

RED WEEKLY

MARCH ON BLACKBURN
AGAINST RACISM!

SATURDAY 11 SEPTEMBER

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Whalley Range area

Rally 3 p.m., King George's Hall

PUBLIC MEETING IN BLACKBURN
TARIQ ALI(IMG) TONY CLIFF(IS)
Thursday 9 September, 7.30pm, Windsor Hall, Blackburn.

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7 DAYS in the 26 COUNTIES



'As followers of Christ, The Prince of Peace who himself died a violent death upon the Cross to bring about our redemption, to lead us all to the peace and happiness of his Father's Kingdom, we must support every genuine effort to bring about a cessation of the terrible conditions of violence we have in our society today'.

The words are those of the Most Reverend Dr. Brooks, the Bishop of Dromore. Nothing surprising in that. But what may surprise you is that this lieutenant of God gave us his message on 24 August, the day before the Dublin Government gave us the declaration of a state of emergency and the invocation of Article 28 of the Irish Constitution.

Article 28 is a simple matter. It gives the Government the power to introduce a law allowing the state to hold a person under arrest for seven days without charge. But for the ghoul of the Dail this was nowhere near enough.

INDIGNITY

A Criminal Law Bill will now impose 10 years in prison on anyone inviting anyone else to join an 'unlawful' organisation, whether or not the person actually accepts the invitation. Prisoners can now expect to be searched any time a prison officer feels like it. Furthermore, the same prisoners will suffer the added indignity of having palm prints, skin swabs and samples of hair taken. This, of course, is all in addition to the treatment already being meted out to prisoners by the Cosgrave Government—treatment which means that Republican prisoners in Portlaoise are naked and have had all the furniture removed, except for the bucket in the corner which the government calls a toilet.

Of course, the new laws are not just aimed at prisoners. They are aimed in the main at the decreasing section of the Irish population still outside prison. Offences involving arms, if they can be construed as obstruction or

intimidation of the Government, can be punished with 20 year sentences instead of seven. Participation in an 'unauthorised military exercise' will get 15 years instead of two. Membership of an illegal organisation will get seven years instead of two.

REPRESSIVE

The list goes on. The people who have drawn up these laws have put the 26 Counties in the front rank of the most repressive regimes in Europe. They have completed the process begun by all the vicious legislation aimed at those who believe in the right of the Irish people to determine their own future.

One of the few growth areas in the 26 Counties is prison cells. To cope with the new legislation, one hundred new cells are now available at the Curragh prison camp. A second Special Criminal Court will be opened if the first becomes clogged. Internment is being considered. This is the price of serving imperialism.

Meanwhile in Britain the Tory spokesman on Ireland, Mr Airey Neave of Colditz, urges the British Government to follow Dublin's lead. Furthermore, he would like the law of evidence in Northern Ireland changed to put the onus of proof on those charged with terrorism. In other words, the accused will be guilty unless they can prove themselves innocent. That is what these 'democrats' and Christians have in store for British and Irish workers.

Merlyn Rees, however, does not see what all the fuss is about. The law works as it is, he says: '... The number of convicted persons in prison... has been growing steadily at the rate of 500 a year... There is no success like failure. Every plan and every 'solution' put forward by the British has not only failed, it has brought more people into the struggle against it. At the end of this seven days in the 26 Counties, it is clear that the puppets in the Dail have learned very little.

Ted Coxhead.



PAT SHIVERS-The British Government have been found guilty of his torture by the Army. Next week, Red Weekly will examine in depth the barbaric record of the British Government in the north of Ireland as revealed by the Strasbourg Court.

ALL REASONABLE PEOPLE love the peace women of Belfast. The *Morning Star* has given them full support, the Communist Party of Ireland has said that they are 'an effective way to defeat the bombers and assassins', the ruling class praises them in terms normally reserved for the British troops. Even the Protestant paramilitary Ulster Defence Association gave its support by 'defending' the marchers in the Shankill last Saturday.

That in itself says a good deal. It is indicative that the Communist Party of Ireland issues a statement which talks about 'defeating the bombers and assassins' but does not mention the British Army, or the denial of the right of the Irish people to rule themselves, from which all the violence flows.

Nor is it terribly remarkable that the Irish and English CP's now find themselves in an alliance with the UDA and the British capitalist press. Because what unites these bedfellows is a desire to see the defeat of the Provisional Republican Movement. In the past, the Official Republican Movement, which is controlled by the CP, has had talks with the UDA and Ulster Volunteer Force to attempt that strategy, even leaking the names of members of another anti-imperialist organisation, the Irish Republican Socialist Party, to the UVF.

ionals.

And in promoting the peace movement it gets distorted out of all recognition. The original march attracted 10,000 people we are told. The Irish press had a rather different estimate: the *Irish Times* said 1,000, the *Irish Press* 2,000, and the *Irish Independent* 3,000. The second demonstration was said to have attracted 20,000 (the *Morning Star* bumped it up to 50,000), but the *Irish Times* reported that the majority of those present came from the Protestant areas of East Belfast.

We were told that the peace movement was a spontaneous outburst of Catholic working class women. Yet within a matter of hours of this 'spontaneous' movement springing up, there were full page adverts in the Irish newspapers promoting the movement. Just where did the money come from? Certainly not from the working class women of Andersonstown.

Not that the 'peace' lovers can be entirely dismissed. But again, note how they are used. When one of the leaders had her home attacked, this was not explained as a 'spontaneous' outburst of the Catholic youth who saw the movement as puppets of the 'Brits'; rather we were told that it was a Provisional plot to kill the woman.

Yet the Provisional Sinn Fein newspaper had already carried a statement saying: 'The attitude of the Republicans to genuine participants in the demonstrations organised by the peace women is not to insult them, not to try and intimidate them, not to act in any arrogant way towards them, not to react in triumphalism, but to meet them in sympathy, to listen to them, and to ask them to listen to us'.

BROAD OAK POP FESTIVAL

No profits - threat to public order

RICHARD CARVER:

A free pop festival would seem to be a fairly harmless way of passing a Bank Holiday weekend. Not everyone's cup of tea perhaps, but a pleasant change from the money-spinning routines at Knebworth and Reading.

It is hardly a threat to 'the British way of life' either, but over the past few years the Peoples' Free Festival has driven police and local authorities into fits of rage. At Windsor two years ago, the police violently broke up the festival to stop alleged 'breaches of the peace'.

This year the reaction was similarly hysterical. An attempt to hold the festival at the disused Tangemere airfield was prevented by the reaction of RAF veterans. From there the organisers turned their attention to a site at Broad Oak, near Canterbury, at the suggestion of Lord Melchett, head of the Government's committee investigating pop festivals.

between the two is not hard to find. Knebworth, with a line-up of superstars, was a 'well-organised' festival, costing £4.50 a time, which grossed three quarters of a million pounds for its organiser Frederick Bannister. The free festival had no superstars, no entrance fee and no profits. It was therefore, by definition, a threat to public order.

The facilities at Knebworth were favourably compared with the supposed lack of amenities at the free festival. In fact, the facilities at Knebworth were provided by the same organisation, Festival Welfare Services, which was prevented from entering the Broad Oak site.

Press, police and landowners all prophesied that it would be a dirty, insanitary affair. They then attempted to fulfil their prophecy by using a High Court injunction to deny the free festival the amenities which it wanted.

'Everyone here is sick of it. People are saying, "Why spend all this money?" There are far too many coppers here. There is nothing wrong with the few fans coming here. They don't want to fight and nor do we.'

The most sinister aspect of the whole affair was the activity of the police. All leave was cancelled, and at the end of the week there were 200 police in Broad Oak. Barricades had been set up all round the village to prevent anyone entering or leaving without proper identification, while police in an unmarked van were busy taking photographs.

CRIME

The justification used was Section 58 of the Road Traffic Act, which allows the closing of roads in 'exceptional circumstances'. The exceptional circumstances here were the supposed fire risk.

This is the first occasion where the police have shown such concern. Farmers (like Vincent St. George Brealy) are still allowed to burn stubble, the cause of innumerable fires in recent weeks. And, for some reason, the profit-making Knebworth and Reading festivals were not deemed to involve the same risk to life and limb.

The festival finally moved to a site at Seasalter. The only offence which the pop fans and organisers were committing was trespass, a civil offence beyond the jurisdiction of the police. But ominous threats were soon being made by the National Farmers 'Union' to remove the festival from its new site.

That is just desserts for the heinous crime of enjoying yourself and not making a profit.

FLOOD

The gallant defenders of Broad Oak were the Mid-Kent Water Authority. It was on its land, unused fields, that the festival was to have been held. For the Mid-Kent Water Authority, however, the whole exercise was a clever Public Relations job. It wishes to flood the valley to form a reservoir, a plan opposed by local residents. By creating hysteria over the festival it hopes to divert opposition to the scheme.

Not all the local residents have been happy with the reaction to the festival. Of course, big landowners like Vincent St. George Brealy have been seen all right by the Water Board and are only too happy to stir up opposition to the 'hippies'. But Bill Lamb, a milkman, told the press:



BANNISTER-the organiser of Knebworth. He made a mint so he must be alright.

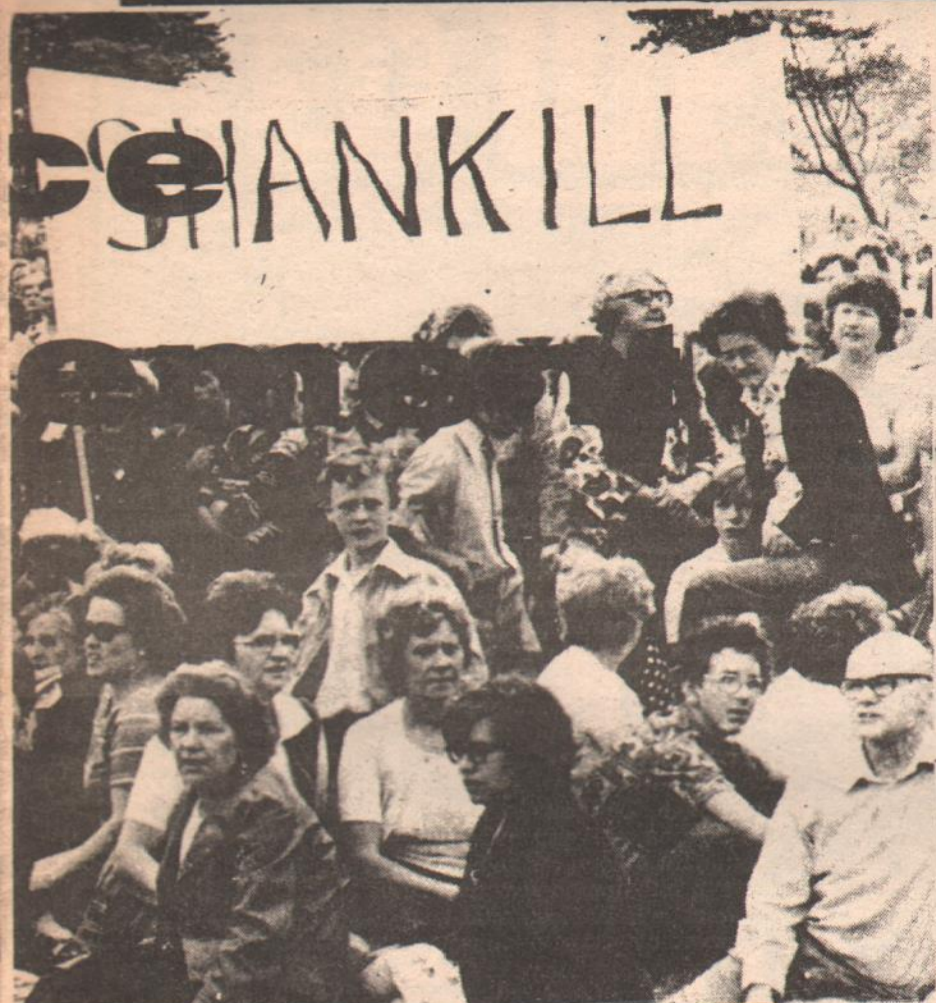
From the start, the press compared the festival unfavourably with the previous week's outing at Knebworth. The difference

Alliance

Now the alliance is not so direct. Instead the CP, the UDA and all the rest pounce on the peace movement, painting it as a spontaneous working class outburst which will solve all of Ireland's problems — because for them the main problem is the Provis-



MAIRE DRUMM with Sinn Fein President, Rory O'Brady. Merlyn Rees would like to lock her up. With or without the law Mr. Rees.



WE WON'T ACCEPT 'PEACE AT ANY PRICE'

Interview with Prionsais Macaist, a leading member of the Provisional Movement in Belfast.

Q In a recent interview, Sinn Fein President Ruairi O'Bradaigh stated that the Provisionals were not fighting for a united Ireland. Has the policy of the Republican Movement changed?

A No. What Ruairi was actually saying was that our idea of a Free Ireland, the 'New Ireland' as he termed it, was not in any sense to be taken as a 32-county Free State. I think that was his main idea in stressing the fact of a New Ireland.

The Ireland that the Republican Movement wants is a Socialist Ireland with four provincial parliaments and the federal idea concept of the Republican Movement is to ensure the decentralisation of power. I believe that is what Ruairi was attempting to stress.

The Republican Movement has never changed its allegiance to a 32-county Socialist Republic. The attitude of the Republican Movement is that national liberation must come first. There is a lot of discussion as to future forms of government in Ireland,

Q Are the British adopting a tougher policy to the Republican Movement generally now?

The exclusion of Ruairi O'Bradaigh from the Six Counties, the savagery of the British response to the political status protests, the arrest of Maire Drumm all point that way. But this is not unexpected.

There is more coercion, more repression. But the Republican Movement and the people of the nationalist ghettos are prepared to stand up as they did in the past. Britain cannot hope to succeed in subduing the people of the occupied Six Counties by more repression. These are things we've come to expect from Britain.

Q How does the Republican Movement see the struggle developing in the next period?

Well, Sinn Fein believes that Britain will eventually withdraw from this country. Now the point is, in whose hands will she leave the power?

Q Is it a 'Slam the Provos' campaign?

A I think that is fairly obvious. They have had massive coverage of every word uttered, every action, every meeting. The numbers at their meetings have been exaggerated.

We understand the reason for that. But over 10,000 people took part in a protest rally on the issue of political status. The press hardly mentioned this rally. It wants to deny the support for political status.

One of the peace organisers said on TV that there are 24,000 mothers in Andersonstown. She was speaking of Andersonstown alone, not West Belfast. Well, even the media claimed only 10,000 for that peace rally in Andersonstown. They also said that support came from as far away as Dublin as well as from North and East Belfast.

I think these figures speak for themselves. There have been peace movements before in Ireland. We don't fear peace movements.

Despite the massive coverage the press in this country has given to the peace women, that particular statement went unrecorded. Largely unrecorded as well was another meeting held on 22 August at Camlough, Co. Armagh, which attracted 2,000 people demanding 'peace with justice'. Of course, that meeting was in protest at the killing of a 12-year-old girl shot by British troops and it was organised by Sinn Fein.

then? No doubt some of them will protest with statements that will go unrecorded in the British press, they may even protest that they are no longer courted by the British Army. Because by then they won't be, having served their purpose of whipping up anti-Provisional hysteria, or rather giving the appearance of such hysteria.

If such a crackdown takes place, maybe the Morning Star will complain as well—as they did not complain over the shooting of the Falls Road taxi-driver or over the death of the three Maguire children, except to use it as the Army used it, for pro-British propaganda. No doubt the 'Better Life For All' campaign will once more be promoted as the panacea, a promotion which ignores that, while Britain and its troops stay in Ireland, there will be no 'better life', only death and destruction.

The responsibility for the violence lies where it has always lain — with British imperialism. But for every young Republican lifted, beaten up or shot by the British Army in the next few weeks, there will be others who will bear responsibility. Notably the *Observer* and the *Morning Star*, who in helping to distort and lie about the true nature of the violence in Ireland, and the peace movement in particular, have given the British Army the green light to do as they wish in posing as auxiliaries of that movement.

Condemn

A third item of news from the peace movement which somehow didn't find its way into the bourgeois press was a statement from the leading peace woman, Betty Williams, on the shooting by the Army of a Falls Road taxi-driver. She said: 'We are satisfied that the only shot fired came from the Army. This was an act of violence which we condemn'.

True, the main emphasis of the statements Betty Williams makes is directed at the Provisionals, and although the enemies of the Provisionals distort and exaggerate the peace movement, it does have a presence among Catholic working class women. It is nothing very remarkable that after eight long years of war, people in Belfast yearn for peace — especially when the tactics of the Provisionals do not appear to have won very much.

But what does the peace movement offer? Apart from hymns and prayers they have offered nothing. And this is hardly surprising. The complete absence of speeches at the various rallies in East Belfast and the Shankill is a necessity, because once women from the Falls and Shankill started explaining what they mean by 'peace', the supposed unity would crack asunder.

Women from the Shankill will applaud women from the Falls if they understand that the Falls 'peace' is a rebuttal of the Provos, the surrender of the Catholic rising. That is what peace for the Shankill has always meant. Everybody can support the abstract idea of peace, but what this means in practice the women of Andersonstown who have joined the movement have little to say.

Crack-down

There are other who have. The bourgeois press is using the peace movement to call for another crack-down on the Catholic ghettos. A campaign has been launched, initiated by the British Army but led by such papers as the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Observer*, to call for all manner of increased repression ranging from identity cards to internment.

If such a crackdown does take place, just where will the peace movement be

That's Capitalism

By ESTHER RANCID

Two stories from America this week. First there is the tale of Susan Salvia, a 23-year-old bank clerk from New York who was fired shortly after she became pregnant. Nothing very strange in that you may think — except that Susan's employer happens to be the feminist-organised First Woman's Bank, which opened last October promising 'special attention to the needs of women'.

Not that the bank was being all that inconsistent, for it turns out that its benefit programme treats pregnancy as a disability. The disabled Ms Salvia is now suing her feminist employers for sex discrimination!

Meanwhile, you may have noticed that things got a bit heated at the Republican convention as the ex-actor and ex-football player vied with each other to be the leader of the 'free world'. This invigorating contest turned many of the delegates to drink and occasionally fights broke out between the contending factions.

On one occasion such an incident led to bouts of chanting ('We Want Reagan') and counter-chanting ('We Want Ford') by opposing forces on the floor. But by this time the orchestra had developed a special tactic for these unseemly displays: It would launch into repeated renditions of 'God Bless America', which temporarily made things louder, but eventually quietened everyone down. Well it would, wouldn't it?



Protests against the lack of political status for Republican prisoners overflow into the building of barricades on the Springfield Road.

but the first real step must be national liberation.

Q Is the Republican Movement still having talks with the British?

A There are no talks taking place now between the representatives of the Republican Movement and the representatives of the British Government. The military wing of the Republican Movement is at war with the British army of occupation, and I think that is recognised.

Q What importance does Sinn Fein attach to the attempts of the British Government to deprive Republican prisoners of political status?

A This is very important to the Republican Movement, as we see it as an attempt by the British Government to remove the political tag from the struggle. What better way could they do this than by branding the prisoners of war they have captured as 'criminals'.

I think this is a very important part of British strategy, and the Republican Movement will not accept it lightly. As a matter of fact, the Republican Movement in every sector is presently making its own form of protest.

Sinn Fein and all Republicans have an open mind on this point. But we can say this. The Republican Movement will never desist in its efforts until we have established a 32-County Socialist Republic. I think that irrespective of what action the British Government takes, irrespective of whose hands she leaves the power in, the struggle will continue until we are satisfied that we have got the victory we set out to attain seven years ago.

Q What attitude does the Republican movement take to the so-called 'peace movement' which has emerged in recent days?

A We have seen 'peace movements' here before. It is quite obvious that the British Government is behind it. It is backed up by parts of the Establishment, political parties such as the Alliance and the SDLP, and reformist organisations like the Republican Clubs. We have no fear of peace movements. Eventually, the people will see them for what they are.

They are a mixture of pro-British elements, some people who are confused, some who genuinely want peace. But I think their spokesperson put the matter very clearly when she spoke of their demand as 'peace at any price'. I know that after the sacrifices of the last seven years the people of the Six Counties will not accept 'peace at any price'.

Q A delegation from the British labour movement is visiting Belfast in September. What will the Republican Movement be telling them?

A Well, first and foremost the thing we want them to be aware of is the truth of what is happening here in Ireland. We'll be producing the facts and figures. We want our fellow socialists to know the response of the British ruling class to people who believe in democracy and freedom.

We can forewarn of dangers they may face in the years to come. The British Government is now using the tactics advocated by Kitson in his book *Low Intensity Operations*, a book which can be likened to Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. I would say that British socialists must take note of what is happening here, for it will surely happen in Britain tomorrow. There is nothing democratic about British policy and actions in Ireland.

We would like to ensure that the delegates go away from here with a clear conception of what is happening in Ireland, of what the struggle is about. If we can succeed in enlightening our comrades from Britain as to that, then it will have been time well spent. Armed with this we would hope that they would go back and redouble their efforts to get the British Army out!

LETTERS

This is Waugh- but not the real IMG

I would like to make a few remarks concerning the appearance of IMG members on the recent 'This is Waugh' TV programme.

Clearly, there are occasions when revolutionary Marxists should not abstain from taking part in the productions of the bourgeois media, and indeed, should seize the opportunity of turning them to their own advantage. However, this should be done selectively and on a clear basis. The essential point is to take part on your own terms, rather than those of TV producers. If there is no chance of disrupting the smooth functioning of ideological control, you will come off worse, however articulate in a more favourable setting.

This control, it seems to me, is exerted on two levels. First, it is maintained in an overt way, by asking loaded questions, or vague questions, or indeed by omitting certain questions altogether. We saw examples of this in Waugh's interview. Most of the questions he put to the IMG comrades were on such a vague level of generality as to render their responses irrelevant in the eyes of the viewer. Conversely, he failed to ask them about their view of the workers' states, on which they could have produced a stronger impression, in order to reserve his fire for those who were more vulnerable.

Second, ideological control is maintained by the use of the structure of the media. Technology itself may be neutral, but it serves the purposes of those who control it. Thus under capitalism, TV has become broad, but it has little depth. Its purpose is to provide an instant assessment, the 'panoramic' view with the quick judgement at the end. The quirkiness and individuality of the Waugh programmes was only apparent. Their short length, their jumping from one superficial interview to the next, their heavy editing were all in keeping with the bourgeois project of dismissing the revolutionary left.

In this case the TV company was at some pains to show that Waugh's views were entirely his own. However, it is sometimes more expedient to use an agent who is not identified with mainstream bourgeois thought, and the choice of Waugh was cunning. As a self-acknowledged eccentric, he did not seek to present a 'rational' bourgeois argument, but rather to reveal himself as a benign expert on other eccentrics.

It was therefore in his interests to present the revolutionary left as marginalised, isolated elements without a genuine perspective towards the working class; the juxtaposition of the IMG interview between others with some rather engaging throwbacks to Fourierist-style Utopianism was a masterstroke. The three comrades were made to look just as irrelevant, but because they were more down to earth, they also appeared 'nastier'.

In short, this TV programme hasn't done much to enhance the reputation of the IMG, or the left in general. For the future, I would suggest certain guidelines for revolutionaries who plan to use television.

1. For preference, always go on a 'live' broadcast, or at least attempt some sort of inspection of the edited version in advance.

2. It is easier to get a revolutionary message across in programmes dealing with single issues. There is more time for deep discussion, and it is possible to speak from a greater authority and experience.

3. Better use should be made of those sympathetic elements already working in the media in order to gain air time.

4. It is much easier to gain acceptance for a play or film which cuts across bourgeois ideology in a covert way than it is to get air-time for open discussion. Without counterposing the two methods, revolutionaries should perhaps consider the first of these more often than they do. — M. BROOKS (Colchester).

Nurses' jobs saved

Since my report to you on the cuts being planned by the Norfolk Area Health Authority (Red Weekly 19 August), a meeting has taken place between the AHA, the Trades Council and all unions concerned to discuss the redundancy notices served on 27 nurses at the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital and 11 at St Andrews Hospital. As a result it was decided to give all nurses jobs as 'staff or SEN nurses'. The Chairman of the AHA, Sir Arthur South, said 'he was happy about the decision, but it would cost us in the excess of £300,000 and would mean that we go further in the red'.

There has also been a meeting of the 'Inter-Union Committee' of which I'm a member. It was decided there to abolish the management-sponsored 'Joint Consultative Committee' and replace it with a 'District Shop Stewards Committee', with the aim of building a committee covering all Norfolk. The unions concerned so far are the National Union of Public Employees, the Confederation of Health Service employees, and the General & Municipal Workers Union. — STEPHEN PAGE (Secretary, NUPE Norwich Health District Committee).

Did joining the CP in fact help you to develop politically?

Not at all, there was a total lack of Marxist education. In the six years of my party membership there was one course held in the branch of six lectures, repeated on three occasions. The discussions that took place at meetings were purely theoretical, no actual action came out of them. This resulted in a stagnation of the branch, in that the format of the meetings became completely predictable.

What about democracy in the party?

Well, the CP maintains that it is a democratic centralist body, inasmuch as policy can be argued out at a branch level, and all abide by the position adopted. What this effectively means is that there are no organisational facilities available in order to contact other like-minded people, and therefore build an opposition within the CP to its line.

Those who do oppose the party line, despite the work they have done for the party, despite being recommended for either the Branch Executive or the District Committee, are never actually accepted. This was illustrated at the last National Congress, when members of the Surrey District were publicly informed that they would not be included because a



FOULING UP FOOTBALL

BY GEOFF BELL & BOB PENNINGTON

Over the past two weeks, more than a million people — mostly workers — have watched the opening games of the English League football season. For many it has been the highspot of the year, a highspot that got more news coverage in the ruling class press than even the drought — never mind the unemployment figures or the Trico equal pay strike.

Nor is it only in the press that football is seized upon and promoted by our rulers. This year the clash between the two titans of Spanish football, Barcelona and Real Madrid, was re-arranged on Government instructions to clash with and hopefully detract from the May Day demonstrations. Rather a contrast with the actions of Derby's former manager Brian Clough, who during the 1972 miners' strike handed out free tickets to pickets in a gesture of solidarity.

So is football simply the modern opiate of the masses, or is it — as Clough's gesture suggested — part of an essentially healthy working class culture?

Or put it this way. Many of today's big football clubs began with local factory teams, workers playing against each other for the love of the game and for the comradeship which team games can produce. But today the clubs are run by business

people and financiers.

Although the clubs are no lucrative source of investment — only a tiny minority ever show a profit — they are dominated by capitalist values. The lure of a seat on the board for local businessmen lies in the publicity, the opportunity to build prestige in the local community, and the chance to show how they can be a success even in their 'hobby'. The directors often try to turn the clubs into vehicles for their own glamour, and to be a centre of attraction for the famous, the celebrities and the powerful.

Although it is not quite that simple. When Chelsea tried to turn their ground into a centre for SW1 trendies, they achieved nothing but huge debts, near bankruptcy, and relegation to the Second Division. Because football still has as its main participants and spectators the working class. Even most of the star players come from the working class.

For those players, football is a means of escaping from the boredom of production or the dole queue — it is the passport to a life-style of glamour, fame and excitement. Yet the treatment of the players shows how the capitalist ethos thoroughly permeates professional football. The transfer system is little more than a cattle market. Players are bought and sold like any other commodity, with an eye to both their use and their

exchange values. The non-conformers — political or social — are not acceptable.

Stan Bowles, Queens Park Rangers' creative inside forward, clearly rankles at the norms of good club behaviour and has a reputation for not being amenable to manager's instructions as well as being fond of gambling. Bowles is ignored by the selectors of the international team, other clubs he has played for have not wanted to keep his services, and the press constantly pillory him for his peccadilloes.

Talented

Duncan Mackenzie, one of the most talented footballers in England, was sold last season by Leeds United because his intuitive skills did not fit in with the computerised football Leeds play. Neither on nor off the field is the player permitted to assert his own personality. But the money and the publicity make it seem like an escape.

And for those who watch it is an escape as well. A couple of hours each week when they can forget about the daily drudgery of their lives, the unpaid bills, and sink themselves in the football crowd. They can follow a football team, and when it wins be associated with the success their life outside football rarely gives.

There are also the kids or 'hooligans' — those who for a few hours each week have an opportunity to hit out and vent their frustration against the regimented schools or dole queues from which they suffer for the rest of the week. Whoever scores, whoever wins, they at least will have the opportunity to prove themselves as 'men' by attacking the opposing fans, by asserting themselves to all who watch as they parade through the streets and dare anyone to challenge them.

Frustrations

In this sense football serves the ruling class well — it diverts, it gives outlets for frustrations which are a lot less dangerous than actions which could challenge the basis of the frustrations. Twenty thousand becoming hysterical over football is a lot less dangerous than twenty thousand on strike or on a demonstration.

But if football is used as an outlet for the alienation workers feel from the rest of society, it is used for other things as well. It feeds and fuels national chauvinism. When England won the World Cup in 1966, Wembley Stadium was a sea of Union Jacks.

It did not matter that the team were regimented, largely unskilful, and boring to watch. All that mattered was that they won.

Many working class militants will be at football matches this weekend, and there is nothing wrong with that so long as we remember what it is: a Roman gladiatorial arena for the mob; a game which has been warped by the capitalist ethos of success at any price. It remains a game played and watched by the working class, but it suffers, both in itself and in its sense of proportion, because it is not in their hands or in their interests.

Why I left the CP

ALAN RYAN, a member of the AUEW[TASS] in Darlington, recently left the Communist Party after six years to join the International Marxist Group. We asked him what prompted this decision.

Why did you join the Communist Party six years ago?

At that time I had been working with the IMG, but when I came to Darlington there was no IMG branch at the time. I began attending CP meetings and helped in forming a Tenants Association; eventually they asked me to join. Feeling the need to belong to a political organisation, I joined.



Cuts demonstration in Darlington.

'united executive committee' was required.

So what was it that finally convinced you to leave the CP?

Three months ago I resigned. I had grown to feel that I could not accept the party's programme, 'The British Road to Socialism', as viable.

What initially caused me to stay on was the advent of the internal party discussion on this programme, the first complete discussion since it was adopted 20 years ago. I decided to await the outcome of this, to see if there would be any real opportunity to voice genuine opposition.

Since the outcome appears to be at best the ratification of the 'British Road' as it now stands, or to make it

even more reformist, I felt that now was the time to leave.

Why did you decide to join the IMG?

Mainly because in my opinion it has changed from an ultra-left, militaristic organisation into a serious workers political organisation, based on the principles of revolutionary Marxism.

RED WEEKLY



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

1975: WHAT THEY SAID

'Congress declares that further cuts in public expenditure concerning these [the public] services will be regarded as an intolerable attack on the living standards of working people and a fundamental breach of the Social Contract.'

National and Local Government Officers Association.

'Congress is totally opposed to cuts in public expenditure on social services. It declares its conviction that the fabric of the education, health and social services must not be regarded as affording a means for exercising economies.'

Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions.

'Congress expresses its firm opposition to any reduction in the level of social and public services and calls on the General Council and affiliated unions to resist any cuts in public expenditure which will lower the standards of these services.'

National Union of Public Employees

TUC

'We cannot solve our problems by deliberately allowing unemployment to rise The figure that we have already reached is far too high, and it must be brought down Unless the Government is seen to be tackling the problems of unemployment, the confidence of trade unionists in this policy (the £6 limit) will erode. Unemployment is not an optional extra on top of wage restraint.'

Len Murray speaking at the 1975 TUC, the day it approved the £6 pay limit.

WHAT THEY DO

IT IS OFTEN REMARKED that the more things change, the more they remain the same. When reviewing the Trades Union Congress which will assemble in Brighton next week, it would be more accurate to record that the more things change, the more the TUC remains the same.

The past year has seen an unprecedented attack on the right to work and the social services. In 1975 the General Council's supplementary report on *The Development of the Social Contract* was able to hoodwink delegates into accepting the £6 limit by claiming that 'many of the cuts imposed by the previous Government on the education and health services have been restored and a substantial increase has been made in housing expenditure'. Why, oh why, are 20,000 newly qualified teachers then on the dole? Why will 300,000 construction workers be out of work this winter?

Pretence

Yet despite the fact that the pretence is over, that social expenditure has been chopped by £3 billion by 1978-79 and then again by another £1 billion for next year, the TUC has not only remained true to wage-cutting — it has voted by a landslide majority of 17½ to 1 for an even tougher pay deal.

After the special TUC on 16 June *The Times* headlined its report: 'Big majority for pay curb policy but warnings are sounded'. It might as well use the same one about the annual congress.

One and a half million people are on the dole. But the TUC is consistent. It supports the 35-hour week — a measure which could drastically reduce unemployment. It said in 1975 in its report on the social contract: 'In the current situation there may be understandable pressure for work-sharing arrangements. To be effective these must take the form of an actual cut in hours worked per employee.'

Then came the rub: 'They should not be used as a method of obtaining a disguised increase in incomes out of line with the pay limit. Negotiators should therefore give priority to securing actual reductions in hours, and reducing normal hours to 40 in sectors

where this has not been attained. The 35-hour week remains a longer term objective.'

More simply put, this means an overtime ban. But there has been no TUC campaign even for this.

Jack Jones, the star of last year's TUC, has, however, 're-discovered' the 35-hour week in the run up to this year's TUC. The Transport and General Workers Union is moving a resolution calling on Congress to 'give priority to reducing the working week to 35 hours as soon as the return to normal collective bargaining is resumed' (our emphasis).

If anything, this year's TUC is even more of an anaemic affair than last year. With the opposition of the million-strong Engineering Union to wage restraint gone, the Jack Joneses and Len Murrays in the General Council have not even found it necessary to tart up their policies with talk of public works and a big role for the public sector in industrial expansion.

Even more ironic is the resolution from the National Union of Teachers on education expenditure. Last year they submitted a motion calling for 'the elimination of all classes over 30'. This year, with the groundswell of action around the student teacher occupations calling for the NUT and the TUC to implement their policy on class size, the demand for classes of no more than 30 has disappeared!

Real action

The real action in Brighton will be going on outside the TUC — amongst the Right to Work marchers, amongst the lobbyists against the cuts. The success of their actions will depend on how far they can turn anger at the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy into a coherent movement of opposition to Labour's anti-working class policies.

Otherwise it might well be the National Union of Funeral Service Operatives who have the most appropriate motion down at the TUC. It is calling on Congress to recognise it as 'the appropriate trade union for funeral service employees'. The way the TUC is going, it could soon be the appropriate trade union for all employees!

Mick Gosling.

1976: WHAT THEY SAY

'Congress views with alarm the reduced public expenditure programme outlined in Public Expenditure to 1979-80 [Cmnd. 6393] and rejects the concept of "cuts" as a means of improving the economic situation.'

Civil and Public Services Association.

'Congress reaffirms its opposition expressed at the Special Congress in June 1976 to further public expenditure cuts. It recognises that the planned growth of social expenditure and of the public sector must play its part in a plan for economic recovery. Congress calls on the Government to reject any proposals for further cuts.'

National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.

'Congress is totally opposed to the Government's current policy of cutting public expenditure, which will [i] reduce social provision at a time when it is most in need, [ii] increase unemployment, and [iii] divert resources into the private sector.'

Confederation of Health Service Employees.

35 HOURS NOW!

The 35-hour week will feature prominently in the discussions at the TUC. But any campaign for its implementation is strictly something for the future. At least that's how the bureaucrats would like it, for the campaign for the shorter working week to create more jobs has been indefinitely postponed. With wage restraint destroying more jobs by the day, the resolution from the Transport and General Workers Union calls for 35 hours only after a return to free collective bargaining!

Even last year's recommendation from the General Council that at least negotiators try to get 40 hours in industry has remained a dead letter. And not surprisingly. Under the £6 limit any reduction in hours was at the expense of wages.

In the engineering industry around 1½ million hours a week overtime is worked. The imposition of a national ban on overtime by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers would create 40,000 jobs. Yet stage two of the pay policy puts exactly the same restrictions as the £6 limit on gaining a reduction in hours.

EMBARGO

The 35-hour week, a national embargo on overtime, the first steps to force jobs have to be based on the clear principle of work-sharing with no loss of pay. The bosses must be forced to pay for any reduction in hours — a reduction which would mean a further 200,000 jobs in the mechanical engineering industry alone if the 35-hour week was implemented.

With 1½ million unemployed, the fight for work-sharing with no loss of pay also has to be extended to the unemployed by demanding that they

receive full pay. So far, very few unions even allow the unemployed to remain members, let alone campaign for programmes of socially useful public works to be paid for at trade union rates.

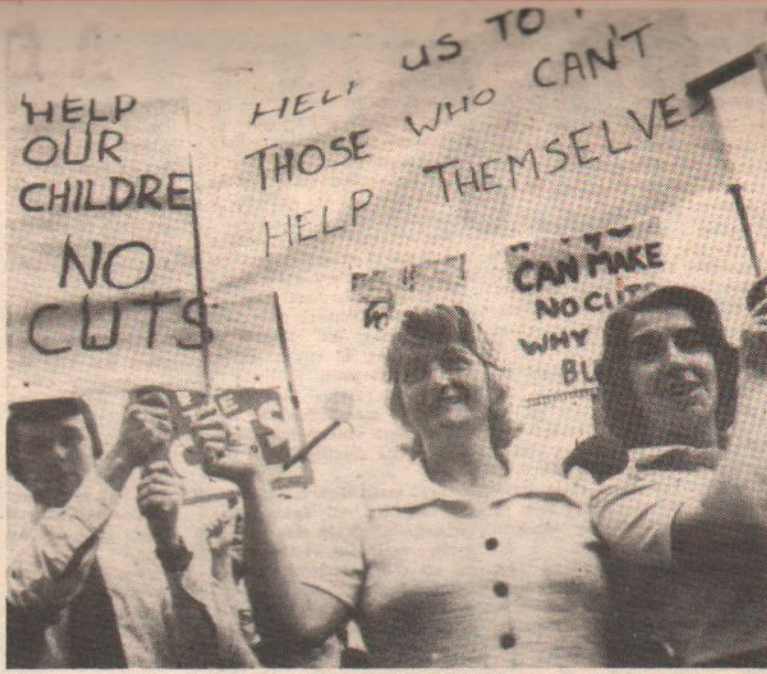
BACKHANDER

The TUC's 'warnings' about unemployment have been limited to applause for the Government's temporary employment subsidy — which has kept 100,000 off the dole queues by giving backhanders to the bosses out of workers' taxes — and 'job creation' schemes. Instead of demanding the opening of the books and popularising the initiative of the Lucas Aerospace shop stewards in producing plans for alternative socially useful production, the TUC has simply asked that the National Enterprise Board be given a major role in industrial 'recovery'.

The NEB's idea of industrial recovery cost 30,000 jobs in Leyland last year. Only a programme of nationalisation under workers control, paid for through the expropriation of the bosses and prepared for through the opening of the books, can guarantee the right to work.

Perhaps for once we can leave the last word on jobs to the bureaucrats. The National Union of Public Employees has submitted a motion which concludes that 'in the absence of such measures to create a planned and socially just society, Congress believes that the imposition of wage controls will fail to solve the deep-seated crisis of capitalism, and will mean further attacks on the living standards of working people as the crisis recurs and deepens.'

Let's make them do something about it!



CUT three day nurseries.
CUT a children's home.
CUT an adult training centre for mentally handicapped.
CUT an old people's home.
CUT a home for the mentally handicapped.
This is what £320,000 worth of cuts mean for Bury's social services. Another £400,000 are being lopped off education, leaving 100 nurseries unopened. The cuts have been carried through by Bury's Tory Council but it was the Labour Government that gave them the green light.
But the fight back is starting. Five hundred angry parents and trade unionists recently confronted councillors outside Bury Town Hall demanding a recall court meeting to rediscuss the cuts. Action committees have sprung up in the threatened establishments and against the cuts in the social services departments.
Now, to stop the fight being left on the sector by sector basis with the weak going to the wall, a public meeting against all cuts is taking place at the George Hotel, Martin Street, Bury at 7pm on Thursday, September 8. It is at meetings like these across the country that the real challenge to Labour's Tory policies is being mounted not in the ostrich-like activity of the trade union bureaucrats on Brighton beach.

Women have the right to work

ANNE CESEK

WITH THE PUBLICATION of this month's unemployment figures, the Press Association news agency reported that the Government felt an 'encouraging factor' is that in the last three months most of the increase in unemployment was among women.

So the Government is 'encouraged' that women are becoming unemployed twice as fast as men; that of this month's total rise of 38,520 in the adult jobless, 38,200 were women. And that's just the official figures. *Woman's Own* in March 1976 estimated that 70 per cent of women looking for a job were not registered as unemployed.

But the Government is 'encouraged' because women are not accepted as a legitimate part of the workforce. They either work, so the story goes, to supplement the family income or to get a bit of extra cash for themselves or their kids. It doesn't matter that a greater number of women are being forced to go to work because of the rising cost of living, or that it is virtually impossible for most working class families to survive on one income.

Have to work

For today women have to go to work, because it is not just unemployment that is hitting women hardest. There is the farce of the equal pay legislation, the threats on abortion rights and the cancellation of the Government's Child Benefit Scheme.

The cuts in education and social services have an equally drastic effect. Part-time teachers are being sacked and the majority of these are women. Nurseries are being slashed, and this affects both the jobs of nursery nurses and working mothers who need to find somewhere to leave their children during the day. Then there are the cuts in the health service, where many of the services cut—such as abortion clinics or family planning services—are deemed to be 'less essential'.

It is not accidental that these specific attacks on women are taking place at the same time as the old reactionary ideas about a woman's role in society are being regurgitated. The idea is that a woman's role is in the home, that women only work for 'pin money', that if anyone is to lose a job it should be women. The media has been full of horror stories about latch-key kids, and the radio is full of 'useful' money saving tips for the 'housewife' who has to make do on a pittance.

Even Archbishop Coggan has been jumping on the band-wagon. He recently proposed that a Ministry of the Family should be set up to check the 'growing tide' of promiscuity, pornography, divorce, and (last but not least) abortion—all of which, for the Arch-

bishop, reflect the disintegration of the family. He would prefer women to be sent back in droves to 'their rightful place' in the home.

Such ideas can only serve to divide the working class, in the same way as do those which say 'pull together lads, no more wage increases, get the country back on its feet'. But to challenge the traditional view of women is even more difficult than challenging the clap-trap about 'national interest', because of the way women have been integrated into the labour force.

Reserve army

Women have traditionally formed a reserve army of labour, to be fed in and out of industry according to the changing needs of capitalism. Additionally, the jobs women do tend to reflect the role they play in the family—caring, cooking, washing, and generally servicing. This in turn reinforces the conception of what women are capable of doing or even like doing.

All this is compounded by the fact that women's jobs are lower paid and often not in the mainstream of industry. They do not carry the same 'status' as men's jobs.

This is why the demand for a woman's right to work is quite fundamental to the struggle for women's rights. As is reflected in the demands of the Working Women's Charter, equality for women is impossible unless they are given the opportunity to free themselves from the ties and responsibilities of the family. Adequate childcare provisions, free contraception and abortion on demand, equality of op-

portunity and equal pay are just a few of the preconditions for women's equality. All are integrally linked.

So any campaign against unemployment has to take up the demand for a woman's right to work, whether that campaign be the Right to Work march or a recall Assembly on Unemployment. Any local right to work committee, or planning committee for a demonstration or conference to fight unemployment, should include representatives from the Charter and other women's organisation.

Most of all, a policy has to be fought for which in guaranteeing a working class solution to the crisis fully involves women in the fight for women's rights—not as some separate secondary issue, but as an issue which affects the whole working class. Because it does.

Both the Working Women's Charter and the South-West London Women's Right to Work Committee are visiting union branches and factories and approaching student unions for sponsorship for their marchers on the Right to Work March.

On Thursday, 2 September, the Working Women's Charter is organising a public meeting in the Conway Hall to mobilise support for the Right to Work lobby of the TUC at Brighton on 8 September. On that day a Charter coach will leave York Way—by Kings Cross station at 9.30 a.m. to take supporters down to the lobby.

The same night there will also be a Charter public meeting at 7.30 p.m. at the Marlborough Hotel, 4 Princess Street, Brighton on the issue of a woman's right to work. Among the scheduled speakers is Erica Barnett, a NALGO delegate to the TUC.



Shamim Khan is thirteen. His parents live in Slough. Last week he won a stay of execution on a deportation order. He arrived at Heathrow Airport without a permit order eight weeks ago, since when immigration officials have been challenging whether Shamim is his parents' son — a fact that the Inland Revenue has never questioned.

That such inhuman practices exist is a result of the immigration laws. But instead of waging a campaign against immigration controls, the TUC over the past year has called for a further reduction in work permits issued to foreign nationals — a logical counterpart to its reactionary call for import controls to stem unemployment by exporting it to workers abroad.

Various motions at this year's TUC call for a campaign against racism, arguing that it divides and splits the working class. But before the TUC can effectively combat racist poison, it must put its own house in order by dropping its call for cuts in work permits and taking a principled position of opposition to all forms of immigration controls. The unfavourable TUC reaction to a Home Office suggestion that shop stewards be held responsible if they fail to take up complaints of racial discrimination from their members does not augur well for this.

Trico; struggle only way to equal pay.

The biggest certainty since waves swept over King Canute, was confirmed last week when an Industrial Tribunal ruled in favour of management over the equal pay strike at Trico, Brentford, West London. Despite agreeing that there was no difference between the work the men did and the work the women did, the Tribunal accepted in entirety the management's case and in the hearing itself the Tribunal members did not even ask one question which challenged the management's evidence.

But the judgement is not a defeat for the Trico strikers. As a statement from the District Committee of the AUEW says, it 'confirms the correctness of our decision not to appear in front of the Industrial Tribunal'. In boycotting the Tribunal, the Trico workers

were saying that it was a bosses' court, and that the Equal Pay Act on which it was based was an excuse for equality rather than its enforcement.

The Tribunal's judgement fully bears the out. In the words of the AUEW statement, 'further underlines the serious defects of the Equal Pay Act and illustrates that even when men and women are working alongside each other on identical work they are unlikely to qualify for equal pay'.

With the Industrial Tribunal's little piece of black theatre thankfully over, the spotlight turns again to winning the dispute. There is still work to be done. The blacking of a Trico wipers has not yet been organised nationally by the AUEW, and no national

SEAMEN MISSING THE £6 BOAT?

A FUNNY THING happened on the way to the 'son of the £6 limit'. The seamen didn't get their £6. According to the Low Pay Unit, nor did 625,000 low-paid workers covered by Wages Councils. Furthermore, 300,000 low-paid shop and clothing workers covered by private agreements also got increases well below the £6.

A large proportion of those 300,000 are members of the shop-workers' union, USDAW. No doubt the USDAW Executive has its membership in mind when it glowingly recognises 'the sacrifice and restraint shown by all workers during the economic crisis of the

last 18 months' in its motion on collective bargaining to the TUC Congress.

The seamen are not so enthralled by 'sacrifice'. The ship-owners have just declared their fattest ever profits in recent years. In response to the double 'no' of the TUC and the Labour Government, the NUS is now balloting its members to decide whether to accept the employers' offer or support whatever form of industrial action is decided on by the NUS Executive.

In a vain effort to affect the result of the ballot, a report was rapidly pro-

duced and approved by the General Council of the TUC which enabled Len Murray to announce with some relief that the seamen's claim was outside the 4½ per cent limit. 'There are no special cases under the pay policy', said Murray—echoing his master's voice Denis Healey.

Callaghan is using Murray as the hammer of the seamen. In their turn the Government are being used as a front by the ship-owners, gratified by the whole-hearted support they have received from Labour and the TUC.

Doubtless, if the seamen decide to take action in support of their claim,

they will hear again the words they heard ten years ago from Callaghan: 'Get back to work and help in the task of getting exports moving again.' The same witch-hunting ploys will be dusted off again to level against the seamen's leadership. Already the press has started the stampede with stories of the possible expulsion of the NUS from the TUC if they persist in their claim.

All the talk of a 'planned return to free collective bargaining' will soon evaporate in denunciations of the seamen if the ballot returns indicate the strength of feeling among the rank

and file.

The effects of the 4½ per cent limit itself will be swept under the carpet, including the conclusion of the Low Pay Unit that 'employers will have an incentive to lay off (or not recruit) extra staff, finding that they can get overtime worked by the existing staff at a cheaper rate.'

The struggle for the reduction of the working week with no loss of pay, combined with automatic compensation for the effects of inflation, is the only policy which can rescue low-paid workers from the nightmare of the poverty trap and increased redundancies which the Government has sharpened through its 'protection' of lower paid workers. The seamen, if they can overcome the formidable obstacle course which the Government and TUC are preparing for them, can strike the first blow in that fight.



Last year the NHS claimed that 'the cuts in spending are only a postponement of our plans.' Now no-one believes that. Least of all the staff at the Middlesex Central Hospital in Park Royal, London.

Last week the hospital bosses tried to shunt out six nurses. This let all hell loose. Over 100 workers from the 700-bed hospital went on the rampage. Fighting to defend jobs, determined to maintain decent standards for patients, the staff lost their patience.

Grabbing hold of trays, snatching

office files, the workers chanted: 'out, Out.' The developments administrator, Alan Davison, took a quick look and flew out of the building.

This shows the way to fight. No co-operation with management. No sitting down to discuss how to close a ward. The only way forward is to fight for the workers to control the NHS. A campaign to build the NCC lobby and picket of the Labour Party Conference can give action like that at the Middlesex a focus. They are defending the health and care of all of the working class.

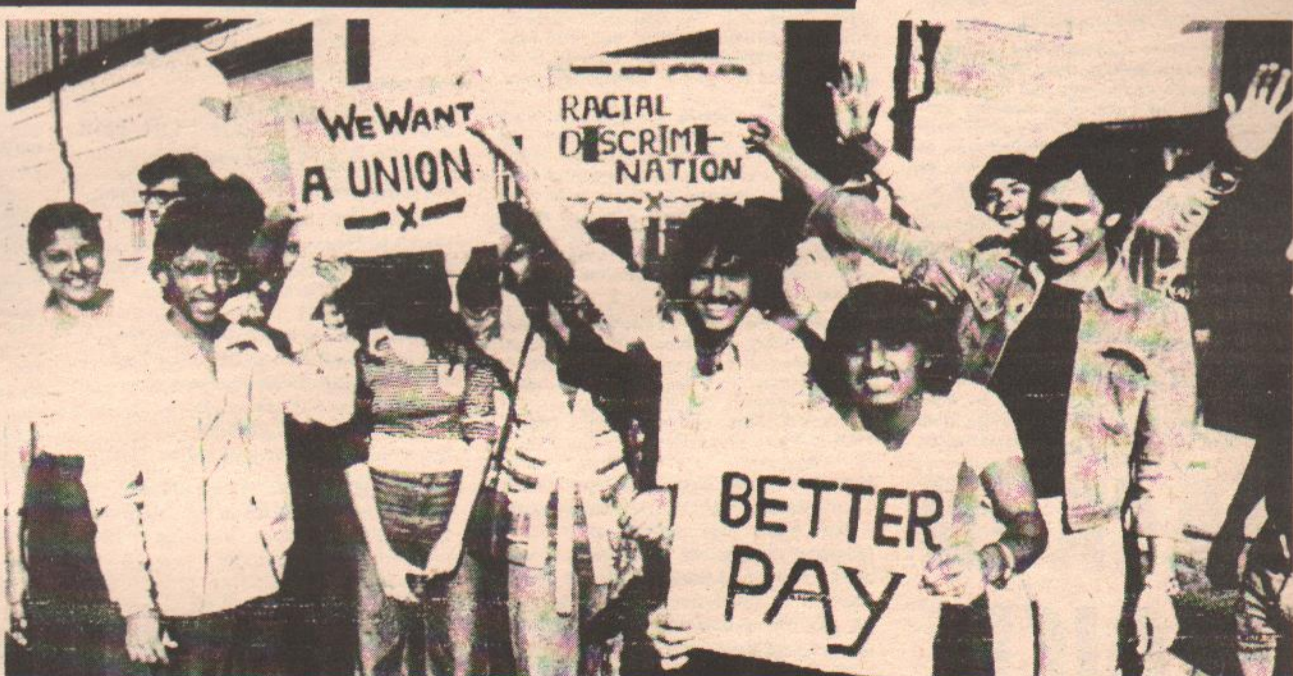
letters to this effect have been sent out by the union.

Also, despite the influx of local support the strikers have received, attempts to involve the local trades councils of Hounslow, Brent, Ealing and Hammersmith more fully would allow the strikers themselves to devote more time to the actual running of the dispute. The same purpose would be served by a union-organised creche for the women workers.

Of course, the most effective solidarity action of all would be for the AUEW to organise a one-day strike of all their members in the district, but in the meantime a second

large demonstration would show the Trico management — and for that matter the Industrial Tribunal — that the Trico workers do not stand alone.

The Trico strike remains the most important industrial struggle currently taking place, and the strikers involved in the 15-week old dispute are a shining example of the determination needed to fight for a woman's right to work — and work at the same rates as men. All those involved in backing the strikers have the responsibility to look for and exploit every area of possible support.



ERIC TOMLINSON protesting from the gallery at last year's conference about the TUC's failure to act to free Des.

At last year's TUC, Des Warren was in jail. The TUC protested but did nothing. This year the threat of jail hangs over 43 marchers of the Right to Work Campaign. The TUC may or may not protest; certainly they will do nothing.

Des Warren's 'crime' was fighting for unionisation and a living wage. The 43's 'crime' is fighting unemployment. Des Warren is now out of jail and has given his support to the 43. Join him in saying: 'No More Shrewsburies — Defend the 43.'

BRIGHTON ACTION COMMITTEE AGAINST THE CUTS

Public Meeting

Speakers:

ALAN FISHER General Secretary, National Union of Public Employees

ERNIE ROBERTS Assistant General Secretary, AUEW

JOHN DEASON Secretary, Right to Work Campaign

JANET MAGUIRE National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in NHS

7.00p.m., Union Hall, Air Street, Brighton.

THURSDAY 9 SEPTEMBER

Now it's the strike process at Grunwick!

TWO HUNDRED mainly Asian process workers last week walked out of the Chapter Road and Cobbold factories of Grunwick Film Processing, which operates under the names 'Bonuspool' and 'Truecolour'. The workers are demanding trade union recognition—an earlier attempt to form a union a few years back having been smashed. The need for a union is vital: the process workers are paid £25 for a 35-hour week and £28 for a 40-hour week, and overtime must be worked when the management demands it.

The Association of Professional, Executive and Clerical Staff (APEX), the union involved, declared the strike official almost

immediately, and attempts to black goods have already been set into motion. Local unions are already expressing support, and Brent Trades Council is co-ordinating solidarity work as well as helping the strikers.

Approximately half the workers are women. From the beginning it has been established that women will play an equal role alongside the men—they are half the strike committee, represent over half the officers, and for negotiations it is agreed to have 50 per cent women.

Previously workers have been sacked for their efforts to improve conditions, and reinstatement of these workers is also one of the strikers' demands.

In addition to management, the workers have had to contend with the police. The latter are harassing the picket lines on the excuse that they are intimidating workers going into work—and then getting hold of the worker and saying: 'You do want to go to work, don't you?' But the strikers are confident and have organised themselves very quickly and efficiently.

With so many women and Asians involved, the strike has a particular importance for all militants, and as much support as possible should be built. All messages of support, monies, etc. should be sent to: Sunil Desai, Strike Committee, Trades Hall, 375 High Road, Willesden, London N.W.10.

IN FOCUS

ORGANISING THE LEFT MINORITY IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT is the burning need for the whole working class after this TUC Congress. The left we are referring to is not that of Jones and Scanlon, vainly trying to drape the rags of their pink cloaks over the misery and deprivation caused by their support of the Labour Government's policies. No, we are referring to those who have been:

GAGGED, like the building workers delegates ordered to abstain by UCATT General Secretary, George Smith at the Special TUC Conference, after their conference had 'improperly rejected' the incomes policy.

BLOCKED, like the engineering delegates at the AUEW Conference who were not permitted to vote against the pay deal after their National Committee had decided for it by a small majority.

LIQUIDATED, like those trades councils, Oxford among them, who refused to accept the TUC's Rule 14 and dared to challenge the right of Murray and Co to rule out a fight by constituent organisations against this Labour Government's policies.

Those unions which decided as a whole to oppose the pay limit were ridiculed and isolated by the press and finally lampooned at the Special TUC which ended with a 17½ to 1 majority against them.



March for the Right to Work

Two weeks ago Red Weekly revealed that the organisers of the Right to Work march had written to gay workers and also informed the Working Women's Charter that they could not march as separate contingents on the march or distribute their leaflets there. We criticised this as sectarian and reminiscent of the actions of the Communist Party. Below we publish a reply and our comments on this reply. We carry on this debate not to negatively attack the Right to Work march but with the aim of politically strengthening it by pointing the way forward for the building of a united front of all those committed to fighting the Government's policies of wage cuts, unemployment and cuts in social expenditure.

I must protest at your recent article attacking the Right to Work Campaign's decision not to allow separate contingents on the Right to Work march.

You allege that Jimmy McCallum stated on the telephone that [1] the Right to Work Campaign would not allow the Working Women's Charter to march behind their banners; [2] that the WWC would not be allowed to send a representative to the Right to Work Campaign's National Council.

You also state that McCallum 'had given similar replies when student teachers in South London had also asked for recognition of the contingent under a "Woman's Right to Work" banner'. As someone who was at this meeting, I feel I must put the record straight — you accuse McCallum of having a 'scandalous attitude', but what is scandalous is Red Weekly's distortion of McCallum's position and arguments.

McCallum at no time said that the WWC could not march behind their own banner, what he actually stated was that they could march behind the trade union banners with their banner but not be a separate contingent as the march should be a unified one of action and protest [not of debate, as supporters of the 'Woman's Right to Work' contingent want]. He also stated that he saw no need for a separate 'Woman's Right to Work' contingent, as the Right to Work Campaign had been in the forefront fighting for the right to work for both men and women.

Red Weekly failed to mention that those who are proposing a 'Woman's Right to Work' contingent on the march, when campaigning for sponsorships, are not asking for sponsorships for the Right to Work march but only for the 'Woman's Right to Work' contingent. Yet it was demanded by

supporters of this separately sponsored contingent that they should have the right to speak at every Right to Work march meeting, distribute leaflets, etc. And this on a march that they had done nothing to build for!

If the WWC or 'Woman's Right to Work' want to lobby the TUC themselves, that's fine, but why should they suddenly appear out of the blue [with regards to the Right to Work march] and expect to be given speakers, etc? This raises the important point of the Right to Work Campaign National Council. Lo and behold, a few weeks before the march the WWC and 'A Woman's Right to Work' 'discover' the Council and want immediate representation on it [!] without having done consistent work previously to build the Right to Work Campaign in the localities. The Council is not for anybody or any organisation to suddenly turn up to and expect recognition. The Council is made up of those trade union bodies, etc. who have consistently fought for the Right to Work march and the building of the campaign and march.

As mentioned above, the Right to Work march is going to be one of anger and action. The demands, structures, etc. of the march and the Right to Work Campaign have already been decided by those who have consistently built the campaign. The march is not intended to be a debating forum [as Red Weekly wants] with any organisation which suddenly decides to join the march at the last minute.

It seems that Red Weekly's recent two week's 'holiday' has done nothing to blunt its sectarian attacks against the Right to Work Campaign, but has affected its ability to report correctly the views of people like Jimmy McCallum — Tim Roderick (South West London Right to Work Campaign).

bine Joint Shop Stewards Committee; and Laurie Smith, AUEW National Organiser.

The paper has steered clear of the sectarian errors of Engineers Charter, the International Socialists' 'rank and file' paper. It is not bureaucratically dominated by any one political tendency, and most importantly it refuses to cut itself off from militants in the Broad Left. It will fight for unity in action with them while at the same time putting forward policies independently of the Broad Left leaders — who are still hopelessly tied to the coat-tails of Scanlon and his support for the Government's policies.

If the paper can retain this independence a clear alternative to the policies of the right wing can be fought for throughout the union. By taking up the central issues facing engineering workers which the Broad Left leaders duck, Engineering Voice could be very important in helping to develop a class struggle left wing in the industry. This would be a gain not merely for trade unionists in engineering, but for the whole of the working class in the fight to reverse trade union support for policies which have brought one and a half million unemployed, falling living standards, and massive expenditure cuts.

After the TUC WHAT NEXT?

That defeat crushed the small signs of life out of the Labour left which had briefly flickered with their abstention on the first round of cuts in Parliament last spring. Their capitulation over the latest round of £1,000m has been dramatic and sudden. Eric Heffer declares that the child benefit scheme must be sacrificed to boost industry. Norman Atkinson pleads the need to support the cuts 'in principle'. Tony Benn chooses to work in his office rather than attend crucial votes on Labour's National Executive.

A gloomy picture. But the National Assembly on Unemployment which met in March seemed to many of its 3,000 delegates the place to stop the rot. Organised by the No 8 Region of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and the London Co-op Political Committee under the political leadership of the Communist Party, the conference adopted a programme of action. It was inadequate, but it was practical and concrete. However, the record six months later is disastrous;

* The Action Committees that could have been set up in every locality to organise and carry on the struggle from the Day of Action called by the Assembly on 26 May were never set up or were still-born after being stamped on by the Communist Party.

* The lobby of the Special TUC called by the Assembly was

considered so important by the Confederation that they didn't even send their banner along.

* The two organising bodies of the Assembly were to consider the organisation of mass demonstrations outside the TUC and Labour Party congresses. After the announcement of one and a half million unemployed and the further crumbling of the welfare services, the organisers have done nothing to organise either.

The Communist Party must bear the full responsibility for this destruction of the hopes of the many rank and file delegates who believed that the Assembly would be the beginning of the fight against unemployment. The organisers of the Assembly have refused to break with Scanlon and Jones (in fact Jones — and even Murray — will be contributing articles to the *Morning Star* during Congress week). They thus find themselves incapable of launching a fight against the policies of the Labour Government, of which these bureaucrats are the main defenders.

Red Weekly has supported the Right to Work March because it, at least, has seen the need to fight in every way possible to halt retreat. But the forces that the leadership of the campaign, the International Socialists, can command are alone too small to amount to anything but a protest. An urgent task is the regrouping of those 3,000 delegates who attended the Assembly. Not only the Right to Work March but TUC delegates should call on the organisers of the Assembly to link their forces with those of the Right to Work Campaign in order to build a conference capable of fighting around a programme of demands to beat the disastrous policies of the Labour Government.

* Industrial action against the cuts, to demand a programme of useful public works to meet social need and employ the jobless.

* A fight for the policy of occupations to meet redundancy, calling for the opening of the books to draw up a system of work-sharing without loss of pay to safeguard workers' jobs and lay the basis for nationalisation under workers control. The first step in this campaign should be the call for an immediate fight by the trade union leadership for the 35-hour week without loss of pay.

* A campaign against incomes policy and the 4½ per cent deal and in favour of automatic increases to compensate for inflation in wages, pensions, and other state benefits and the social expenditure budget as a whole.

The Labour Government's capitulation to the demands of the international bankers will continue to lay the basis for a general election defeat and the introduction of the most right-wing Tory Government since the war. The solution is not to go along with those policies, as the 'lefts' have, but to begin the uphill fight for the minority in the labour movement to get up and resist.



THE EDITORS REPLY: Comrade Roderick alleges that the 'Woman's Right to Work' contingent failed to build the march. While it is true that the 'Woman's Right to Work' and the WWC made a specific appeal to women, they did so in the context of the Right to Work march. A leaflet they put out was headed: 'Support the Right to Work March — Lobby the TUC in Brighton — Build a Woman's Right to Work Contingent.'

Similarly, a letter sent out by the WWC on 12 August stated: 'We sincerely hope you will build this march and the Charter contingent.'

Both these statements could only have aided the Right to Work Campaign, and by making a specific appeal to women probably reached an audience which the general propaganda of the Right to Work Campaign did not. But having fought to build the march and the women's contingent, we are now told that they are not allowed to march as a separate contingent aimed at highlighting the specific problems of unemployed women.

JOIN THE MARCH FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK

SATURDAY 4 SEPTEMBER: assemble Embankment, Charing Cross, 11am. March to Downing Street to lobby Callaghan, then on to BRIXTON. Camp the night at CROYDON.

On the nights of 5 and 6 SEPTEMBER the march will stop at CRAWLEY and PYECOOMBE. Entertainments are being arranged at both stops.

TUESDAY 7 SEPTEMBER: March into Brighton and Lobby TUC.

WEDNESDAY 8 SEPTEMBER: Join the NUPE Lobby against the cuts, supported by the Right to Work Campaign at 12am.

Of course there is a let-out — the Right to Work organisers are willing to allow WWC banners to march behind union banners. But what about the unemployed women who aren't part of a union, and what of union branches such as the NUJ Book Branch which specifically voted to march behind the 'Women's Right to Work' contingent?

To such marchers Jimmy McCallum says that 'there is no need' for a separate contingent. Leaving aside the political issues involved in such a statement, it is not up to Jimmy McCallum to tell the marchers what is needed; it is up to the marchers themselves to decide. If the NUJ Book Branch have decided to march behind a separate contingent, that is their privilege and it is not up to Jimmy McCallum to issue prohibitions.

Comrade Roderick characterises our position as wanting a 'debating forum', and makes the same remark about the WWC, the 'Woman's Right to Work', and presumably the gay workers who also want to march as a contingent. To this the comrade counterposes 'action and protest' and 'anger and action'. Unfortunately 'anger', 'protest' and even 'action' are not enough if they are not channelled in the right direction.

To achieve that direction means 'debating' — that is, discussing in a democratic way the alternatives offered. If Red Weekly or anybody else thinks the existing policies of the Right to Work Campaign are insufficient, surely we have a duty to say so. We have also every right to fight for our policies on the march, while at the same time building it and showing the TUC that whatever disagreements there may be amongst the marchers they are all willing to back the Right to Work Campaign.

Because this is what workers democracy means in practice — building a united front of all those willing to build a campaign, but allowing everybody in that campaign to raise their political or tactical differences.

Organisations such as the Communist Party have always opposed such principles. At the National Assembly on Unemployment, they attacked IS for raising the question of the people arrested on the previous Right to Work march as 'divisive'. Unfortunately the letter we quoted from John Deason makes this same criticism of gay workers when he says: 'Alternative loyalties to political groups or other campaigns can only sow confusion'. Where is the difference between this attitude and the CP's to the Right to Work Campaign at the National Assembly? Quite frankly, there is none.

For years militants have fought against attempts by the bureaucrats and CP members to cut off debate. For years these bureaucrats have replied with such statements just like that of comrade Roderick, that 'the Council is not for anybody or any organisation to suddenly turn up to and expect recognition'. On the contrary we say that anybody, 'last minute' or not, who joins the campaign has the right to have their say in deciding the policies and tactics of that campaign. Only in that way will everybody be involved in the campaign rather than just being marching fodder.

Most fundamental of all, every political tendency on the march has the right to 'distribute leaflets' and to make their own propaganda. That again is a right militants have fought for in their trade unions for generations, because behind it is the right for workers to organise and make their views known.

The comrade accuses us of being sectarian. Yet he argues against discussion, against the right of marchers to walk behind who and what they wish — something even the CP rarely prohibits. We on the other hand say that in the interests of building as broad a movement as possible there should be freedom of discussion, of propaganda and (in terms of the right of separate contingents) of organisation. Just who is sectarian?

BACK IN VOICE

A new issue of Engineering Voice is to appear in the autumn. The paper was for a long time run by the Voice of the Unions group under the control of the Broad Left machine in the AUEW. But disagreements between the Communist Party and the Editorial Board led to the suspension of Broad Left support for the paper last year.

It was left to a group of about thirty supporters in the Birmingham area to maintain the paper locally. On the basis of this organisation around the paper, it is now to be re-launched nationally. A meeting in London on Saturday will be supported by several well-known trade unionists in the industry, including Mike Cooley of the AUEW(TASS); Ernie Roberts, AUEW Assistant General Secretary; Jim Shutt, AUEW(TASS); Jim Murray, Vickers Com-

CP - more drop-outs on the way

Leading figures inside the AUEW are re-considering the value of retaining their membership of the Broad Left and the Communist Party. This is the background to the resignation from the CP of John Tocher, divisional organiser for the AUEW in Manchester and former national chairman of the party. These 'second thoughts' arise not from politically principled differences, but because the party does little to assist them in their 'careers' in the trade union hierarchy. Tocher is not the only one.

The most famous was undoubtedly Jimmy Reid, who promptly left the party after losing a contest for the Executive Council of the AUEW. In Sheffield, Cyril Morton, a convenor at Shardlow, left the CP to join . . . personnel management. His conversion came after he lost an elec-

tion for national organiser.

The CP twist and turn to explain the successes increasingly being notched up by the right wing. When Pat Farrelly, divisional organiser for No. 23 Division (Swindon area) lost his full-time post last year, incensed CP members complained in the *AUEW Journal* that the members had failed 'to distinguish between those who serve and those who merely seek passage'. After all, Farrelly's 'genuine dedication to the trade union movement' was well known. He himself expressed it graphically only a few weeks later when he left the AUEW to join the management of Lansing Bagnall.

The explanation for these defections lies rather closer to home than the CP will admit. By refusing to break with

Scanlon and the other fake 'lefts' in the union, the Broad Left has been unable to provide a challenge to the right wing's offensive. It also has to be bluntly said that although no political organisation can be held responsible for such actions by individuals, there are some who travel with the left simply to feather their own nests. Any organisation such as the Broad Left that makes 'control' of full-time positions the key to success will continue to encourage such bureaucratic and opportunist tendencies in its ranks.

However the Broad Left, under the leadership of the Communist Party, shows no sign of recognising these basic facts of life. We must therefore assume that John Tocher's resignation from the party will not be the last.

N° 136 quotidien communiste révolutionnaire 1.50 F

rouge

JEUDI 26 AOUT 1976

GISCARD PREMIER MINISTRE...

Chirac démissionne et Giscard appelle Barre au poste de premier ministre

C'est Jean-François Puyot, secrétaire général de la République... Giscard d'Estaing a annoncé hier soir qu'il avait démissionné...

Cher pétrole

Décidément, le gouvernement...

Décidément, le gouvernement n'a pas encore réussi à faire baisser le prix du pétrole...

Le rôle du candidat... Giscard d'Estaing a annoncé hier soir qu'il avait démissionné...



Sécheresse: plus d'endettement pour les paysans, plus d'impôts pour les travailleurs... les solutions du gouvernement

IRLANDE: ETAT D'URGENCE DANS "L'ETAT LIBRE"



A WEAPON FOR WORKERS

UN DOCUMENT CONFIDENTIEL DU MINISTERE DE L'INTERIEUR EXCLUSIF PONIA PREPARE LA GUERRE CIVILE lire page 4 et 5

The resignation of Gaullist Prime Minister Jacques Chirac last week paved the way for Giscard d'Estaing to attempt to follow De Gaulle in constructing a new 'majority'...

It is the French ruling class which is in disarray. The next parliamentary elections, which are the immediate target of Giscard's project, are likely to result instead in a victory for the Union of the Left...

The emergence of a daily revolutionary voice in the workers' movement which can begin to organise such a current is a vital gain in this situation. Rouge, the daily paper launched by the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR)...

Can you make a very general balance sheet of the experience you've accumulated over the first 100 issues of the daily?

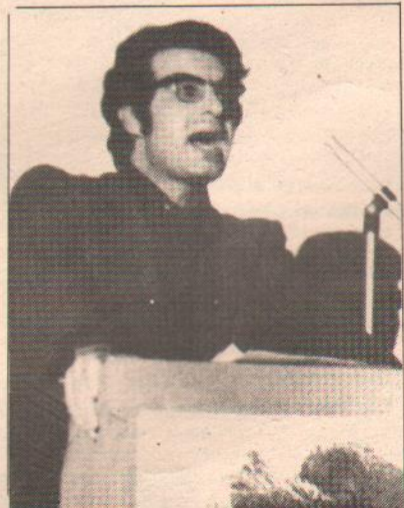
We started with the idea that there was a potential public, much larger than the periphery of the organisation itself, which could be interested in a revolutionary communist daily.

That implies two things. First, to have a paper which responds to the preoccupations of that audience — what we call the broad vanguard.

In France the majority of worker militants just do not buy a paper every day — whether it be L'Humanité (the Communist Party paper) or Le Monde — and so they only bought Rouge from time to time...

As to the contents, and the changes we've been led to make, we sent out a questionnaire to our readers which produced 500-600 replies — something which we regarded as a very encouraging response...

First, starting from the plain fact that people without much money can't go buying several papers each day, we



ALAIN KRIVINE-joint editor, Rouge.

wanted to be a newspaper, i.e. to cover the news, national and international, satisfactorily — though of course making certain choices relating to our activity and specific orientation.

But the second aspect is not merely to cover events but to be a paper which gives a certain orientation and provides a revolutionary Marxist analysis of events.

In fact it's a completely new kind of journalism for you.

Exactly, and that's led us to make certain changes. For in-

stance, we force ourselves in the main sections of the paper always to cover the news, but try whenever possible to have a section editorial which spells out our politics and throws a clear light on the entire page.



The daily Rouge has also concentrated a lot on debates—whether between members of the LCR or more widely spread — which have aroused considerable interest.

This is the third characteristic we wanted the paper to have: the first to be a newspaper, the second to be a paper clearly revolutionary Marxist in its orientation, and finally to be a paper open to discussion coming from every quarter of the labour movement.

This means three things: 1. To give what we call 'Open Tribune' space systematically to any organisation in the labour movement, reformist or revolutionary, which asks for it.

2. To give space to signed articles from people outside the Fourth International.

3. To carry debates in which our own militants participate. Of course, where the LCR has a clear-cut position on a question we apply democratic centralism — if comrades don't agree with the majority position, they can take up the question internally.

In what areas has the paper had the most impact on French political life?

Well, obviously our impact has reflected our implantation. Amongst the students, where we were the dominant force during the big national strike, the daily was a very important weapon because it gave information on what was happening in the universities and throughout France from day to day — something no-one else could do.

If we take the other extreme, inside the workers' milieu, where in no sense do we have a truly national influence, we can say that the results have been disproportional to our influence — but in a positive sense.

In the SNCF (French railways), for instance, we only have a small implantation. But during the SNCF strike in April, Rouge alone provided regular news on what was taking place in about 30 depots throughout France.

That was all the more important because the Stalinists were trying to break the strike by putting a block on all information, trying to get a return to work station by station, explaining that next door the strike had been wound up.

This gave rise to some astonishing scenes in certain stations, even where we had hardly anybody. At St Lazare in Paris, for instance, a trade union bureaucrat explained in a general assembly that he had no information on what was happening elsewhere.

A railway worker, we don't know who, then pulled Rouge out of his pocket to say: 'Look, you can think what you like about this paper, but just read this. Here's a couple of dozen items of information on our strike, so you could be up to date, if you wanted to.'

What about the 'scoops' you've pulled off?

Of course, those aren't just news, they're subversive news and therefore political. It's a way of denouncing the regime by publishing confidential circulars of the bourgeoisie.

it was a viciously repressive project, going from extending the powers of the military courts to clamping down on the civil service and beefing up the presidential powers to bypass Parliament and the Government.

The effect was immediate. The trade unions reacted at once, and so did the judges' union. Not only did the paper achieve a great deal of credibility, but the more we publish that sort of story, the more people who have knowledge of such goings-on will be emboldened to tell us about them.

Are you going to make any changes when life picks up again after the holidays?

We're going to change certain things. For instance on international questions and workers' struggles we're convinced that the most interesting and educational way of approaching the workers' vanguard is straight on-the-spot reporting.

We've already done it with some international events. For the Italian elections we sent a reporter who didn't stop at sending us back the official press statements of the different parties but took part in the electoral campaign in the different regions.

All this means we'll have to increase the number of reporters, which implies yet more financial effort. We've got to change the 'look' of the paper: either we go to 16 pages with the same format, or to 8 double-size pages — we're still discussing it.

What can militants in Britain do to help the daily?

If they can read French then a subscription is a good way to help. Also see it gets into French cultural and educational institutions. Obviously the comrades will understand what a considerable gain it is for the whole Fourth International that one of its sections is able to produce a daily paper.



Lava them than us!

THE VOLCANO of La Soufrière in the Caribbean islands of Guadeloupe is expected to erupt any day 'with the power of an atomic bomb'. More than 70,000 people have already been evacuated from the area. Now a new disaster threatens: a cyclone. But the arrangements made to protect the population are entirely inadequate. Why?

The answer is simple. Guadeloupe, along with the neighbouring island of Martinique, is a colony of France [together they make up the French Antilles]. Its economy and every other aspect of life have been distorted to suit the interests of French imperialism — 76 per cent of Guadeloupe's exports go to France, and 72 per cent of its imports come from there.

One quarter of the working population is unemployed. The minimum wage is 20 per cent lower than in France, although the cost of living is 30-40 per cent higher. Social service benefits are minimal.

Even those measures which have been taken to deal with the threatened disaster seem likely only to allow the colonial authorities to further distort economic life in imperialism's interests. To combat this the Trotskyists of the Socialist Revolution Group [GRS — Antilles section of the Fourth International] have put forward their own plan to deal with the crisis.

They call on the refugees 'to take control into their own hands of all relief inside and outside the camps by creating popular committees at the base'. They explain that this is the only way to crack down on speculation and the black market, to prevent price rises, to make sure that big business doesn't profit from working people's distress.

'The requisitioning of all the big hotels and all army, police and CRS [riot police] barracks for the sole use of the victims' is also among the measures they propose. All debts, rents, taxes, etc. for the refugees must be waived. Those who have lost their jobs should be guaranteed 90 per cent of their former wages like workers in France,



and public works should be set up. Finally, say the GRS, Antilles solidarity must also be organised — all the big hotels which have recently been closed in Martinique must be immediately re-opened and put at the service of the refugees.

Of course, these proposals might put out the French capitalists a little, but they are the only way to protect the population of Guadeloupe against the disaster which threatens them.

'STEEL WORKERS FIGHT BACK'

During the last 20 years over 100,000 steelworkers' jobs have disappeared in the United States, a trend which threatens to continue as the steel companies look for more 'efficient' methods of production. With a union movement which is notorious for its class collaboration and corruption, the steel workers have until recently had little with which to defend themselves.

In the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), 500,000 of the 1.4 million members have no right to ratify contracts drawn up between their union leaders and the employers. In 1973 the President of the union, I.W. Abel, further restricted his members' rights by signing a no-strike 'Experimental Negotiating Agreement'. The union is also notorious for its discrimination against blacks and women.

But through the 'Steelworkers Fight Back' movement the union members are doing just that. This movement has grown out of the efforts of Ed Sadowski, who recently successfully fought an election for director of the USWA in South Chicano and Gary, Indiana.

For 26 years Joe Germano had held this post unchallenged, and when he stepped down in 1972 his long-time assistant Sam Evett was nominated as his apparent. But Sadowski ran against Evett, and although initially defeated, he alleged vote-rigging and challenged the result. After a re-run in 1974, Sadowski was elected with a two to one majority.

This challenge to the corrupt bureaucracy has produced a strong response among the union members despite physical intimidation of Sadowski's supporters — one of whom has been shot and many others beaten up. The 'Fight Back' movement has now won elections in areas such as Pennsylvania, Ontario (Canada), New York and New Mexico.

Red Weekly asked BILL BREIHAN, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and an activist in 'Steelworkers Fight Back', what he saw as the future of the movement.

The next major step is to win as many delegates as possible for the national Steelworkers Convention in Las Vegas in October. There will be 4,000 delegates, and the Sadowski forces hope to win as many as a thousand delegates. The main campaign now is to travel around the country and win as many local officials and delegates as possible to support 'Fight Back' at the convention.

It is expected that Sadowski will declare his candidacy for President of the Union at this convention. This election will be in February 1977, and the international and local elections will be held at the same time.

The main goal of 'Steelworkers' Fight Back' is to initiate a struggle to transform the entire labour movement from top to bottom. To an extent it was inspired by the previous struggles in the United Mine-workers for greater union democracy. The United Steelworkers is the most powerful industrial union in the country, and it will set an example for other unions.

● Does the 'Fight Back' movement represent a significant advance for trade unionism in the United States?

Any move in the union movement that will lead to casting off the bureaucracy and increasing the effectiveness of the membership is an advance. United Steelworkers did not even arise out of workers' struggles, but was a bureaucratic formation from the beginning.

Only two years ago it was impossible to appear as a dissident element of the union without being beaten up. It was impossible to present a resolution or produce a leaflet as a serious trade unionist. These democratic rights have now been established.



SADLOWSKI

● Does this movement in the union have any connection with the political climate following the Watergate revelations?

I certainly think so. The corruption exposed in the union would probably have been met with disbelief a few years ago. But the revelations around Watergate and the FBI mean that American workers are very open now to understanding the corruption of organised bodies such as trade unions.

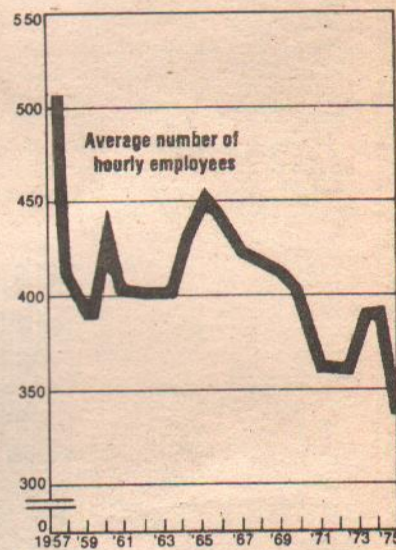
The 'Steelworkers Fight Back' movement has consequently been able to win the support of steelworkers, and has also been able to raise hundreds of thousands of dollars from the steelworkers to maintain this fight.

● How has the Socialist Workers Party oriented to the 'Fight Back' movement?

Our first priority is always to establish our credibility in the union. We have to be

Shipping more steel . . .

. . . with fewer workers



▲ Thousands of workers

known as serious trade unionists. But from the very beginning of the 'Fight Back' movement we have sold our paper *The Militant* to all the steelworkers we have worked with in 'Fight Back', and we have had the policy of talking to individuals about our politics.

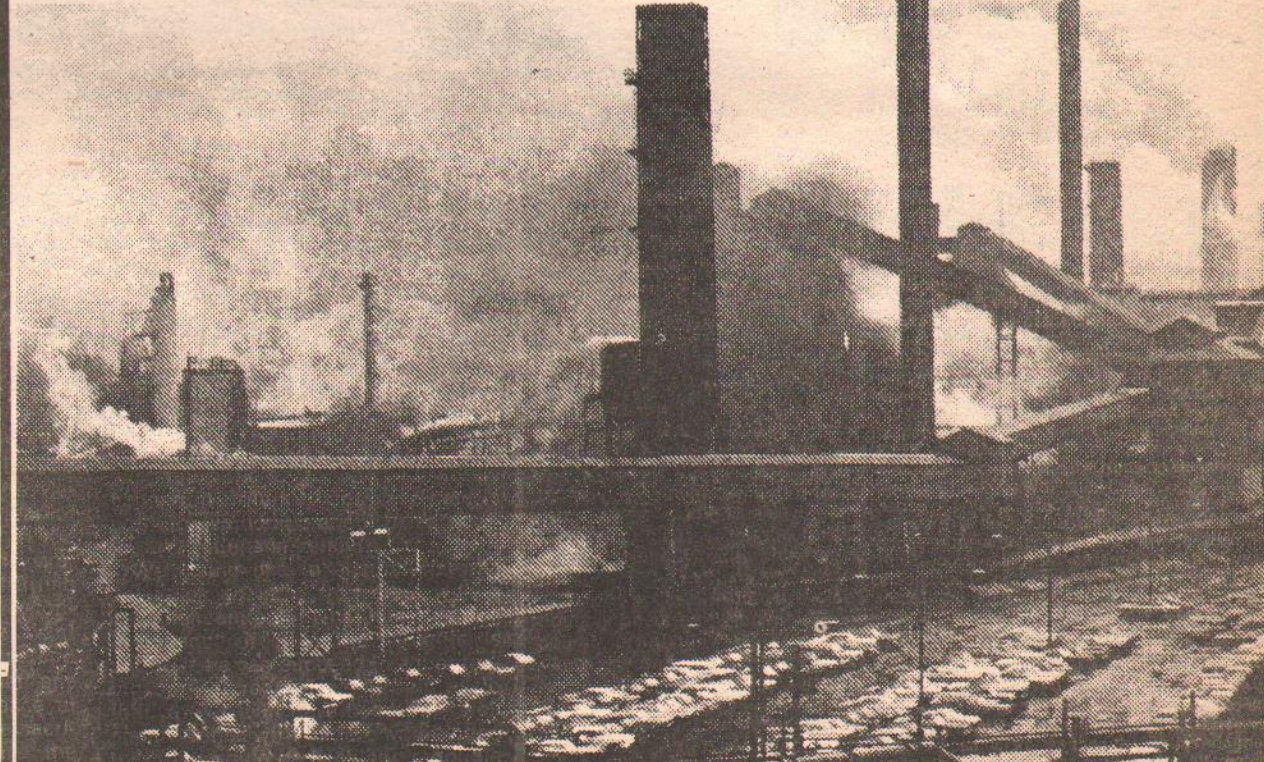
The Socialist Workers Party would support and build such a current as 'Fight Back' so long as it was clear in its opposition to racism and sexism and on the question of democracy in the union.

Concretely, we have several comrades who are delegates to the union conference in October. We have comrades who are shop stewards on executive boards and locals. We have tried to be leading activists in 'Fight Back', and we try to develop the movement as much as we can. We have people working full-time on the organising teams of 'Fight Back' and we are leaders of that movement.

● How do you see the 'Fight Back' struggle being extended beyond United Steelworkers?

The only way that Sadowski can win is by mobilising the rank and file; and members of the Socialist Workers Party want to be a central part of this. Because 'Fight Back' takes correct positions on the question of discrimination against women and oppressed minorities, it is possible for Trotskyists to expand the struggles of 'Fight Back'.

We can link up the struggle for union democracy with the right of women and oppressed minorities for greater equality. The 'Fight Back' movement can develop into a class struggle left wing.



Republic Steel plant in Cleveland. Elected leaders forced out by district officials of USWA.

New from Red Books

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

'Left Opposition in Soviet Union 1923-1928'
This is the second volume of documents (in German) covering the Left Opposition. They include not only classics like 'Lessons of October', Trotsky's anti-bureaucratic letters of the period and so on, but also the previously unobtainable anti-Trotskyist articles by Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, etc. 550 pages. Price £5.75, post 47p.

'IQ Test and Social Stratification.'
This series of essays by Chomsky, Kagan, Riessman, Aronowitz and others destroys the pretensions of advocates of IQ tests. It shows the unscientific and ideological nature of the tests, and demonstrates how they are used in a racist and anti-working class manner. Price £1.35, post 14p.

'The Early Homosexual Rights Movement.'
The authors of this book, Lauritsen and Thorstad, have performed a very useful service in documenting the pre-1935 struggle against gay oppression. They consider the movement in a number of countries and trace its links with the socialist movement. They refer to gay-baiting activities of the Nazis, and explain the position of pioneers of the struggle. Price £1.25, post 11p.

'The Fiscal Crisis of the State.'
James O'Connor, veteran socialist writer and well-known for his *Monthly Review* articles, has written this extended analysis of inflation, crisis, financial policies, etc. of late capitalism. The book is noteworthy for its lucid and simple explanation of this complex phenomenon. Price £2.75, post 23p.

'Political Economy and the Housing Question.'
The CSE Housing Workshop has brought out this series of articles, which are up to the usual high standard we have come to expect from CSE. The scope of the articles is somewhat wider than the title would suggest, covering, for instance, theoretical issues involved in tenants' struggles. Price £1.80, post 30p.

'Social Analysis — A Marxist Critique and Alternative.'
Vic Allen, who has written extensively on trade unions, is author of this devastating critique of Western sociology. He explains why, because of its ideological and empiricist failings, it is quite unable to explain the contradictions and crises of Western capitalism. As the title implies, he then uses this critique to outline an alternative theoretical framework and methodology to explain this phenomenon. Price £4.95, post 32p.

Intercontinental Press

By Joseph Hansen

More Facts on a Stalinist-type Frame-up

HEALY CAUGHT IN THE LOGIC OF THE BIG LIE

SWP Suit Exposes New FBI, CIA Crimes

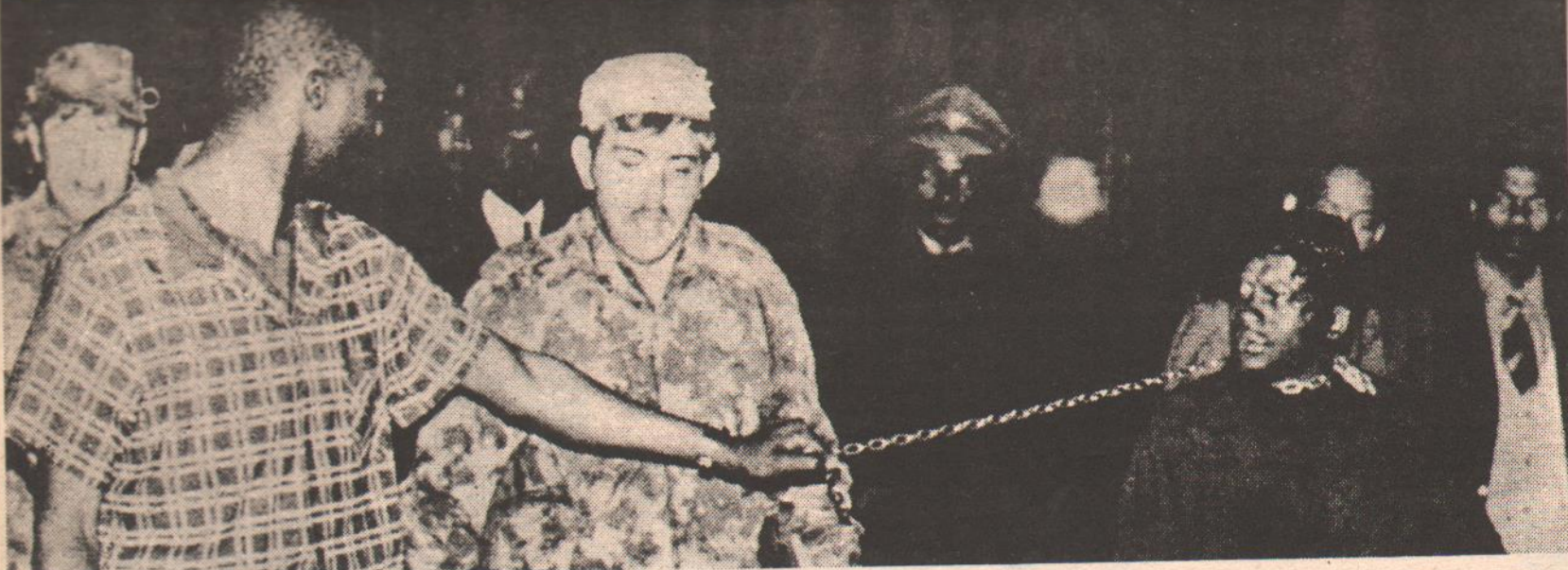
Hugo Blanco: Cómo me Deportaron

The slander campaign of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Gerry Healy, to implicate the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party as 'accomplices of the GPU', has been taken up enthusiastically by the bourgeois press.

The 9 August edition of *Intercontinental Press* has a lengthy article exposing the Stalinist-type frame-up methods used in their campaign by Joseph Hansen, one of those 'accused'.

Back issues of the magazine have dealt with other aspects of the WRP campaign. Vol 13 No. 42 'On Healy's "Investigation - What the Facts show" by Joseph Hansen. Vol 13 No. 44 'Healy's Frame-up against Joseph Hansen' by George Novack. Vol 14 No. 10 'On Healy's Frame-up of Hansen and Novack' by Betty Hamilton and Pierre Lambert. Vol 14 No. 6 'The Frame-up of Joseph Hansen and George Novack' by Editors of *Red Weekly*. Vol 14 No. 20. 'Healy's Smear against Trotsky's Collaborators' by Sam Gordon.

All available at Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London, N1 for 30p including postage and packing.



POLICE BEHIND 'TRIBAL VIOLENCE'



SOUTH AFRICAN police last week tried to stir up what they dubbed 'tribal violence' in an effort to sabotage the three day general strike organised in the black township of Soweto.

The first day of the strike, Monday 23 August, was almost entirely successful. The *Financial Times* reported next day that 80 per cent of Soweto's workforce had backed Operation Azikwhela ('Don't Board the Buses') by staying away from work. The regime was in trouble.

The next night, however, hundreds of black migrant workers from the giant Mzimhlope hostel in Soweto, armed with clubs, pangas (cane-cutters), spears and knives, began a two-day rampage against strike organisers and supporters during which they killed 21 and badly beat up many more. The police, claiming that these attacks were a 'justified reaction' to 'intimidation', stood by without intervening.

Police

Evidence quickly emerged, however, that it was the police themselves who were behind these attacks. A reporter from the *Rand Daily Mail*, hiding in a coalbox to escape the violence, told how he heard a voice berating the migrant workers through what he took to be a police loud hailer: 'We didn't order you to destroy the property. You were asked to fight people only, so you are asked to withdraw immediately.'

Another policeman, speaking through an interpreter, was reported to have told the hostel dwellers: 'You have been ordered to kill troublemakers only, not to damage Bantu Administration Board Property.'

Zulus

The press, however, mostly followed the police line that these were 'spontaneous' clashes between 'Zulu warriors' from the hostel and other tribal groups. It was left to the *Financial Times* to point out that 'the latest rioting cannot be ascribed entirely to tribal causes, for many of the students and strike supporters are Zulus'. Furthermore, only about 30 per cent of the 10,320 inmates of the Mzimhlope hostel are in fact Zulus.

A more likely explanation for their action is their utter dependence on the regime, which can send them back to starve in their rural 'homelands' on the slightest excuse. Banned from bringing their wives and children to live with them, they are forced to 'sleep in tribally segregated dormitories, in rows of double bunks, often made of concrete, "like giant storage shelves"' (*Financial Times*, 27 August).

The police offered them a chance to release these pent-up frustrations on their fellow workers; and in such conditions it is hardly surprising that many of them joined this armed scab force.

But the hostel dwellers' rampage did not significantly affect the impact of the general strike. In any case, the struggle against the racist regime is no longer confined to Soweto and other black urban townships.

On 15 August workers and youth in the 'coloured' (mixed race) townships of Cape Town took to the streets following demonstrations by coloured students at the University of the Western Cape. The struggle has also erupted in the rural 'homelands' (bantustans), with demonstrations and arson being reported from Mabopane, the capital of the Bophuthatswana bantustan, on the same day.

Afraid to lose its huge privileges, the white regime is using the only methods it knows—brute force—to keep the black majority in submission. Since police first opened fire on African demonstrators on June 16, government sources admit that 287 people have died, all but three of them black. The real death toll is believed to be far higher, perhaps as many as one thousand.

Detained

Hundreds of Africans are being arrested. Last Friday, Kruger announced that 77 people had been detained so far under the recently passed Internal Security Act (which permits indefinite imprisonment without charge or trial) and that another 744 had been arrested.

But even so, Fleet Street is seriously worried that the Vorster regime may now be unable to cow the black masses into submission. Even the *Daily Telegraph* is now anxiously urging the South African Government to introduce some face-lifting reforms before it is too late.

'Two fundamental factors' (the *Financial Times* noted on 24 August) 'have fuelled blacks' militancy. The first is that black confidence has been significantly bolstered by the recent victory of black nationalism in formerly white-ruled Angola and Mozambique. Secondly, as the youthful participants in the current demonstrations indicate, there is now a new generation of South African blacks who are prepared to protest violently against apartheid even when they know the consequences will be prison if not worse.'

But this new generation also depends on international support to make its actions effective. The next few months will be a testing time for all concerned.

WHAT'S ON

THE FINAL DEADLINE for notices for 'What's On' is 10am on the Monday before publication. Adverts are only accepted over the phone in exceptional circumstances. Rate: 2p per word.

FIGHT RACISM badge available again, 25p inc p&p from Jo-Ann, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. Bulk rates on application.

CHILE: Don't forget national demonstration, Sun 12 September, assemble 1pm Clerkenwell Green, London EC1. Chile Solidarity Campaign.

RACISM, Imperialism and Apartheid in South Africa—weekend educational conference at the University of East Anglia, 29-31 October. For details contact Students Union, University of East Anglia, Norwich.

MANCHESTER: Revolutionary Communist Group public dayschool on 'The Crisis of Capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat', Saturday 18 September, 10-6pm, UMIST Students Union (off Sackville St). Sessions on Women, Ireland, the Public Sector Cuts. Speakers: Judith Harrison, Terry Marlowe, David Yaffe. Further information from 'Dayschool' (RW), 49 Rallton Road, London SE24 0LN.

FUND-RAISING for National Abortion Campaign, Sat 4 Sept, 8pm (and first Sat in every subsequent month): The Basement, 29 Smeaton Street, London WC2. Admission 50p.

NAC BENEFIT, Glenda Jackson and friends, Sunday 19 September at 7.30pm in Cambridge Theatre, Earlham Street, London WC2. Tickets £3, £2, £1.50 from NAC (Box Office), Flat 4, 43/47 Ponder Street, London N7. Phone 607 7619 or 800 4803, 10am to 3pm. Please enclose s.a.e.

MANCHESTER coaches leaving for Chile demo, 12 Sept, at 8.50am from St Peter's Sq. £2.50.

TUC LOBBY: coach leaves Bristol, Weds 8 Sept, at 6am Queen's Road, Clifton, 8.10am Hippodrome, Centre. Organised by Avon Liaison Committee Against Cuts.

FREE EVA FOREST Campaign is circulating a petition for the release of this Spanish feminist. Lunchtime picket (12.30-2.30) of Spanish Embassy, Thurs 16 Sept, on second anniversary of her imprisonment. Petition will be handed in if enough signatures gathered. Further details from the Campaign, c/o 38 Earlham St, London WC2.

WANTED: Comrade desires mutual exchange of new council flat in central London for same or house in Preston/Bolton. Replies to Geoff at Red Weekly.

'STRUGGLES in the Black Community'—Big Flame meeting with speakers from Brixton and Croydon Collective, Race Today. Mon 6 Sept, 7.30pm, West Indian Sport and Social Club, Westwood St, off Moss Lane East, Manchester.

Bands on the run

The trial of 19 Czech musicians in Prague has been postponed. Most of them are members of the two rock groups — the Plastic People of the Universe, and DG-307. Three others have already been imprisoned for 30, 18 and eight months respectively at a trial in Pilsen on 6 July.

All are charged with 'creating a public nuisance' (maximum sentence three years), but some—like Ivan Jirous, artistic director of the Plastic People—face a combination of charges which could land them in prison for up to eight years. Red Weekly asked IVAN HARTEL, a member of the Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists, why the Husak regime should be so afraid of a couple of rock bands.

'That's a good question. Why is the regime afraid of culture, why is it frightened of words, poems and even of music, one of the least political of arts?'

'To begin with, in this particular case of mindless oppression it is not really only a couple of rock bands that the regime fears. The two bands on trial are simply the most consistent, most uncompromising and most radical artists from the underground musical movement, and thus the regime probably selected them in order to deal an exemplary blow to the whole alternative culture movement. 'Four or five years ago the Plastic

People provided a focus around which the musical underground developed, but by now they are just one of many bands comprising this movement. There are at least ten other groups dealing in the most varied musical forms, there are hundreds of active, creative participants, and many thousands of supporters all over the country.

'This alternative cultural movement has got many facets, and the actual musical underground is only one of them. Unlike many other more ostentatious dissident activities, this particular movement not only cuts right across the present social scale in Czechoslovakia, but it also reaches out to and speaks for those with whom no-one else is concerned—the most underprivileged strata of Czechoslovak society, namely the young workers.

'The music and songs of the underground often express the utter frustration of life in a totalitarian, anti-socialist and in effect counter-revolutionary society, plagued with artificially re-induced petty bourgeois values, and the blind consumerism that is supposed to compensate for the absolute lack of control one has over one's own life. They express the need for freedom, for truth and for un-prostituted ethical values, and in this respect they speak for Czechoslovak society as a whole.'



MILAN HLAVSA— Founder of the two Czech rock groups.

Some of the 100 POINTS, a song by the Plastic People.

- They are afraid of workers
- They are afraid of party members
- They are afraid of those outside the party
- They are afraid of science
- They are afraid of art
- They are afraid of books and poems
- They are afraid of painters and sculptors
- They are afraid of musicians and singers
- They are afraid of typewriters
- They are afraid of letters
- They are afraid of telephones
- They are afraid to let people out
- They are afraid to let people in
- They are afraid of the left
- They are afraid of the right
- They are afraid of the departure of the Soviet troops
- They are afraid of changes in the ruling clique in Moscow
- They are afraid of their own police
- They are afraid of historians
- They are afraid of economists
- They are afraid of philosophers
- They are afraid of physicians
- They are afraid of political prisoners

- They are afraid out in the streets
- They are afraid inside their castle ghetto
- They are afraid of what they have said
- They are afraid of what they have written
- They are afraid for their position
- They are afraid of the educated
- They are afraid of the talented
- They are afraid of Marx
- They are afraid of Lenin
- They are afraid of all our dead presidents
- They are afraid of truth
- They are afraid of freedom
- They are afraid of democracy
- They are afraid of The Human Rights Charter
- They are afraid of socialism

Then why the hell are WE afraid of THEM?

(Copy-right Plastic People Defence Fund, 1976. All donations etc. should be sent c/o Red Weekly, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.)

THE PARTY'S OVER



RED WEEKLY

Participate our way - or you're fired!

When building worker Tony Morley joined Haringey Council's model participation scheme PELAW ('Partnership Experiment in Local Authority Work'), he became involved in a move by the workforce to make their 'participation' real instead of illusory. They started to put forward requests to the management — for the redirection of labour, for example — and they began to make suggestions about the day-to-day decision-making, like which machinery to buy and which to hire. The management reacted in the only way they knew how: 'It's impractical; it can't be done.'

The management then tried to avoid further confrontation with the oldest trick on the book: divide and rule. They split PELAW into two units, the 'good workers' and the agitators. Once they were isolated, it was an easy task to control the militants. Sabotage of their work proceeded apace; their materials were often held up, or even wrongly ordered.

All the new work went to Unit 2. A document appeared ominously entitled 'Examples of non-cooperation by members of Unit 1'. Unit 1 was being run down deliberately. The workers in Unit 1 denied responsibility for any losses. They demanded an independent audit to open the books, but were refused.

Grateful?

'Left' Labour Councillor Eric Smith was one of the instigators of the scheme. His philosophy is summed up by Colin Patient, a former worker in Unit 1: 'He thinks we should all be grateful for PELAW. He thinks we're getting out of our station demanding this, demanding that.'

Eric Smith won't hear any criticism of his 'baby', PELAW. At a recent meeting against the cuts, he spoke lengthily about the crisis of international capitalism but refused to allow any discussion of the way PELAW is being used to cover up the cuts.

The ideology of 'participation' has been used in PELAW to undermine the independent strength of the trade union. Words like 'flexibility' hide the reality of a breakdown in job demarcation which enables the management to double production

without doubling the workforce. Bonuses and overtime have been abolished, causing an effective wage cut of about £28 a week.

Agreements with the union, UCATT, to employ only union labour (preferably unemployed men from the branches) have been broken time and time again. Tony Morley, who became shop steward for Unit 1, has been framed with a trumped-up fraud charge, and sacked; another steward and the convenor have been bought off with a rise in status to that of chargehand and foreman, respectively. Usual management tactics. But not what you'd expect of a management which included workers?

Lump squads

There are plans to expand PELAW to encompass the entire direct labour force of Haringey. The scheme may also spread to other boroughs. If other workers are tempted to join such schemes, as Tony and Colin were, by promises of 'participation', they should be warned by this example. Participation without control is simply a means of emasculating the union and incorporating workers into their system of management.

More insidiously, the Council is using PELAW as a way to avoid providing work on Council projects for its direct labour force in a situation of cutbacks. Under the guise of participation, it is turning its direct labour into lump squads which can compete with private contractors for outside work. And the union has just allowed it to happen.

UCATT's regional office is now supposed to be holding an enquiry into the PELAW situation, but the former members of Unit 1 — which has now been disbanded — aren't optimistic about the results, as the enquiry seems to be happening behind closed doors. They are fighting for a full trade union movement enquiry into PELAW, plus reinstatement to PELAW for all the Unit 1 workers. These demands should be backed to the hilt by both the union and the direct labour force, whose own jobs and conditions of work may soon be at stake.

Sue Aspinall

One day the police had a good plan. If they sent thousands of officers, backed up by a helicopter, into the Notting Hill Carnival they would be able to show how massive police intervention is the way to bring about racial harmony.

This they did, complete with posed photographs featured prominently in the Sun and Mirror showing black women being enthusiastically hugged by nice looking young policemen.

On Sunday night, they inconspicuously stood outside pubs in groups of up to twenty, enjoying the atmosphere, particularly their feeling of power. But on Monday they decided that they would show off their peacekeeping role by snatching a few youth. The only trouble was that the few youth were in the company of over 100,000 black people. End of carnival. End of police power. Beginning of mass action.

The battle raged for hours. The police completely lost control of the streets. Police cars and vans which accelerated at over 40 mph into the crowds had windows broken. Some were burnt. Whites in the crowd were not molested. The police were, picking up dustbin lids to protect themselves from fusillades of bottles and bricks, giving a whole new meaning to white trash.

The story will not end this week or the next. The police plan lies in ruins. They will be after black youth — after revenge. Many were arrested. But mass action of the sort which happened that night in Notting Hill merely shows up the continuous harassment which black youth face from the police. The only thing that was different about Notting Hill was that, for once, the boot was on the other foot. Spontaneous mass action took back control of the streets from the police to those who live in them.

Press Racism Confronted

IT IS RARE indeed that journalists are obliged to answer directly to those they attack in their columns.

That was the position that journalists on the racist Tottenham Weekly Herald in North London were placed last week when confronted by an angry meeting of representatives of the black community, the local labour movement and anti-racist members of the National Union of Journalists.

The Herald's coverage is in line with that of many local rags in the present racist upsurge — which the mass media has played a prominent part in fostering. 'What about us whites, asks angry councillor' is typical of the Herald's headlines, and just one instance of countless column inches devoted to the outbursts of Michael Coney, a fascist councillor.

'MP hits out at hospital's foreign labour' turns out to be a grossly distorted account of a speech by Norman Atkinson against the exploitation of low-paid immigrant labour in the NHS. The paper has also consistently campaigned against a project by Headstart to set up a house for ten homeless black teenagers, inventing totally unsubstantiated stories of a 'split' in the Labour Party over the issue.

The meeting held on 23 August — initiated by the recently formed Campaign Against Racism in the Media [CARM] — resulted, predictably, in no acknowledgement by the Herald journalists that they are reinforcing and often inciting race hate, ably assisting the building of what is already a strong fascist base in the area. The NUJ chapel on the paper is under the sway of chief reporter Kevin Kavanagh, one of the main architects of its racist policies; and it was Kavanagh who acted as chief defendant at the meeting.

'A journalists' job is to reflect the attitudes in the community', he maintained. 'Only a small proportion' of Councillor Coney's thousands of letters were published. A few 'pro-black' articles were meant to establish 'balance'. Deadlines left no time to 'worry about details'.

There was no response to an invitation from journalists on the neighbouring Hornsey Journal — who last year refused to work on an issue which carried an advertisement for an NF rally — to regularly exchange views on race coverage.

Members of the NUJ's North London branch are now bringing a formal complaint against Kavanagh under the union's Code of Conduct and Race Guidelines, which could result in a fine or more serious disciplinary action.

Geoffrey Sheridan from CARM won enthusiastic applause from the meeting when he argued that what is news and how it is reported reflects values and ideas that are dominant in society. 'These include racism, chauvinism, and nationalism', he said, 'and few journalists openly oppose these ideas.'

Denis MacShane, chairperson of the NUJ's General Purposes Committee, compared the attitude of the Herald staff with the obsequiousness of many journalists in Nazi Germany.

CARM announced that since discussion and persuasion had failed to shift the Herald journalists, local blacks and anti-racists would have to bring pressure to bear on the paper with CARM mobilising support in the NUJ and other media unions. This proposal was adopted the following night by a meeting which established a Haringey anti-racist campaign. A working party was established to work out an action plan against the Herald.

CARM is now turning its attention to other racist local papers in London, and a pamphlet is being produced detailing examples of how the media reinforces racism and what has to be done to put a stop to this. Details of CARM, which holds open committee meetings, from: 13 Cleve Road, London NW6.

GIVE US REBATE

A supporter of Red Weekly recently donated her Healey tax rebate to the Fighting Fund as a gesture of contempt for the 'deal' of which that little concession was part. This is an example which should be followed by all IMG members and other supporters of Red Weekly as our newspaper re-emerges from the summer doldrums.

The need for a major boost to the Fighting Fund is illustrated by the fact that this week we have produced 2,000 extra copies of the centre-page pull-out as part of our TUC coverage. We need money to pay for that — and the Healey rebate means there are no excuses. Just sign the cheques over to us and send them to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.



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