

become the force in society

that we know today.

racialism started to

large waves of immi-

However, with the collapse

alone were morally perfect.

out their culture.

"our" wealth.

The Irish

The development of Britain as one of the first major industrial powers in the 18th and 19th centuries opened up vast new areas of potential exploitation for the emerging capitalist class. All around the world, the British state it's armies to conquer and subdue the native peoples and render them and their lands ripe for tender attentions of rich British business men.

Africa, between West years 1500 to 1800 MILLION of the native population were deported to America as slaves, Between 1845 and 1860, 11 MILLION Irish people died from famine while British businessmen exported Irish grain. These and other such massacres needed justifying in the eyes of the perpatrators, who were after all, good and pious Christians,

The British ruling class, had always been well versed in the art of using morality to justify their wealth and the omethods which they used to gain it. In their eyes, the wealth of the upper classes, was their reward for being hardworking sober Christian people, while the poor were poor, because they were lazy sinful and lived in dirt and squalor. In their eyes, neither situation had anything to do with the fact, that vast fortwere being made by starvation workers paying

This ploy, of justifying the

MAINTAINING blaming the victims, was now applied to the natives of the Empire. Africans were lazy (at midday in Africa it gets

Racialism grows on the barriers that exist between different groups of people. All of the various groups of immigrants to this country in modern times - the Irish, the Jews, and in more recent times Afro Carribbeans and Asians - have been of distinctive appearence with their own language or dialect. As a consequence of this, they tended to mix mostly with their own people.

and lacked knowledge sation and pay norms. It was therefore easy for employers to use them to displace and undercut English workers, and undermine Labour organisation. This would cause resentment in the workforce. This resentment was played on, and exploited by upper class racists for their own ends. To keep the barriers between the different races intact, and the working class divided and weak.

We can see examples of this quite clearly today, in the way that they use their control of the press and media, to reinforce racist attitudes and stereotypes, Crime figures are distorted, and presented in such a manner as to try and suggest the crime is somehow a black phenomenem. A homeless family may be housed for a few days in a hotel by a council - something that is happening all the time - and if they are black or Asian, it is front

serve the establishment by They also tended to come diverting the blame for social from underdeveloped coun- problems away from themselves and onto black people. and tradition of labour organ- If you can convince someone that the reason that there are people homeless, is be cause immigrants are flooding into this country, and taking all the houses, then you don't have to answer the awkward question of why the present government, has brought the building of new council houses to a practical standstill.

> It is no coincidence, that those politicians who attempt to make political capital out of racialism, have traditionally come from the upper classes. Figures like Oswald Mosley, an upper class dissident seeking a different road to power. Today you have groups such as the Monday Club in the Tory Party, and the various fascist groups with their overwhelmingly middle upper class leadership.

always be the upper classes who do the most to promote and encourage racialism, because it is their class who's



TORY M.P. HARVEY PROCTOR, AND UPPER CLASS FRIENDS, THE SORT OF PEOPLE WHO GAIN MOST FROM THE EXISTENCE OF RACIALISM

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

11 OCTOBER 12-6pm ON THE NON-STOP PICKET OUTSIDE THE SOUTH AFRICAN **EMBASSY TRAFALGAR SO.**

Organised by the City of London Anti Apartheid Group

MANCHESTER

Held every year in Manchester, on the last weekend in November, to commemorate three Irish Republicans executed in Manchester Prison. More details of this one in the

Amongst the working class, racialism is strongest in the socially deprived inner city areas, where there is no mobility of population, and little racial mix. The methods traditionally adopted by "left wing" anti-racist councils are of little or no use. They are usually mostly concerned with tokenism and publicity, winning the support of black careerists like themselves, than they are with tackling the problems of racialism.

thus start to tackle some of the grievances on which racialism grows.

Instead funds are channelled into groups made up of middle class careerists from the various communities, and go into offices, and publicity instead of being used to bring concrete lasting improvement

Policies of modernising est- to compound the problem as tes and tackling housing shor- since such projects are so chages would benefit not only highly publicised, it can easily the disadvantaged black com- seem to some disaffected munity, but also many depri- white people, that they const-ved whites as well, and would itue racial "favouritism".

The revolutionary left also have little to be proud about of their record on racialism, being ususally - apart from few notable exceptions which we will look at - more concerned with winning the odd black militant to their won particular "political line" and organisation, than they Such policies do little to are with trying to begin to attack the roots of racialism, confront the problem of raci-In fact they can even serve alism in the working class,

is seen in the existence and activities of fascist groups such as the National Front. Such groups can quite truely be said to be responsible for the violent deaths of dozens of black and Asian people in recent years. Even though they may disown in public, the increasing number of physical assaults and arson attacks, that are being suffered by racial minorities, it is a known fact that many of their members have been Involved. Even in cases when those involved in such attacks aren't actually members of any racist group, bear a heavy responsibilty. For it is the hate filled activities of such groups, and the poisonous lying propaganda which they spew out, which heightens racial tension and sparks off racial

Against such attacks, there and Asian people have found - only one really affect-Ive solution. That is the physical self defence of the communities. To rely on the law to provide protection, is to have no real protection at all. They have consistently shown themselves to be either unable or unwilling to do anything to stop the attacks. What will stop them, is when those who are involved in them, start to realise that they might end up biting off a bit more than they bargained for. One of the main reasons that the Asian communhas always suffered so badly from racial attacks, is because traditionally, 'Asians did not have the same reputation for fighting back, as say, the West Indians, It is a tradition which doesn't always apply these days, as a fascists have found out to their cost.

However, it is not only through the activities of fascist groups, that violence is visited upon racial minority groups in this country. The British state, is also responsible for violence - of a more subtle kind perhaps - but still more than worthy of the

The sort of violence which uses racist immigration laws that split up families, parting husband and wife, parent and child. The sort of that will deport someone who may have lived here since they were a child, to a country they might hardly even remember, because they have broken some law. The sort of violence that sends 80% more black people to prison for a first offence than it does white. It is just as important to fight back against this sort of violence, through backing campaigns and defencommittees, as it is to confront the naked brutality of the fascists.

At Heathrow airport, there a detention centre exclusholding "illegal" immigrants. Since it been open, those who have been held in it, have been almost entirely Asians and blacks. These people have committed no offence against society. They are held in this place without trial or sentence, for as long as the authorities feel like, because those authorities feel that these people's racial origins, make them undesirable for our society. The Nazis had a name for such places,

Racialism is a very powerful force in our society today. It would be foolish to try and kid ourselves otherwise. It's influences are felt in every aspect of our lives today, not only overtly, but also in the more subtle ways in which it effects people's outlook. There are a lot of people, who are basically decent and fair minded, but who have taken in some of the bullshit, and hold some views which in the final analysis, can only be described as racialist. The sort of person who will you that they have got nothing against blacks at all, but they wouldn't like it if their daughter went out with one. Some times, this sort of "passive" racialism seems so general and entrenched that you can start to despair about ever being able to overcome it, it can start to seem as if the different racial groups which make up our society, are destined to go on forever treating each other with suspicion and mistrust.

Fortunately however this jevements went far beyond not the case, Experience apart from confirmed bigots, who are only a small minority where prejudice exists based on mistrust and unfamiliarity it can be confronted and ov-

One of the clearest examples of this, was the success Nazi League. This was originally launched, with the limit- case, ed aim, of exposing the Nazi traditions of the National Front's leadership, which they had been concealing in atsuccess in the 1979 election. However aligning itself with a mass movement who's ach- them head on,

the original aims.

The greatest success of the A.N.L., was not so much in great numbers to it's displays of anti racist solidarity, but rather in they way that it brought the issue of racism to the fore, and confronted it, in an uncompromia few years ago, of the Anti sing way. It gave anti-racists the confidence to argue their where before they might have remained silent. It raised the issue of racia lism in areas where previously racialist ideas and images had tempt to achieve electoral been accepted, simply because they had never been challen ged. It proved quite conclusiv the Rock Against Racism ly, that the most effective movement in the music world way to fight racialist ideas, the A.N.L. soon grew into is to challenge and confront



THE ANTI NAZI LEAGUE. ONE OF THE ANTI RACIST MOVEMENTS GREATEST SUCCESSES

SOCIALISM TODAY

The revolutionary left in this country today, can hardly be described as a mass movement. Even if you added together the members of all the various groups and parties the number involved would hardly be of a sum to give the capitalist class many sleepless nights. The reason for this situation is not very difficult to find, It is because the working class, the people who revolutionary socialist ideas are supposedly aimed at, are largely indifferent or even hostile to them. It is this that leads a lot of people who might be quite sympathetic to a lot of the ideas of revolutionary socialism, to be very pessimistic about the chances of ever being able to build a movement large enough to put them into practice.

"I agree with a lot of what you say, but it will never come to anything".

"People today only care about themselves".

"How can you talk about revolution when there's few of you ? You're wasting your time,

Such are the sentiments so often expressed, and I'd sure like to have a pound for every time I've heard them.

So is it all a waste of time then? Just why do groups like Red Action, go on producing and selling newspapers, attending demonstrations and pickets etc for so little obvious reward.

CHANGE

The answer to this is quite simple, It is because although it is certainly true that the working class are in the main uninterested in revolutionary ideas today, we do not, unlike the pessimists, draw the conclusion that this apathy will be fixed and unchanging for all time. We know that it is caused by specific circumstances that exist today, and that there have been times in the past when large sections of the working class in this country have been very sympathetic to revolutionary ideas, and more importantly, that such a situation will at some stage arise

Many people would probably be quite suprised at the level of militancy that has existed in the British working class in times gone past. In the early part of this century the industrial parts of Glasgow were so influenced by revolutionary ideas, and the Party Communist was strong there, that it was "Red Clyde", as the When John Maclean, a Scottish socialist imprisoned for his activities was released from jail, over two hundred

thousand people turned out to greet him. South Wales was also noted for it's milit-

In Northern Ireland, the socialist movement was for a time, so strong that it actually managed on occasions, to break down the sectarian divide. There were instances of marches of tens of thousands of people, from both sides of the community, that would go up both the protestant Shankhill and the catholic Falls Road.

England has also experienced great upsurges of working class militancy. At the turn of the century, troops had to be used to quell striking miners, and of course when they went on strike in 1926, every union in the country came out on a general strike in support of them. We should also rememer the massive anti-fascist movement that existed in the thirties, and how when the Spanish Civil War broke out, hundreds maybe thousnds of militants, ounteered to go and fight for the Republican side.

From all of this, we can see quite clearly that the of political apathy and indifference that seems to afflict so much of the working class today, has not always existed. What you may ask then has caused it, and can we hope for change ?

There are various political and social factors that have caused it. Of these, by far the most overiding one has been the success of the capitalist system, in the three decades after the Second World War.

BOOM

These years were ones of unprecedented and uninterupted boom in the capitalist system, from which everyone benefited, Profits soared, the economy expanded and living standards rose. Even at the lowest end of the scale, wages steadily, if slowly rose and unemployment was at it's lowest in living memory. The massive expansion in the economy also provided the funds for massive public spending projects, the most notable of which was the establishment of the National

It is easy to see how in such a situation, many people would begin to accept the ideas of people like Labour

Party politicians, who were telling them that talk of revolution belonged to the past, and that nowadays, the capitalist system could be gradually reformed from within, to the benefit of all. The evidence all around suggested that what they were saying was true. The middle and older generations, having come through and survived the hungry twenties and thirties, and the horrors of the Second World War, now found themselves with a better standard of living then they had ever and not suprisingly most of them wanted little more than to be able to appreciate it, and had little time for talk about what seemed to be a totally unecessary revolution and it's visions of yet more conflict and suffer-

Even in workplaces where there was a strong tradition of militancy, it began to express itself not so much an anti-capitalist revolutionary sense, but in a desire to get more out of the system, in terms of wage rises and better conditions. The economic situation meant that they were there to be had.

STANDARDS

As for the younger generation, the one growing up this period, they had known nothing but rising living standards all of their lives, and had no reason to believe that this would not continue for ever. Why should they bother themselves with obscure little spouting on about some supposed crisis of capit alism. What crisis? Life was fun. Get on and enjoy it.

And so for this generation, there emerged what might fairly be described as a loss of class identity. A real lack knowledge of the traditions of working class solidarity, that their parents and grandparents had known. This process was further accelerated, by the break up of so many of the old working class communities through re development, and the dispersal of their occupants into inner city high rise flats, and New Towns that sprung up around all of the major cities. Neither of these environments had any working class traditions for growing up in them to identify with. It is no coincidence that one of the few expressions of working class consciousness that has occurred in year the miners came from a part of the class where the old communities have remained



WORKING CLASS MILITANCY WAS MUCH HIGHER IN FORMER TIMES

An occasional series, in which we look at some of the tasks and problems facing the socialist movement today.

intact.

And so for various reasons, what emerged throughout most sections of the working class, was an acceptance of the capitalist system, with even those inclined towards socialist ideas, believing that it could all be done gradually without any need for any sort of violent upheavel. It is hardly suprising that in this situation, the revolutionary left dwindled into the tiny fringe movement that we all know so well.

And so it might have re-

mained for time immemorial

accept for one thing. The nature of the capitalist system itself. If it is true that the lowering of class consciousness was caused mainly by the success and stability of the capitalist system immediafter the war, it is equally true that it cannot possibly maintain that success. has become more and more obvious in the last ten years the system has lurched from one crisis to another with all it's consequences. Rising unemployment lowering of wage levels, cut backs on services such as the N.H.S. Such crises are not just accidents that sometimes happen and will perhaps go away next year. They are inevitable to the capitalist system and can be predicted long in advance, as revolutionary socialists predicted this present one. And we can predict with equal confidence that the present crisis in capitalism is not going to go away. In fact it is going to get worse, and as it gets worse, the capitalists who run our society, will be forced in order to try and protect their system, to clamp down more and more on working class rights and living standards, in the way that they have been doing for the past ten years. It is equally as certain that as they do this, more and more working class people, will be forced to retheir examine relationship with, and their attitude toward the capitalist system. It is in such a situation that ideas of revolutionary socialism will appear far more

relevent to far more people, ATTITUDES

this perhaps wishful thinking on our part Not at all. Already we can see clear evidence all around us of definite changes in the attitude of working class peole towards the state and authority. Take the inner city riots for instance. If you had predicted such things ten or fifteen years ago, people would have thought that you were mad. And how many then would have believed that scenes that occurred during the miners strike, with thousands of working class people, involved in physical confrontation with thousands of pol-

As the economic mess that capitalism is in worsens, the more the capitalist class will be forced to clamp down on the working class, and more and more working class people will find themselves in the same position as the miners and young people in the inner cities. In confrontation with the capitalist state.

It is in such a situation that the ideas of revolutionary socialism will have a much greater chance of flourishing, and the revolutionary left, if it is capable of responding to those opportunities, will be able to grow into a far more influential movement than it is today. In fact opportunities have already arisen but as yet the left has not been able to respond. Why is this ? Well that is another question, and one that we will look at in the next issue of Red Action.

Through the post

Dear Red Action.

I was amazed at the assesment of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, made by the author of the article "The Dealers in Death" in issue No. 26, I don't know where he got his information from, but there is nothing I know of Nicaragua, which I as revolutionary social st find exciting.

Living in Britain lately, makes you appreciate the creation of a welfare state, education and economic modernisation, as they have been under attack for a while. But having grown up in a country with all this, I know their limitations, and they're quite compatible with capitalism. Indeed the redistribution of income in the form of the welfare state, in Britain in the 50s and 60s, was designed to boost consumer capitalism and make even greater profits for the rich on one hand and keep the workers quiescent on the other.

It's also sickening to be reminded that the U.S.A. is still capable of backing the most vicious and mindless terrorism. However when has terrorism of this type shaken a government As for the threat of American invasion, that has so far been prevented from becoming real by internal pressure. Not on humanitarian grounds, but because eighty million dollars was invested in Nicaragua by Americans last year. The only response to terrorism can be arming the people and being vigilant. But this has not been the main thrust of Sandinista policy.

That has been "productivity! Workers are continually being asked to work harder, to strive on special days, to surpass their production targets. To anyone who has heard about the "Five year plans" in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, and of "Stakhanovites" who pushed up production targets by working extra hard (scabs in fact) this all sounds suspiciously familiar.

And who does all this benefit ? Well 30% of property is owned by the state, and The author of the article in

rest is owned by private capitalists. Worker's wages are limited to productivity, something any western trade unionist would object to. In Nicaragua, the only trade union is the Sandinistas' own C.S.T. which is telling workers to work harder and not to regard management as their enemy Strikes and independent trade unions are BANNED, suggests if they had to be banned, that they were being used against their "friends management, and state private capitalists. Also the C.S.T. is continually haranging workers about absente ism and shoddy work, which suggests they know they're working to make others rich and not for their own benefit and don't like it.

I hate U.S. terrorism, but "Stalinism" either hates them because they're pro-Soviet, and in "his back yard". I hope the workers of Nicaragua, will be enough to throw off these new parasites, and build a real socialist society.

East London Red Action.

the profits from it's enterpri- question, has written a reply ses line the pockets of politi- to this letter. It is printed cians and beauracrats. The on the back page.

SUPPORT **RED ACTION**



Red Action is an organisation founded by working class people to work for the furthering of the cause of Socialism. Membership is open to all who accept our political principles and pay a weekly subscription. Every member has an equal vote on all Red Action policy and decisions.

If you support our aims but do not wish to become a member, you can become a supporting member. This does not entitle you to vote, but you will receive:

- 1. A free subscription to the newspaper.
- 2. A regular internal newsletter that will keep you informed of what is going on in the organisation.
- 3. Notification of any Red Action activities in your area.

The cost for this is £10 for one year.

Subscriptions to the paper are still available separately. The cost is £3 pounds for ten issues. Please remember that producing a paper is a very uneconomic business and we are always very grateful for any donations, and especially grateful to anyone who can take extra copies to sell.

> PO box 158 Hatfield Herts

NEWS FROM NOWHERE

A new book has been issued, to all 26,000 officers in the Metropolitan Police, It is called "The Policing principles of the Metropolitan Police" and offers this advice on being friendly with villains.

"But this is not to say that you must steer clear of someone, just because they have been involved in an offence at some time. Not a bit of it, for such an attitude would surely brand you, and the force, as hopelessly puritan and stern, without much understanding of the attitude of others. You would be much poorer tor, for you would be cutting yourself off from a large slice of the world we live in. Many former offenders have benefitted from the friendship of a sensible and caring police officer, and many police officers have been enriched and sustained, son etimes for life, by such a friendship. Well they said it.

"I'm not a right wing ascist, but I think that socialism is one of the worst ideas of the century" and he goes on "and a lot of working class p ople who make a lot of money seem to think that it gives tem the right to be noisy bores, I've never succumbed to the. In actual fact, I find myself thinking about them like the aristocracy thinks".

Michael Caine, tax etile and one time fish market porter, fulfilling his own propt cy by doing an Arthur Daley" impression for the Observer m gazine.

"What we are up ag: nst is social fascism, It's ageist racist sexist eugenic. The : 121 doctrine of the survival of the strongest. The terrifyl g catalogue of attacks on the old, the sick and the handicapp d, is like the last days of Bedlam. The Hampstead mind can' cope with these realities, Those well to do Labour councille s, would rather read about the working class in Engels, than ve amongst them. None of them do."

lltyd Harrington, fc mer Labour leader of the Greater London Council, on the roung crime rate.

British Coal recently announced the closure of the Hucknall colliery in Nottinghamshire, with the loss of 1,320 jobs. The Union of Democratic Mineworkers represents the interests of over 95% of the men. It looks like the chickens are coming

Mr. Kenneth Clarke, the Paymaster General, claimed that a £6 a week rise for a million manual council workers who recieve only 47% of the national average earnings, was "irresponsible" The "responsible" Mr. Clarke only gets £863 a week himself.

"As a prisoner of war, I have always considered it my duty to escape and rejoin my organisation. I think this is no different from any other soldier.

Gerard Kelly 30, who led the breakout of 38 IRA men from the H. Blocks in 1983.

"If anybody thinks that criticising the monarchy is un-patriotic, then they should consider that when Newham N.F. mem-Fred Adams died a year or so ago, he left around \$10,000 to the Queen in his will. She immediately gave this money to a black youth club. So much for the Queen's patriotism,"

An extract from an outraged letter in the National Front publication, "Nationalism Today".

"I am the humblest man I know."

James Anderton, Chief Constable of Manchester.

"My first job is to tackle the pay problems and get rid of

Angela Rumbold, the new Education Minister.

"It can never be the perpetrators of Apartheid who say Apartheid is changing. If white people are so impressed with all the changes, would they swap places with blacks, even for one day."

Bishop Tutu.

NICARAGUA **AUTHOR'S** REPLY

It is always easy to have a vision of what a perfect society should be like, and then compare it to one which exists, which will almost certainly compare unfavourably. However, if we are to begin to judge the merits or failings, of the regime in Nicaragua, we have to look not only at the situation which exists there, but also ask ourselves whether it could have been any different. After all, you can only be critical of the policies a political movement adopts, if there were other options open to them.

The overthrow of the dicta- Sandinistas have ? torship of Anastasio Somoza, was achieved in July of 1979 by a force known as the Revolutionary People's Movement (M.P.U.) The M.P.U. was a broad front of various political movements of all shades, united by their desire to overthrown a brutal and cruel tyrant. At the head of this movement stood a socialist organisation, the Sandinistan Front for National Liberation (F.S.L.N.) or as they are better known, the Sandinistas.

However, the M.P.U. itself could in no way be described as a revolutionary socialist movement. It contained within it many factions opposed to socialism. For example there was a pro capitalist section known as the Frente Amplio de Oposicion. The F.S.L.N. itself was only a very small movement, numbering at the time of the everthrow, quite remarkably little over 500 actual members. The reason that they gased the support of the vast umber of peasents and working people who rose up agai st Somoza, was not so much because of their politics, but simply because they had, over many years of bitter struggle, proved themselves to be the bravest best and most consistent figh-

INSURECTION

And so a revolutionary socialist movement, stood at the head of a successful insurection, but such a situation does not in itself open the way to socialism. The establishment of a socialist society can only be achieved by the existence of, and conscious action of, a mass working class socialist movement, and not by the action of a small political party, substituting itself for that movement. In Nicararagua, a tiny underde- tagonism between the two veloped country, such a movement did not exist.

To try and immediately establish a socialist society, profits, disposessing, and natiwas therefore impossible. What other options did the firm which does not re-invest

They could of course quite easily have suppressed those of their former allies in the M.P.U. who they did not

agree with politically, but then of course they would have been doing little more than re-establishing a similar sort of society, to the one they had fought to overthrow.

TASK

The most important task of all facing the new regime, was the reconstruction of the economy. Much of Nicaragua's towns and cities, and most of it's industry had been destroyed by bombing. Only 70% of the cultivatable land had been sown. Meat was scarce. The National bank had in it, the princely sum of 3½ million dollars - about a dollar and a half for everyone of the population - meanwhile overseas debts stood at the sum of ONE THOUSAND, SIX HUNDRED MILLION.

There was no way that the Sandinistas were equipped to deal with such problems. They were a guerilla movement skilled in the arts of jungle warfare, not the arts of practical economics. The only way in which reconstruction was possible, was by using the technical skills and knowhow of the old managerial and capitalist classes, funded by foriegn aid and/or investment. They could gain neither of these, without allowing the existence of free enterprise.

So what they did, was nationalise those industries which had been the personal property of Somoza. But whilst this does of course mean that capitalist type class relations still exist in Nicaragua, it is certainly not accurate to class the Sandinistas as being the same as the capitalists, In fact there is a lot of anwith the Sandinistas excercising a great deal of control over what happens to the onalising the assets of any

a certain amount of it's profits in the Nicaraguan economy It is a policy that might be described as gradual reconstruction through private enterprise, followed by nationalisation when it reaches a certain level.

Meanwhile, the Sandinistas have been careful to keep control of all of the forces of society - army and police force - in order to prevent the capitalist class becoming a political force, Whilst doing this however, they have managed to maintain a remarkable amount of individual freedom and liberty within society Oppositional political movements are allowed full freedom of press and radio, which when you consider that a situation of virtual warfare exists in parts of the country, is a truly remarkable fact. It is difficult to see, how such a situation can be equated with Stalinism.

It is also untrue to say that there are no independent workers organisations, There are in fact several including The National Federation of Labour, The Independent General Federation of Labour, Trade Union Unity Movement, The Action Federation, The Trade Union Comfor Unification Federation of Health Workers The Teacher's Union, and The Union of Workers in the Liberal Professions.

EFFORT

It is true that the Sandinistas and their supporters do join in with the calls for more effort and higher production, but it is not accurate to view this in term of privileged bureaucrats exhorting the workers, Nobody makes more effort and sacrifice, than the Sandinistas themselves, whether on the production front, or the battle front They are a movement of dedicated idealists, who's whole history is based on a tradition of austerity, self sacrifice, and heroism. If such people finding their work constantly frustrated by the massive problems surrounding them, ons by calling for similar efothers, we cannot be too suprised.

Meanwhile, they continue

with their work. Tens of thousands of their youth movement, going out into the rural areas, to live and work amongst the poorest people, bringing them new improved methods, education farming and political training. In the cities, basic health and education have been established from nothing. The positive aspects of the Sandinista regime speak for themselves In the first two years, illiteracy amongst the population fell from 50% to 14%, unemployment from 32% to 17% The education programme in particular, influenced by Sandinistan thinking, may yet contribute to the emergence in the future, of a politically conscious working class, which can carry the revolution further foward.

As for arming the workers 300,000 people are some armed and organised in the Territorial Militias, each resparticular ponsible for a installation, or workplace, public building. With a standing army of 50,000, that's 1 in 8 of the population under some sort of arms. No regime would be able to do that unless they were confident of the support of the people.

In fact, it is the attitude ward the Sandinista regime, that really says more about it than anything else. Rallies in support of the F.S.L.N. are reported to attract as many as HALF A MILLION people. That remember, is out of a population of 2.3 million.

No political movement can be perfect. The Sandinistas have of course made mistakes in the past, and will make more in the future. But given the situation that they found and still find themselves in, I do not see how their overall strategy could really have have been any different. The existence of their regime, has been of great benefit to the vast majority of Nicaraguan people, and it would appear to me at this present moment in time, that the best option facing those people, and the one which offers the best give voice to their frustrati- chance for a future development of the Nicaraguan state forts and sacrifices from in the direction of socialism, lays in the survival of that regime. For that reason, I believe that it deserves the support of socialists everywhere.

"Ireland, gradually, insidiously, has chipped away at the standards of British democracy".

A Guardian editorial on the 16th September. The implication that the Irish are to blame for the introduction of internment without trial, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, trials without jury, the shoot to kill policy, the supergrass system, all extremely un-democratic measures, employed by various British governments to subdue republicans in Ireland, is as hypocritical as the nazis claiming that it was the very existence of the Jews that forced them to build gas chambers

"General Pinochet (of Chile) must be our inspiration. He is always caricatured on the left as merely an expert in electrifying people's testicles,"

Peter Clarke, Conservative parliamentary candidate for East Lothian, addressing a Federation of Conservative Students conference,

"The Jesuits had secretly prepared World War Two, and Hitlers war machine was built and financed by the Vatican. Hitler Franco and Mussolini, were to be the defenders of the faith, and conquer the world for the Pope. Behind the scenes the Jesuits controlled the Gestapo etc".

A quote from Jack T. Chick, one of Dr. lan Paisley's favourite writers.

I was thinking of a piece to write about all these popstars and actors, with their big egos and even bigger bank accounts whingeing and whining about their safety from "terrorist atbut instead I decided to leave it to one of their own professional colleagues, actor Bob Hoskins.

"I tell you what was funny. I was in Ireland and "The Long Good Friday" was opening in Dublin, and I got in touch with a couple of IRA men and said, listen I don't want to upset you lot. I was thinking, if I'm in trouble with this lot, I'll get my legs blown off. Anyway I went to see the movie with these two guys, and one of them says "I wish we were that fucking organised" and then thought why had I got so stupid ? Why would the IRA be interested in me ? Who am I Why would they bother blowing the legs off some soppy actor who's done some silly film ? There's real issues at stake, and I'm talking about a mere movie."

Couldn't have put it better myself Bob. From an interview in the New Musical Express.

WEARE RED ACTION

Red Action is an organisation founded to work towards the ending of the capitalist system of production, and the establishment of a socialist one.

CAPITALISM: The working class form the overwhelming majorits of society. They produce everything, but not for themselves. It becomes the property of the misority upper class. A worker would have to gas many times his her wages to buy back the goods that they produce an that time it is legalized rubbers. This system also allows the misority to decide what should sold when on the basis of their personal profit rather than social need. It is this that allows food to rot in butter and heef mountains, while people to hunger, and buildings to stand empty while people are homeless. Capitalism also allows a small minority to own all of the resources and means of production on which we all depend—can materials, factories, machinery, etc. This means that must people have no say in how there resources are used. Billions of pounds in those mad materials can be, and often are maided on socially useless projects white people do for the want of medical equipment that could have been produced. Private unspecified of these resources an allows the owners to dens to society the use of them as they wish. It is thus, thus causes people to be unemployed white the machines on which they could be producing the things that they need standiate.

SOCIALISM: A socialist society will be one that millions of people will be involved in shaping. Therefore no one group of people can say exactly what that society will be like. However, there are certain features that would have to be present in society, before we would consider giving up the struggle for socialism.

struggle for occlaism.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION: (inls this will create a huse whereby the whole of society can culfectivity decide how best to employ all of its resources, mechanical and human. In this way masterializes, whether by the production of socially useless things, or by enforced deliberes of machines or ownforces would be eliminated. When all resources are used in useful production instead of just a part of them as at present, the amount of inhour required from each individual would be much less than at present, the amount of inhour required from each individual would be much less than at present, the amount of men technology would further reduce the labour requirement. Notice to will stand on the brink of an era of lessure and gleent that past generations could out even have even drawned of.

of feigure and plent intel past generations countries exceed a service of the incitiations of social control—arms police force judiciars—are run and controlled by unelected representatives of the upper classes. The majority of people have no say in their appointment and no control over their actions. We believe that in a truly socialist society the need to pulice people will eventually die numy. Whatever form of social control may be necessary until that stage is reached, all of its regionentatives will be elected by and subject to dismixed by the community that the represent representatives with or electron is and analysis to dismissal by the community that these represent FREEDOM AND EQUALITY: All of those that contribute to a socialist society will receive equal reward and enjoy equal rights, irrespective of colour, race, sets or creed. All of society's facilities— letture, education, medical, etc.—will be equally available to all. All questions of personal morality—homoustuality, aboution, disserve, etc.—will be left to individual choice and free from state interference. There will be freedom of worship for all religious, but no church will be allowed to interfere its state matters.

CLASS STRUGGLE: Real Socialism cannot be achieved through parliament. The Labour Paris does not try to end capitalism, merely to give workers a hetter deal within it. If they did attempt to take real power from the ruling class and give it to the workers, they would suffer the same faste at over the forces of the state to crush them. To achieve Socialism, a Socialist movement has to be ready to overthrow capitalism by force. The law is made and administered by the upper class and used by them as a weapon in the class struggle. Therefore, a socialist movement has to be prepared to defy the law when oscessary. We support the right of national liberation movements around the world to engage in around struggles to free their countries from opperation by foreign powers. We fully support the revolutionary armies. The frish Republican Army, and the Irish National Liberation Army in their war against the British state machine which is also the enemy of the British working class. The war in Ireland is caused by the British prosence there, which is only maintained by armed force. Only armed force can remove that presence and stop the war.

THE EASTERN BLOC: The Eastern Bloc countries and China, Cubs etc., are used as examples to try and prove socialism to be undestrable. In our view atthough capitalism has been overthrown in these countries, none of them have succeeded in building a truly socialist society. In some cases this has been because incorrect politics within the new regimes have led them to adopt the wrong policies. In others because the new regimes have inherited such under-devertoged economies, and because of external pressures beyond their control—threat of American invasion, economic buyests and sanctions etc—there has been neither the political and economic stability nor the evodemic resources, necessary to begin the construction of a socialist society. We do nevery charsome of these constries have made significant udvances from very primitive beginnings, and may continue to advance as they develop more modern industrial economies.

THE ORGANISATION: The period of capitalist growth and expansion during the 50s and 60s raised working class living standards considerably. Mainly because of this the working class that period, showed little interest in revolutionary socialist politics. They because the domain of professional thinkers and intellectuals. A cultural gap had been created between the working class and the left. The organisations that were created by the left in this period, were in anothy every case modeled on the Bolsdevik Party in revolutionary Runnia. It is a form of organisation in which a small intellectual tendership, worlds great authority over a highly disciplined membership. Flotory gives us many examples of how easily in this form organisation, a corrupt leadership, one invoke their discipline and suchority, morely to moistoin it organisation, a corrupt leadership, on invoke their discipline and suchority, morely to moistoin its own position of govers. Any who question the leadership or the party line that they hand down, are dangerous hereits to be cast out as soon as possible. The organisation eventually becomes one made up estitlety of service and unquestioning members. The atmosphere to such an organisation is out that it totally after to most working class people. They shou it, causing it to retreat even that it totally after to most working class people. They shou it, causing it to retreat even in organisations where the keadership is out corrupt, the tendency to look back to eventuationary. Runnia for the sofutions to all of tendry is problems leads to them coming up with answers that have little or no relevance to the working class and Britain tondy, Seeing the need for a new form of organization, and they are complete. The primary som is to be able to resiste revolutionary socialist deus to working class people, most of whom are cyuleal if not hostite revolutionary contains the sole to recognize that the vast majority of workers are not revolutionary, and to expect townscience in its politics, and not just raise a