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INSIDE: How we fought . . . and why we lost

POUND'S FALL BOOSTS PRICES

INTERNATIONAL SPECULATORS in currency this week sold millions of pounds. Sterling fell through the floor. That means that prices will go through the ceiling.

The rate of inflation has been massively increased. Yet still they claim that wage rises cause inflation. And still Jack Jones, Hugh Scanlon and Len Murray support the Social Contract 'to control inflation'.

Chancellor Healey does not even bother now to talk about bringing inflation down to single figures. It is going up faster than ever!

There is no getting away from it. It is **not** wage rises that cause inflation. British capitalism can no longer produce prosperity, only poverty, unemployment and decreasing living standards.

But Jack Jones still tries to wriggle. He tries to blame it on an 'unpatriotic' article in a Sunday newspaper. But the journalist only spoke the truth. The truth is that the IMF — the world bankers — are demanding **their** cut.

* A further drop in the pound — higher prices all round.

* A massive cut in public expenditure — a further rundown of the tottering welfare services.

* Choking off the money supply — higher interest rates for the financiers and speculators, massive increases in the cost of housing.

The Tories' claim that 'socialism' is creating economic chaos is a smokescreen to hide the fact that their own policies differ in no important respect. Labour in power have never fought for socialist policies. The reason is that socialism does demand a **fight** based on working class action, not gradual reform through Parliament.

Socialist policies demand the mobilisation of the strength of the working class against the bosses and their sabotage. The reason that Jack Jones and the Labour leaders refuse to mobilise that strength is that they are more afraid of the results — the break up of capitalist power — than they are of the speculators, the IMF and the City of London all rolled up together.

The 'lefts' in the Labour Party and the trade unions are in a position to challenge these betrayers of the working class. We must demand that they use it. But no reliance can be placed on those who have ducked out of every important fight under this Labour Government.

Mobilise the rank and file to fight the IMF-Healey cuts deal on 17 November — the day of action called by the public sector union — to protest the running down of services. Fight for socialist policies based on mass action against the Social Contract!

AND STILL THEY CLAIM WORKERS CAUSE INFLATION

ENTRY BAN KILLS

LOONET GALIARA was eight months pregnant when she arrived at Heathrow airport last week on a flight from India. Twenty-four hours later she had given premature birth to a baby girl and the baby had died.

The death came after Loonet Galiara had been laughed at by security guards at Heathrow. According to her husband, they refused to call a doctor for his wife. The Home Office has denied this charge, but admits that 'they had not realised the birth was so imminent'.

It does not need a coroner's jury to pronounce on the cause of death. Loonet had been refused entry to Britain by immigration officials although her husband is a permanent resident. She had been put on a plane to return to India minutes before the baby was born.

She had previously been held in the Heathrow immigration centre, which is guarded by the private strong-arm agency Securicor, and in which vaginal examinations

are carried out to humiliate women on the basis of discovering whether they are 'really' unmarried.

The harassment carried out by immigration officials comes as no surprise.

The presence of supporters of the National Front has already been admitted, and National Front posters have been seen adorning the 'reception centre' walls at Heathrow and Gatwick.

With all this to endure, it is not surprising that Loonet Galiara gave premature birth, not surprising that the baby died.

The Home Office has said that there will be no enquiry. After all, an enquiry might have to ask about the presence of racists among the immigration officials and the security guards. Or it might have to ask about the inhuman and degrading treatment all immigrants have to suffer at the airports of this country.

Someone might even bring up the rules and instructions the immigration officials work under. And perhaps some

'political extremist' might point to what Home Secretary Rees said at the Labour Party conference when he demanded 'a limit to the number of people we can absorb'.

When Rees uttered those sentiments, cries of 'shame' were heard in the conference hall. 'Shame' is too mild a term for what happened to Loonet Galiara and her baby. It would be too mild a term if the 'register of dependants' advocated by both Labour and Tory politicians is established.

Already there is too much racist legislation in this country. The best way to ensure that what happened to Loonet Galiara is never repeated is to sweep all that legislation off the statute book. That means ending all immigration controls.

When the anti-racist demonstration called by the TUC and Labour Party takes place on 21 November, let these demands be to the fore: No Immigration Controls! No more Loonet Galiaras!

'We'll fight to defend our living standards'

As we reported last week, telephonists at the district General Hospital in Southampton have imposed sanctions in defence of their living standards. Red Weekly spoke to PAUL MITCHELL, Chairperson of the local (hospitals) branch of the National Union of Public Employees, about the dispute.



What form is this action taking?
From last Tuesday 12 October, the workers refused to deal with alarms, other than fire and cardiac cases. They have demanded that the hospital management take responsibility instead.

Last week this was escalated, by imposing a ban on all 'on call' routines, again excepting fire and cardiac arrest alarms. This week, only emergency cover will be provided — this could take several forms, although this depends on the management response over the coming period.

What prompted this action?
Two years ago the workers took action to gain parity with other telephonists — in the Fire Service for example. Local management were forced to accept this. But it was conditional on Whitley Council approval. That approval was never forthcoming, and the management resorted to other delaying tactics.

What support has been won from other workers?
A number of porters have given individual indications of support, but no concrete action has so far been taken by them. We have however issued a leaflet to other hospital workers which was well received. The electricians, despite management pressures, are refusing to scab in

any way. The Boscombe and Poole group of hospitals have expressed support, as have Oxford hospital workers. They have sent resolutions to the NUPE national executive demanding union recognition of the dispute and support. I am also meeting Basingstoke shop stewards to discuss it.

But Alan Whitehead, a local 'left' Labour figure and prospective parliamentary candidate for the New Forest, has refused to send any message of support to the telephonists despite public commitments he has made to 'serious action' against wage cutting.

The workers in dispute face many problems, some of which can only be overcome if a concrete alternative exists in the labour movement to the policies of wage restraint and cuts. How do you feel about this?

We need alternative policies based on working class interests. It's not enough just to call for more and more militancy. In the health service we need a massive cash injection, and a fight to ensure that public expenditure is linked to price levels, protecting workers and patients against the ravages of inflation.

Our branch is supporting the call for a local labour movement conference on unemployment and the cuts. This is also being supported by the Southampton Labour Party GMC and the University Students Union. It could provide a basis for a serious fight back against all cuts in the area, based on a programme to defend working class interests, living standards and jobs. I hope it will.

What the cuts will mean in Strathclyde

When Denis Healey stands up and says that everybody has to tighten their belt, he really means it. The consequences are starkly displayed in the proposed cuts for the giant Strathclyde region of Scotland. The chopping list includes:

Education: £13.5 million to be slashed. The social cost of such 'savings' is expected to include the end of all youth clubs, the closing of youth and community centres, the slashing of nursery schools, and the reduction in standard of school meals. The job cost is the sacking of 2,500 technicians, clerical staff, nursery nurses and community education workers.

Social work: £4 million to be cut. The social cost is the closing of holiday homes for the elderly, the closing of day centres for kids, the cutback in home helps and meals-on-wheels, and the reduction of facilities for the homeless. In other words it is the young, the elderly, the homeless and the sick who are being made to pay. The job cost is 400 sackings.

The Fire Brigade: a cut back of 10 per cent of personnel. The social cost of this is too frightening to contemplate — Glas-

ing, scanty recreation facilities and high unemployment. But such considerations are minimal for the Labour-controlled council, as it seeks to loyally follow the dictates of Healey and Scottish Secretary Bruce Millan.

The councillors' worries are not to do with the social effects of the cut-backs. The only comment one such councillor made last week was: 'No matter what we do, the public is not going to like it. If there was an election coming up we'd lose our seats.'

Such cynicism is matched by that shown by Bruce Millan, who in a recent circular instructed Strathclyde that they had to follow a high cuts policy. Yet in the same circular he said, 'examine carefully all possible alternatives to redundancies'. But when you cut £2 million off a council budget, as Millan did, there is little alternative to redundancies.

What there is an alternative to is implementing the cuts in the first place. Already impressive support is being mustered for the Day of Action on 17 November, when tens of thousands of

The call by the public service unions for a national demonstration against the cuts on 17 November is a welcome step. Healey's cuts in education, health and the other social services promise hardship and misery for all working people and their families.

Hospitals and wards are being closed as the waiting lists reach record levels; teaching is becoming impossible in overcrowded and ill-equipped classrooms; the old and handicapped are being deprived of essential social services and the homeless are being left without homes.

The cuts also mean the loss of nearly 200,000 jobs from the public services. Nurses are being thrown onto the dole queues while the NHS is crying out for 70,000 more nurses to keep up safe standards of care. Teachers are unemployed to the tune of over 200,000. The gains of 1945, the 'Welfare State' are being hacked away by Healey and Callaghan.

But even Healey boasts that these cuts go together with pay cuts and 'squeezes' that are likely to push unemployment beyond the two million mark. At the bidding of the bankers and the industrialists, the modern-day Rothschilds and Rockefellerers, this Labour Government is doing their dirty work for them, attacking our living standards on all sides. The IMF is now paying for more.

This is what the Labour leaders call the 'Social Contract'. In exchange for 'consultations' in the ante-rooms of Parliament they are trying to shackle us to their policies

BUILD A CONTINGENT AGAINST THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Statement by National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS (NCC)

and turn the labour and trade union movement into a chain-gang for capitalism. They are boosting the hand-outs to investors, the interest on debts to the money-lenders, and the profits for industry at our expense.

It is the 'Social Contract' that is preparing the way for the Tories to carry on where Callaghan and Co leave off!

The demonstration on 17 November is a way to strike a massive blow in defence of our living standards against this disastrous policy. The calls for one-day strike action by NALGO, the CPSA, London and West Midlands NUPE must be supported by all workers in the public services.

The National Coordinating Committee Against the Cuts in the NHS, which has been campaigning vigorously against Labour's policy of cuts, will be fighting for the biggest possible support for this demonstration.

We believe that it should be the first shot in a national fight-back by the labour movement. But we believe

that such a fight cannot be effective if the labour movement continues to accept the 'Social Contract'. One doesn't step into a boxing ring bound in a straight-jacket and expect to win!

This is why the NCC, in supporting the coming demonstration, is calling for a contingent around the slogan 'Against the Social Contract' and in support of alternative measures which can reverse Labour's policies. One such alternative would be an immediate injection of funds into the social services, together with a programme of useful public works which can build and repair hospitals, clinics, schools and the desperately needed homes.

The unity between public service workers forged for this day of action must not be lost if it is not to be a last protest before further cuts are made, but a first step in a nationally coordinated campaign of action to defeat the cuts. Alliances and joint action in all areas and at all levels in the public service unions is one way to build such an urgently needed fight-back after 17 November.

ALL OUT 17 NOV



Pensioners in their 48 hour vigil outside the house of Social Services Secretary David Ennals. Later hundreds of militant elderly people demonstrated in Trafalgar Square demanding decent pensions and genuine help with heating costs for the old. The march last weekend was organised by the British Pensioners and Trade Unions Action Committee.

WORKERS REFUSE CUTS

ANGRY WOMEN from Canterbury housing estates joined pickets of refuse collectors last week in blocking the dumping of rubbish by black-legs near their homes. The four-week-old strike was sparked off as a result of the Tory-controlled City Council's cutbacks. Plastic bags were substituted for dustbins, and the refuse collectors told that they would no longer be paid 'bonuses' (the 'extra' amount which pushes their wages up to near subsistence level). The only alternative the Tories would offer was redundancies.

The workers had a third alternative — they reminded the Council that it was breaking national pay agreements and demanded that the case be taken to the South Eastern Regional Council for arbitration. This body upheld the workers' case. The Council ignored the judgement. The refuse collectors began a work-to-rule. The Council responded by sacking six of them, hoping the rest would then toe the line.

The refuse collectors came out on indefinite strike demanding the reinstatement of their sacked colleagues, no loss of bonuses, and no redundancies. They were immediately joined by the entire council manual workforce — 400 workers in Canterbury, Whitstable and Herne Bay.

The Council has needed little encouragement to carry out the Labour Government's programme of cut-backs. In fact the last major item of expenditure — apart from councillors' salaries — was the huge cost of the police harassment of pop fans at the Broad Oak pop festival in the summer.

POLICE

The police have been brought in again to deal with the strikers. After dumping on sites adjacent to schools and estates, the pickets and local women blocked the entrances with anything that came to hand. Digging equipment was sabotaged

the Labour Party and students) the Council started to get desperate. Two weeks ago police attacked a peaceful picket at one of the new dumps. Two NUPE members and a passer-by were roughed up and arrested. The pickets had been trying to talk to black-leg drivers and were charged with obstruction.

So far, despite the resistance of the workers, the Council has refused to move. A top-level meeting in London on 2 October resulted in deadlock. NUPE nationally has been slow to respond, and the strike has had little publicity in the national press.

OMEN

But the strike provides an omen for the tactics of councils, both Labour and Tory all over Britain. As a spokesperson for the local Labour Party put it: 'If they can get away with it in Canterbury, councils will repeat the attempt all over the country.'

The strike needs support and it needs

Against corruption-vote Socialist Worker!

Callaghan clearly panicked last week when he agreed to a Select Committee enquiry into corruption. However, the whole exercise is designed to give a glossy cover to parliamentary democracy, which is itself simply one corrupt part of a totally corrupt capitalist system.

It is easy to understand why open representatives of capitalism are corrupt. They are simply behaving like any normal businessman, who cuts corners, skimps on safety, occasionally kills a few workers in the process in order to get maximum profits. What is more difficult is to understand how many figures in the labour movement also indulge in the more sordid methods of capitalism.

Why was Labour Party National Executive member Andy Cunningham involved in all sorts of shady deals? Or Durham councillors Sidney Docking, Robert Urwin, Matthew Allen and Gerrard Herron, who dished out contracts to building contractors?

FIDDLES

Why are there many cases — in Glasgow, Dundee, Pontefract, Northampton and of course the North East — where supposed representatives of the working class are found to be engaged in numerous fiddles?

The answer is simple. They are all reformists who accept that capitalism is here to stay. At best a few rough edges may be knocked off. But once you start by accepting the capitalist system, you soon end up accepting all its faces — including graft and corruption.

You end up wining and dining with 'respectable' figures. You end up with men such as Sir Julian Hodge, 'Usurer of the Valleys', as your friend. And you end up with utter contempt for the working class.

There is not that much difference between the Dan Smiths, the Andy Cunninghams and the John Stonehouses, and those such as Jim Callaghan, who is quite at home dining with Brazilian

torturers. They all systematically sell out the interests of the working class, whom they claim to represent although they are responsible to no-one but themselves.

The Cabinet is not elected, Labour Prime Ministers are a law unto themselves, and Labour MPs pay scant attention to the wishes of their Constituency Labour Parties.

Which is why the fight against corruption must mean fighting for real democracy in the mass organisations of the working class. But that runs against the whole ideal of parliamentary sovereignty that dominates the politics of social democracy.

Hence when Arthur Scargill suggests that trade union-sponsored MPs should be bound by their trade union's policies, the Labour leadership are horrified. They rush to see whether Scargill can be prosecuted for 'Breach of Parliamentary Privilege'. When Ann Holmes, prospective Labour candidate for Kensington, announces that she will be bound by the decisions of her General Management Committee, the Labour leaders are agast.

Where the right wing are correct is in their claim that Scargill's statement represents a breach of 'Parliamentary Privilege'. The extent of that privilege can be seen in the revelation this week that MPs cannot be prosecuted for corrupt practices in their work as MPs. That is a privilege which should be breached.

The fight against corruption means a fight against the hold of the right-wing bureaucracy in the labour movement. It means a fight to make all MPs bound by conference decisions. It means a fight for the right of reselection of all MPs, and the right to get rid of them as soon as they turn their backs on the working class, not in five years time.

Above all, it means a fight for a higher form of democracy — workers democracy. This means that in the trade unions, all representatives should be elected, and in the Labour Party all tendencies should have the right to put forward their positions.

Labour's scant concern for democracy has already been clearly seen in the New-

castle Central by-election. The Socialist Worker campaign organised a picket of the meeting of the Northern Economic Development Council, chaired by Ted Short, former MP for Newcastle Central before he got his £9,000 plus per year job with Cables & Wireless.

Mr Short informed the meeting: 'We are having an election in Newcastle. We heard of the demonstration by the jobs outside so we had to have strict security.' Mr Short shows such touching concern for the unemployed workers on that picket.

RIPPED

After Mr Short's remarks an official at the Civic Centre ripped a microphone away from Socialist Worker candidate Dave Hayes as he tried to make a speech, and then had the police tow away the car. No prizes for guessing who ordered all this.

The Labour leaders cannot conceive of workers democracy. After all, they could not even stomach Eddie Milne's extremely limited proposals for an enquiry into the corrupt Labour machine of Short/Smith and Cunningham in the North East.

The fight against corruption therefore is inseparable from the fight against the present mis-leaders of the working class. It is part and parcel of the fight against the whole policy of this Labour Government. In Newcastle the Labour candidate, Harry Cowans, stands for the Government and has made no attempt to distance himself from the Ted Short machine.

Therefore we urge a vote for the candidate of the International Socialists in Newcastle as we do in Walsall. Despite our differences with the approach of the IS, they have taken up the question of corruption and related it to the fight for workers democracy. A vote for IS therefore represents a vote against the totally undemocratic, bureaucratic Labour Party parliamentary machine, and against the right-wing policies of its Government.

GEOFF RYAN



Socialist Worker candidate, Dave Hayes, discusses with the mother and sister of Liddle Towers, the EEUPTU steward, whose murder has been covered up by the corrupt police force in the North East.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

N.W. CENTRE

£71.50! That's how much money was raised within the first ten days of the appeal for the North-West Red Weekly Centre. £20 from a Labour Party sympathiser, £10 from a Liverpool healthworker, and numerous smaller contributions have been gratefully received.

But over the next three weeks we need to raise £300 altogether — that's another £228.50. To build support for Red Weekly's policies in the North West, we would urge all our readers to consider donations. Please make cheques payable to 'The Week' and send c/o North West Red Weekly Centre, 14 Piccadilly, Manchester.

Defend Chilean Refugee!



The Labour Government is to deport a Chilean refugee who fled from Chile after the military coup in 1973.

Olga Conche, a social worker living in Newton Aycliffe, County Durham, gave birth to a baby on 15 October — and the next day was told that she would have to leave the country by 15 December. Her boyfriend Carlos Gomez is also an exile from the military regime in his country, Uruguay, and has been refused permission to join Olga and their daughter by the Government. He has currently living in Paris.

Olga has appealed to Newton Aycliffe and Darlington trades councils for support for her right to remain in Britain. Her case is being raised at the next General Management Committee meeting of Darlington CLP and by the MPs for Darlington and Bishop Auckland.

The Home Office is refusing to recognise Olga as a political refugee on the cynical grounds that she has [not surprisingly] rejected offers to live in Spain and Argentina. Since the military coup in Chile, Britain has had one of the worst records of any European country for taking political refugees from the junta. If Olga is deported, any credibility which the Labour Government may have had for its verbal opposition to the junta will have been finally destroyed.

Olga's final appeal is currently being considered by the Home Office. Oppon-



A hundred and fifty black and white militants filled a meeting organised by the London International Marxist Group on the southern African revolution last Friday. The first two speakers, Tariq Ali of the IMG Political Committee and Billy Nannen of the African National Congress, spoke of the situation in southern Africa and its impact on world events.

The final speaker was Tsjetsi Mashinin, the leader of the Soweto students, who gave a moving account of the struggle of the students and workers in Soweto and the ferocious repression meted out to them by the police of the Vorster regime. Tsjetsi ended his speech by reading two poems, one by

ovation.

In the discussion that followed, speakers from the floor took up the question of the slogan of 'black power', and how in South Africa that meant the power of the black working class to smash the racist state. Others pointed out that black militants should have no illusions in the leaders of the front line states — 'we do not want to replace a white Smith by a black one'. On one point there was unanimous agreement — the need for the broadest movement of solidarity with those struggling in southern Africa.

This meeting was organised by the London district of the IMG

Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

IN FOCUS

ZIMBABWE - MAJORITY RULE NOW!

The imperialist plan for a neo-colonialist Zimbabwe takes a step forward with the convening of the constitutional conference in Geneva this week. But the main obstacle to the realisation of this project remains the struggle of the Zimbabwean masses, which threatens to scuttle the conference.

British and American strategy, crystallised in the Kissinger-Callaghan package, is to impose a Kenyan style of decolonisation on Zimbabwe, with Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU as the obvious candidate for the role of Kenyatta. Like Kenyatta, Nkomo has established his credentials as an anti-colonial fighter, also like Kenyatta, who refused to nationalise ex-colonial property and assets, Nkomo can be relied upon as a guardian of imperialist interests.

A neo-colonial Zimbabwe is part of imperialism's new orientation for southern Africa as a whole: to lower the 'colour line' from the Zambezi to the Limpopo — that is, from Zimbabwe to South Africa. This requires both a layer of buffer states, the 'independent Bantustans', and a South African Common Market of compliant black neo-colonial states. Hence both the fake independence for the Transkei and a pro-imperialist black regime in Zimbabwe are central to this project.

The exact form of the transfer of power may be negotiable for the imperialists. Sections of the British bourgeois press have been enthusing about an 'Indian solution' — that is, the reimposition of direct colonial rule by the British Government to superintend a speedy establishment of a new constitution inside the two year timetable proposed by Kissinger.

Perhaps the biggest betrayal on the part of the nationalist factions and the 'front line states' has been on the question of the British role. They have consistently called on the Foreign Minister, Anthony Crosland, to chair the Geneva conference as a representative of the 'legal' colonial power. Even Robert Mugabe of ZANU, the most radical speaking of the nationalist leaders, has proposed that Ian Smith should be tried for treason against the British Crown. Against this idea that British capitalism has any progressive role to play, we call upon the Labour Government to give its full support to the liberation fighters of Zimbabwe and drop its support for the neo-colonial plan.

The nationalist leaders face a dilemma. An observer in Geneva described Nkomo and Mugabe as 'each looking over their left shoulder'. If Nkomo is to be a credible Kenyatta, he needs the support of Mugabe and the latter's supposed influence in ZIPA, the guerilla army. Mugabe, in turn, has come out with a series of demagogic statements about the uselessness of the conference in order to maintain his credibility with ZIPA and the masses in struggle.

The pressure on Mugabe is indicated by a ZIPA statement issued in London last week: 'ZIPA condemns the Geneva conference as a non-starter, since we do not know what its terms of reference are. Anything short of immediate, unqualified majority rule is unacceptable to the people of Zimbabwe.' The statement condemns the massive Anglo-American trust fund to enable whites to leave Zimbabwe and concludes: 'These proposals, and the plan for an interim government, are not part of Zimbabwean thinking. We therefore regard the continuation and intensification of the armed struggle as the only means to a just solution.'

We support the ZIPA call for immediate unqualified majority rule — the election of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of one person, one vote. Also it is clear that this involves the immediate disarming of the Smith regime and the arming of the African masses. However, while we agree with ZIPA that the conference is probably an irrelevance, we must nevertheless fight for no deal with racism on the part of the nationalist leaders. Their presence at the conference can only indicate their readiness to come to some eventual agreement with imperialism.

The fight against the imperialist scheme for Zimbabwe should centre on the resolution passed at last weekend's Anti-Apartheid Movement conference. This motion solidarises with the Zimbabwe freedom fighters and 'calls on the Labour Government to disassociate itself from the Kissinger manoeuvres, whose purpose is to defend the economic and political interests of imperialism in southern Africa'. The first step towards this is the national day of action on southern Africa on 4 December, which will be followed by a national demonstration next March. The Fourth International will be fighting to build this into an international day of action in solidarity with the southern African masses.

BLACK IN THE USA

'When the youth wear the red, green and gold hat . . . parents say don't wear it to avoid trouble . . . a lot of young blacks are trying to find their culture.' September 1976, Tottenham — a black youth speaking. The colours are those of the Ethiopian national flag. The beliefs associated with them are those of the Rastafarian cult. Their creed includes the central idea of a return of black people to Africa.

Below, TUNDE ANTHONY examines the political roots of the 'Back to Africa' current within its original American context, in the first part of a series dealing with the experience of the black movement in the USA and its relevance today.

A SUPPOSEDLY WISE Zen philosopher once said something to the effect that the answer is not to solve a problem but to eliminate it. This seemingly simple dictum has at various stages been adopted by black movements in America as pointing the way to the liberation of the black minority.

Blacks in America have found themselves the historical victims of a thoroughly racist and oppressive white dominated society. Faced with this reality there exist three fundamental choices open to blacks, as with all other oppressed people — (a) do nothing; (b) attempt to solve the problem by overcoming the hegemony of the oppressor; and (c) eliminate the problem by removing themselves from the society.

The call for a mass exodus of blacks from America has been one of the major manifestations of the third approach. The idea of 'back to Africa' has its historical roots in slavery. The slaves compared themselves to the people of Israel in Egyptian bondage; Jerusalem or Zion stood for Africa, which through time retreated into a mythical past. The slaves believed that through time they would be redeemed, and led from the land of persecution to their ancestral home.

Consolation

The degree to which blacks have responded to the call for a return to Africa has to a great extent depended on the severity of their oppressed state. Before the American Civil War (1861-65) many blacks sought consolation in the 'back to Africa' movement. There emerged in the early 19th century a number of colonization societies aimed at encouraging and facilitating the return of blacks to Africa. These schemes brought together a variety of whites, shareholders who wanted to get rid of troublesome slaves, Northern whites who feared the consequences of the increasing number of

runaway slaves who made their way North, liberals who, not understanding their society, could see no hope for the blacks in White America. Many blacks were highly suspicious of and hostile to these schemes, but their general oppression led a large number to take up the opportunity provided by the schemes. Most of those who actually reached Africa settled in Liberia.

The American Civil War and the period of reconstruction which followed it brought hopes of emancipation and equality. Subsequently the idea of African colonization withered to the background. But as events proved, black people's salvation never materialised, their conditions saw no marked improvement, they were merely transferred from a state of direct slavery to indirect slavery. In the Southern States the economic and political discrimination to which blacks were subjected was supported by State legislation. Blacks were effectively deprived of the franchise by poll taxes, literacy tests, and other devices which sought to keep them in a perpetually subordinate and depressed status. Acts of terrorism and violence were used in an attempt to break their will: between 1884 and 1900 almost 2,500 blacks were lynched and another 1,000 were similarly murdered in the first fourteen years of the 20th century.

After the post-civil war migration to the North blacks suffered the harsh existence of unemployment and deprivation. There seemed to be no escaping the brutality of slave existence — the idea of 'back to Africa' became revitalised. One of its major pre-war exponents, Henry M. Turner, wrote in 1901, 'The Negro race has as much chance in the United States . . . of being a man . . . as a frog has in a snake den. Emigrate and gradually return to the land of our fathers.'

Impact

It was after the first world war that the slogan 'back to Africa' advanced by

1. 'Back to Africa'



Garveyite recruiting meeting in the USA.

Marcus Garvey gained some prominence in Afro-American thinking. No matter what view one might hold of Garvey's brand of black nationalism, there is no doubting his impact upon the black masses. Garvey was a populist *par excellence*. He energised the black masses with a display of flamboyancy and explosive rhetoric unmatched in black history.

Oppressed

Garvey preached that as long as the Negro and white races live in close proximity, the former will always be oppressed by the latter, for the whites possess the political and economic means of human liberation. The logic of his position led to the conclusion that blacks should return to Africa and whites be evacuated from Africa.

Although advancing the slogan 'back to Africa', it is highly debatable whether Garvey actually believed that his advocacy of inter-continental human reshuffling based on racial origins was a feasible

and practical proposition.

What is clear is that the overwhelming majority of Afro-Americans who followed Garvey did not envisage their returning to Africa or anywhere else. As C.L.R. James told Trotsky in 1939, 'Garvey raised the slogan "back to Africa", but the Negroes who followed him did not believe for the most part that they were really going to Africa . . . but they were glad to follow his militant leadership. And there is the case of the black woman who was pushed by a white woman in a street car and said to her, "You wait until Marcus gets into power and all you people will be treated in the way you deserve." Obviously she was not thinking of Africa.'

Defeatism

The idea of leaving America (Babylon) as an answer to black oppression is undoubtedly defeatism and a reflection of hopelessness. One contributing factor to this resort has been the failure of the white labour movement and socialist organisations to lend support to the black

struggle and embrace this struggle as an integral part of the struggle against capitalism. Until the 1920s the American white left viewed the oppression of blacks purely and simply as an economic problem, a part of the general struggle between workers and the capitalists, deserving no special attention. It was with the advent of the Russian Revolution and the publication of Lenin's theses on the National Question that a different approach was adopted. But the taking up of the black struggle was accompanied with such opportunism and inconsistencies that a substantial amount of harm was consequently done to the relationship between blacks and the radical left.

Today, both in America and Britain it is crucial that the labour movement actively support the struggle of blacks against the racism endemic to these capitalist societies. Needless to say, if such support is not forthcoming it can only lead to the isolation of the black struggle, the division of the working class and the turning inwards of the black struggle.

Tunde Anthony

STUDENTS FIGHT FASCISM

It is a sad fact that many student teachers are demoralised after the sell-out of the college occupations last term by the National Union of Students Executive. One of the dangerous results of this demoralisation was recognised at a recent general meeting of the Student Union of Colleges of Hull (SUCH). It is the growth of fascism.

The SUCH meeting passed a 'No Platform For Fascists' motion. The importance of this is that SUCH includes the Association of Commerce and Technology, which sent a fascist delegate to the NUS conference. The motion was passed despite intimidation by the fascists. A mobilisation by local IMG and IS militants and sympathisers showed the students that there was an alternative to

reactionary policies.

It is a mistake to say that students are not susceptible to fascism. Faced with bad conditions in college, and the prospect of the dole when they graduate, they can look for such scapegoats as overseas students. In this context the recent sacking of 40 workers by the NUS Executive must be seen as deplorable, giving credence to the Tory students' call for 'rationalisation' of campus workers.

It is the task of revolutionaries in the student movement to combat these 'ideas' by building a revolutionary pole of students, based on a firm student/worker alliance. The 17 November Day of Action is crucial, as it will be a concrete focus for trade union militants and students fighting the cuts. — JOHN MUNSON [Hull].

The elitism of Terry Ellis

Whilst I fully agree with Red Weekly that it is crucial to defend the victimised teachers of William Tyndale school, and whilst also appreciating that the publication of the interview with Terry Ellis in your last issue was designed to stimulate debate on the question of education, I am surprised that Red Weekly did not make its disagreements with Ellis's educational philosophy more explicit.

For example, Ellis refers to the implementation of the Plowden report, and the fact that as soon as teachers attempt to socialise education according to the needs of each child they are 'jumped on by a load of middle class managers'. Does Ellis try to defend the idea of education on the principle of 'each according to their needs'. No. He persists in saying that he was doing only what is 'taught in the best teacher training colleges'. Ellis is meeting academic elitism with elitism in this case.

But things get worse. Nowhere is that elitism more apparent than in his patronising dismissal of the role that has been played by the working class in education, and how that role can be altered.

He firstly makes the fundamental mistake of denying the fact that the present state education system is in fact geared to the needs of industry etc. He ignores things such as the expansion of the technological side of education in the 1960s, which was geared to meeting the needs of the 'white hot technological revolution' referred to by Harold Wilson. He does not seem to be able to see that the moves being made at the moment by people such as Callaghan, not just to make massive cutbacks in the education system but also to revise its orientation, are in order to suit better the needs of industrialists and businessmen.

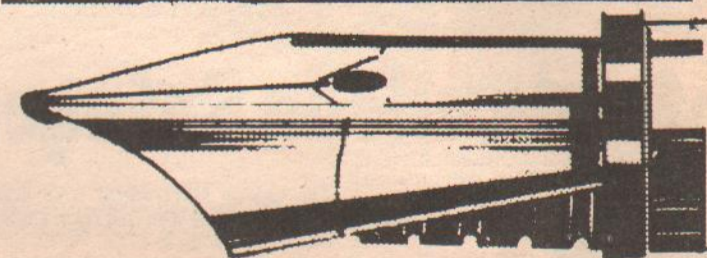
Secondly he ignores the fact that the competitive ideology which is a fundamental aspect of our educational system is bound to be reflected in the attitude of the working class, who

However, Ellis with all his talk about 'progressive education' offers no solution to this backward attitude. He says that working class consciousness about education must be changed. But at the same time he dismisses the whole class as 'reactionary', implicitly saying that they know nothing [and indeed want to know nothing], and that as such, the job of education must be left to those who do know something. This just leads to a perpetuation of the present closed nature of education, with the teacher as the only authority and the only one with anything to contribute.

Surely the change in working class consciousness that Ellis wants to see can only be brought about by the de-mystification of education, not by a clique of 'radical' teachers saying 'leave it to us, we know our job'. In other words, the working class needs to be educated about education. The truly progressive teacher would not dismiss the role of, for example, parents in education, but would attempt to draw them in, to use their experience — in short to work towards a socialisation of education. It is only in such a two way involvement that consciousness can be changed.

Alexandra Kollontai once remarked that it was the streets that brought up the children of the proletariat. In the days of state education, that job has been taken over by people such as Terry Ellis and his colleagues. It would seem to me, however, that such people should make the effort to 'hammer out' their educational philosophy [whether in or out of school hours!] in practice—by returning to the streets and attempting to understand the social, cultural and economic factors which prevent working class involvement in education. To remain in a 'radical'

LETTERS



Why no trade union price index?

As a regular reader of the daily *Rouge* in France, I have been interested recently by a debate in their pages (and in the pages of the French press in general), on the subject of government price indices. In France these are calculated by the INSEE, the equivalent of the English Central Statistical Office (CSO), and they are, of course, used as the basis for all government propaganda about inflation, the standard of living, and the state of the economy in general. On a more practical level, the index is used as a weapon in wage negotiations and as a measure for the periodic adjustments of the legal minimum wage.

The point of the debate is this: the INSEE index is unjust and it consistently underestimates the true rise in the cost of living. It is furthermore surrounded by the defensive barricades of 'le secret statistique', which makes it impossible to find out exactly how it is calculated.

The two biggest unions in France play a part in unmasking this fraud: both the CGT and CDEF publish their own indices.

contradict one another; and it is clear that they ought to agree to publish jointly one single result.

What I would like to ask you is this: is there any alternative, trade union or otherwise, to the figures produced by the CSO in Britain? Given the importance (both ideological and practical) placed on these figures by the ruling class's offensive at the present time, I think it would be a good idea to explain to British workers on what they are based, how they are calculated, and just how accurate they really are.

As a background to this question, I also think that Red Weekly should be devoting more space to combating the eternal capitalist myth about rises in wages being the cause of rises in prices. Given the extraordinary success the British ruling class still has in propagating this myth (a success which its French counterparts must envy it!), it seems to me that the revolutionary left should engage in a little basic economic

TRICO: WHY SO LONG?

LAST FRIDAY night the victorious Trico strikers celebrated their success. Members of the AUEW District Committee, fortified by a jubilant consumption of alcohol, made numerous fine speeches. The prima ballerinas of their stage-managed performance were presented with bouquets. It was left up to the women themselves to bring the party back to earth. To rousing applause leading shop steward Eileen Ward proclaimed: 'Without the support of the trade union movement and the Women's Charter, we would not have won this strike.'

The Trico women have scored a victory for millions of women throughout the country. They have shown that it is industrial action that wins equal pay, rather than legislation and employer-biased tribunals. But did the strikers have to suffer five months of hardship and frustration to win their case? In answering that question a few more have to be asked.

● Were the difficulties over the blacking of wipers avoidable?

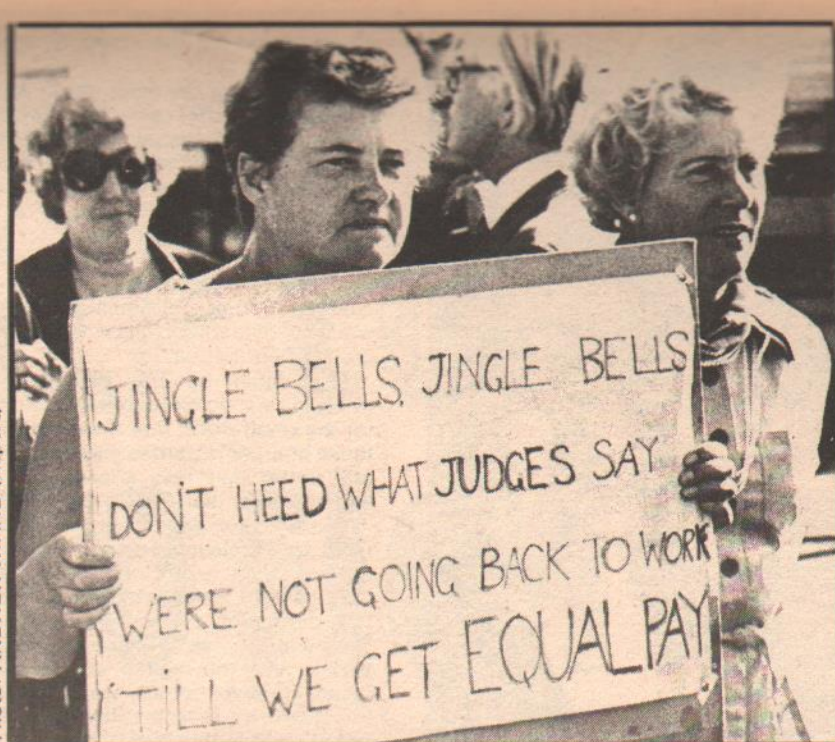
Blacking was far from effective. The left press was able to carry weekly reports of factories where blacking was not in operation, or where confusion existed. It took four months for the District Committee to issue a national appeal through the

pages of the national AUEW Journal and to include a call for the blacking of all windscreen wipers.

Even then, the District Committee refused to demand that the national executive issue an official, national blacking call. By hiding behind the excuse that the right wing of the executive would block this call, the District Committee avoided putting the 'lefts' like Scanlon on the spot.

No moves were made to demand that the leadership of other unions such as the Transport and General Workers Union add their weight to the blacking action. Broad Left stewards and convenors only rarely called mass meetings of car workers to explain the importance of the strike

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)



and the need for solidarity action.

● Why was there no call for a district strike or a national solidarity demonstration?

Decades of industrial struggle have shown that national solidarity action and strikes can bring a struggle to a speedy and successful conclusion. The District Committee were well versed in proclaiming this 'the most important dispute at present taking place in the country'. But when it came to calls for demonstrations, all the District Committee could manage were disappearing tricks.

In June the Greater London Association of Trades Councils announced a demonstration. The District Committee left this to evaporate in the summer heat. When the Working Women's Charter Campaign took the initiative to call a national demonstration, they were de-

nounced by the District Committee. It was only on the eve of the final settlement that the DC began to make half-hearted plans for a demonstration on 6 November.

● Was the severe financial hardship of the strikers avoidable?

In any strike the confidence of the strikers is sorely tried by financial hardship. Why, in a strike proclaimed as the 'most important since the matchgirls in the 1800s' was no national levy demanded? Why did it take three months for a district levy to be organised, and why were new union members denied strike pay for over a month? Why was financial backing not sought to provide child care facilities, so that the women could fully participate without having to fork out their strike pay to baby-minders?

● How was the strike organised?

Throughout the strike the District Committee retained a tight grip on all decision-making. But in the face of police intimidation and strike breaking, total involvement in decision-making at all levels and open discussion of all problems was essential.

No attempt was made to integrate the women into the democratic organisation of the strike so that they felt in control and could begin to overcome their previous inexperience of struggle and trade union activity. At times the District Committee blatantly withheld information about blacking difficulties, claiming 100 per cent effectiveness. When challenged they argued that they did not want to demoralise the women with the truth!

● What were the District Committee afraid of? Why did they deny the strikers information and democratic control? Why did they hold back the essential national solidarity action?

The answer lies in the influence of the Communist Party on the District Committee. While supporting the struggle for equal pay, another overriding consideration came into play. The Communist Party was careful to avoid any action which would have unsettled their cosy relationship with 'lefts' like Scanlon and Jones.

If the strikers, and the Charter Campaign had pushed successfully for national solidarity action, they would have forced Jones and Scanlon into the open. National action on Trico, particularly effective blacking to bring the car industry to a standstill, would have brought the strike into a head-on clash with the Government's pay policy and Jones and Scanlon's collaboration with it.

For the CP, this had to be avoided at all costs — even at the cost of a possible defeat for the Trico strike. The determination of the strikers and the timely caving in of the employers saved this round of the equal pay fight. We should not kid ourselves that we will be so lucky next time.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

ABORTION IN DEMAND

'Contraception and abortion together allow a woman to become political in that it is the basis for her equal participation in the politics both of sexuality and of the wider world. The tyranny of biological destiny need no longer dominate her to the extent that it has in all past historical periods.'

So Victoria Greenwood and Jock Young conclude their book *Abortion in Demand* (Pluto Press, £1.65). Having set themselves the task of analysing the politics of the abortion debate, they examine the legislation, statistics on abortion and the various arguments put forward in the debate.

Particularly useful are the arguments put forward against the reformers — that abortion is every woman's right, not a convenient form of social engineering catering for a small number of 'deviant' women. The authors explain that the reformers' perspective does not question the family, and their underlying conception of society as fundamentally healthy leads the reformers to define those women seeking abortions as 'abnormal'.

They argue that the 1967 Act was introduced not as a step towards free abortion on demand, but rather as a means of aiding the main beneficiaries of the welfare state: women 'on the fringe' of society who couldn't cope with their rightful role of mother. For 'to concede that economic reasons drive so many women to seek abortions is to make a hefty indictment of the present social order.' And, of course, it is precisely this that the reformers are not prepared to do.

The authors also stress that abortion should be understood as part of birth rather than population control, involving a woman's choice as to whether or not she has a child. This is a particularly important point in view

India (to name but two examples) where abortion and forced sterilisation are used to maintain imperialist control in those countries.

Greenwood and Young conclude that the right to abortion is an essential part of the liberation of women, but that under capitalist society, the choice as to whether or not to have a child is at best partial.

However, the book's weakness lies in its failure to explain abortion as a class rather than individual question. We are told that the revolutionary left 'simplistically' subsumes women's issues into the 'rhetoric' of class analysis, yet at no time do the authors explain why it is that socialists should take up the question of abortion. The nuclear family is only mentioned in passing, and its function as a central pillar to maintain capitalist society is not examined.

Controlling

In fact the issue of women controlling their own fertility becomes even more important for socialists to take up in a period of capitalist crisis. The fight for this control challenges the two-pronged attack of the ruling class: women being the first to be made redundant, and being the servicers of children in the home.

In the past year, attacks on abortion rights have been coupled with attacks on childcare facilities through public expenditure cuts, increasing women's family responsibilities. The whole idea that 'a woman's place is in the home' rests on the existence of these responsibilities.

Women are pushed back into the

to a greater degree than other sections of the working class. The working class is consequently divided and weakened, and through this any potential ruling class project can be neatly accomplished.

This means that women's demands are central, not peripheral, for socialists in the fight against attacks on the working class. It also means that there is a case for a campaign on the issue of abortion alone which should involve people not yet convinced of the need to fight women's oppression on all fronts — something the authors are not very clear on. However, this book is a positive contribution to the abortion debate, and should be read by all socialists who are serious about fighting women's oppression.

SUE LANDAU

Women are claiming the right to control their own fertility, to bear children in circumstances that make rearing them a creative act, or to choose abortion if they wish.

For the recent history of abortion law reform in Britain, and the issues in the current campaign, read Victoria Greenwood and Jock Young's

ABORTION IN DEMAND

Introduced by Peter J. Huntington, MD FRCOG
£1.65 paperback

PLUTO PRESS
Unit 10, Spencer Court
7 Chalcut Road, London NW1 8LH
Telephone 01-722 0141

No jobs for women - Official

THE GOVERNMENT supports discrimination against women — that's official.

This was revealed earlier this month at a meeting of Blaenau Gwent development committee, which was considering an application by a firm in Brynmawr to extend their factory. The firm, Protective Clothing Ltd, at present employs about 50 women, and one member of the committee suggested that they be offered a new advance factory because of problems about extending the existing site.

Impossible, said the deputy clerk Mr John Williams. The Government would not make advance factories available to firms employing mainly women workers. And this was confirmed next day by the

Welsh Office, who said that they would be 'extremely reluctant' to do so.

This is fully in line with the Government's reaction to the August unemployment figure, as reported by the Press Association — that it was felt that an 'encouraging factor is that in the last three months most of the increase in unemployment was among women'. The Welsh Office statement makes it clear that this is now a conscious policy.

The cosmetics of the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts are rapidly peeling off to reveal the ugly face below. This heightens the need to make a woman's right to work a central feature of any campaign against unemployment.

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.

NAC FUND-RAISING Disco: Sat. 6 Nov, 8pm-1.30am at the Basement, 29 Shelton St, London WC2. 50p entrance — all welcome.

PORTUGAL: 'Soares Government on the attack — what is the workers' response?' Hear first hand account from Alvaro Miranda (PWCC), recently returned. Questions, discussion. Monday 1 November, 7.30pm, Conway Hall. Send s.a.e. (foolscap) to CSPWC, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2 for latest solidarity campaign newsletter.

INTERNATIONAL Spartacist Tendency Forum, Friday 29 October: 'Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International'. Various organisations claim to be the Trotskyist Fourth International. An examination of their claims and why the working class vitally and urgently needs its own international party. Speaker: James Robertson, an American Trotskyist. 7.30pm at the Roebuck pub, 108a Tottenham Court Road, W1.

WOMEN in Eastern Europe: Conference at Birmingham University Students Union, Saturday 30 October, 10.30 am-5.30 pm.

WORKERS VANGUARD, weekly paper of the Spartacist League/US, carries international news, hard-hitting polemics, in depth political analysis. Special introductory offer: 12 air-speeded issues for £1. Cheques payable to C. Reid. Mail to IST-B, BCM Box 4272, London WC1.

CARDIFF public meeting on 'Women in Spain', organised by Women's Action Group and the Spanish Solidarity Committee. Mon 8 Nov, 7.30pm, Friends House, Charles Street.

BRISTOL Action Group Against Racism public meeting. Mon 1 Nov, 7.30pm, Central Hall, Oldmarket St. 'The rise of racism and fascism'. Tues 2 Nov, picket of NF rally — meet 6pm, Temple Meads station.

TRADE UNION Committee Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act — public meeting to protest against the Act. Thurs 4 Nov, 7.30pm.

NORTH HACKNEY Socialist Forum: 'Labour Youth — Against Racism, Socialist Policy Now!' Speakers: Ken Livingstone, Patrick Kodikara, Mumtaz Khan. Tues 2 Nov, 8pm, Stamford Hill Library Hall, N16.

GLASGOW Socialist Forums: every Thursday night at 7.30pm in the Iona Community Centre.

BENGALI FRIENDS in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and 'Srani-Dal-Biplab' (Fourth International paper) contact: Bengali, c/o Internationalen, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.

ENGINEERING VOICE: new national edition under reorganised editorial board available shortly. Subscriptions/bulk orders from: Vickers Shop Stewards Combine Committee, c/o Tyneside Socialist Centre, 235 Jesmond Road, Newcastle. Cost 10p per copy plus postage for orders. Advertising leaflets etc also available.

PUBLIC FORUM in Bristol: 'The Fight against Cuts and Unemployment'. Monday 8 Nov, 7.30pm, Central Hall (Old Market). Speakers include: John Blackley (AUEW Convenor, Rolls Royce), Harriet Wordsworth (RTW marcher), representative from LPYS Youth Unemployment Campaign. Supported by Rolls Royce Shop Stewards, delegates to Avon Liaison Committee against Education Cuts, Bristol RTW marchers. For further details tel. 33567.

MANCHESTER Red Weekly Discussion Group: First of a series of regular discussion meetings for all militants sympathetic to the politics of Red Weekly — 'Revolutionaries and Bourgeois Elections'. Thurs, 4 Nov, 7.30pm, Bay Horse, Thomas St (off Oldham St).

BOLTON Red Weekly Discussion Group: First of a series of regular discussion meetings for all militants sympathetic to the politics of Red Weekly — 'Revolutionaries and Bourgeois Elections'. Thurs 4 Nov, 8pm, White Lion pub.

BURY AREA Red Weekly Discussion Group meets Thurs 28 Oct, 8pm, at Trevelyan Club, Broad St, Bury. Discussion on 'Fighting the Cuts — What Programme?'

'DIRECT ACTION and Criminal Trespass' — conference at Reading University, 27-28 Nov. Details from CACTL, 6 Bowden Street, London

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)



BASILIO MONTES was originally coming to Britain as part of a joint delegation from the Spanish Workers Commissions and the USO, one of the two socialist trade unions. As we reported last week, José Torres, another delegation member, was denied a passport by the Spanish authorities. Therefore the schedule of the tour had to be pared down, and only Montes arrived in Britain.

Comrade Montes is a member of the national secretariat of the Workers Commissions and a leader of the Movimiento Comunista (MC), an organisation which had its origins in the Basque nationalist movement but which now has significant influence in the workers movement as a whole. The MC participates in the Democratic Coordination, a body which involves many of the major working class parties in an alliance with sections of the 'democratic bourgeoisie' in order to win a 'negotiated break' with the dictatorship.

Montes explained to **Red Weekly** that the principle objective of the tour was to have been to establish contact with those sections of the British labour movement which reject the attempts of the Labour Party and trade union leaderships to single out the UGT for support. The UGT is a trade union adjunct of the PSOE, the traditional party of social democracy in Spain.

Rebuilding

He stressed that the central force in rebuilding the workers movement has been the Workers Commissions, organisations which were born out of the struggle for independent unions against the fascist vertical syndicates. Nevertheless, Montes strongly favours the unification of the trade union movement:

'We are aware of two very important factors, both of which point in the direction of an eventual single and united trade union for all Spanish workers. One is this great consciousness of the need for unity which is developing in the workers movement, and the other is that the only real force in the movement — the Workers Commissions — reflects this unitary spirit and wants to build this central union for all workers.'

'We have therefore decided that the way forward to the democratic break is through the election of rank and file delegates from all tendencies to a Constituent Union Congress, which would decide on the form of union they want.'

Montes is pessimistic however about the immediate prospects for this policy. This is partly because the regime has latched onto trade union pluralism as a way to divide the movement, but mainly because the other trade union bodies, with the backing of European social democracy, oppose unification. **'These other organisations don't appear to want it'**, he said. **'Certainly the UGT doesn't want unity.'**

Agreement

In this respect, Montes pointed out that the MC is in substantial agreement with our comrades of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) that **'in the struggle for the united, central union the unitary organisations in the factories are fundamental.'** He stressed the importance of the Coordinator of Vizcaya, set up

would be difficult to maintain the development of these united rank and file bodies at a national level if USO, the UGT and the sections of the Workers Commissions dominated by the Communist Party (PCE) were **'actively hostile to them, seeing them as a threat to their continuing leadership'**.

He agreed that the leadership of the Workers Commissions does not accurately reflect the balance of forces within them. The PCE holds 21 out of 27 seats on the national secretariat: in Valencia, for example, from a 44-41 vote in their favour, they took all three delegates; in Zaragoza, with a 330-320 vote in their favour, they also managed to walk off with all three delegates.

We talked at some length about the new package of economic measures just announced by the regime. Without any doubt they are the most savagely anti-working class measures since those taken in 1959 and 1967, which were distinguished by the level of repression needed to enforce them. Wages and collective bargaining procedures have been frozen.

Suspension

But perhaps the most serious threat is the suspension of Article 35 of the Labour Relations Law. This fixed redundancy payments at a minimum of six months wages, and was designed as a sop to the workers by establishing a measure of security in employment and therefore, so the reasoning went, industrial peace. Of course it never stopped dismissals for political reasons. Basilio Montes, who lost his job in a Basque steel-works because of his activity, has good reason to know this.

The suspension of Article 35 will result in a massive increase in unemployment, which is already running at more than a million. **'These measures are a real challenge to all Spanish workers'**, said Montes, **'and will be**

accompanied by the stepping up of repression.'

When Labour Minister de la Mata offered USO, UGT and the Workers Commissions a 'social pact' made up largely of these same measures, some two months ago, the Workers Commissions secretariat decided on a 24 hour general strike, whether or not the USO and the UGT would support it. And here Montes stressed the importance of 'support and sympathy' for the workers' objectives inside the Democratic Coordination:

'It is small, but this support puts the regime's policies into question... for the small worth that the support of these bourgeois parties may have, it is still better that they should line up with us rather than the Government.'

The 24 hour general strike is now fixed for 12 November, and could be an important step forward towards that general strike which will finish the dictatorship once and for all. Comrade Montes is less certain that this is how the regime will be displaced. However nobody would dispute his statement that **'the dictatorship is not at stake in this type of strike'**.

Pressure

Yet he seems to have a singular lack of confidence in the capacity of the working class to win democratic rights for itself: **'Apart from the odd leftist, everybody understands the general strike as a means of pressure in order to achieve the democratic break. We aren't talking about the revolution.'**

'If we workers could impose our own demands there would be little point in heading for a bourgeois democracy, would there? If the army decided to block the way, where would we be without guns in our hands?'

Asked about the importance of workers self-defence, Montes said: **'I think it is legitimate for the masses to take whatever measures are necessary to defend themselves.'** Unfortunately he seems to relegate this to a future struggle for socialism.

Montes sees the bourgeois allies in the Democratic Coordination as important to the workers' struggle, even though they are clearly seeking an agreement with the regime: **'The struggle of the masses is pushing this option further out of their reach.'**

Independent

This is true, of course, but the implication which Montes misses is that this argues for a reliance on the independent self-organisation of the masses. He rejects the idea of a working class united front for the present. **'A lot would have to change'** if this were to be achieved, since **'polarisation is not so much between the working class and the bourgeoisie as between those who want a democratic regime and those who don't.'**

Montes sees the rise of the mass struggle as cementing the inter-class alliance of the Democratic Coordination. He sees the formation of the Coordination as flowing directly out



'Dissolution of the repressive bodies'—a central demand of the recent Basque general strike. These forces since the death of Franco. Every town listed bears the scars of their crimes.

'We aren't about the rev

Interview with BASILIO MONTES, member of the Spanish Workers

of the Vitoria murders earlier this year. **'Faced with five savage murders no section of the opposition could avoid stating explicitly that the regime**

would have to go. Otherwise would have been left naked in front of the masses.'

This is a novel emphasis in interpreting the Vitoria events, which are marked by the advanced nature of demands and forms of organisation adopted. Their importance lay in the fact that a general strike led by the revolutionary left went far beyond the bounds of the PCE and bourgeois reform project.

Opposite

The real significance of these events would seem to be the opportunity of Montes' analysis. The Coordination is creaking under the strain of the mobilisations which challenge the viability of a 'negotiated break' with the dictatorship.

Demands like the dissolution of repressive forces which have been raised in many recent struggles are rejected by the PCE, the main force behind the Coordination, because they threaten to scare away its bourgeois allies. Montes unequivocally supported this demand, but did not seem to understand that it threatened to tear apart the alliance of which the organisation, the MC, is part.

Clearly the MC strategy is far from subordinated to class collaboration. Asked about the perspective of building a revolutionary party, Montes said that **'in the short term I don't see any possibility — the difference between the parties of the left are great.'**

Although the Coordination plays 'a secondary role in the struggle of the working class', he sees coordination with the 'democratic bourgeoisie' as necessary until the

KRIVINE ARRESTED IN MADRID

ALAIN KRIVINE and Patrick Jouvét, leading members of the LCR, the French section of the Fourth International, were arrested in Madrid last week.

After addressing a meeting at Madrid University, the comrades were taken away by the BPS, the Spanish secret police, and held for 36 hours. After this time they were deported to France. At no time were any charges made against the comrades.

They were held in unlit cells, without food or water, a common practice in Spanish jails. Four Spanish comrades, arrested with Krivine and Jouvét, are still held in these conditions without charges being brought. Alongside them are about 250 militants, mainly from the revolutionary left, who did not get the benefit of the Govern-





Scotland

CAN SLP CONTRIBUTE TO FIGHT BACK?

DELEGATES FROM ALL OVER SCOTLAND will arrive this Friday at the Golden Lion Hotel in Stirling for the first national conference of the Scottish Labour Party. Delegates will have travelled to the Hotel not only from very different areas of Scotland, but more importantly from very different political backgrounds.

The leadership of the SLP, Jim Sillars MP and Alex Neil who formed the nucleus of the party early this year, left the Labour Party decisively enough, but, unfortunately, have brought most of the baggage of social democratic politics with them. Other sections of the SLP have been attracted from the nationalists, but the vast majority of the delegates who turn up will be socialists. They joined the SLP in the hope that it could be a new force in Scottish left-wing politics, a genuinely socialist party, free from the electoralism of the old Labour Party or the reformist syndicalism of the Communist Party. The results of the first conference will go a long way to deciding whether these hopes can be realised.

Spectacular

The very fact that a new political party with some 2,000 members could be formed at all is of some importance. The spectacular advance of the SNP in the last two years has found no coherent reply from the old leaders of the labour movement in Scotland. Committed to support for the social contract, despite their bleating about its 'worst aspects', the so-called lefts can only watch in impotent despair the real possibility of an electoral disaster. In the absence of a systematic fight against the Government's policies from inside the party, Sillars was the first to crack — by walking out and setting up a new party.

In the nine months since the formation of the SLP, nothing basic has changed in the situation. The Scottish TUC has alternatively "regretted" or "deplored" the continual rise in Scottish unemployment without organising any industrial action against it. The Labour lefts have continued to troop through the lobbies in support of the cuts, ensuring that their "opposition" to the Government is safely contained at the level of resolution passing.

Possibility

But the possibility of a fight back is there. The existence of the SLP could be an important factor in its success. While our left leaders have been sitting at conferences wrestling with their consciences over the "morality" of opposing the Government, many workers have been in the front line in defence of their jobs and living standards. At Redpath Dorman Long rig yard at Methil in Fife, 300 workers have just been driven to the dole after a four week strike over safety conditions. In the Highland region, a seven week strike by school cleaners called against wage cuts arising from a chop in the education budget, has also just finished. These two struggles are only the first of many still to come. Two of Glasgow area's best organised light engineering factories, Personna and Standard Telephone and Cables (ITT) are due to shut down around Christmas. With the experience of a success-



The solidarity from Nigg Bay workers with the Redpath, Dorman Long strikers was not sufficient to prevent their sacking. The STUC bears the responsibility for the defeat, part and parcel of their complete acquiescence to the Social Contract.

notion of the SLP posturing as a mass alternative to the old Labour Party is utopian. The electoralism of the reformist leadership of the SLP looks increasingly tarnished. Unfortunately they seemed to have learned little from experience.

All this demonstrates that the will to fight is there; what is necessary is the ability to generalise and extend it. At Cumbernauld the local SLP did just that, when they threw the resources of their branch into support for the striking dust cart drivers in the summer. The leadership of the SLP, by their actions in breaking from the Labour whip over the cuts and by voting against the Government, made their own limited but important contribution to the same end. It was the clear opposition of the SLP and its two MPs, Sillars and Robertson, to the cuts and to the social contract which led *Red Weekly* to urge Scottish workers to demonstrate their disgust with the policies of the Government by voting for the SLP candidates at Darnley, Clydebank and Irvine.

Indication

The success of the SLP in attracting around 10 per cent of the vote in these elections is an indication that there is a conscious minority of workers who

Document

The National Organising Committee's document released to the press, *Jobs and Industry*, is Parliamentary through and through. The proposals in the document are based on "joint consultation" between workers and management with a veritable flood of planning boards and "new machinery of government" — essentially the sort of timid reformism peddled by the Tribune group for decades, applied to the specific Scottish context. The logic of the leadership's position is away from the Cumbernauld drivers, away from the Personna workers and away from a dynamic, growing SLP. Scottish workers will see little point in supporting a very small reformist Labour Party, when a much larger and more powerful one still exists.



JIM SILLARS MP
mism has been the witch-hunt and red-baiting well known to socialists in the old Labour Party. "Extremists" have been ceremonially denounced and clumsily excommunicated. Jim Sillars feels free to publicly dissociate the SLP leadership from resolutions up for debate at the party's first conference. At this first conference all these questions will be up for debate. The future direction of the SLP will be in the hands of the membership. If successful, by Sunday night when they walk the five hundred yards from the Hotel to the rail station in Stirling, the delegates can have ensured that the direction of the SLP will be towards

Over thirty workers have been murdered by (Joven Revolucionario, LCR youth paper)

talking 'olution'

Commissions national secretariat have had such striking success in operating outside this framework.

Solidarity

Finally, comrade Montes stressed the need for international solidarity with the Spanish working class. The first element in this is simply information about the Spanish workers' struggles. He said that specific links should be encouraged between British and Spanish workers — most obviously in the multinationals, but also within different sectors of industry. He particularly mentioned miners, engineering workers, building workers and dockers.

Montes explained the particular importance of financial support for Spanish workers. He told of how, without strike pay, many struggles are broken by lack of funds. He saw the visit partly as a way to gain financial support for the impoverished Workers Commissions.

His point is emphasised by the announcement that the UGT has received £350,000 from European trade unions, including the British! The UGT, backed by all the forces of European social democracy and specifically tolerated by the Spanish Government, has only 25,000 members. It is estimated the formal membership of the Workers Commissions amounts to more than a million.

'The principle object of our visit is to explain the realities of the Spanish situation, so that people will understand that in the Spanish trade union movement the UGT has only a tiny



How we fought ...

To mark the 20th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution and the Polish October events of 1956, Red Weekly is publishing a series of studies on the problems of the political revolution in Eastern Europe.

We begin with an interview with NICHOLAS KRASSO, who played a central role in the formation of the Budapest central workers council in 1956. Krasso joined the Hungarian Communist Party in 1945 at the age of 14, writing the first denunciation of Cardinal Mindszenty in the Party daily that same year and contributing to the Party's theoretical organ between 1947 and 1959.

Banned from university in the course of the drive against Lukacs in 1950, he was drafted into the army and returned to play a leading role in the intellectual struggle against Rakosi's Stalinist leadership before the October uprising. Forced into exile after the Hungarian revolution, Krasso has been on the editorial board of New Left Review since the early 1960s. He speaks here to Oliver MacDonald.

It must be unique for a revolution to begin with a mass demonstration in solidarity with the people of another country. Why did the demonstration in support of Poland on 23 October produce a popular uprising in Budapest?

The international context was very fundamental. In 1955 the Soviet Union had accepted Austrian neutrality, and in 1956 Khrushchev had recognised Yugoslavia as a country

on the road to socialism even though it was outside the Warsaw Pact. And now suddenly Gomulka was being swept into power in Warsaw and he also seemed to be taking a neutralist position.

So it seemed that everybody around us was taking a neutralist stand and we Hungarians were again missing the bus, just as we had been the last satellite of Hitler at the end of the war.

The student demonstration in solidarity with Gomulka's Poland had been banned a day or two before, but on 23 October itself, at about midday, the radio announced that the ban had been lifted. This turned what would have been a largely intellectual affair into a mass mobilisation with workers pouring out of the factories

in the suburbs towards the centre of the city. Hundreds of thousands of people joined the demonstration, with the dramatic events in Poland (which filled the newspapers) fresh in their minds.

The gigantic crowd reached the Parliament building and everybody wanted to hear Imre Nagy. [1]. People kept going to fetch him while actors recited Petofi poems from 1848 [2]. But it was well over an hour before Nagy finally agreed to appear in front of an increasingly restive crowd, and a more incendiary speech could not have been made: he called on the people to remain calm and trust him, and return home after singing the national anthem.

This convinced large numbers of people that they would have to act themselves: Nagy was an anti-climax. A section of the demonstration went to the radio building. The AVH forces there fired on them: the uprising began. [3]

Soviet troops occupied Budapest almost straight away. What was the character of this first Soviet intervention? [4]

It was about two o'clock the following morning when I saw the first Russian tanks entering Budapest. The next morning, when I walked across the city to the Writers' Union, there were Russian tanks all along the boulevards. They were not doing anything; just standing by, making a demonstration of strength.

It is a myth to say that there was heavy fighting between the Russians and the youth during this first Soviet intervention. It is true that AVH cars

were entering the small streets shooting. But apart from anything else, the tanks were too big to enter the small side streets.

Occasionally the freedom fighters would run out with Molotov cocktails and blow up a tank. Then other Russian tanks would respond by moving up and down the boulevards, firing at houses that were in no way connected with the uprising. And soon lots of tank crews raised the Hungarian flag and people were saying that they had come over to our side; but when one talked to the Russians it became clear that they had put up the flags because they didn't want to be blown up.

At the same time they did not have orders to crush the uprising during this first intervention.

What were the main forms that the uprising took?

The anti-Stalinist movement had remained a student and intellectual affair, focused on the Petofi circle debates and the various official organisations of intellectuals until the Rajk funeral on 6 October 1956, when about 200,000 people participated [5]. And it was really only during the night of 23 October that the tremendous popular uprising burst forth, spreading throughout the country.

It was the young people, including very young schoolchildren, who were doing most of the fighting in various parts of the city. The adults were organising the general strike and the workers councils and all kinds of revolutionary committees.

The general strike began immediately and workers councils were set up completely spontaneously, at first

on an improvised basis. They often started with the workers refusing to allow the Party secretary into the factory premises and then setting up councils to run things.

The national bank had its own revolutionary council and so the workers were still paid while the general strike was on. And there was absolutely no problem with telephones, gas or electricity — these services were maintained by their respective workers councils. Peasants were coming into the city to sell food in amazing amounts.

Of course, it was not workers' management over production because the whole task was to push forward the general strike. There were workers councils for factories and workers councils for districts. Their fundamental functions were to organise meetings, frame demands, keep up the general strike and organise the weekly distribution of wages.

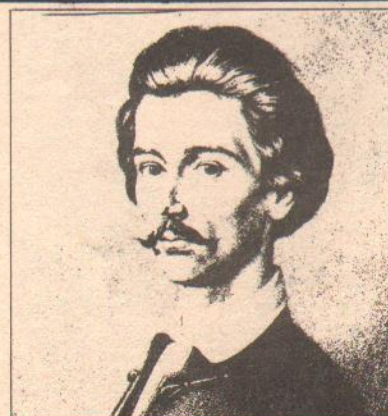
It was extraordinary to see how identical the demands were: freedom of parties to operate, withdrawal of Russian troops, withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, neutrality, the right to strike, and so on. There were only very occasional deviations to the right or left.

Left deviations would include demands like freedom only for those parties adhering to public ownership of the means of production — this demand came from several factories. Then there was the occasional right-wing 'point, like the rather silly demand for the re-introduction of religious teaching in schools.

I myself was elected to one of the district workers councils. On Friday 26 October I spoke at a huge public meeting in Ujpest, the biggest industrial area after Csepel. Because they liked what I said, they elected me a member of the Ujpest Revolutionary



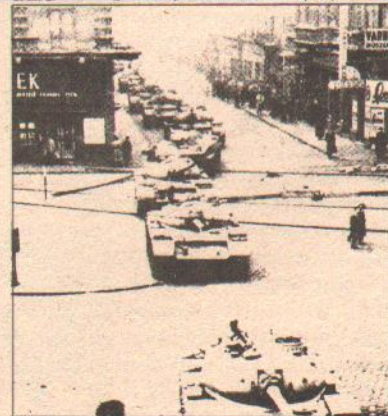
1. Imre Nagy addressing Parliament. Purged at the end of the 1940s, Nagy returned to become Prime Minister during the thaw of 1953-55. Purged again he came back as Prime Minister during the uprising. Kidnapped by the Russians, Nagy was imprisoned then executed in 1958.



2. Sandor Petofi [1823-49] was the great poet of the Hungarian revolution against the Hapsburgs in 1848-49. That revolution was eventually crushed by the Russian armies of the Tsar.



3. The AVH [Allamvedelmi Hatosag] was the state security authority, whose officials carried out the bloody purges of the Stalin period. Hated by the population, many suffered the same fate as this AVH officer, lynched during the uprising.



4. The tanks, seen here entering Budapest, were withdrawn after a few days, only to return on 4 November in the second Russian intervention which crushed the armed resistance movement.



5. Laszlo Rajk, pictured here during his frame-up show trial in 1949. Rajk, the leader of the underground Communist Party during the Second World War, had been the most popular Communist official in the forties before his arrest. The struggle for the rehabilitation of Rajk and other victims of the purges was one of the motor forces of the anti-Stalinist movement before October. His rehabili-



...and why we lost

Council then and there. I had never been to the district in my life before, except to watch the odd film.

The head of the council was a carpenter. I stayed in Ujpest for the next three days, and returned later after the second Soviet intervention.

The atmosphere among the intellectuals, who had played a leading role before October, was transformed after the uprising began. On the morning of 24 October I went into the Writers' Union, and the writers were just sitting there, with their heads hanging as though in mourning; and some were becoming very poetic. One told me he would just like to sit and let his tears flow and flow and flow.

I said to Dery [6] that surely the writers were at least partly responsible for what was happening, and shouldn't they consider what was to be done? And he replied: 'Why? We are writers and we just told the truth. We are not politicians, we were just telling the truth.' They really felt everything was lost.

This was in complete contrast with the total optimism of the teenagers who were making the uprising. Generally the attitude of the intellectuals was pessimistic; but the workers and the young people, feeling their power, were filled with optimism.

The period between the first and second Soviet interventions gave a breathing space for some kind of organised leadership to emerge, around Imre Nagy, or in opposition to him. Isaac Deutscher called

Nagy a kind of Bukharinite, and a possible harbinger of a Hungarian Thermidor [7]. What was your attitude to Nagy, and to the problem of political leadership?

In a certain sense the analogy with Bukharin is valid. Nagy was an agrarian socialist in origin. He had participated in the civil war in Russia with the Bolsheviks, and belonged to the Landler-Lukacs faction against Bela Kun's ultra-left voluntarism in the 1920s [8].

He spent the 1930s in an agrarian institute in Russia doing endless research to prove the feasibility of a radical agrarian reform in Hungary, against the whole record of the Kun CP, the Social Democrats and the reactionaries who had all in different ways opposed a land redistribution as economically disastrous.

Nagy was undoubtedly a very courageous man. In 1949 he had stood out in the Central Committee against the Stalinist plan for forced collectivisation. His concern for the peasantry in the 1950s was, in itself, absolutely justified. But something of the agrarian socialist remained in him, and criticism of the one-sidedness of his pre-occupation with the peasantry to the point of underestimating the problems of the workers would also be justifiable.

Moreover, in the field of political manoeuvre and organisation, Nagy was very naive, unlike Rakosi or Gero who were very acute in political intrigues [9]. Nagy's whole idea was to stand for moral purity against Rakosi's dirty ways: and this moral condemnation of Stalinist practices

was, of course, absolutely justified, but it was not enough to meet the organisational and political tests of the crisis.

There was simply no leadership which represented the line that I thought should be followed, so my position was to support these 'Bukharinites', back them in forming a government, but try to build an opposition to them at the same time. But here there was this complete organisational vacuum. This was the problem, not whether Nagy might be opening the door to Thermidor — Nagy might have moved towards some kind of NEP, but this would not have been disastrous in the Hungarian context.

The unanimity of the workers' political demands was really extraordinary. But equally striking was the fact that nowhere did the workers show clear ideas as to how to achieve their demands. There is, of course, nothing remarkable about this, except to those who are submerged in a workerist mysticism.

Nowhere was the slogan 'All Power to the Workers Councils' raised, or at least I didn't come across it. The initiative to create a central workers council came from myself and I didn't hear about it from anyone else.

The general strike was continuing and was fully fledged. The workers felt their strength and believed that the general strike would solve everything, even after the second Russian intervention. They believed that the Russians would not be able to stabilise the situation because the workers would not start working.

This is of course true, but things become more complicated. The strike may go on, but the mass of workers

are sitting at home and the force of inertia sets in. Also it will not be possible to continue to get money each week from the national bank and the children will begin to starve.

It is true that you have the active minority and they can be decisive, leaning on the support of the great mass. But then another problem came up: there was this tremendous reaction against Stalinism, against a situation where every meeting was manipulated.

Rigged meetings are obnoxious, but this does not mean that the active minority can leave things without any previous plans or arrangements, relying entirely on spontaneity. Political strategy and tactics have to be worked out and consciously put into practice in an organised way.

But here another problem arose: there was this ideology that the task of intellectuals was to get things started and then leave it to the workers to carry everything through. This is, in fact, completely alien to Marxism, to Lenin's outlook, this idea that the intrinsic virtues of the masses will sort things out. These virtues are very great but not of that kind, not of the kind to be clear about the political relationships in the situation.

What, then, is your attitude to the view that there was at least the possibility of a counter-revolution? This is the official CP position, and was also held by Deutscher at the time. Furthermore, every bourgeois comment-

ator in the West hails the Hungarian Revolution as his own. In particular, what do you think of the view that Nagy might have given way to a Minszenty-type regime? [10]

There is a sexist German expression, 'Madchen fur Alles', a girl for all purposes. The Hungarian Revolution was destined to be treated in this way: everyone has taken it as a justification of their outlook. This was an instant reaction to the event: for socialists of all kinds, for anarchists, liberals, fascists and conservatives it was their revolution.

And it could hardly have been otherwise, considering that Hungary had been dominated by a Stalinist state that was opposed by the entire population, and, having had a complete organisational monopoly, when this state crumbled it left behind a total organisational vacuum. There had been no parties, no free trade unions and even the cultural organisations could be formed only by the state.

The Hungarian masses, and in the first place the Budapest working class, rose up in a tremendous national uprising without any organised political expression on a national scale. And before the forces of the Hungarian Revolution could acquire a definite political form, the process was crushed by Russian intervention. In defeat, the uprising could serve a multitude of causes.

Kadar's own theory of the counter-revolution [11], as outlined in the Party's December resolution, was curious. It said that the reform movement before the revolution had



6. Tibor Dery, leading Communist novelist, played a prominent role in the Petofi circle, one of whose meetings is shown here. The circle was the focus of anti-Stalinist activity amongst intellectuals before October 1956.



7. Thermidor was the phase of the French Revolution which paved the way for the victory of the counter-revolution. Trotsky used the thermidor analogy to describe the danger of capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union during the 1920s. Bukharin was the leader of the Right Opposition in the Bolshevik Party in 1929.



8. Bela Kun, pictured above, was the leader of the Hungarian CP until his liquidation in the 1930s. A prominent Comintern functionary during the ultra-left 'third period' at the end of the 1920s, Kun was opposed by a faction in the Hungarian CP led by the Marxist theoretician Gyorgy Lukacs and the trade union leader Landler. This faction was dissolved in 1930.



9. Matyas Rakosi, left, was the high-priest of Stalinism in Hungary after the war, famous for his 'salami tactic' for chopping down opponents. He was suddenly removed to Moscow by the Russians in July 1956, never to return. Erno Gero, right, Rakosi's lieutenant and a long-time Comintern functionary, organised the drive against anarchist and POUMists in Barcelona in May 1937 and took over from Rakosi in July 1956 until



10. Cardinal Minszenty, Primate of Hungary from the end of the war, was jailed by Rakosi and escaped to the American Embassy in the uprising to live there until moving to the West recently.

How we fought...and why we lost

been correct — an anti-dogmatic, anti-sectarian thing. But when this programme was taken to the streets, it became counter-revolutionary!

The model he was following here was Stalin's line of 1927, that the Trotskyists had ceased being a working class tendency and had become an agency of imperialism by taking their programme to the streets. But Stalin's version had involved a supposedly *incorrect* line being taken to the streets. This time what was declared to be counter-revolutionary was taking a *correct* line to the masses!

As for the Kadar claim that there would have been a Minszenty-led return of the ancien regime, this was not on the cards. Minszenty had indeed protested against the land reform in 1945 and undoubtedly remained its enemy. After all the Catholic church had been the biggest single landlord in the country. But Minszenty was not only an ultra-reactionary: he was a fool and always equivocating as Cardinals do.

In his broadcast speech during the uprising, he did not actually say that the land reform should be overturned: he made allusions which could be interpreted in that way. But a return of landlordism was completely out of the question. Whoever tried to carry it through — and it is conceivable that Minszenty might have tried it later — would have committed political suicide: after all the main social base of any clerical reaction would have been the Catholic peasantry.

When I left Hungary, through the Catholic, Western part of the country, the peasants on the train were saying how much they had been attached to the Cardinal: 'After all', they said, 'he was the only really courageous man who had stood up against the Communists; and what a disappointment it was for us that his speech had called for the land to be returned to the landlords.' Actually he hadn't said this, but I was delighted to hear the peasants misinterpreting him in exactly the right way.

Of course, anti-communist moods were very obvious among the masses after the start of the uprising. But they must be put into perspective.

I remember asking a worker what he thought the chances of the Nagy-led CP were. And he said: 'Oh, nil. They might get 4 or 5 per cent. No Communist has a chance, even if he is Imre Nagy.' What then was needed? 'A completely new Hungarian workers party', he replied.



To test the reaction, I asked: 'You wouldn't want a united workers and peasants party?' And his response was: 'Oh, no. It's only in full communism that the interests of the workers and the peasants will be the same, and then both classes will disappear.' This sort of thing was common: people expressing anti-communist attitudes, but at the same time showing that they had internalised many of the transformations that had taken place during the previous 10 years.

Undoubtedly some kind of anti-Marxist, Christian, Socialist move-



though one cannot say to what extent. Nor can one rule out the possibility of a return of small capital, perhaps going further than NEP in Russia. All these possibilities remain in the realm of speculation, and would have been decided in the course of a political struggle which Russian intervention precluded.

Not since 1917 have we seen workers councils of such an advanced scope and level of organisation as were thrown up in the Hungarian revolution. You played a key part in setting up the Budapest central workers council. How was it formed?

After the second Soviet intervention I returned to Ujpest to see what was happening to the workers council there, to which I had earlier been elected. In the town hall both the

just there on paper, it's non-existent. There are only two powers: one is the Russian armed forces, and the other is the Hungarian people and in the first place the Budapest working class.

One of these two powers is organised — the Russian army — but the other is still unorganised, so we must organise it. We must create a central workers council.

They accepted it. The proclamation was handed over to the students revolutionary council for distribution. We were calling a meeting of delegates of workers councils to set up the central body along with a newspaper that would be its organ.

I was to present the plan to the meeting of workers council delegates and I felt I had to have backing, otherwise people would say: who is this adventurer? What does he represent? So the carpenter chairman of the Ujpest council agreed that I should sit as part of the presidium of the Ujpest council that was convening the meeting, and speak first.

The meeting was to be at the Ujpest town hall, but when we arrived it was surrounded by Russian tanks and the members of the Ujpest council had all been arrested the previous night (as I learned later, many of them were hanged). We moved the meeting to United Electric, a big factory making sophisticated electrical appliances, with a consequently very social democratic revolutionary workers council. So this council formed the presidium.

There were about 80 or 90 delegates from different factories: not as many as we had hoped for, but about 30 of the biggest factories were represented. Each delegation stood up in turn and read out their demands, one two three four, amazingly identical. I was alone, with no backing, and when it came to my turn the situation became almost farcical.

The elderly social democratic chairman asked: 'What factory are you from?' 'None', I said. 'What right have you to be here?' I said that I had actually organised the meeting. The chairman replied: 'This is untrue. This meeting is an historical inevitability.' So I was demagogic in return: 'These kind of philosophical points should be discussed after the events are over. Now we have more urgent matters to confront.'

So the chairman said: 'All right, speak for 10 minutes.' And he was ostentatiously looking at his watch.

There were some unpleasant noises in the hall after I had mentioned the word 'compromise'. And in fact I had started with it, saying that it was very impressive how identical all the demands were, but so far nobody had said a single word about how to win them. Ideal demands are not enough. We have to decide to get the essential thing, and be ready to compromise on other questions.

What was important was to have nothing to do with the Kadar regime and to have internal democratisation



turned into a real force for democratisation. At the moment we shouldn't talk to anybody and should develop the general strike, but with a more organised leadership.

This meant organising a really strong central workers council in Budapest. And when the Russians realised that they couldn't stabilise without us, they would have to talk to us. Kadar was irrelevant: there is no point in talking to the servants when the masters are there. This was frankly a compromise plan — it did not take up the question of the Warsaw Pact, but concentrated on the internal question.

The speech made no impact. The meeting decided to set up the central workers council, but the only other decision was diametrically opposite to my conception: a delegation was elected to go and negotiate with Kadar, while simultaneously insisting that it did not recognise him.

The central workers council continued to exist and held a second full meeting, but the working class was trapped. Kadar was ready to promise just about anything *after* the general strike was called off.

The workers demand the right to strike? He fully agreed with the workers. He wholeheartedly concurred that the workers should be able to strike, but first this *particular* strike must stop.

The Russian troops must withdraw? Absolutely! And as soon as law and order was re-established, he would personally start negotiations to this effect. In short, Kadar was sufficiently trained in the art of politics to know how to concentrate on the essential and reach his objective.

The discussions went on until Kadar and the Russians felt strong enough to arrest some of the workers' leaders and then mass arrests followed. The workers councils continued in many areas through November and into December.

council in Csepel, the working class bastion, issued a declaration that they didn't want to deceive the working class any longer by a resistance that was a sham resistance. So in order to be true to their class they had decided to declare their own dissolution. The workers council movement had ended. The repression of the leaders of the working class was terrible.

Could you sum up the meaning of the Hungarian revolution?

I have often remembered the 19th Party Congress in the Soviet Union in 1952. Stalin kept silent throughout the Congress till the very end when he made a short speech which covers about 2½ printed pages. He said that there were two banners which the progressive bourgeoisie had thrown away and which the working class should pick up — the banners of democracy and national independence. Certainly nobody could doubt that in 1956 the Hungarian workers raised these two banners high.



11. Janos Kadar, seen here with Suslov after the second Russian intervention, had supported Nagy during the early days of the revolution, but went over to the Russians just before the second Russian intervention. He organised the Stalinist counter-revolution and remains

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

MORE THAN 150,000 FAMILIES in the Six Counties are living below subsistence level, and more than one-third of 'heads of households' have net weekly incomes of £25 or less. These facts were disclosed in a recent report by the Northern Ireland Housing Executive on a survey of living accommodation and conditions. Taken along with the 11.4 per cent unemployment level, such information gives a clue as to why 16,000 people have emigrated from this part of Ireland in the last 12 months.

That this grim picture could become blacker yet has been underlined by the Quigley Report on the economy, also recently released. This report states: 'The Northern Ireland economy is in very serious difficulty, and if no new measures are taken the outlook is grim'. The Quigley Report also predicts a bleak future for shipbuilding, clothing, textiles — all industries which have seen a loss of tens of thousands of jobs in the last two decades. The conclusion to which both reports point is that the Six County statelet is just one big slum. Of course these reports are not without recommendations, but they are only emergency measures designed to deal with emergency conditions.

This is all very well until one reflects that the emergency conditions have existed since the foundation of the state, though perhaps they have not always been so exaggerated. And no amount of emergency measures can alter the fact that the Northern Ireland state and its economy are both artificial. No amount of emergency measures can alter the fact that in the present set-up, the economy of the Six Counties must be dependent and peripheral to the British economy.

No amount of emergency measures, either, can hide the fact that the British ruling class, by studiously ignoring the policies of the Unionist regimes in the last 50 years, bears responsibility for the religious discrimination that has resulted in the fact that the area west of the River Bann [where Catholics are in a majority] has:

- * 43 per cent of households with a weekly income of £25 or less;
- * 42 per cent of households 'below needs level';
- * 30 per cent of 'heads of households' unskilled or semi-skilled;
- * 6 per cent of 'heads of households' unemployed — twice the average rate for the Six Counties.

This situation was deliberately caused by Unionist administrators in order to safeguard their rule. Since the introduction of direct rule there has been no indication on the part of the British Government that they will reverse this process.

It would be wrong to say that the trade union leaders do not recognise this reality. But they are so concerned with maintaining the paper unity which exists in the trade union movement that they are shy of translating this recognition into practical measures. The 'Better Life for All' campaign reveals this in a very clear way, for its demands for the right to work, adequate housing and so on completely ignore the legacy of Unionist rule.

Only by recognising the specific oppression that the anti-Unionist workers have been subject to, and by translating such an understanding into clear demands as part and parcel of a programme for workers power, can the ills of the working class as a whole — not just the Protestants, not just the Northern workers — be confronted and removed. Speed the day.

Southern Government's Policies On Trial

AT FIRST GLANCE the latest political crisis in the Southern Irish state appears akin to a row in a Mayfair gentlemen's club — the President resigning because the Minister of Defence calls him nasty names. But behind this lies a potentially explosive political crisis, and behind O'Dalaigh's resignation is the first real setback the Irish Government has met in its attempt to construct one of the most repressive regimes in western 'democracy'.

This repression is highlighted by two measures recently passed by the Irish Parliament (Dail): the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act, and the Emergency Powers Act.

The powers embodied in these measures enabled the Fine Gael/Labour coalition to outlaw Sinn Fein, and to ban any Sinn Fein spokesperson from appearing on the state controlled radio and television.

As well as this attack on civil liberties, the emergency measures allow anyone to be jailed for up to ten years if they 'incite or invite' anyone to join the IRA. The testament of a Special Branch officer is the sole evidence needed to secure

conviction for this 'offence'. There are also new police powers under which a suspect can be held as long as seven days before being charged or released.

All these draconian assaults on normal bourgeois 'rights' are being accompanied by the stepping up of torture in Irish prisons and police stations, the threatened execution of Marie and Noel Murray — declared guilty of murdering a policeman by a non-jury trial — and the forcing off the air of an occasionally radical current affairs television programme *Seven Days*.

Wrath

It was because the legal sensibilities of the ex-judge O'Dalaigh made him wonder whether the proposed measures were constitutional that he referred them to the Irish Supreme Court. This brought down the wrath of the coalition government on his head.

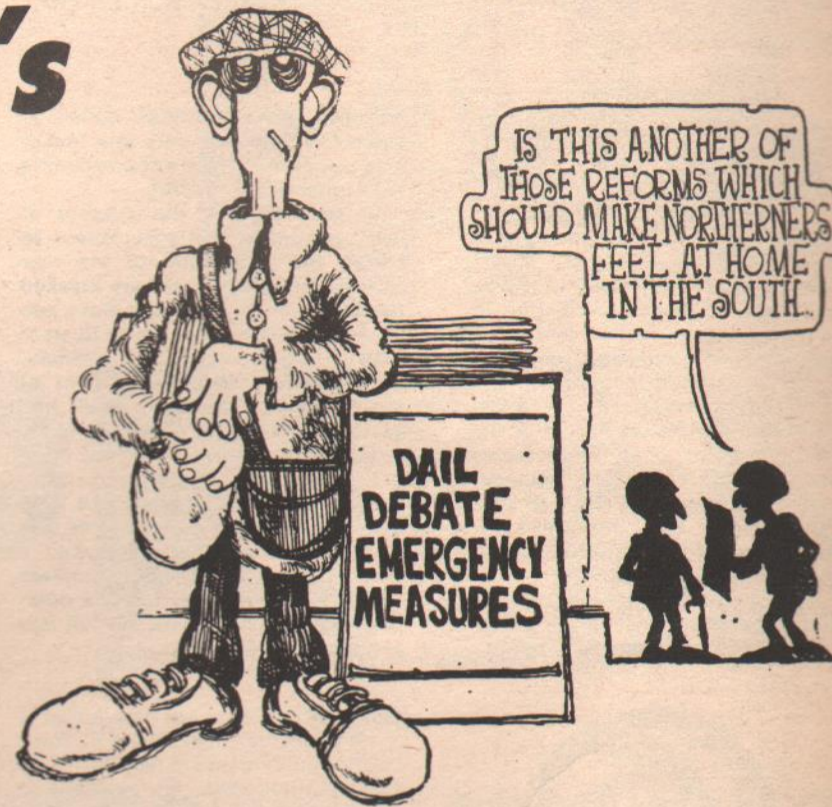
Minister of Defence Donegan called O'Dalaigh 'a thundering disgrace' — a remark which, as it was leaked to the press before it was actually

made, was a carefully considered attempt to silence the liberal fly in the ointment which the President had become. It was this remark which last Friday produced O'Dalaigh's resignation.

Now the 26 Counties face the prospect of a presidential election, and even a possible general election. It will not just be the Government's record of repression which will be an issue in such a contest; its appalling economic record will also be on trial.

But the capacity of the opposition Fianna Fail party to seriously challenge the coalition on both issues is strictly limited. The last Fianna Fail government of Jack Lynch also passed a series of repressive measures, and it has no answer at all to the economic crisis Ireland is facing.

At root both the economic crisis and repression have the same source — the kow-towing of successive Irish governments to British imperialism. With the dependence of the Irish economy on the British economy and with the Southern Government backing Britain's attempt to silence and destroy Republicanism, no real alternative to the coalition's policies can emerge — unless those



policies offer a direct challenge to Britain's presence and influence in Ireland as a whole.

What the constitutional crisis has underlined is that all the attempts of successive Irish governments to isolate off the Six Counties have now met with failure. The struggle ag-

ainst British imperialism in the North has spilled over into the South in its most dramatic form yet. And until that struggle has been won, Ireland will always be in 'crisis' throughout its 32 counties.

GEOFF BELL

HEADACHES AHEAD FOR NEW CHINESE LEADERS

Last week GREG BENTON explained why the purge of the 'radical' faction in China had been carried through so easily, and argued that it should be seen as a defeat for a bureaucratic current rather than as a setback for the left. This week he looks at the policies likely to be followed by the new regime.

What will be the probable evolution of domestic policy under the new regime? Classical Maoist themes such as 'contestation' and 'going against the stream' will probably be quietly dropped, to the extent that they have not already been robbed of all meaning by the Chiang Ching clique's 'dictatorship' campaign. There may also be a downplaying of the militia, which in some areas seems to have been a favourite instrument of the Shanghai group, and a strengthening of the functions of the secret police and public security forces.

One can also expect fewer political campaigns and some increase in Party 'democracy', although such a 'democratisation' will extend neither to the masses nor to the defeated faction of the leadership. Just as in April the call went up in Shanghai for the execution of Teng Hsiao-ping, so show trials and further purges of the 'radicals' are not to be excluded in the present political climate.

One should note here that the normalisation of the institutional life of the bureaucracy will pose the present leaders with many headaches. Like Mao before them, the 'moderates' show no signs of having solved the problem of the succession. Apart from Hua Kuo-feng, a colourless ex-provincial bureaucrat with no independent basis of support or charismatic appeal, all the 'moderate' leaders are either in or fast approaching their seventies.

Options

slower. This is mainly because the options open to the regime are strictly limited by the critical situation in key sectors of the economy — in particular steel, coal and agriculture. It is likely that the policies eventually adopted will include a more selective approach to education, a partial liberalisation of intellectual life, the promotion of 'expertise' (at the expense of 'redness'), a widening of differentials, and an increased stress on the role of 'material incentives'. This latter will be welcomed by significant sections of the working class, who in recent years have been more and more stridently demanding differential compensation for acquisition of special skills, overtime, seniority and so on.

Privileged

But the long-term result of such a turn will undoubtedly be the creation of a narrow privileged layer of intellectuals, technical experts and 'labour aristocrats', thus creating at the very base of society tensions similar to those that exploded with such force at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

An even more urgent problem is posed by the millions of middle school graduates 'rusticated' to the villages since the Cultural Revolution. These hsia-fang youth, who undoubtedly see themselves as the most disadvantaged section of Chinese society, will now be eagerly awaiting a betterment of their fate from the new rulers. The problem is, however, that



Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. The regime now calls on the party to 'crush the heads of the four dogs'. Ironically, it was Yao who launched the hunt against every critic of Mao's ideas under the slogan 'beat the wild dog to death', ten years ago.

In foreign policy, most observers now expect that normalisation of relations with the Soviet Union (but not the Soviet CP) and a more flexible diplomacy will eventually replace the present one-sidedly anti-Soviet line typically associated with the Maoists. Immediately after the arrest of the 'radical' leaders, the Peking press adopted a shrilly anti-Soviet tone. But this can probably be explained partly as a defence against the charge of 'national capitulationism', and partly as the first step in a bargaining process with the Soviet leaders.

This impression is strengthened by the

new turn in China. Relations with the US could then be expected to cool somewhat, although an increase in trade links and in loans to finance purchase of advanced technology would prevent any real breakdown in relations.

The favourable reaction of the Thai military leaders to the changes in Peking suggests that they expect a shift even further to the right in China's policy towards liberation struggles in South-east Asia. But this is by no means a foregone conclusion. A limited rapprochement with the Soviet Union would give China considerably more freedom to manoeuvre

Will the new Chinese regime succeed in stabilising Chinese political life on a more lasting basis? The Chinese working class, far from being cowed or defeated, enters the post-Mao era immeasurably strengthened by the socio-economic development of China over the last quarter century, and the Chinese masses have a long history of intervening, often decisively, in the political affairs of the country. At present they appear to have extended a cautious welcome to Hua and his ally Li Hsien-nien, but this will rapidly change as their expectations are disappointed.

Daunting

Huge and daunting problems continue to face the leadership — problems that can in reality find no solution within the confines of 'socialism in one country', even in the medium term. We can therefore expect that as the contradictions underlying the policies of the new regime are gradually laid bare (in a world context in which the military-political pressure on China's frontiers gradually lessens and new revolutionary models are established), the mass movement which has more and more emerged in recent years as an independent factor in the Chinese political scene will advance to new heights of organisation and awareness.

* One final point concerns the fate of the 200 Trotskyists who have been rotting in Mao's prisons ever since 1952. Now that a new leadership is attempting to stabilise itself in China, the forces of the Fourth International should make a bold and sustained effort — through pickets, leaflet campaigns, resolutions and letters

WORKERS PUT BRAKES ON CAR BOSSES

RESISTANCE BY THE SHOP FLOOR has halted the car bosses' drive to split and demoralise the work-force in two important car plants — at least for the time being.



The use of scab labour at Ford, Dagenham, to restart production in the door hangers section last week failed. The action of the door hangers was in support of their demand for the reinstatement of Ken West, one of the workers sacked after the 'night of the riot' when Ford workers spontaneously wrecked a management canteen and over-turned vehicles in response to continuous layoffs by management, who are pushing a productivity drive.

The door-hangers' action provoked a flood of propaganda bulletins from management accompanied by im-

promptu 'mass meetings' called by foremen. However, only one leaflet was put out from the shop-stewards to counter this offensive.

In spite of this, the attempt of management to use scab labour to restart the production of the new Cortina failed when workers blacked the scabs' work. Once this move had failed, a compromise return to work plan was agreed with union officials, providing for the reinstatement of the majority of men dismissed. Ken West, however, will be forced to go to arbitration to regain his post.

Evidence that the campaign for a guaranteed working week can gain the enthusiasm of the workforce was evident later on that day, when a mass meeting of assembly workers voted unanimously to reject a company pay offer because the full pay clause was not included.

ment with another ultimatum that if it were rejected then the full three hours would remain in dispute.

Having conceded full payment to the nightshift, management once again are trying to divide the workforce with this ultimatum. Shop stewards have recommended acceptance of this offer with a promise of further talks, in the absence of an immediate answer.

PAUL MITCHEL, our correspondent on the Coventry motor industry, writes: The recent struggle showed the willingness of Jaguar workers to defend their earnings and jobs against management's arbitrary lock-out action, which was aimed as a blow against the demand for an enquiry into the future of the paint-shop. Leyland were only able to prevent total victory and continue their policy of confrontation by manoeuvring to divide the workforce.

The basic issues facing Jaguar workers are the same as for their brothers and sisters at Ford as well as workers all over the country — defence of jobs and living standards.

Management attacks on working conditions are certain to continue with the support of the Government and the Labour NEC, and urged on by union leaders like Jones and Scanlon who oppose any action by Leyland workers to defend themselves regardless of how justified the grievance or how severe the attack.

Agreement

The Jaguar plant agreement accepts 'the right of management to manage'; Leyland regard this as an unlimited licence to mount continual attacks on the workforce. It is just that. Moreover, the decision to transfer paint-shop operations from the Browns Lane factory leaves a big question hanging over the future of jobs for Jaguar workers in Coventry.

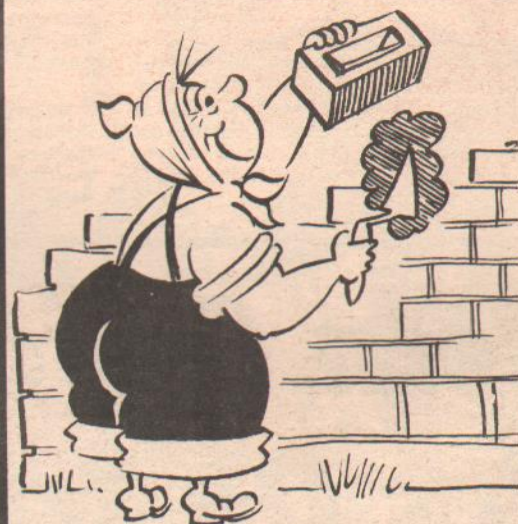
These threats can only be beaten by Jaguar workers imposing a system of work-sharing without loss of pay in the factory. This policy can give a united lead to the struggle to defend jobs which will cut through the constant attempts to split the workforce.

It will be necessary for shop stewards to gain full access to all information concerning stocks, orders, supplies, production schedules, company plans and so on, in order to prepare and impose an effective system of work-sharing with full pay. This is why the demand for opening the books is central to the present struggle to curb management attacks on jobs and conditions.

Workers plan

At the same time, by starting to reveal the true workings and secret deals within the industry and the economy as a whole, the extension of independent workers investigations will prepare the way forward for a workers plan for the industry which can pose a clear alternative to Ryder and redundancy in the interests of the entire working class.

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Our need for a regular commitment is highlighted by the falling off in occasional contributions to the Fighting Fund this week. Only £30 came in — much less than the minimum we need to carry through recent improvements. Our thanks, however, to: Liverpool health worker, £10; NALGO supporter, £10; Bradford IMG, £5; Anon., £3.50; S. Ashworth, £1; unemployed Cleveland reader [it's the best paper on racialism, cuts, Trico and world events—keep it up!], 50p.

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New support for student Ireland Conference

THE LATEST NEWS from the Kent University planning committee is that support for the 13 November conference against repression in Ireland is rapidly growing. The recent exposures of British army atrocities in the North of Ireland magnify the importance of this initiative in drawing together student militants who want to plan an active campaign in opposition to the British Government's policies.

Dick Kelley MP summed it up when writing to offer his support: 'Your generation has the historic mission of rescuing humanity from its past follies; and to say the least, Ireland is one of these.'

Other sponsors include Pat Arrow-smith, the well-known peace campaigner; Mary Holland, Observer journalist; and Tim Shallice of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science. Student sponsorship includes the Birmingham and Manchester areas of the NUS, and six student unions. Notable among these are St. Joseph's College of Education in Andersonstown, Belfast; and Essex University, who are organising a minibus to take activists to the conference.

The Executive of North London Poly-



technic Students Union, with NOISS backing, have taken the position that they can only participate if the conference is organised on the basis of 'Troops Out/Self Determination'.

Amongst the organisations supporting

the conference are BWNIC, the Libertarian Students network and the Campaign for a Socialist Solution in Ireland.

The planning committee have welcomed the positive attitude of the NUS Executive in deciding to send observers along on the day, to circulate publicity to student unions, and to participate in the speakers panel which will be touring the country in the coming weeks. Obviously there is a need for a clear debate on how to build a campaign, and the NUS Executive decision can only help to give the conference as wide an appeal as possible.

As the conference gains this wider support and the possibilities for students to take on the responsibilities that Dick Kelley outlined increase, it is disturbing that one of the biggest socialist student groups, the National Organisation of International Socialist Societies, has taken no clear position on whether to support it or not. Whilst Mick Hatfield, President of Coventry College of Education and a leading NOISS member, has added his individual sponsorship and participated in the planning committee, many NOISS groups have refused support.

Meanwhile planning committee sources inform us that no reply has been forthcoming from the NOISS national office despite repeated mailings requesting support.

The Troops Out Movement, who themselves will be participating, obviously understand that the way to raise the Irish issue among students is to address oneself to the widest possible audience. Many students are unclear as to what the actual situation in Ireland represents — debate and discussion is necessary.

IMG students will of course be fighting for what they consider to be a principled position — i.e. 'Troops Out/Self Determination for the Irish people as a whole'. But if student militants are gathering to

discuss the terrible role that their government is playing in Ireland, how can supporters of 'Troops Out' refuse to play their part in winning activists to their position? Red Weekly supporters should urge NOISS members to reconsider their position.

Supporters of the conference can help to build it by raising support in their colleges and organising meetings with members of the speakers panel. The organisers have produced a badge to help finance the conference. This badge [cost 10p], along with leaflets and anything else you need can be obtained from the planning committee convenor, Pamela Holmes, at Kent University Students Union, Canterbury [tel. 0227-65224].



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