

Red Weekly

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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP (BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL)

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22nd JULY - FIGHT RACIST ATTACKS

As many as 10,000 black people now live in fear of being black-mailed, uprooted and deported as illegal immigrants.

This follows the ruling by the Law Lords that under the 1971 Immigration Act any person who entered the country by other than legal channels can now be deported along with his family, despite the fact that the law at the time of entry stated that he was legally immune from deportation after six months.

The Government has so far shown no sign of giving way to the massive protests now building up against the Lords' decision. On the contrary, it has given the go-ahead to stepped-up police harassment of all blacks ('to make sure they're not illegal immigrants'), with Sir Keith Joseph's order to Social Security Offices to demand passports of black people asking for insurance cards. Dozens of cases of police demanding passports at random from black people are now being reported.

DIFFERENCES

Several national meetings of black organisations have so far been held, and a number of proposals have emerged. A demonstration is to be held in London on 22 July, and at a meeting of black organisations held in London's Festival Hall two weeks ago, a national body to co-ordinate the campaign was set up. But there are differences as to the political basis of the campaign.

At an earlier meeting in Southall it was resolved to organise a boycott of all government-sponsored race relations bodies until the repeal of the Immigration Act itself. The problems of 'illegal' immigrants grow out of the racist immigration laws, in particular the 1971 Act. The meeting also called for committees to be set up in the factories to work for strike action against the Act.

But the boycott proposal was defeated by 53 votes to 50 a week later at the Festival Hall, a narrow victory for those who want to give the campaign a more parliamentary emphasis. For these people the answer lies in speeding up a Bill from Lord Avebury to repeal the retroactive ruling and grant an amnesty (while still accepting the Immigration Act).

IMPORTANT

However, the proposal to boycott race relations bodies is important for two reasons. First, by taking over

By DAVE BAILEY

the 'services' which these bodies provide for the black communities, the boycott committees would advance the self-organisation of the communities. This could pose sharply the question of mass self-defence of the communities against police snatch squads allegedly looking for newly illegal citizens. Without self-defence the police and fascists will pick off militants leading the campaign. Second, the race relations bodies operate within the framework of a series of racist measures, including the 1971 Act. A boycott of these bodies could only re-emphasise the determination of the black communities to destroy these laws.

Some delegates at the Festival Hall argued that a campaign which involved strike action would 'divide the working class.' But the working class is already divided. The problem is how to unite it against the attacks of the ruling class. Some initiatives have been taken. The Civil & Public Services Association, for example, refused to obey Joseph's dirty spying order. But the initiatives needed to build up a campaign of strike action will undoubtedly have to come mainly from the black workers and their organisations in the trade union movement.

URGENCY

The urgency of fighting racism has been highlighted by recent moves on the extreme right. A meeting of trade unionists in South London to discuss the Lords' ruling was picketed by fascists, and last weekend the National Front held an 800-strong demonstration in London demanding repatriation of black workers and their families. The demonstration in London on Sunday, 22 July (assemble Speakers' Corner, 2.00 p.m.) therefore takes on added importance as a challenge to racist legislation and its backers on the extreme right.



These are the people who will benefit from the House of Lords ruling on the Immigration Act - the 800 supporters of the National Front who openly paraded through central London last Saturday. As the experience of France proves, fascist groups like the National Front can only grow by attaching themselves like parasites to the more reactionary sections of the capitalist state. The House of Lords decision is a gift from heaven for this reactionary rabble. It gives them the green light to carry on their racist agitation with the blessing of the law and the full backing of the state authorities.

World money - the gathering storm

Last Friday, amid growing gloom in the capitalist press, the world currency markets were hit by a new hurricane, less than four months after the previous crisis. Exchange rates were blown in all directions, with sterling being devalued by 2 per cent in as many hours and the dollar by not much less. Perhaps more important, the major banks dropped anchor and withdrew from the market altogether on the grounds that it was, in the words of the Swiss Central Bank, 'out of control'.

The ten top Central Bankers spent their Zurich weekend ostensibly fighting for exchange-rate stability, but in reality deciding if a basis for world trade could be maintained in the face of falling confidence in cur-

rency in general, and in the dollar in particular.

They achieved nothing beyond reaffirming their words during the March crisis that Central Banks could intervene to stabilise exchange rates. But it remains to be seen whether the US will do this, since the US Treasury (not represented at the Zurich talks) is set against intervention. In any case, support for the dollar may merely encourage dollar holders to get rid of their holdings as fast as possible while the rate is artificially held up. So this leaves open the possibility of a renewed and worse downward slide in the near future. Reserves can even out exchange-rate fluctuations in the short term, but are powerless in the long run against a collapse of confidence.

The storm has also blown the Tory government's economic strategy even closer to the rocks. Even after the partial recovery early this week, sterling has been devalued by 7 per cent in seven weeks against an average of the other currencies. That, along with a new upward lurch in material costs (which rose by 3 per cent in June), has increased the pressure on import prices and the trade balance.

Food material prices jumped by 5 per cent, and the situation is now further aggravated by New Zealand's 3 per cent upvaluation last weekend. British wholesale prices rose by a record 2 per cent in June (an annual rate of 26 per cent), and the Prices Commission continues to approve an accelerating daily stream of increases. Many firms with already agreed increases are now coming back for more.

So the world monetary storm continues to rage. And this time, unlike the previous crisis, the battered British economy is close to its centre.

The struggle to end the talks between the unions and the Tory Government before the TUC Congress in September received a setback this week. At the annual conference of the National Union of Railwaymen, a motion opposing 'any discussions between the TUC and the government' was lost, by the small margin of 34 votes to 43. Meanwhile, at the T&G conference in Brighton, Jack Jones was allowed to carry on talking by a much wider margin of 2 to 1.

The other two bureaucrats in the TUC team, Alf Allen of USDAW and David Bassett of the GMWU,

Jones stays in talks

have already both been given the go-ahead by their own unions. Many T&G delegates obviously felt that Mr. Jones's presence would curb any tendency to compromise on the part of the other negotiators. Jones's own argument was that the Tories would use any move to break off the talks

at this stage as a political weapon in a future general election.

But this merely reveals the bureaucracy's lack of faith in the ability of the working class to impose its own solutions to the capitalist crisis, irrespective of governments. Jones wants to 'state the case' to the Government. But the Government has already made it clear that it will not give way to the demands of the unions. Too much time has already been lost. Immediate steps must be taken to launch a rank-and-file campaign against the talks and any deal which may come out of them.

FUND DRIVE

Last month our fund drive fell short of its target by almost £80. So far this month we have barely got £10 of our £300 target in!

Red Weekly cannot afford to operate on such a basis. We must have more money both to guarantee our regular weekly appearance and to begin improving the quality of the paper. You have the right to demand from us a paper that comes out regularly and takes up the most important questions facing the working class movement. But we also have the right to demand of you the financial support necessary to carry out these tasks.

This Saturday the 'professional conduct committee' of the National Union of Teachers is due to hear the charges against the three members of the Wandsworth Teachers Association, arising out of 'disturbances' at the 27 February Central Hall meeting.

It was at this meeting that the NUT bureaucracy clashed with those teachers (the overwhelming majority present) who were unwilling to follow the Executive in acceptance of Phase 2 and defeat on the salaries and London Allowance claims. The inability of the bureaucrats to cope with the militants led first to their backdoor retreat from Central Hall and later to their attacks on rank and file activity - removal of the right of local associations to take strike action and now victimisation of the Wandsworth 3.

No-one is fooled by the unprofessional conduct charges of Mr W. Roy Porter, of the Greenwich Association, a thinly disguised attempt to pick out and discipline three well known militants. The message is clear: the NUT bureaucracy intends to show that it will not tolerate opposition to its policies. In this it is in line with a general attempt of the trade union bureaucracy

DEFEND THE WANDSWORTH 3!

to crack down on rank and file strength in preparation for a possible deal with the Tories over Phase 3.

It is these issues which teachers defending the Wandsworth 3 must take up. It is not sufficient to defend them on a purely legalistic basis or even on the politics of the Central Hall meeting. The issues at stake are the issues that will be central to the interests of the working class over the coming year. The defence must be turned to attack, attack on the way the Executive handled the last salary struggle, their failure to go beyond the 'special case' argument, failure to take up the question of the Freeze, failure to link up with other sections of the working class. We must show that far from weakening the Union the strategy proposed by the Wandsworth 3 represents the only way forward for the mass of teachers.

This strategy must be organised for throughout the union in preparation for the next salaries

claim, when it will be more important than ever to have the correct position on Phase 3 and co-ordinated action with other sections of the working class. To this end Rank & File Teachers should call a conference of all militants in the NUT to discuss opposition to Phase 3, the basis of this conference to be opposition to the TUC-Government talks and any form of incomes policy.

The prerequisite for such a strategy is the defence of the Wandsworth 3. As a first step in this campaign as many teachers as possible should attend the picket and rally at Hamilton House at 9.00 a.m. on Saturday 13th July. It must be made abundantly clear to the Executive that they are going to have a fight on their hands but also, and more importantly, other members of the NUT must be shown that there is within the union an alternative to the policies of the Executive.

Paul Grey and Andrew Lenz

CURRENT ACCOUNT

Troubled waters

Last week more than half the petrol stations in the United States were rationing petrol to consumers; 1000 have closed down since the beginning of the year. Last week, too, severe petrol shortages suddenly developed all over Italy. Such facts are used to support the contention of the US State Department, the major oil companies and the ecological lobby that there is a massive world energy crisis - the beginning of the end of the world's fuel supplies.

In fact there is no world-wide shortage of crude oil. The known published reserves of oil continue to rise even relative to the growth of consumption. And vast areas remain unexplored, especially the offshore areas of which only the North Sea has so far been systematically surveyed.

The problem comes in fact from a combination of the structure of the world oil trade, special problems in the US, the structure of the industry and the critical world economic situation. For years there have been two significant oil importing areas - Western Europe and Japan; and over 80 per cent of their imports have come from the Middle East and North Africa (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya being the largest producers) and a few other areas. The Soviet Union and China are self-sufficient. The recent change in this pattern is that in the last two years the US has ceased to be self-sufficient and has become a net importer as important as Japan.

RESERVES

The reason for this change is that US continental oil reserves are running out fast. And in the last two years internal demand has risen faster than predicted, because of the boom and because the new car exhaust regulations have led to an enormous increase in petrol consumption. Crude imports are expensive since the small-scale owners of America's oil reserves have high protection. Alaskan oil has not become available due to resistance by Congressional environmentalists to the construction of a pipeline through an earthquake zone. The US imports some refined oil from Venezuela and the Caribbean, but has been forced into increasing dependence on crude imports from the Middle East. But the refining capacity and handling facilities in the US are insufficient; hence the present shortages.

The situation is presented as an energy crisis because the State Department wants to end dependence on the Middle East and so get Congressional support for the building of the Alaska pipeline and for gigantic subsidies to finance the production of oil from shale. The oil companies are hungry for these subsidies, as well as for support for increases in the price of petrol.

The world oil industry is dominated by a cartel of eight 'major' companies (five are American). Hundreds of smaller 'independents' buy most of their crude from the majors. The market price of crude, which mainly pertains to sales to the independents since the majors control their own crude, has doubled in the last few months and threatens any day to rise above the 'posted' price - the basis on which the majors pay taxes to the producing countries. This would stimulate new demands from the producing countries for another rise in the posted price which would lead to further inflation.

Already the rise in the market price has sharply lowered the profits of the independents, nowhere more than in Italy where inflation fears have kept the retail price of petrol fixed since 1969. It is the decision of the independents to cut back production which has led to Italy's petrol shortage. It will be one of the first problems of Rumor's new Centre-Left government to choose between solving the supply crisis and adding to Italy's surging inflation.

Petrol shortages, therefore, are the tip of an iceberg - not of an energy crisis but of the growing world-wide problems of the capitalist system.

Michael Price

COVENTRY 7: NEW SUCCESS

In the last fortnight two of the Coventry 7 have been given bail: Pat Burke for £250, and Gerry Rush for £750. Two of the others, Tony McCormick and Frank Kelly, have been let out of solitary confinement.

This news is a big boost to the Prisoners Defence Committee and to all supporters of the 7. It shows that the work that has been done is already having an effect. The regular pickets outside the court and the Defence Committee bulletin have put continuous pressure on the police. The granting of bail makes the Defence Committee all the more determined to continue its fight for unconditional release of all 7.

A number of activities are being organised in preparation for the opening of the trial (probably at the beginning of October). Chief of these will be a rally in Coventry called by the Defence Committee for 12 August. This is planned to coincide with the anniversary of internment. The brutal policies of the British Army in the North will undoubtedly be stepped up in an attempt to disguise the failure of the White Paper and the Assembly through defeating the Provisional IRA. The rally is intended

to draw together the continuing repression in the North with the repression of Irish militants in this country.

We call on all organisations in the Midlands to support this rally, in order to make it another step on the road to freeing the Coventry 7. A huge rally in Coventry will show that the Defence Committee can maintain its support and will not give up the struggle. It will also show the British government that there is a time bomb ticking away in this country, which could at any time explode into a mass movement for the complete withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

'FREE THE COVENTRY 7'

Pamphlet by Coventry IMG. Available shortly.

The pamphlet examines the background to the raids and arrests, and how these tie into the British strategy in Ireland. From this it looks at various conceptions of how to defend the seven. Price 5p (10% off orders over 20 with cash in advance) from W. Thompson, 27 Paynes Lane, Hillfields, Coventry.

Below: Clenched fist from Tony McCormick



Scabs challenged at SEI

The shop stewards' banner from Gardner's engineering works was set alight by an anonymous scab during another picket of the Salford Electrical Instruments factory in Eccles on Monday. The Gardner's men were supporting members of the clerical workers' union, APEX, now in their sixth week of strike action for £1+4% and a one-third reduction in the male/female differential as a first step towards equal pay.

The solidarity of the Gardner's men is in clear contrast to the behaviour of the shop-floor production workers at SEI (which is part of the GEC combine). These workers, many of whom are in the AUEW, have rejected calls even to black materials coming into the plant.

The picket was also supported by a number of left-wing groups as well as members of Women's Liberation, and together with the strikers they blocked the gate which management had chained open. However at 8.00 a.m. precisely the

police moved in, whereupon APEX official Peter Scott informed the picket that he wouldn't like any arrests so would they please clear a path. It was while the police were enforcing this that the banner was set alight. The scabs were then escorted through to shouts of 'Get up off your knees - you'll find you're bigger than the management'.

Compared with last week's mass picket, the support on Monday from the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions was disappointing. Clearly if this struggle towards equal pay is to be successful it will need much more support than it has so far received. Such divisions underline the importance of the moves now being made by the CSEU and the Manchester and Salford Trades Council to establish a rank-and-file trade union liaison committee with the aim of supporting all trade unionists in struggle.

Joe Roberts



IS sectarianism

EDITORIAL NOTE: We have noted with concern for some time now the growing sectarianism of the International Socialist group. On a political level we have seen their refusal to participate in the recent joint meeting in support of the Shrewsbury 24 held in London and their withdrawal from the defence of the Coventry 7.

A number of parallel organisational moves have been made by sections of IS. In Stockport IMG comrades were informed that they were 'banned' from attending IS public meetings, and similar steps were taken in Manchester. However, the incident in Liverpool reported below is by far the most serious of these.

One of the healthiest features of the British working class movement has been a traditional unwillingness to tolerate the substitution of tuggery for political dialogue. We would remind the comrades of the International Socialists of this tradition and suggest that they take better heed of it in future.

On Tuesday, 3 July, a public meeting was held in Liverpool organised by the Merseyside International Socialists, at which Paul Foot spoke on the subject 'Why the System Stinks'.

After he had led off, the meeting was thrown open to the floor for questions and discussion, during which three supporters of IS and four members of the Labour Party Young Socialists spoke. During the contributions of the LPYS comrades, there was constant heckling, and eventually all four were shouted down at the end of their remarks.

After the meeting, an IMG comrade attempted to sell *Red Weekly*. He was prevented from selling, and threatened with violence if he continued. The same happened to a comrade attempting to sell *Workers Fight*. Neither of these comrades had spoken in the meeting. A member of the Merseyside IRSF Rank & File group (made up of a number of Inland Revenue workers, most of whom are uncommitted to any political party or organisation) attempted to sell their paper *Con-Card* and was told that 'it was an IMG paper' and was also threatened with violence.

In the face of this intimidation, the LPYS comrades began to sell *The Militant*, which together with *Con-Card* had been sold unhindered at the beginning. The comrades were then attacked by a number of IS members. Two IS members attempted to take a comrade outside and beat him up; a female comrade was man-handled out of the room by two other IS members, another comrade (a school student) had his jacket ripped; and another, an executive committee member of the Liverpool Trades Council, was punched and pushed over a pile of chairs. We then left the meeting to be met with further threats of violence outside.

This refusal to allow us to sell our papers or make criticisms of the position of IS must surely cast doubt on the claim of the IS to be a serious revolutionary organisation, and is completely outside the traditions of the British Labour and Trade Union Movement.

- Alan Lenton (IRSF Rank & File, IMG)
- Les King (IRSF Rank & File)
- Eddie Scraggs (IRSF Rank & File)
- Tony Aitman (NALGO, LPYS)
- Julie Aitman (IRSF Rank & File)
- Phil Holt (POEU, LPYS)
- Jeremy Cope (NUSS, LPYS)
- Jill Stothard (NALGO, IMG)
- Ann Monaghan (IRSF Rank & File)

Last Friday, 100 delegates from building sites all over London picketed the Dean's site in Battersea to demand that 'no lump labour operate on the site.' After an hour, Alan Tattam (UCATT organiser) informed the mass picket that Dean's had been forced to withdraw lump labour from the site.

Despite the enthusiasm among London building workers for a fight against the lump, the militancy created by last year's building strike, and dozens of resolutions demanding action, the Dean's picket remains an isolated event. It is the only all London mobilisation attempted this summer against the lump.

COMPANY BASIS

Tattam said recently that 'It is time we took on these companies, not only site by site but if necessary on a company basis throughout London' (*Morning Star*, 9 June). The idea of fighting the lump company by company was first discussed openly at the Central Hall mass meeting which took place on 18 May. It was proposed that the unions choose a major employer and close down his sites one by one until he rid himself of the lump and signed a company agreement to employ only direct labour. It was also suggested that the company should be forced to employ at least one militant currently unemployed owing to the vicious blacklisting. The London Regional Conference of UCATT a few weeks ago endorsed this proposal to fight on a company basis.

This is a big step forward. The attempt to defeat the lump site by site is doomed to failure, as it will only reappear down the road, where a less enthusiastic organiser and a lack of experienced trade unionists allow it breathing space. There is always sufficient incentive for men to go on the lump. The £12 plus gained on the lump through dodging tax

and stamp deductions is a real material reason for being docile. Meanwhile, of course, the lad on cards has no chance of solidarity if he fights back against the low wages and dangerous working conditions typical of an unorganised site.

But to fight on a company wide basis requires a much higher level of organisation. It cannot be left to a few well organised sites. During the building strike, the 'making up' of convenor stewards to full official status gave the unions the experienced manpower needed to lead the flying pickets. In this campaign too, leading stewards, given official status and supported by levies from their sites, should have been asked to pull out sites for one day at a time to picket. The chosen employer could have been made a focus for an all-London campaign with the resulting company agreement being used as a precedent in the struggle against other companies. And organisation on these sites, without which no agreement could be policed, would have been enormously strengthened in the process.

BUREAUCRATS

But meanwhile the union executives, instead of organising the type of campaign agreed on at the regional conference, have negotiated a provisional agreement with the National Federation of Building Trade Employers which is supposed to 'end' the lump. The provisional agreement will apparently:

- set up a register of employers;
- make National Joint Council terms and conditions mandatory for registered companies;
- introduce the deduction of union dues from wages in registered companies;
- increase the flow of information to the union officials on subcontractors and conditions of employment.

The full draft agreement has not yet been made available, but details released so far suggest it is not satisfactory.

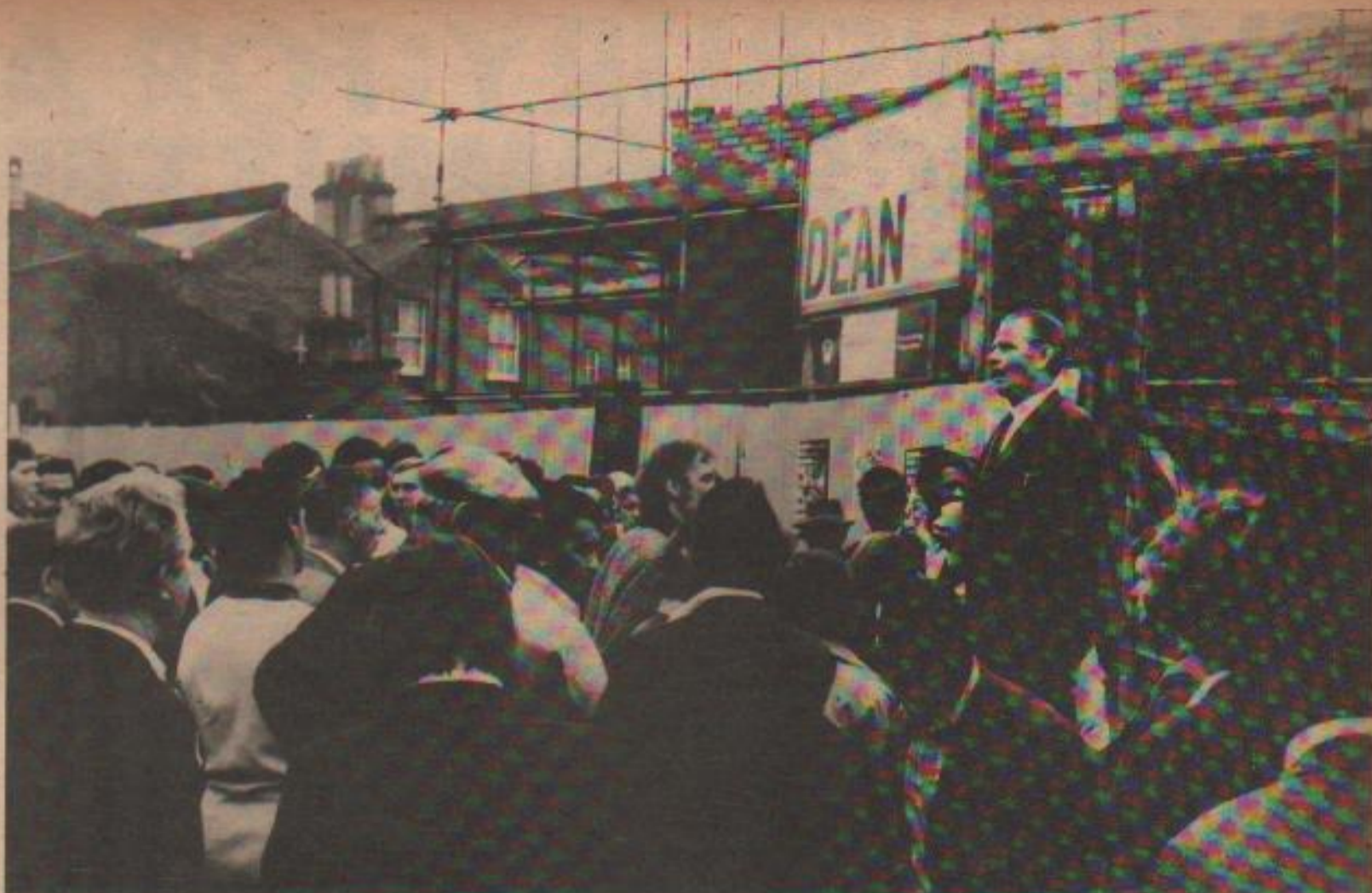
The deduction of union dues at source in particular appears to the union bureaucracy to

ERRATA

We regret the following errors in our last issue:

Page 4 (column 3). Eugene McCarthy was not the Democratic Party presidential candidate in 1968; the candidate was Hubert Humphrey. But the McCarthy phenomenon did begin the serious divisions in the Democratic Party.

Page 8: The middle four paragraphs in column 3 should go at the end of the article.



WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE LONDON LUMP CAMPAIGN?

by Dick Waring

solve the main problem they have over the lump. The traditional figures in the UCATT executive are not militants. Their opposition to the lump reflects, not the interests of the workers, but their own need for a remedy to a very shaky financial position. With the spread of the lump the trade sections of UCATT (painters, carpenters and bricklayers) have declined rapidly in size, leaving UCATT with a falling income. But instead of campaigning for site organisation as the best means to finance the union, the deduction of dues at source will undermine site organisation by depriving stewards of one of their functions.

This is an indication of how serious the bureaucrats are about getting rid of the lump. The deal is supposed to mean that the employers abide by National Joint Council Working Rules. Does this include the rule which says 'all building trade operatives shall be in the direct employment of a building contractor or sub-

contractor?' (Paragraph 1, Working Rule Agreement). George Smith, general secretary of UCATT, has announced that the agreement would merely 'eradicate the worst excesses of self employment.' What does this mean?

ORGANISATION

There is no guarantee that the employers will register, nor is there any guarantee that they will abide by the conditions of registration. For years, major employers such as Kirby Laing have signed the NJC agreement yet the lump runs riot on their sites. The only guarantee building workers can have is organisation, both to impose agreements on to employers and to police agreements. A real campaign this summer in London would have done much to strengthen this organisation.

So far, the left in London, dominated by the Communist Party, has responded with resolutions only to the executives' failure to mount a campaign. The wave of militancy flowing from last year's strike has not been used to create new instruments of struggle. The London

contractor?' (Paragraph 1, Working Rule Agreement). George Smith, general secretary of UCATT, has announced that the agreement would merely 'eradicate the worst excesses of self employment.' What does this mean?

Joint Sites Committee, an unofficial body, is less representative now than it was a few years ago (many of its most experienced members have been blacklisted). No steps have yet been taken to establish a London Shop Stewards Committee of the type set up in Birmingham, which is running a far more effective campaign against the lump.

The campaign against the lump conducted on a company basis depends on the existence of such a body in London. The isolation of militants at site level and in rump branches miles from their workplace has to be overcome. We must fight for a joint shop stewards committee as the best instrument to carry the campaign forward and to police agreements made with the companies. Meanwhile, all shop stewards and activities should attend the London Joint Sites Committee meeting at the Metropolitan Pub, Farringdon Road, every other Thursday evening.

Site organisation under attack

Aif Roberts (shop steward, AUEW Construction Section, ILC site) and Nick Adams.

A widespread attack on trade unionists in the London building trade seems to be building up, with the employers going on the offensive on a number of key sites.

At Molnerney's, in Finsbury Park, the new works committee found itself sacked within two hours of being elected. Similarly, management has withdrawn recognition from all trade union representatives on the Lovell's Guildford Street site.

ILC RESISTS

Now another attack has come at the Imperial London Contractors' site in Bedford Way, where two scaffolders were sacked on 13 June after being involved in a minor accident. The next day the remaining 11 scaffolders on the site were also fired for imposing an overtime ban.

Fifteen months ago there were only about a dozen trade unionists on the site, out of a workforce of 140, and 'Lump' labour was freely used. However the scaffolders, all members of the construction section of the AUEW, brought with them strong traditions of trade union organisation. Largely as a result of their

activity, the site is now 100% trade union, and democratically elected works, welfare and safety committees keep the workers fully informed about day-to-day problems and act as a watchdog over management.

TURNING BACK THE CLOCK

The management, of course, liked things better the way they had been. So they tried to turn the clock back, paying 'special attention' to the scaffolders. This included attempts to slap week-end overtime on them at the last minute, replace their three-men gangs with two-men gangs, as well as constant violation of the safety regulations.

The scaffolders replied by demanding that an extra gang should be taken on as an alternative to overtime working and gang splitting, and as a step to help relieve the serious unemployment among scaffolders. When they imposed an overtime ban to back up these demands, management replied by manufacturing a big incident out of a minor accident.

Having served this warning on the men, management has now announced its willingness to reinstate eleven of the thirteen. The two involved in the accident must face the 'impar-

tial justice' of a Building Employers' Federation panel. Union officials have recommended a return to work on this basis, but the men have decided to stick it out until all thirteen are reinstated with full pay.

BOSSSES' BONANZA

This site is to be a 1600 room luxury hotel in central London - a straight licence to print money. But the employers are still prepared to risk the cost of a major labour dispute now in order to smash the trade union militants *once and for all*. Completion date for the site is 1976, so a big victory for the bosses would mean three years free from union 'trouble makers.'

The decision of the Tory Government to lift the restrictions on building in the centre of London, plus generous hand-outs for hotel building, have created a new bonanza in property development. To take full advantage of these opportunities for vast profit-making, the building contractors need workers who will jump to the bosses' tune and work under the worst and most dangerous conditions in order to meet deadlines. This is one of the reasons why the lump is so popular with building employers and why an all-out drive against trade union organisation and militancy on London sites is clearly on the cards.

For these reasons the fight at Imperial London Contractors' may well be long and hard. It is in the interests of all trade unionists on the London sites to back these lads to the hilt - it could be their turn tomorrow.

SHREWSBURY: FOR A DEFENCE COMMITTEE IN EVERY AREA

Last Friday more than 700 militants from all across London crowded into Acton Town Hall for a meeting in solidarity with the Shrewsbury 24, sponsored jointly by the Socialist Labour Leagues and the International-Marxist Group. Speakers at the meeting included Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, Bob Pennington, representing the International Marxist Group, and Dave Jackson, chairman of the Shrewsbury 24 defence committee. The meeting was chaired by Jim Kemp, London building site convenor and member of the London Joint Sites Committee. We reprint below edited texts of the speeches delivered by Bob Pennington and Dave Jackson.

Gerry Healy traced the history of workers' struggles in Britain, and placed the Shrewsbury workers' struggle today in the context of a wider ruling class offensive against 'basic rights.' He stressed the need for a political campaign on this question, which would link it up with the struggle on other fronts against the Tory government. He laid emphasis on the urgent need for this question to be taken up vigorously in every locality and throughout the whole working class movement.

DAVE JACKSON

I'd like to start by telling you about my experience in last year's building strike, which began for me on 26 June.

We were told by the trade union leaders that our site had been selected to start a national strike in the North Wales area. We were told by a UCATT official that this was an official strike and he didn't want us to just go home, he wanted us to get out and picket and spread the word that this was an official strike for the future of an industry which gave all the profits to a few and could not pay a decent wage for the people who worked in it.

It's only recently in our area that a lot of people have become trade unionists. If I had gone to the men on my site and started talking about the 'bourgeoisie' they would have thought they were a brand of sheep. These people were not militant people. They were told to go out on strike and they did.

We found other people who were behind the workers' struggle and we united to carry our struggle into areas that hadn't ever seen anything like it. We used the examples that had been given to us by the miners and other workers, and we carried the fight throughout the area of North Wales. We also carried the banner of trade unionism. We were fighting to get people to join the trade union movement as well as to come out on strike.

FIVE MONTHS LATER ...

In February of this year six men were arrested and taken to Shrewsbury prison. The next day eighteen more were charged. There were 208 charges laid against these 24 workers - 'over-kill' I think the Yanks call it. The main charge which everyone of them faces is 'that you on the 6th day of September at Shrewsbury ... wrongfully and without legal authority intimidated diverse people with a view to compelling these people to abstain from their lawful work, contrary to section 7 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875 as amended'.

When we were first presented with these charges we immediately went to the people who told us to come out on strike - the trade union officials. One official from UCATT came down and said 'UCATT won't defend you on the criminal charges. But one man who stole sticks on this site five years ago got his brothers to collect for him and hired a solicitor - I'd advise you to do that.' This was the same man who three months before had been saying to us 'get out and picket, don't sit around the house'.

This is the advice we got from our 'leaders'. Now you may say, they're not really your leaders. But these lads looked on them as their leaders. These were the people who had asked them to come out on strike in the first place. You can imagine how neglected and unprotected they felt when the people they expected to protect them just dismissed their problem and compared them with a man who had stolen sticks.

OUR MOVEMENT

Anyway, they had abandoned us, so we started a movement ourselves. We began to build it up, and we started to become aware of what was going on. If anyone thought that this was just the trial of a few building workers going a bit daft on one picket, they had a fine example at Shrewsbury on 15 March of just how far this

government was prepared to take this trial. Eight hundred police surrounded the court, nobody got into the court, and another two hundred police were in the immediate vicinity.

We certainly aren't getting any support from the trade union leaders. We have to turn for support from wherever we can find it. This is why I am travelling up and down the country asking for support for these lads and trying to make trade unionists and the working class in general aware of what is going on. This has been spelt out amply here already. This is an attack on their basic rights. These lads were pursuing their basic rights and they've been made to suffer for it.

The building trade unions have started a campaign for next year. We can't even get a campaign for the trade union movement to defend itself, let alone a campaign for another strike! It's people like the 24 who will have to go on the picket lines. These are the sort of people who, if a defeat is suffered at Mold and a further defeat at Shrewsbury, will worry about going on a picket line again. They'll worry about taking up any call that gets put in future.

NEED FOR SUPPORT

We need support. We need people committed to making others aware of how our struggle is linked up with their struggle. We need financial assistance. Why do we need funds? Not for solicitors. The government has shown how generous it can be by giving each of the 24 double counsel if they want. So if all the 24 want double counsel, we'll have 48 lawyers in court. The trial will cost approximately a quarter of a million pounds to the good old taxpayer. It will last about five months. The lads will have to surrender to their bail every day.

Now most of the lads don't actually live in Shrewsbury. So they've got to get to court every day, live while they're there, and support their families during the trial. We've also got a campaign to run. Because while people here may be aware of what is going on, I'm afraid a lot of the working class are not aware. For these reasons we are urgently in need of financial aid.

Bob Pennington speaking at Friday's meeting, with (left to right) Dave Jackson, Jim Kemp, and Gerry Healy. Photo: Mike Newton (Red Weekly)



WHOLE WORKING CLASS

The QC for the prosecution has pointed out that for an intimidation charge violence or damage doesn't have to be proven, the effect of just having people there can be enough. So it's not a very good law. Because the idea of taking men out on strike, in my opinion at least, is to take them out to win, not to lose. You take them out on strike and use all the means at your disposal to win a victory over the rulers of this country.

As Carr said: 'the existing laws are adequate enough to deal with picketing', and underneath we know he meant 'to deal with striking'. Because there's one kind of strike the ruling class like - those that don't succeed. There's nothing better to break the morale of workers than to take them through the gate, let them sit it out for four or five weeks, and then say, 'here's threepence halfpenny and a half day's holiday, now get back'.

A defeat for the 24 will certainly be a defeat for the whole working class. Because if they do defeat them what shop-steward can say that another attack won't come? What will his men say? There's a lot of these lads who do think about these things. They'll think of the rignarole and the pantomime that's going on in Mold; they'll think of the hundreds of police, and they'll worry. If we can't show as much strength and as much organisation as the government has shown in this trial then we'll have failed.

You people are aware of these problems. When you get back to your organisations, your factories and the people who you represent I'd like you to make them aware as well of the struggle that went on and what happened to these 24 lads. Because, believe me, nobody did know very much about the Shrewsbury 24. It wasn't like the case of the Pentonville 5, unfortunately. It's taken a long time to build this campaign up to what it is now, and it's going to take a lot more hard work from now on. I know you will work to build solidarity for these lads and to get as many people as possible aware of what is going on.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE IN PRESTON

Two days before the IMG-SLL meeting in London, Dave Jackson also spoke at a meeting of local trade unionists in Preston, Lancashire, along with Ian Stevenson of the *Building Workers Charter* editorial board. The meeting was organised by the Steering Committee of Preston's Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions - letters were sent to local Works Committees and trade union branches, and a thousand leaflets were distributed. Votes of support for the meeting came from the BAC Shop Stewards Committee and the AUEW No. 9 branch.

Thirty-five local trade unionists came to hear Jackson and Stevenson. Jackson finished by giving details of the 10-day march ending in a mass demo in Shrewsbury the day the trial starts. To organise for this the Steering Committee is to set up a local defence committee which will include individual militants, and representatives from local Works Committees and trade union branches.

The potential of local support for the 24 was shown by the enthusiasm of the meeting. Although small, there were present observers from Leyland Trades Council, AUEW (TASS) Preston BAC, and UCATT branches. There were also militants from local sites, the Boiler-makers Union, AUEW, dockers, NUT, ASTMS, and NUS. Over £26 was collected for the Defence Fund. In addition to this, the BAC Shop Stewards Committee has already donated £20 and voted to send a delegation to the next picket or demo.

BOB PENNINGTON

1972 was an important year for the British working class. The great examples of the miners' strike and the struggle for the freeing of the Pentonville 5 showed how the independent mobilisation of the working class, and independent initiatives of the working class, and the new forms of struggle forged by the class in the course of its struggles, could defeat an offensive by the employing class.

The working class was able to win such important victories through the massive use of its muscle: the miners were able to smash the government's 7% pay norm, the working class movement was able to prevent the jailing of the dockers' leaders. But while it moved onto the stage of history with massive social power, the working class also carried with it serious political weaknesses.

The ruling class understood all this very clearly. And because they understand this, their strategy, since the autumn of last year, has been to take advantage of these political weaknesses of the working class. As a result the early months of this year have presented a very different picture. We saw important struggles launched by the hospital workers, and by the gas workers. But the working class movement - because of the treacherous role of the union leadership - failed to seriously solidarise with those struggles.

This treachery by the trade union bureaucrats led to the refusal of the miners and the failure of the Ford workers to take strike action in support of their claims. It was these defeats which served to tip the balance of forces, previously much more favourable to the working class, in favour of the ruling class.

The position for the trade union bureaucracy is strengthened by this situation. The trade union bureaucrats are at the peak of their influence in two particular periods: after a partial defeat of the working class, or when they can win a few crumbs from the bosses table for the working class. Because of the inadequate struggle against the employers in the early part of this year, the bureaucracy is now in a much stronger position. An opposite example is shown by the actions of the Chrysler workers. They went into struggle and were prepared to break laws, to challenge the capitalist laws, in order to push back the employers' offensive. And they were successful in this task.

LEGAL MACHINE

The Tories are now ready to use their legal machine directly against the working class. But these attacks did not begin with trade unionists. They began with the Stoke Newington 8, when

these people were brought up on conspiracy charges. Only very small sections of the left responded to this attack then and understood what was at stake here. You know there is nothing quite as respectable as the British left. The left was very reluctant to touch these people because, after all, they were charged with serious crimes, with violence and planting of bombs! But revolutionary socialists should not enter into debate on the terms of ruling class law: we must support all victims of ruling class repression. We reject the right of the ruling class to try anyone. Now we see the Shrewsbury workers on trial for their picketing activity, and the criminal law used against hospital workers' pickets.

The revolutionary left has a tremendous responsibility here. We can't wait until workers become ready, by themselves, to take up a struggle. It is the duty of revolutionary socialists to take important questions like the Shrewsbury 24 into the working class to relate such questions to the broader strategy of ruling class attacks. We must explain and agitate about these issues and develop a movement to deal with them among politically aware workers. Were it not for the fact that various revolutionary groups understood the importance of the Shrewsbury case and took it up, it would have been left to die in isolation.

There is one thing about the ruling class — they do not believe in the theory of 'spontaneity'. They have no anarchist hang-ups. They know very well that the struggle of the working class depends

very well that the struggles of the working class depend upon the most politically aware sections of the class, upon its militants, its rank and file leaders. The aim of the ruling class is to intimidate these key sections of the working class to make it impossible for them to fight, to drive the lesson home to all militant workers that every time they try to launch a struggle they will face criminal charges and imprisonment.

CLASS RIGHTS AND CLASS LAW

It is very important that on the question of Shrewsbury we take a *political offensive*. We are in favour of bringing the law into disrepute. We don't believe that somewhere hidden away there is a little square box with a silver key in which are kept the inviolable rights which someone gave us, and that all we have to do is open up this little box and take out our rights and say to the ruling class, 'there you are, you can't touch us, the law says so'. What we do say is that you have no rights unless you fight for them and unless you organise to defend them. The 'rights' of the working class are a product of the relationship of class forces — of the relative strength of the working class as opposed to that of the ruling class.

Take the picketing law, for example. Officially you are allowed to have two men or two women standing on a gate, provided they simply carry placards and don't try to talk to anyone. But the miners didn't picket according to these rules. Nor did the Chrysler workers. They challenged the law by hijacking lorries, and by shutting down factories with their flying pickets. What they proved is that you can do such things provided that the basis of support for such actions inside the working class is strong enough.

We have no chance of winning socialism in a peaceful way. But it's not sufficient just to speak abstractly about the ruling class not giving up power without a fight. What we have to do is break the working class *practically* from supporting capitalist law and thereby establish in the very midst of the class struggle the necessity for revolutionary struggle and revolutionary violence. Unless we do that, unless we make this clearly understood throughout the working class movement, we will not have lived up to our responsibilities as revolutionary socialists.

DEFENCE COMMITTEES

What we must do over Shrewsbury is to set up defence committees in every area to defend these workers and to take their case into all sections of the working class. Tonight's meeting is a very positive step in that direction. Unless we can bring together all the most more politically aware workers, instill in those workers an awareness of the nature of this struggle, of what the ruling class is attempting to do, it will not be possible to defeat the Shrewsbury attack. The working class movement will be left wide open for the next ruling class offensive. That is what this fight is all about.

We must not end this evening simply by passing a message of solidarity. We must commit ourselves to participate in the building of defence committees in every area, and to take this campaign into every town, every city, every trade union branch, every college and university campus, and every local Labour Party. We must pledge ourselves to the building of an effective national defence campaign for the Shrewsbury 24.

Captured African is beheaded by Portuguese troops.



Solidarity against Portuguese Colonialism

HILARY WAINWRIGHT

For the last month the Portuguese and British governments, aided by the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Times*, have been 'celebrating' the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. The climax comes on Monday with the four-day visit of Caetano, the first by a Portuguese prime minister since the establishment of the fascist regime 50 years ago.

Three main purposes underlie these celebrations: to bolster up the Caetano regime, which is increasingly threatened by the growing opposition of Portuguese workers and students; to boost British investment in, and trade with, Portugal and its colonies; and most important, to strengthen the alliance and thus provide the basis for a co-ordinated strategy to defend imperialist interests in Southern Africa through NATO. No doubt the Tories' intention to settle with the Rhodesian racists will be high on the agenda in this connection.

Historical Roots

The historical roots of this collaboration lie in Britain's long-standing semi-colonial relationship with Portugal. From the time of the Methuen Treaty in the 18th century the trade relationship between the emerging British bourgeoisie and the landowners of feudal Portugal followed the familiar pattern by which the dominant trading partner industrialises at the expense of the continuing stagnation of the other. Portugal's contribution was raw materials, mainly wine, i.e. goods which required little machinery and did nothing to stimulate the growth of a capitalist class. Britain, on the other hand, exported manufactured goods to Portugal — mainly textiles, which thus held back the beginnings of a textile industry in Portugal while it accelerated the process of capitalist growth in Britain.

The significance of this today is that Portugal's resulting economic weakness makes it impossible for her to decolonise, while at the same time rendering her national bourgeoisie relatively subservient to the major imperialist powers. Through decolonisation the major imperialist

powers have traditionally relieved themselves of the troublesome burden of direct political and administrative control, while using the weakness and dependence of the new national rulers to maintain their exploitation of the people and expropriation of the wealth of these countries.

However such a convenient solution was and is out of the question for the weak and dependent ruling class of Portugal. The wealth they derive from the colonies is a direct product of their political and administrative control; it comes predominantly not from the investment of Portuguese capital but from payments via taxation, contributions to military defence etc. from the international firms which are increasingly coming to dominate the economic structure of Portuguese colonialism e.g. Gulf Oil, Lonrho, ICI. Thus Portugal essentially plays the increasingly important role of 'policeman for imperialist interests in Southern Africa', as Amílcar Cabral once put it.

Revolutionary Dynamic

It is these features which condition the revolutionary dynamic of the liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique, Guine and the Cape Verde Islands; a fact which is recognised by the movements leading them — FRELIMO in Mozambique, MPLA in Angola, and PAIGC in Guine and the Cape Verde Islands. Portugal's repressive colonial regime leaves negligible leeway for reformist nationalism. Moreover, the visible involvement of NATO, South Africa and Rhodesia provides a continual reminder that the armed struggle for national liberation cannot be restricted to a struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

But the development of this struggle towards a revolutionary solution is by no means guaranteed; a successful outcome will depend on clarity of political perspectives and leadership. The leadership of the movements have drawn lessons both from the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese and from the continued subservience of the so-called 'independent' black African states to the needs of international capitalism. But most important, there is a continuous and lively internal debate within the movements over perspectives.

The resultant need for a highly politically conscious cadre is a problem which each movement is currently attempting to solve. FRELIMO, for instance, is soon to establish a political cadre school for precisely this purpose. The urgency for this has grown as the movements have advanced nearer the towns and highly populated areas — for example, FRELIMO is already in Manicó e Sofala, the province in which Beira, Mozambique's major port, is situated. PAIGC virtually controls all the rural areas of Guine, while MPLA, by being able to use the Zaire border and so intensify the struggle in

Northern Angola, has strengthened the pincer movements on the coastal and mining areas.

Growing Links

The growing links between the struggles in different parts of Southern Africa, as seen most recently in the cases of Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Angola and Namibia, are a new threat to imperialism's plans for the area. Britain, the US and West Germany are therefore likely to boost considerably their aid to Portugal via NATO, while South Africa will do the same directly. This raising of the stakes will really put to the test the demagogic support pledged by the leaders of many of the present African regimes.

This probable intensification of NATO support for Portugal's attempt to stem the tide of revolution in Southern Africa also has implications for the working class movement in Britain. The extent to which the other imperialist powers, including Britain, can come to Portugal's aid depends at least partly on the political constraints which inhibit their strategy. One element in this would be a mass movement against British collaboration and in solidarity with the liberation struggle.

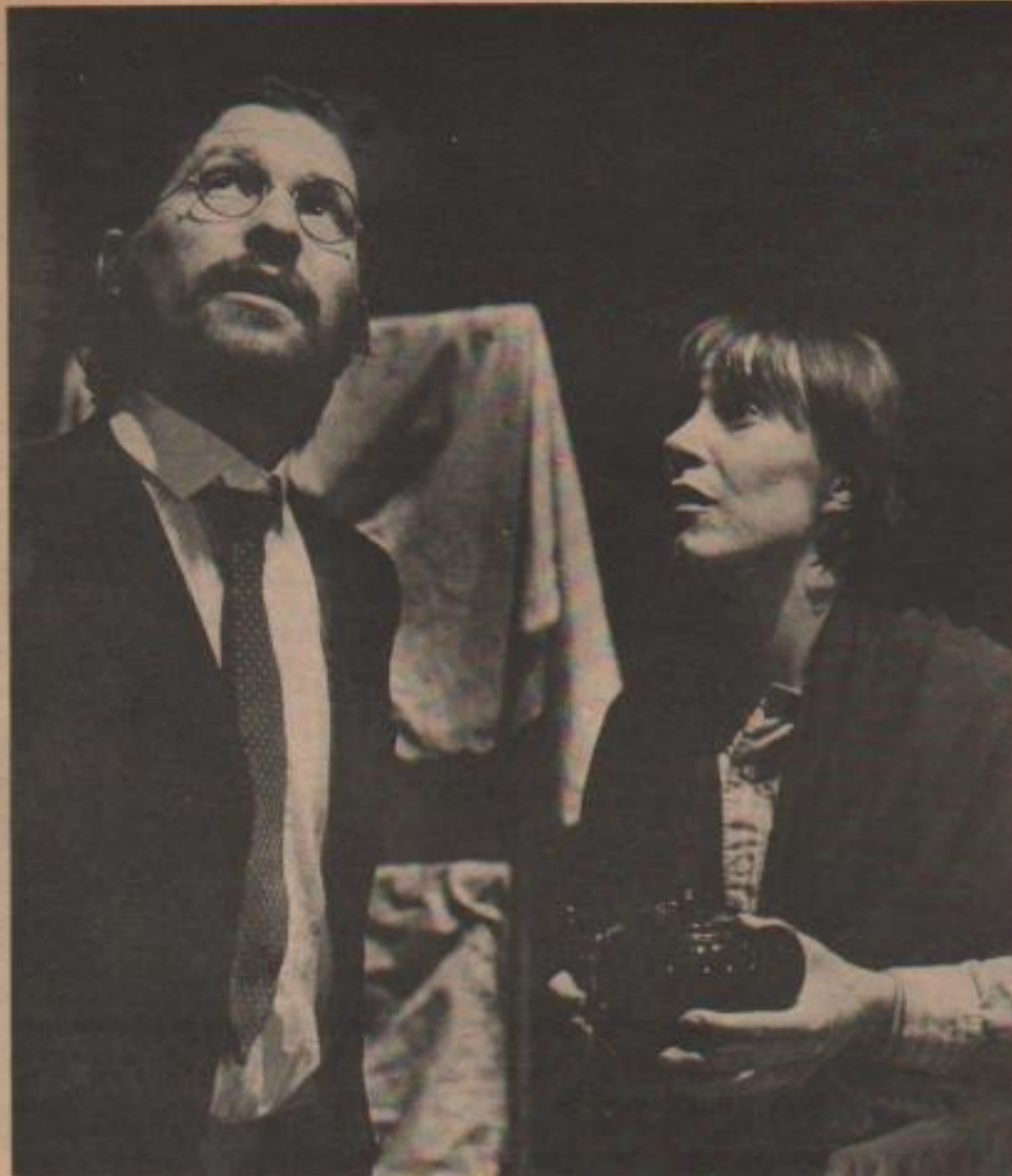
The active support of trade unionists, black organisations, Portuguese workers etc. could therefore play an extremely important role in pushing the balance of forces further in favour of the liberation struggle against Portuguese colonisation. Sunday's demonstration against Caetano's visit should be a major step in the building of such solidarity action.

The demonstration assembles at 2.30 p.m. on Sunday, 15 July, at Charing Cross Embankment, marching to Downing Street and the Portuguese Embassy. Rally in Hyde Park. Information from End the Alliance Campaign (01-734 9541).

STOP PRESS

The opposition of the Labour Party to the Tory Government's collaboration with Portugal, and Wilson's demands that the Caetano visit be stopped are very welcome. But the barbarities of Portuguese colonialism did not start with the Wiriwiri massacre reported on Tuesday in the *Times*. Similar atrocities, in addition to the day-to-day brutality of the Portuguese regime, were of course going on whilst the Labour Party was in power. Did the Labour Party do anything at that time to expose them, and end British complicity? No — on the contrary, they even refused to take the minimal step of voting against Portuguese colonialism in the United Nations.

The key political test of Wilson's present moral gestures will be if he and the Labour Party not merely abstain from meeting Caetano but also play an active role in the campaign against the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance — AND THAT INCLUDES THE DEMONSTRATION THIS WEEK-END!



COMMUNIQUE FROM THE ARMY OF THE ARTS

Theatre is class-struggle too

MORRIS BLAKE

Last week I went to the theatre — a rare event for me — to see the Half Moon Theatre's production of *The Mother* by Bertolt Brecht, which has transferred from the East End to the Roundhouse for a three week season. Never missing the chance to agitate, however, even on our 'night off', we took in with us some leaflets in defence of the Ligue Communiste, which other comrades were distributing outside. As reviewed in *Red Weekly* No 4, this is an excellent production of one of the very small number of plays totally committed to revolutionary socialism — despite what I have to relate, it can still be heartily recommended.

One of the main scenes in the first half of the play, is the victimisation of revolutionaries in 1905, in Russia, for giving out strike leaflets to the workers. In a later scene, the Mother, in an argument with a liberal school-teacher, who is trying to teach the workers to read, says: 'We don't read for entertainment. Reading is class-struggle'. Telling scenes, but so far they remained simply part of the play and therefore 'not real', something unrelated to Chalk Farm 1973.

MECCA OF 'CULTURE'

During the interval we gave out our leaflets, which were on the whole received not antagonistically by the mostly petty-bourgeois intelligentsia who inhabit this mecca of trendy 'culture' (whatever flowery illusions the Round House may once have had about its 'alternative', subversive nature, must have long since withered and died).

And then we were stopped — yes, stopped from helping to defend present-day, flesh-and-blood communists, our own comrades, in the middle of a play which unequivocally denounces the repression of revolutionary socialists 70 years ago and unashamedly explains and celebrates their cause.

The immediacy of those early scenes came home hard when the reactionary fool of a floor-manager, in an attempt to justify his ban, uttered the immortal words, the ultimate apology of the mealy-mouthed, uncommitted liberal: 'We put on this play for entertainment only'. That utterance must have sent Brecht's bones spinning in his grave.

HISTORICAL CURIOS

It was then I realised that the presentation of

this play, in that place, to that audience was a rather hopeless gesture — the revolutionary content, the whole intention of the play, what it is about — was totally lost on him, as I suspect, on the majority of that first-night audience. To the bourgeois theatre-goer, art is entertainment, something 'other' and 'finer' than life, and the brutal reality of existence under capitalism must not be allowed to intrude or interrupt the illusion.

Truly revolutionary dramatists such as Brecht wrote plays to bridge the gap between art and life, to give lessons to the oppressed, to help them realise what they had to do to rid themselves of their oppression. The bourgeois theatre must castrate Brecht, when it produces his plays, because the bourgeoisie has no immediate interest in didactic, 'unsophisticated' (in other words de-mystified) plays, unless they can ignore or minimise the intense meaning of such works, and regard them as 'interesting' historical curios.

ARCHAIC PALACES

Such plays as this only come alive, only gain their full meaning, when seen by the working class, for whom they were made and to whom and for whom they speak. In our society they are almost always put on for the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes, those who deceive themselves that only they have been educated to appreciate drama. And they are put on in those archaic palaces of culture, the theatres, which are alien to workers because of what they traditionally stand for — the glorified portrayal of the values of the ruling-class, with which the working class has nothing in common.

This is a serious gap which socialist theatre-groups like Red Ladder and General Will are trying to fill, with their political productions to trade-union groups and in factory-canteens. Only when the bourgeoisie can no longer deprive the working-class of those small areas of culture which serve the workers' cause, can drama become a revolutionary weapon, an agitational tool. Only then can we begin to use the theatre to do what a comrade was shouting, as he leafleted the audience with the news of the banning of the Ligue Communiste and the trial of the Shrewsbury 24, at the end of that performance — 'Bring politics out of the theatre, into real life.'

Reviews

Science or ideology?

Psychiatry and the Homosexual (GLF Pamphlet No. 1, 15p) *Rosalind Davis*

Since its beginnings, capitalism has been associated with puritanism. This morality assisted in the accumulation of capital by stressing that restraint, particularly sexual restraint, in the present was an indication that one was of God's elect.

No wonder then that pleasurable sexual activity was divorced from the respectable behaviour of the respectable male bourgeois in the 19th century. At the same time, the bourgeois woman lived as a symbol of the wealth of her husband; hardly even in a human relationship with him but more as an object, to enhance his prestige.

Even today this ruling class morality, which justifies the subordinate role of women, still forms the basis of sexual 'normality' and 'acceptable behaviour,' and is intimately linked to the maintenance of the capitalist system. There have however been increasing attacks on this sexual 'normality,' with its double standards, its emphasis on the 'differentness' of the sexes, and narrow definitions of behaviour appropriate to each sex.

Gay people are particularly obnoxious to this morality. Men who love men are neither men nor respectable, while the possibility of women loving women is ruled out. Legitimate sex is still seen as being for the reproduction of the species *within marriage* (in other words with one person and for life). Homosexual sex on the other hand is seen purely as a pleasurable activity, not for the reproduction of the species, taking place outside marriage and rarely with one person for any length of time. It is therefore seen as *illegitimate* and acts as one living challenge to all aspects of a dominant, class-based sexual moral code.

Within this framework, psychiatrists exist to patch up the rather large number of people who find unbearable the many contradictions imposed on their personal lives by the capitalist system, particularly its repressive sexual codes. Psychiatrists assume that their patient's 'inadequate' response is a personal, rather than a social problem. In other words they prefer to define the person, rather than the entire social system as 'ill' — from here they then try to modify the individual so that he/she can bear his or her cross, and slot back into 'normal' society. It follows that psychiatry has become a rather important source of confusion about the system, especially because its

theories have the appearance of 'objective' science about them. One of the important things that the Gay Liberation movement has done is to launch a bitter attack on this new pseudo-scientific priesthood.

This is very well demonstrated in this pamphlet from Gay Lib, which in a very clear way shows how the main psychiatric 'schools' Freudianism and behaviourism, in their attempts to 'explain' or 'treat' gay people, reveal themselves as aspects of bourgeois ideology, rather than science. As the pamphlet points out, the only proper treatment that confused gays who present themselves to doctors should receive is to be told that they are not ill and referred to the nearest gay liberation group.

Such treatment is almost never the case. Unfortunately many gay people are confused, by their a parent isolation, by the general ignorance which surrounds the subject, and by their acceptance of 'normal' bourgeois morality. They often suffer endless tortures at the hands of psychiatrists who attempt to eliminate their 'perversion.' This consists in either trying to locate the cause in some deviation from the 'normal' way in which young people grow up, or by trying to shock, cut or drag the 'symptoms' out of existence. Luckily in most cases the attempt fails but it always increases the difficulties that gay people face, unless the experience finally forces them into a rejection of psychiatric explanations as a whole.

This pamphlet is valuable in two ways. For gay people, it shows them that they have no problem in their gayness and can therefore only expect trouble from the psychiatric profession. For everyone else it exposes the pseudo-scientific mumbo-jumbo of psychiatrists as merely attempts to maintain social conformity. For these reasons the revolutionary movement should distribute it as widely as possible.

There is, however, one major weakness — the pamphlet does not accept the logic of its own arguments, and is still prepared to talk about other non-gay people in the hands of psychiatrists as 'neurotics,' thus accepting psychiatry's view of society. This weakens the attack on psychiatry as a whole. It is made possible by the pamphlet's failure to link the oppression of gay people by psychiatrists with the entire system of capitalist social relations from which it springs and which it maintains. In some sense the authors still see psychiatrists as acting in the interests of 'society,' with the treatment of homosexuals being just an exceptional misdirection of energy and resources.

This is a big weakness; a regression on the Gay Liberation Manifesto published two years ago. In sum, then, this is an important pamphlet but it only goes part of the way.

Psychiatry and the Homosexual is available from Gay Information, c/o 2 Thane Mansions, Thane Villas, London N.7.

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Prince Sihanouk inspecting Red Khmer guerrillas in one of their forest bases, during his extensive tour of the liberated areas in Cambodia earlier this year.

Red Khmers tighten noose

'We are no more now than a mercenary army fighting on the whims and discretion of only one man. If Mr. Nixon will not stop this insanity, then the Congress and the people must.' (Letter from USAF Captain, B-52 navigator, to Senator Fulbright on the situation in Cambodia).

It is the spread of such attitudes among the very elite of the US war machine which is the writing on the wall for the Cambodian puppet leader Lon Nol and his masters in the White House and the Pentagon. Despite an average of 1,800 B-52 sorties a month — nearly double the rate over all of Indochina in 1971 — the heroic Red Khmers who spearhead the Cambodian National United Front (FUNK)

are tightening their grip around Phnom Penh. On 5 July, Highway 4 linking the deep-sea port of Kompong Som to the capital was cut just 22 miles from where Lon Nol and his clique sit pretending they are the masters of all Cambodia. The next day they forced the puppet troops to retreat from the provincial capital of Phnom Del, 25 miles from the capital and part of its outer defensive ring. The mood in the United States is now very definitely for Out of Cambodia. Nixon was thus playing with fire when he vetoed a Congress proposal to halt all funds for further bombing of Cambodia — this right in the middle of Dean's appearance before the Senate Investigatory Committee into Watergate. For the moment a compromise has been

reached, which permits funds for bombing the Cambodian people up till 15 August, by which time either a settlement must be reached or Nixon must ask Congress for more funds.

This compromise is a product of several factors: Nixon's need to be on good terms with Congress in a period when the cry for impeachment (carried out by Congress) is being raised in several quarters; Congress's need to reflect at least partially the overwhelming mood in America for getting out of Cambodia while shying away from a major political crisis with the presidency. But the most important reason relates to Cambodia itself. As the bombing brings world-wide opprobrium on America, as the Lon Nol clique stumbles from political crisis to military defeat to economic catastrophe

and back again, as the Cambodian United Front becomes more and more the real authority in the country, the choice becomes clear for American imperialism — negotiate at all costs or risk certain defeat.

Such a defeat would strengthen the revolutionary forces throughout Indochina, especially the PRG (Provisional Government of South Vietnam). So, with Lon Nol's statement that he is prepared to 'negotiate with a delegation of Cambodians from the other side,' the diplomatic offensive is under way. Sihanouk's position has been to reject any negotiations with Lon Nol and to speak only to the Americans themselves. But he has also denied that he will talk to Kissinger when he visits Peking. He refuses any outcome involving a compromise with Lon Nol, which is the US's aim in aborting the progress of the Cambodian revolution.

At the moment Le Duan and Pham van Dong from North Vietnam are in Moscow. There they will have their arms twisted to exert pressure on the Cambodians to go to the negotiating table. The Kremlin bureaucracy has no direct line to the Cambodian fighters because it continues to recognise the Lon Nol clique as the legitimate government of Cambodia.

Not so the Chinese. Their representative in the US, Huang Chen, has recently had a meeting with Nixon and a huge bean feast with Kissinger. Both of them urged China to contribute to a 'peaceful settlement of the Cambodian problem.' At the same time US Secretary of Aggression James Schlesinger has declared that it is 'quite possible' that the President will have to ask Congress for authorisation to continue the bombing of Cambodia after 15 August.

We must be clear that those in the international labour movement who seize on this threat to press for negotiations with Lon Nol in the name of 'peace' and 'humanity' are betraying the struggle of the Cambodian people. Sihanouk has stated, and the Cambodian fighters have confirmed in their practice, that they cannot be beaten to their knees by American air power. They are on the threshold of a great victory. The correct task is to isolate the US diplomatically as surely as Phnom Penh is isolated militarily.

JOHN WATTS

Allende's shuffle - Frei's deal

The formation of the new Chilean cabinet is a confirmation that the forces of counter-revolution are now preparing a concerted offensive.

With his back against the wall after the attempted coups and political sabotage of June, President Allende last week attempted to co-opt the 'support' of the Christian Democrats and the army — the best political representatives of the ruling class — by offering them major posts in the Popular Unity government. The co-optation of Christian Democrats — such as the 'radical' rector of the Catholic University,

Castillo Velasco — was firmly vetoed by ex-President Frei, the party leader. Even more significant is the fact that the armed forces refused as a body to participate in the government.

The Chilean bourgeoisie has not acquired a century's experience of parliamentary rule for nothing. Frei and the army chief Prats — both financed by the USA, while funds to the government have been cut off — have played their cards well in the past three years. The Christian Democrats, holding the Congressional majority, have repeatedly drawn the Popular

Unity leaders into negotiations, while conducting every kind of manoeuvre against them, impeaching a series of ministers, blocking legislation of every kind, and using discontent over inflation among the middle class — and even recently the working class — to whip up mass mobilisations against the government. They have forced Popular Unity into the arms of the military, sanctioning the presence of the armed forces in the government after last year's lorry owners' boycott.

Now, with the aid of the activities of the extreme right, Allende's government has been driven into an extreme constitutional crisis. This comes at a time when the recent copper miners' strike has shown, not just that the reformist leaders have failed to unite the

working class, but that they have created such demoralisation that the Christian Democrats can use workers' struggles against the government itself.

The working class — including the miners — rallied against the forces of reaction at the time of the attempted coup of 29 June; but Allende and the CP once more proceeded to demobilise the struggles, re-forming their cabinet and offering the army the olive branch of a 'guarantee of law and order.' It is because of what such leadership is doing to the working class that the army chiefs as well as the Christian Democrats now have the confidence to take their distance from the Popular Unity government.

Jane Frazer

Uruguayan coup still on knife-edge

Since the dissolution of the Uruguayan Congress on 27 June, President Bordaberry and his army supporters have made every attempt to crush the general strike movement they immediately faced.

The trade union federation (CNT) was dissolved as soon as it gave official sanction to the strike movement. On 30 June, the army was charged with the task of using force to get a return to

work; but despite forcible re-occupations of factories and oil refineries, they have so far failed and the regime was last week driven to offer a 50% wage increase in the hope of buying off the strike (it was rejected, on the grounds that it would still not restore real wages to the level of five years ago).

But while the Uruguayan workers maintain a heroic struggle on the streets and in the facto-

ries, their Stalinist leaders are busy doing political deals with the bourgeois parties. The Uruguayan Communist Party dominates both the banned CNT and the electoral 'Broad Front' of 'lefts' and radicals. The Broad Front has joined with the bourgeois National Party in demanding 'new presidential elections,' and under cover of the call for a 'dialogue with all democratic forces' is negotiating with the dissident wing of Bordaberry's own Colorado Party to convince the armed forces to depose Bordaberry.

The National Party leader, Wilson Ferreira, who fled to Buenos Aires at the time of the coup, has announced his 'imminent return.' Bordaberry is the imperialists' man: he has announced

sweeping guarantees to foreign capital and proclaimed Marxism a disease to be wiped out. But in the present crisis they may be prepared to ditch him so long as control of the government remains in the hands of the army — whose political ascent dates from two years ago, when they were given the task of exterminating the Tupamaros, the left-wing urban guerrilla movement.

The tactical choice facing the ruling class is to accept this kind of 'solution' or to proceed directly along the Brazilian road. In either case, by promoting an alliance with the Wilson Ferroiras and the army chiefs, the Uruguayan Stalinists are preparing a massive betrayal of the struggle against the military regime.

Legal repression in Ceylon

In Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), special new laws have been passed since the uprising of April, 1971. These have the dual purpose of enabling the Government to convict those political prisoners whom it cannot 'rehabilitate' out of their opposition, and of preventing militant trade union and party opposition from developing to a point of open class confrontation with the Government.

The laws — of which the most notable are the

Criminal Justice Commissions Act, the Interpretation (Amendments) Act, and the Press Council Act — were passed by Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the major bourgeois nationalist party, which governs in coalition with the small but influential Communist Party (aligned with Moscow) and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (ex-Trotskyists).

At the same time there are massive queues for staple food items; prices of essential commodi-

ties continue to soar; the rupee is worth next to nothing; and the International Monetary Fund and World Bank lay down more and more crippling conditions as the basis for further loans to the Government. The loans, to fulfil these conditions, are spent principally on extending and reinforcing the repressive apparatus (police, armed forces, intelligence services) of the State.

Strikes demonstrations, public meetings, pickets, distribution of leaflets, etc., are all illegal under the Emergency Regulations in force since March 1971.

There are concrete and bitter lessons to be learnt from the experience through which the Stalinist CP and the opportunist LSSP have led the work-

ing class and the rural poor, as well as the Tamil minority, over the last period. Today, as a direct result of this popular frontism, there remain thousands of political prisoners, mainly youth, interned without trial in prison camps, jails, and forced labour camps all over Ceylon.

Note:

A special Bulletin, containing a detailed analysis of the three years of coalition rule, is available from the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign, 9 Dennington Park Mansions, London, N.W.5. The CSC is holding a public meeting in London on Friday, 20 July, on 'Legal Reform as an Instrument of Repression: Today's Experience in Ceylon and Ireland.' Details can be found in the 'What's On' column on the back page.

World-wide support is growing rapidly for the French section of the Fourth International, the Communist League, dissolved on 28 June by the French government for its militant anti-fascist activity.

In Paris a mass meeting to protest the attack on the League took place on Wednesday 4 July, organised by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the two main trade union federations. Fifteen hundred people packed into the Winter Circus, and a further crowd of 6000 gathered outside the hall to hear the speeches relayed by loudspeaker. Unfortunately the organisers would not allow any representative of the former Communist League to speak at this meeting. Clearly some organisations of the traditional French left still retain far too many aspects of their past history of sectarianism towards the organisations of the revolutionary left.

A statement has also been circulated in the French press calling for the lifting of the ban on the Communist League and the immediate release of jailed League leaders Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset. The statement further calls for the setting up of 'a national committee, on the basis of this appeal, to take up the struggle and put a stop to the repression.' The signatories include more than 400 prominent French intellectuals and public figures.

Actions in support of the League have been organised by members and supporters of the Fourth International in Japan, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. In Germany a demonstration in support of the League in Karlsruhe, backed by the largest organisation of the German far-left, the Maoist KPD, drew close to 4000. In Ireland, representatives from both the Official and Provisional wings of the Republican movement were a-

WORLD-WIDE SOLIDARITY WITH THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE



Ligue Communiste banner leads off march in London last Saturday.

mong speakers at a meeting of over 100 organised by the RMG in Dublin on Monday night.

Here in Britain, almost 700 demonstrators marched in solidarity behind the banner of the Communist League to the French embassy on Saturday. Called by the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, the demonstration was actively supported by most of the organisations of the revolutionary left in Britain. The Communist Party

sent a speaker to the demonstration, but unfortunately did not mobilise a contingent. A picket was also organised by the IMG in Glasgow on the same day.

A statement is being circulated among Labour MPs, prominent trade unionists, intellectuals etc. protesting against the ban. It has been signed by a number of Labour MPs including Michael Foot and Eric Heffer. The latest signatory is theatre critic and producer Kenneth Tynan. A mass petition in solidarity with the League is also being circulated across the country. Solidarity meetings are

planned for a number of large cities, and several local demonstrations will also be organised. The first of these will take place in Liverpool on Saturday, 21 July.

We would urge everyone concerned with the fight of the working class in Britain to get involved in this campaign of international solidarity with the Communist League. Donations, requests for petition forms, as well as extra copies of the supplement published in our last issue, can be obtained by writing to: Communist League Defence, c/o 182 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.

RED NOTES

The London Comhairle Ceartair of Sinn Fein (Kavin St.) has called on all Irish organisations in England and left-wing groups active on the Irish issue to form an ad hoc committee to organise a united demonstration in London next month on the anniversary of the introduction of internment in August 1971.

A meeting to form the committee will be held in the Lord Palmerston in Kilburn, High Road next Monday. Support is expected from such organisations as the Anti-Internment League, the Belfast 10 Defence Committee and People's Democracy.

Members and supporters of Gay Liberation were punched by the manager of the Great Northern Hotel last Saturday, when they picketed the pub in protest against its refusal to serve homosexuals. The manager then called the police, who arrested two demonstrators for obstruction!

The pickets will continue, however, until the pub, owned by Henekey Inns, a subsidiary of Trust Houses-Forte, stops excluding gays from what has previously been one of the meeting places of the gay community in Leeds. Leeds GLF are asking for support from all the left groups, support noticeably lacking up till now. The only way the policy of the management and Henekey's will be changed is by hitting them where it hurts — in their pockets.

Readers will remember the scandal of Thieu's 'Tiger Cage' prisons on Con Son prison island. The result of that scandal was that the cages were rebuilt by an American company on an even smaller scale. The company was Brown & Root Inc., and its European head office can be found at 82 Pall Mall, London S.W.1.

To highlight this aspect of the situation in Vietnam, the Indochina Solidarity Conference is holding a demonstration at 12.30 on Saturday, 21 July, outside this office. Release the prisoners from Uncle Sam's Tiger Cages! Be there!

Irish Civil Rights Association (and N.I.C.R.A.)

RALLY

Assemble 2.30 Speakers' Corner, march to Horse Guards Avenue, Whitehall.

JULY 15th.

Sheffield and Rotherham Conference
Repression, Picketing and the Law

The right to picket is under attack — how the working class to defend itself against repression? Hear Arthur Scargill (President Yorkshire NUM), John Labor (Labour Research Department), Jim Kemp (London Joint Sites Committee), and Des Warren (Shrewsbury Defence Committee) speak on repression, picketing, and the law.

Sheffield City Hall, 11.30 Sat. 13th July. Organised by Sheffield & Rotherham Shrewsbury Defence Committee.

Delegate credentials at the door. Visitors welcome.

VICTIMISATION OF PD MILITANTS

The imprisonment of Mike Farrell and Tony Canavan of Peoples Democracy represents one of the most blatant examples of political victimisation which has taken place in the Six Counties since the internment of Mike Farrell in 1971, which did much to expose and discredit the Stormont Government.

The charges which led to their arrests arose out of a PD march in Belfast on 10 February this year. The PD led a demonstration down the Falls Road to protest at the lack of action by the British Army to stem the tide of sectarian murders; the march was stopped in Castle Street near the City Centre by a massive force of soldiers. When Mike attempted to address a crowd from the top of an Army Saracen he was brutally knocked to the ground. Subsequently a decision must have been made to 'get' Farrell and Canavan, because it was not until May that summonses were served.

There is an unwritten agreement in the North, won through mass resistance by Republican prisoners, that prisoners sentenced to over nine months on charges arising out of the present situation will get 'political' treatment. They will be allowed to wear their own clothes, will be kept with other political prisoners, will have more visits, will be allowed more letters, and have facilities to read and study. Had the PD comrades been given nine months they would have served six months, (with three months remission). Since they will refuse to wear prison clothes, or to work in the prison, as a matter of principle, Farrell will serve his full eight month sentence and Canavan six months, under much more onerous conditions.

Mike and Tony are now held for 23 hours a day in a basement cell in Crumlin Road jail, where they are subjected to a constant barrage of threats from the loyalist prisoners in the wing. Unless they are given political status they will be placed amongst these loyalists. When the comrades pointed out the physical danger they faced, the Governor promised them that they would be placed in protective custody — but only after they had been attacked!

Farrell and Canavan have now gone on hunger strike until their demand for political status has been granted. The Anti-Internment League has launched a campaign to support them. Last Monday a delegation from the AIL spoke to Stan Orme

and Jock Stallard at the House of Commons, and obtained promises of action from them. But much more is required. The AIL is circulating a petition which has already been signed by large numbers of shop stewards, trade union branch secretaries, etc. If the demand for political status is not met by next Tuesday, 17 July, there will be a picket of the Home Office in Whitehall at 8.00 p.m. In the meantime letters should be sent to Whitelaw, demanding political status for Mike and Tony. Labour MPs must be contacted, and pressure applied to get them to take up the case with Whitelaw and in the House. Do not delay — act now!

For petitions, statements etc. contact Robin MacGovern, c/o Red Weekly.

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WHAT'S ON

CEYLON SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN: Public meeting, 7.00 p.m. Friday, 20 July, at Conway Hall — 'Legal reform as an instrument of repression: today's experience in Ceylon and Ireland.' Discussion with other groups struggling against repression. Speakers include: Brian Rose-Smith and Rock Tansey (Haldane Society) and a practising lawyer from Ceylon.

INDOCHINA SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE: Public meeting on political prisoners in South Vietnam, 7.30 p.m., 19 July, at Euston Road Library Meeting Room, 101 Euston Road. The World in Action film, 'South Vietnam: A Question of Torture,' will be shown.

'IMMIGRANT WORKERS AND RACISM': Leeds IMG public meeting, Wednesday 25 July, at 8.00 p.m. in the Trades Club.

REQUIRED URGENTLY: Fast accurate typist — 35 hour week. Flexible hours, wages negotiable. Write to Carl at F.I. Litho, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1, or phone 01-837 9987.

'CROMWELL'S IRELAND': Central London Anti-Internment League Forum, Friday 13 July, 8.00 p.m. in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road 15 minutes Kings X tube.

DEFEND THE HANDSWORTH 3: Picket and mass lobby of Hamilton House for NUT hearing, Saturday 14 July. Picket 9.00 a.m., mass meeting 12 — 2 p.m. Street theatre and prominent trade union speakers. Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London, W.C.1.

FREE THE COVENTRY 7: Mass rally on anniversary of internment, Sunday 12 August. Assemble in the Precinct, Coventry, at 2.00 p.m. Speakers from Ireland and Britain.

IMG RED FORUM: Series of introductory discussions for those in the London area on the politics of the Fourth International. New series starts this Tuesday 17 July, at 8.00 p.m. in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (5 minutes walk from Kings X tube).

LIVERPOOL DEMONSTRATION in support of the campaign against the French Government ban on the Communist League, Saturday 21 July. Leaves New Islington at 11.00 a.m.

FOREIGN COMRADE needs British wife urgently to avoid repatriation, service in reactionary army, etc. Replies to Box RW/1.