

# RED WEEKLY

**battle** of **ideas**  
Monthly supplement to  
Red Weekly

INSIDE - November Issue  
The Bolshevik Faction and the fight for the Party

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# Restore All Cuts

# STRIKE

# Against the Social Contract

# on 17th NOV

ASSEMBLE SPEAKERS' CORNER 1.30 pm

LOBBY OF PARLIAMENT 4pm

MASS MEETING AT CENTRAL HALL 4-10 pm

# UNEMPLOYMENT WORST YET TO COME

There is only one criterion used in selecting which paperbacks adorn the book stalls of railway stations or supermarkets — they have to be best sellers. That's why these book stalls are packed with the latest stimulants from Harold Robbins, Agatha Christie or Len Deighton. Last month a rather different type of book arrived for mass display, and it is to be found in Sainsbury's and W.H. Smith's up and down the country. It is entitled *On the Dole — A Guide to Unemployment Benefits*. For which, apparently, there is great demand.

That is one small indication that, despite the official 'optimism' expressed after last month's drop in the unemployment figures, the worst has yet to come. The celebrated drop of 80,000 goes right against the trend of the past two years. Since January 1975 the dole figures have risen from 600,000 to 1.3 million (seasonally adjusted, that is). Occasional declines in this or that month have been more than made up for in the months which have followed. There is every indication that this will be the case with September's figures.

## Drop

The drop is largely due to a small growth in industrial output during the early months of this year — a growth which takes some time to have an effect in terms of increasing employment. But this rate of increase has now slackened; consequently so will job opportunities.

Government agencies themselves admit that the prospects are bleak. A recent report of the Manpower Services Commission stated that even on the most optimistic assessment unemployment will remain 'historically high' until 1979 at least.

The same judgement was made by the National Institute of Economic and Scientific Research, which predicted in September that unemployment will continue to rise until March next year. It estimates that even by the end of 1977 there will still be 1.2 million unemployed.

These figures were produced before the recent increase in bank lending rate, which will further cut back industrial investment and job opportunities; and before the Healey measures expected in the wake of the IMF loan, which through higher taxes or more cuts — most likely both — can only make the dole queues longer.

As with the cuts, the Callaghan/

Healey policies of deliberately creating mass unemployment hit hardest at those who already suffer most.

★ **The Youth.** Despite the September drop in youth unemployment 12 per cent plus of those who left school this year are still unemployed. The report of the Manpower Services Commission says that this trend will continue; it expects 'sharp increases in unemployment among young people'.

★ **Women.** Unemployment has particularly hit women workers since the Labour Party's return to office. While unemployment among men doubled between June 1974 and June 1976, the rate for women increased three and a half times — and is still increasing.

★ **Immigrants.** Again the Manpower Services Commission testifies that the already deplorable situation in immigrant communities can only get worse. It forecasts 'sharp increases in unemployment' among 'ethnic minorities'.

All the reports and forecasts aside, there is a welter of hard evidence pointing to the sackings which are planned. The accompanying table gives some indication of what is in store — and this excludes the huge impact of the cuts being prepared.

## Women

The Civil and Public Services Association, for instance, expects that 140,000 jobs will go as a result of this aspect of the Labour Government's policies. The union stresses that again it will be women and the under 25s who will be particularly hit.

The message is clear. Last month's drop in the number of those out of work is deceptive. It provides no excuses for the Labour Government's policies and no excuses for not stepping up the fight against those policies.



## More redundancies

Some of the major planned redundancies announced within the last ten weeks are listed below:

NAME OF FIRM	AREA	NUMBER
Babcock & Wilcox	Renfrew, Scotland; London	26,000
Courtauld	Skelmersdale; Belfast; N. Wales; S. Wales; Derbyshire; Hertfordshire	4,350
Standard Telephone & Cables (ITT)	East Kilbride; North London	1,000
International Computers	Winsford, Cheshire	1,400
Ferranti	Barrow-in-Furness	250
Scottish Aviation	Prestwick, Ayrshire	400
Leyland (Triumph)	Coventry	3,000
K Group (shoes)	Norwich	350
Tube Investments	Neath	300
Wiggins Teape (stationery)	Aberdeen	200
British Steel Corporation	South Wales	650
National Bus Company	West Wales	300
Walls	Hayes, Middlesex	580
National Cash Registers	Dundee	700



Workers in struggle were given pride of place at the Manchester Conference. (Inset): John Nettleton from Courtaulds spoke on building a national response to the impending redundancies in Liverpool Skelmersdale and other Courtauld sites.

# RIGHT TO WORK CONFERENCE DODGES CRUCIAL QUESTIONS

'A conference for action', 'fighting militant policies', 'fight and fight in every way you can'. This was the message from last Saturday's 700-strong conference called by the Right to Work Campaign.

The Conference organisers were well-pleased with the turnout: more than 300 trade union bodies sent over 600 delegates, including 42 shop stewards committees, 38 from the AUEW, 48 from the NUT; there were also 91 unemployed delegates from the 41 Right to Work Committees represented.

The scene was set for a real debate on the tasks facing the Campaign. How could it contribute to the building of mass resistance to Labour's Tory policies? How could the Campaign build on the publicity won in the two Right to Work marches in order to reach out to wider forces? What sort of programme was necessary to map out what Ernie Roberts referred to as 'a workers' solution to the crisis' and to Labour's attacks?

## Admirable

But here the Conference was sadly lacking. On the one hand many admirable sentiments were expressed. John Deason, confirmed by Conference as Campaign Secretary, made an appeal for the maximum unity in action in the fight against unemployment, and called on the organisers of the LCDTU and the Assembly on Unemployment to unite with the Campaign in the fight for the right to work.

But admirable sentiments are not enough. It is necessary to map out an

orientation and programme which can give flesh and blood to an effective ongoing campaign. The declaration submitted to delegates in advance announced that local Right to Work Committees would be the centres for 'coordinating' the fight-back. The call for unity addressed to the LCDTU and the Assembly was very much in the form of an ultimatum: unite with us or be damned!

## Resistance

The simple fact is that an effective fight-back can be organised only by mobilising in action the mass of workers through their own organisations, especially the trade unions. The Right to Work Campaign can play a part in building such mass resistance by organising the minority of activists fighting the attacks of the Labour Government to campaign for socialist policies based on class struggle rather than the class collaboration of the Labour and trade union leaders. On such a basis a genuine attempt can be made to mobilise those workers who at present see no alternative to such collaboration.

This was the purpose of an unsuccessful resolution from the Central Scotland Federation of Trades Councils, which, along with an amendment from the ACTS Branch 833, Oxford, talked of the need to open the books as a first step to paving the way for nationalisation without compensation of all firms declaring redundancies, and a struggle against unemployment based on workers control such as work-sharing with no loss of pay.

But Willie Lee summed up the position of the platform when he opposed such

policies: 'The argument is not about opening the books and a sliding scale of wages and hours. We've got to have answers. This means building a militant rank and file movement.'

The Conference organisers did strengthen their declaration by incorporating an amendment from the AEU 185 branch, Sheffield. This called upon 'Right to Work Committees in every locality to fight for the leadership of the public sector unions to lead in initiating industrial action against the cuts and to form an alliance of public sector unions in order to most effectively organise such action'.

It went on: 'The Right to Work committees should unite with the broadest possible forces at every level of the labour movement to fight for such a policy.' But although it was accepted, the fact that this amendment addressed itself to a very different perspective from the declaration itself meant that most speakers simply ignored its reference to the need to build a public sector alliance.

## March

The National Council is instructed to organise yet another 'long unemployed march' in the New Year. There is to be a Scottish Right to Work march, a Welsh Right to Work march, and other local Right to Work marches. The Conference was a small step forward, but the crucial questions remain unanswered.

# For a Programme of Useful Public Works!

The major attempt of the Labour Government to save its face over the appalling unemployment figures is the Job Creation Scheme, introduced in September 1975. £85 million has been poured into this venture which is meant to provide 'worthwhile work' for the under 24s and over 50s. But the intention is rather different from the result. The scheme offers little opportunity for apprenticeships, it provides only temporary work, and in most cases the wages paid are well below the going rate for the job.

Then there is the Temporary Employment Subsidy, which hands out money to companies to retain workers they would otherwise sack. At least that is the idea; but because firms receiving grants must prove that they are 'not likely to become insolvent', one might ask why they are sacking workers in the first place. The most obvious conclusion is that this scheme is just a further subsidy to the bosses.

unemployment as such, but the benefit for the Government is that it appears to. Because those who swap out of employment are not allowed to register as unemployed, the unemployment figure will consequently decline. That little piece of sleight of hand will cost nearly £73 million.

That's very plastic type of surgery may suggest that at least the Government is trying, and that there is little direct action it can take. Wrong. With the catastrophic decline in house building, the slum conditions of many hospitals and schools, and with tens of thousands of unfilled vacancies in the public sector, there are many areas for expanding employment via a programme of useful public works.

But such a programme would go against the Government's cuts policy — it would require a long term investment and a long term commitment to establishing adequate social services which

# Unions to start to open treasury books

The £1,000 million package of cuts imposed by Denis Healey is only half the real figure. This has been revealed in evidence presented to the Commons Committee on Public Expenditure by the Civil and Public Services Association [CPSA] and the Society of Civil and Public Servants [SCPS], and based on an assessment of what the 'cash limits' system introduced earlier this year will mean for the expenditure programme.

When introduced, the cash limits were based on the Treasury's official estimate that inflation would have been brought down to below 10 per cent by the end of this year. The fall in the £ has forced the Treasury to revise its figures. But needless to say, no appropriate modification of the cash limit ceilings has been announced.

The evidence presented by the CPSA and SCPS argues that, based on the real inflation rate, a failure to modify the ceilings would mean a 2.8 per cent cut in planned expenditure. The effect of a 2.8 per cent cut would be the loss of some £800 million.

The unions argue that this is still not the true picture. The labour movement is not entitled to information on the full range of Treasury secrets. They argue that as 'a matter of urgency' the Treasury must be instructed to publish the facts.

These revelations should give a real impetus to the fight for the labour movement to conduct its own enquiry into the social services. Such an enquiry would be the first step in mapping out a programme to fight for social services based on the needs of the working class. It would include the demand for the restoration of all cuts and the protection of future spending against the effects of inflation by ensuring automatic increases to keep pace with the increasing costs.

It would also give a major impetus to a campaign of mass action against the cuts as spelt out in Composite 26, passed at this year's Labour Party Conference. The Composite supported those Labour Councils refusing to implement cuts, and called on others to follow suit. Already Brighton Labour Party has called a Sussex-wide Cuts Conference to lay the basis for a campaign to

implement Composite 26. Similar moves are underway in Gwent.

Such conferences should take the lead from the recent Conference against the cuts sponsored by the Labour Party and involving some 50 Labour Party and trade union delegates in Bury. The Conference decided to set up a local workers enquiry into the cuts to build on the success already achieved there in keeping open three institutions due to be closed as a result of cuts by the local Council.

Such enquiries would base themselves on evidence from the working class and put forward plans for services based on need. They would report on the attitude and voting record of all labour movement leaders, from MPs and councillors to shop stewards and union officials. All councillors sitting on Area and Regional Health Authorities etc. should be forced through a campaign of mass action to expose the plans of these bodies to the labour movement. The basis would then be laid for any labour movement leaders supporting the cuts to be removed and replaced by those prepared to base themselves on the findings of local enquiries.

But the campaign against the cuts cannot be limited to the local level. Already some leaders of the public sector unions are attempting to get themselves off the hook from building a national response after 17 November by arguing for local action. NUPE's Alan Fisher spelt this out at the Labour Party Conference.

The figures exposed by the CPSA and the SCPS show that the task before us is to build on the local activity to promote a NATIONAL CAMPAIGN OF MASS ACTION to reverse the cuts. This means both forcing Labour MPs to vote against cuts and a campaign of rolling industrial action spearheaded by public sector unions until the cuts are restored. The thousands of workers who will be on the streets on 17 November show that this task is possible.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Youth take to the streets of London last week in a 350 strong demonstration organised by the Campaign Against Youth Unemployment.

## NALGO Leaders issue 'Scabs' Charter

MOUNTING CONCERN among the membership over threats to jobs and services has forced the leaders of the National and Local Government Officers Association to support the 17 November day of action against the cuts.

A recent NALGO survey revealed that 50,000 white collar local government posts are vacant. And figures discussed recently by Government and local authority officials are said to imply that 9,000 further jobs are about to be lost, including 4,000 through redundancy.

Yet despite this increasing danger to their members' jobs, the NALGO bureaucrats have been two-faced in their support for 17 November and have made no effort to build a united turn-out of NALGO's 600,000 members.

In a letter dated 20 October, NALGO general secretary Geoffrey Drain told branch secretaries that members have

official union backing to 'stop work for half a day in the London area and a whole day in other areas, where necessary ...'. But Drain also writes: 'No member, however, can be instructed to take part, and no-one, therefore, can be disciplined for not participating.'

This scabs' charter, which deliberately strengthens the hand of the right wing in every branch, will ensure that only the most militant minority of branches take strike action on 17 November. Most branches will only be able to send delegations of members who take a day's leave.

The reason for this double-dealing by the NALGO bureaucrats is their continuing support for the Social Contract. A massive mobilisation of workers against the Labour Government's cuts would in effect challenge the Labour leaders' entire economic policy.

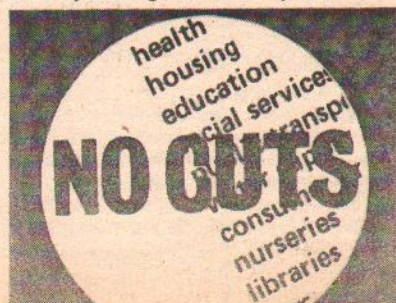
If 'natural wastage' has frozen 500 jobs a week for the last two years, and if thousands of public service workers are now faced with the sack, it is because the NALGO leaders' support for the Social Contract has allowed these attacks to take place without any real national fight from the union.

Many public sector workers will feel let down by their leaders' failure to mobilise the full weight of their unions' membership; but they will not immediately recog-

strike in the entire public sector early next year.

However further manoeuvres are on the way from NALGO's leaders. They have been forced to call a special national delegate conference on the cuts in January. But plans are afoot in some quarters of the leadership to use the conference to minimise the union's opposition to service cuts in the name of greater emphasis on job protection.

This would be disastrous. Jobs are highly dependent on the provision of services. To drop the defence of services can only mean weakening the possibility of job protection in the long run. It would also cut off the potential of solidarity from private sector workers, whose interest in defending services is clear but who might otherwise see NALGO as selfishly looking after its own jobs alone.



# IN FOCUS

## The By-By Labour Elections?

Denis Healey's claim that the lefts lost Walsall and Workington for Labour was as inevitable as it was wrong. Nor were the results a mandate for the Labour Government to pursue tougher cuts, as the press boasted. On the contrary, the election results are further proof of the massive disillusionment of Labour voters with Callaghan and Healey's anti-working class policies. They parallel the downfall of rightist social democratic governments in Sweden, Australia and New Zealand.

The by-elections did not only reveal the confusion which Labour's policies and the lack of a clear alternative have created in the working class. For the Liberals they were a disaster. Their only crumb of comfort came in Newcastle, where they managed to beat the Tory into third place. This merely revealed the fact that anybody who seems to be seriously prepared to resolve the chaos created by the corrupt and inefficient Labour Party controlled local government machine in the North East is bound to win popular support.

Elsewhere they were decimated by the Tories. This is proof positive that the Tories have begun to win back — at least in England — the substantial middle class base they lost when Heath was tumbled from power in February 1974. With the re-integration of Heath's policies at the last Tory Conference and the healing over of their massive divisions of the last two years, they now appear a credible, if weak, alternative to the Labour Government.

This does not mean that the ruling class will pull out all the stops to bring down the Labour Government, as the apologists for the left MPs' inaction would have us believe. The Labour Government will retain their support until its ability to control the working class through the union bureaucracy and the Social Contract is seriously questioned.

But the Labour Government is in a precarious state. It has only a one seat majority in the House of Commons, and relies heavily on the two Scottish Labour MPs and Irish MPs Gerry Fitt and Frank Maguire. Already Maguire has threatened to withhold support from the Government over the treatment of Irish Republican prisoners in British jails. But the SLP MPs have behaved in the most unprincipled fashion.

After demagogically declaring themselves totally opposed to the cuts, unemployment and the other anti-working class policies of the Social Contract, they now threaten only to withhold their support if the Government holds back on devolution. The logic is towards a parliamentary bloc with the Scottish National Party. In doing so they completely let the left Labour MPs off the parliamentary hook. Thus one alternative is buried under straightforward bourgeois nationalism.

What of the other alternative posed during the by-election campaign? The Communist Party did not stand in the by-elections — reportedly on the bankrupt basis that they would receive less votes than the National Front. Certainly they would have in Walsall North, where the NF polled over 2,000 votes — more than four times as many as the Socialist Worker candidate (although IS finished marginally ahead of the fascists in Newcastle). This is in no way surprising. The IS were standing on a platform which specifically ruled out the possibility of fundamental change through the parliamentary road. But for the CP it is a crushing admission of defeat, since their whole programme is based on the parliamentary road to socialism.

Unfortunately the IS, despite an energetic campaign, minimised the number of votes they could have obtained by refusing to use their candidature to develop the existing labour movement bodies fighting the cuts, unemployment and racism. Instead they subordinated all these activities to the building of the Socialist Workers Party. In this way they cut themselves off from the potential support which exists among militants who are prepared to fight against the betrayals of the Labour Government but are not prepared to join organisations created by small revolutionary groups — particularly those which proclaim themselves the alternative to the Labour Party.

The Socialist Worker vote — between 1.5 and 2 per cent — was much what could have been expected of a far left group standing in a by-election. This in itself makes nonsense of any claim that the Socialist Worker candidacy in any way contributed to the defeat in Walsall. It is those like Jack Jones who call for continued support for the Government's policies who are dragging this Labour Government to defeat at the hands of the Tories. It is Jack Jones and those of his persuasion who drive more backward sections of the working class in desperation to the solutions of the racists.

But Denis Healey's statement does have a grain of truth. The lefts do share some measure of blame for the defeat — because they have failed to fight against the Tory policies of the Labour Government. Now those lefts must be forced to fight or stand revealed as fakers. A full commitment to a giant mobilisation on 17 November is the first step in that process. But hand in hand with that campaign must be the job of creating a leadership from the rank-and-file of the trade unions and Labour Party who can develop a policy of class struggle to oppose the lefts' vacillating class collaboration.

## Rally at EGA before 17 Nov demo!

One group of workers who need no convincing of the importance of a massive turnout on 17 November are those at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson women's hospital on London's Euston Road. Since 1899 the EGA has provided much needed health care, run by women for women. In February of this year the Department of Health and Social Security announced that the hospital was to close — in the light of the new government spending estimates, the hospital was 'uneconomic'. It is to be demolished and its site sold for 'redevelopment'.

The staff at the EGA are fighting to save their workplace. They have announced that in the event of a closure they will begin their first ever work-in at a British hospital. The support they have received has been tremendous — in July over two thousand North London health workers took strike action to show their solidarity.

The EGA stewards are organising a mass rally outside the hospital [right next to Euston station] on 17 November. This will begin at midday and will march to the main demonstration in Hyde Park at 1.00 p.m. The Save the EGA Campaign has written to hundreds of the trade union branches travelling down by train urging them to assemble their contingents outside the hospital. They are also appealing to North London workers in particular to support this initiative. By doing so real encouragement can be given to

**THIS IS IT!** Your big chance to show the world your unrecognised literary genius. Red Weekly plans to publish a short story in its bumper Christmas issue and invites submissions from budding authors. There will be a host of prizes, and of course inestimable applause.

Suggested length is 2,000 words. The story has to be in by 8 December. All readers are encouraged to submit entries. Send to Red Weekly [Short

# LAST POST FOR GRUNWICK MANAGEMENT?



Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

Grunwick pickets Frank Hansen, Jeff Holden, Colin Adams, Paul Franklin - all members of the NUT and Brent East Labour Party General Management Committee - were arrested and charged with 'obstruction' whilst picketing on 1 November.

THE STRIKE at Grunwick Processing Laboratories in Willesden hit the headlines last week as angry Tories protested at the illegality of the blacking mounted by the UPW, the postal workers' union.

Grunwick's management, which has consistently refused to negotiate over the workers' demand for union recognition, was forced to allow a ballot organised by the Arbitration, Conciliation and Advisory Service. The UPW then preempted the parliamentary debate by calling off its solidarity action. Unfortunately the Grunwick dispute has not been won yet, and the management still has room for manoeuvre.

The strike started on 23 August when 200 workers walked out in protest about low pay and the company's sacking of union members. The present rates of pay are £25 for office workers and £28 for process workers. This is between £15 and £25 less than a nationally negotiated agreement. The Strike Committee bulletin spells out the workers' demands:

- ★ The right to belong to a union.
- ★ The right to have their union, APEX, recognised.
- ★ The reinstatement of those who were sacked for joining the union and those who came out on strike in their defence.
- ★ A decent living wage, proper working conditions and an end to the abusive and tyrannical attitudes of management.

The workers are clear that they reject this attack on black and women workers as the 'weakest' and most 'dispensable' section of the working class.

The Grunwick strike has been marked by widespread and effective

solidarity action. Links were made with the Trico equal pay strikers and the various international outlets of the company were closed even before the UPW action. But it was the postal blacking which was vital in breaking management's resistance.

When Red Weekly spoke last week to Kanlesh Gandhi, a member of the strike committee. He was clear that the struggle was far from over. 'The company have not agreed to anything yet', he said. He explained how 'they are putting out different stories in the factory. They tell workers that they are prepared to accept any union other than APEX.'

Even though the workers still inside the factory were continuing to come out and support the strike, the management manoeuvre would create problems for the strikers: 'It will be difficult to get more people out now. They will think that the company have made some sort of concession.'

Gandhi explained that he would have wanted the UPW to keep the ban on deliveries until the ACAS ballot. 'The post office workers stood firmly behind us', he said. 'We are disappointed with the decision to call off the ban, but we know that the workers themselves still support us. It is Tom Jackson, the UPW general secretary, who has let us down.'

Gandhi is emphatic that the decision to hold the ACAS ballot changes nothing fundamentally, and dismisses the management claim that they could sort out the whole dispute within a week.

'The strike will probably go on for another few weeks. Until we have won our demands there is no question of going back to work.'

## Left-wing Teachers Plan For Action

AN OPEN CONFERENCE of Left-Wing Teachers in London on 20 November could hardly be more timely in view of the Government's cuts in education and the recent offensive of the ruling class on 'educational standards'.

On the one hand there is the slashing of budgets for schools, teachers and materials. On the other hand the ruling class is mounting a major campaign on what is being taught and how. The general war cry is 'Back to the Three Rs'. In all this the Labour Government is playing its full part. It wades in to implement the cuts, while Callaghan himself launches the 'great debate' on the schools, on behalf of the CBI & Co. Ltd.

The post-war honeymoon between the progressive educationalists and the bulk of the capitalist class is at an end. On 20 October the Financial Times carried an article headlined 'Breaking the Power of Teachers', and went on to say that 'deciding what is taught in schools is a political act'. But while the writers in the financial press recognise this, there are others who do not. From the trade union and Labour bureaucracy there come only confused bleatings. They either pretend that there is no ideological crisis, and like the National Union of Teachers meekly ask to be allowed to 'get on with it', or they grovel before the CBI's demand for more suitable fodder for the factories.

When it comes to the educational cut-backs, these same

worthies content themselves with fiery words and little or no action. They keep proclaiming that the cuts are unacceptable — but they do little to organise resistance. That is why, more than ever, there is a burning need to force the authorities to take on the 20,000 unemployed teachers; to inject a massive sum of money for new schools and equipment. More than ever there is a need to fight over what and how school students are taught; insisting on the right to bring up in schools such issues as unemployment, the struggles in Africa and Ireland, the right of women to work, and the question of homosexuality.

Both the 'ideological' and the 'economic' issues are now of prime importance, and both issues will be discussed at the Open Conference. If the conference can agree that the only way the left can begin to organise the growing number of dissatisfied teachers is by seeking maximum unity in action, irrespective of disagreements on other issues, and if the conference accepts that ongoing political debate and discussion has to be a central ingredient of such unity in action, then progress will have been made.

For further information about the Conference, to be held at Sir William Collins School, London NW1, contact Dave Picton, 221 Westcombe Hill, SE3 [01-858 4942]. J. FERRY.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

BOB WRIGHT

## Not all roses for AUEW Broad Left

BOB WRIGHT, Broad Left candidate for one of the two posts of Assistant General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, last week ended a series of reverses by defeating arch right-winger John Weakley by 160,378 votes to 126,972.

Wright had previously lost to right-wingers when contesting the post of General Secretary and when defending his own seat on the Executive Committee. Had it not been for the long-held assumption that Wright is 'heir apparent' when Scanlon retires in two years time, it is doubtful if he would even have been run by the Broad Left.

The vote does carry some significance. With the exception of Ken Brett's success earlier in the year in the election for the other Assistant General Secretary, this is the first time in recent elections that the Broad Left has won a national position in the AUEW. However, it is far from an unqualified triumph.

Any satisfaction the Broad Left can draw from Wright's victory is dampened by the failure of Jimmy Reid to gain the post of regional organiser in Scotland,

and by the Broad Left's failure to win the post of district secretary in its former stronghold of Manchester. There were also right-wing victories in Liverpool, Ireland, Hampshire and Bedfordshire.

Wright's victory is thus against the general trend. In part it springs from the notoriety of his opponent, Weakley, who took the AUEW to court over a National Committee decision to stop the postal ballot; in part from the fact that Wright's opposition to the social contract, however half-hearted, is meeting with an increasing response as workers begin to feel the sharp fall in their living standards. No doubt there is also a good deal of sympathy for Wright after the way he has been treated in previous elections.

Certainly Wright's victory should be welcomed. But its importance lies in the defeat it hands out to the open supporters of wage cuts and the social contract, and the fact that it was won despite the Broad Left's mealy-mouthed opposition to Scanlon's collaboration with Callaghan and Healey. JOHN GRAHAM (AUEW).

The District Committee now has fourteen days to reinstate Shotton. But there is a big question mark surrounding the whole affair. High Court action is an expensive business and inspectors don't earn all that much. Who paid for it all, George?

The implications of the judge's ruling are clear. As Harry Hammond put it: 'The

## EXIT STAGE RIGHT ★ ★ ★

Amidst complete chaos and confusion a 10-hour long Special General Meeting of the performers' union, Equity, finally dealt the death blow to the right-wing dominated Equity Council.

The Council, most of whom belong to a secretly operating caucus called 'Act for Equity' — whose founding members include Lord Olivier, Nigel Davenport and Marius Goring — had staked everything on taking the union's rule book to the courts. Their aim had been to get a ruling that rules could be changed by a simple majority through referenda rather than through the customary two-thirds majority at open meetings of the whole membership.

Their next planned step was to use a referendum to make the calling of open meetings extremely difficult, thus bringing about a situation whereby Equity would have few or no meetings [there are no branches] and would be run entirely through referenda. When the courts found in favour of the Council, they immediately issued eight referenda on rule changes!

But the Appeal Court reversed the previous High Court decision a few days before the special open meeting, making these eight referenda null and void. So the Council had to get a two-thirds majority at the meeting on its rule change motions if it was to save face and somehow justify spending tens of thousands of pounds of the union's money on these proceedings.

There was a huge turn-out of nearly 1,400 members at the special meeting. The membership was incensed at the right wing for bankrupting the union and

made an impassioned resignation speech. The nine walked from the stage of the huge Coliseum Theatre to join the ranks of the members on the audience side of the footlights. Nearly a thousand people stood and cheered, order papers were thrown in the air, and the chant of 'Resign!' echoed around the enormous auditorium.

The Council's rule change motions were then defeated by a majority of nearly two-thirds and the coffin of 'Act for Equity' was sealed. Of course they won't resign. They will sit out the remaining few months in office doing nothing, to be finally thrown out of office at the next annual Council elections.

Meanwhile the urgent tasks for the membership — to fight for a democratic structure to replace the present archaic system, to construct a leadership that will fight for policies on jobs and wages that break with the Social Contract — have been made easier by last Sunday's events. But the road ahead still remains an uphill one.

Meanwhile workers at the Octagon Theatre in Bolton were planning to hold a mass picket outside the theatre on Wednesday as the audience arrived for the first night of *The Tempest*. The scenery for the play has been built by scab labour to meet the deadline of the opening night.

Management resorted to using scabs when the theatre's own workers went on a work-to-rule following the arbitrary demotion of the theatre's lighting de-

## High Court tears up union rule book

'The rule book has been thrown out of the window by a High Court judge.' That is what Harry Hammond, District Secretary of Number 6 District AUEW (Engineering Section), said on hearing the ruling in favour of George Shotton last week.

So just who is George Shotton? Shotton works as an inspector at the Aycliffe factory of Jonas Woodhead. He first came to local attention about two years ago, when he claimed in the local press that he and some twenty others were being persecuted by communists.

The next chapter of this story began when Shotton was elected to shop steward and the District Committee refused his credentials. Believing this to be a further sign of the communist plot against him, Shotton took his claim round the branches. Here he met with little sympathy. When he appeared at branch meetings, proceedings were stopped until he had left. More and more

# WHY THE £ IS SINKING

**ERNEST MANDEL asks: 'Where is it written that the workers, who have nothing to do with such things, are obliged to pay the costs of capitalist mismanagement and cheating, including currency speculation?'**

Currency speculation has been in the news for months now. The English pound and the French franc have been the foremost victims of it. The pound has been falling constantly, and the French franc has been hard hit. The Belgian franc, also, has been repeatedly threatened. What is the source of this speculation?

Above all, the speculation reflects the collapse of the international monetary system, which has been a fact since the dollar ceased to be convertible into gold. But it is also one of the causes of this collapse. Its essential source is the general inflation of all currencies, and the different rates of inflation that characterize these currencies.

At the moment, the currencies are free-floating. That is, their rate of exchange is determined by the law of supply and demand. When a country has an inflation rate that is higher than the average, it is going to have a deficit in its balance of payments. That is to say, the supply of this currency on the money market exceeds the demand. Therefore, its rate of exchange will go down as against the more stable currencies.

## Surplus

But when a country has a level of inflation below the average, then it will tend to have a surplus in its balance of payments. The demand for this currency exceeds the supply. Its rate of exchange will therefore go up in relation to the other currencies.

Commercial transactions take place regularly on the world market involving exports and imports. At the same time, a number of noncommercial transactions take place that involve the transfer of currency from one country to another—the export of capital, repatriation of profits from capital invested in foreign countries; tourism; remissions from foreign workers to their families; payment for various services such as sea and air transport, insurance premiums, etc. Every capitalist company knows the amount of money it is going to have to transfer abroad in the months ahead. When it expects that a foreign currency is going to decline in value, it will try to delay the payments it has to make in this currency as long as possible. When it expects that a foreign currency is going to go up in value, it will make its payments as quickly as possible. These anticipatory movements sharpen the fluctuations in exchange rates.

## Inflation

At present, there are three categories of inflation rates in the imperialist countries:

A low inflation rate of 5% in Switzerland and the United States (although the inflation rate in the U.S. is again showing a tendency to exceed 5%).

An inflation rate of roughly 8 to 10% in the Benelux countries, Japan, Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Canada, and France (where the rate is moving above 10%).

An inflation rate of roughly 15% in Great Britain, Italy, and Spain.

In the capitalist jungle therefore, the speculators inevitably set their sights on a rise in the price of Swiss francs and German marks and on a decline in the English pound, the lira, and the French franc.

However, while speculation is the result of inflation, it also tends to reinforce inflation. In fact, a pronounced decline in a currency involves a general rise in the price of imported products. Over the last two decades, the internationalization of production in the capitalist countries has greatly increased. When the currency of a country declines in relation to those of countries from which it imports heavily, then higher prices will have to be paid for these products in terms of the national currency. This accentuates the rise of all prices on the domestic market and thus the increase in the cost of living. It might seem at first glance that higher prices for imported products would result in import reductions favoring "national

encourage the export of English and Italian products, since these goods would be cheaper abroad. That is why the British and Italian bourgeoisies have already been accused of promoting the depreciation of "their" currencies so as to strengthen their competitive positions.

In reality, things do not happen so mechanically. First of all, some imported products cannot be substituted for, at least in the short run. These include certain raw materials and machines or other products that are the result of specialized production techniques. No one seriously considers reducing imports of petroleum or uranium when the price of such imports rises by 10% as a result of the depreciation of the French franc. You just have to pay more. And these higher prices further increase the inflationary trend in Great Britain, Italy, and France.

Secondly, if any country gains an advantage on the world market through lower export costs resulting from depreciation of its currency, this very quickly brings on protective and retaliatory measures from its leading competitors. The

trade war. Thus, recently the United States has informed Japan that it will not tolerate an invasion of its market by Japanese products as a result of the depreciation of the yen. It is going to tell the same thing to French, Italian, and British exporters (and in the near future to the Belgian and Dutch ones).

## Flight

Finally, speculation is associated with capital flight. The balance of payments of a country is not necessarily the reflection of its trade balance. A high rate of inflation can very easily bring with it a deficit in the balance of trade (as has been the case, for example, in the U.S. and Canada). However, if the country in question is seen as a "refuge" because of its greater political and social stability, then foreign capital may flow in in great quantities and restore the balance of payments. Thus, large amounts of capital

West Germany but also for the U.S. (From Portugal the outflow of capital went primarily to Brazil.) Paradoxically, such a capital inflow does little to improve the competitive position of the country in question, unless it is invested productively and this results in an improvement of the average productivity of labor.

The rash of currency speculation testifies to a deepening of the crisis of the Common Market and further aggravates this. The Common Market in fact is only a customs agreement. That is, it is only a first step toward economic integration that in the long run may not survive the sharpening competitiveness in international trade. This threat arises from the long-term decline in the average rate of growth. Therefore, the champions of European capitalist integration advocate a currency union as the next step. This is supposed to be the basis for developing and maintaining a common economic and financial policy as well as a common political policy. That is, it is supposed to bring about a real supernational bourgeois state with an effective executive power.

stages—would mean the fusion of the European currencies into one, a currency union with the pooled reserves of the nine countries. But as the spread between the inflation rates of the various member states of the Common Market widens, more and more of them are going to have serious deficits in their balance of payments. Therefore, the "rich" member states (among others, West Germany) more and more hesitate to put their reserves in a pool so that they can be drained by those partners with balance of payments deficits.

Against this background, the perspective of a fusion of the European currencies is fading. But there is now an attempt to find an intermediary solution, the tying together of the currencies of the richest member states so that they float together against other major currencies in the famous "snake." This is supposed to hasten the integration of these five countries, even while for the moment it means shoving the "poor relations" (Italy, Great Britain, Denmark, and Ireland) aside. But now we have seen that the French franc in its turn has had to leave the "snake." We may wonder how long it will be before it is the turn of the Belgian franc or the Dutch guilder. In this case, the "rich" member states would be reduced to West Germany alone. All the rest would be "poor relations." Thus, the hope for monetary unity is fading into the far future, unless the situation (and the German political orientation) changes spectacularly in the coming years.

## Inevitable

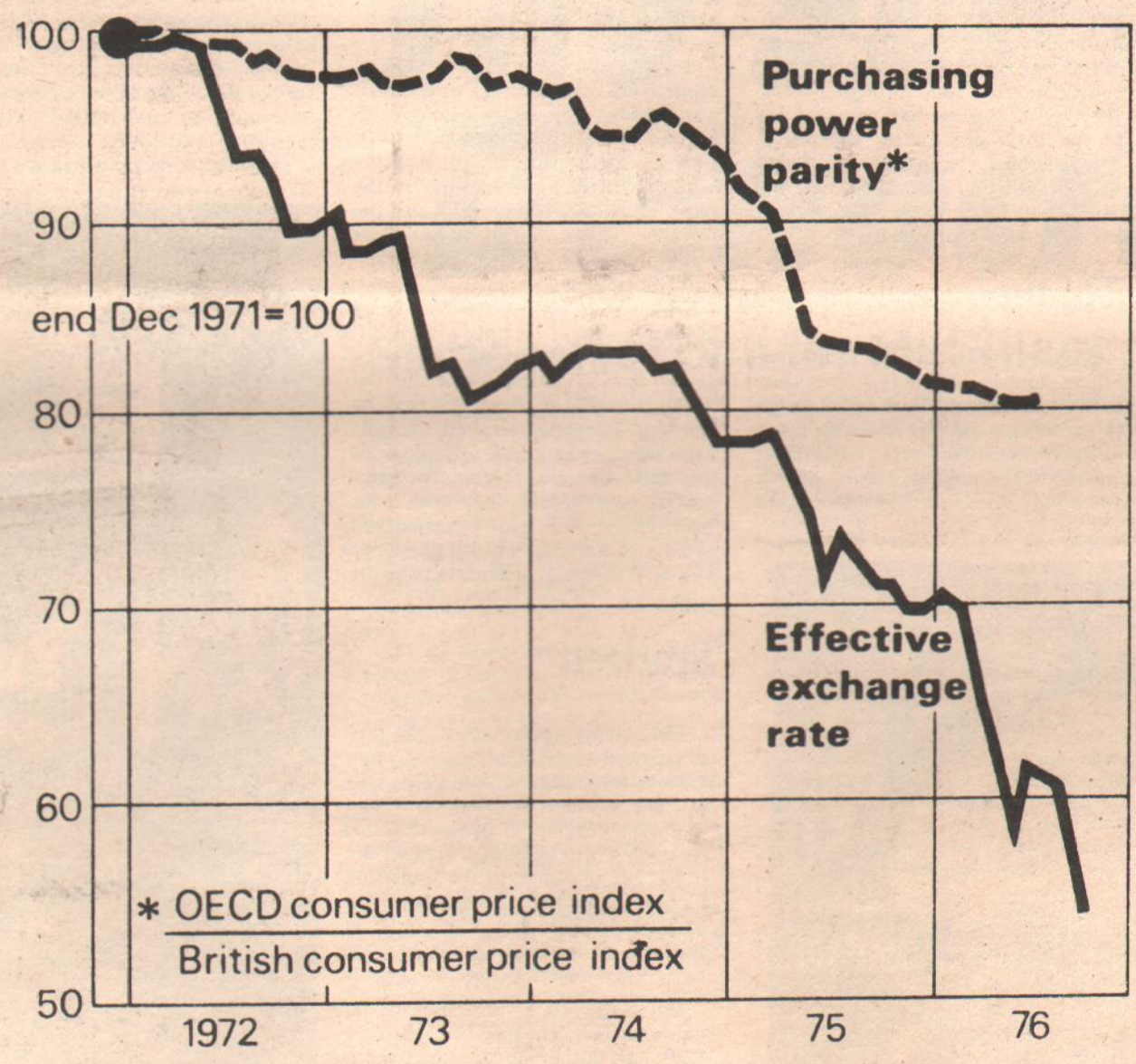
As long as capitalism exists, economic crises and class struggle are inevitable. The capitalists who ceaselessly preach accommodation and halting the class struggle to the unions and the workers are in fact, through these arguments and soothing speeches, waging a relentless class struggle. Their aim is to swell their profits. In freezing wages, "restraining" demands, and preaching the need for "sobriety," the bosses and their political representatives claim to be defending "monetary stability" and the "general interest" (or the national interest). Actually, they are only defending their money bags.

It is utopian to hope for an "equal" restraint on wages, prices, and profits. Not one capitalist government has yet succeeded in imposing strict control over prices. On the other hand, control of wages is quite easy if the union leaders make a deal, and the workers let them get away with it. The result is predictable—a relative (or even absolute) decline in wages.

The British workers have learned about this process through painful experience, and it should be a lesson to the workers movement in all countries. In order "to break out" of the so-called wage-price spiral, they agreed to limit their demands to a straight 4 or 5%, while inflation developed that exceeded that percentage. The upshot was a decrease in their buying power of more than 5%! Was rising unemployment at least stemmed? No, by no means. There are now one and a half million persons out of work! Was inflation overcome? Absolutely not. Despite the modest 5% wage increases, inflation has risen to 15%. This is the fault of the currency speculators, the bleeding hearts complain. But where is it written that the workers, who have nothing to do with such things, are obliged to pay the costs of capitalist mismanagement and cheating, including currency speculation?

## Moral

What is the moral of this tale? Unionists, batten down the hatches! Don't trade your gains for vague promises. Defend the jobs and wages of your comrades uncompromisingly. And fight to end the capitalist system. Otherwise you are going to be confronted more and more with "choosing" between the devil and the deep blue sea, between massive unemployment and falling wages. In fact, you will get unem-



\* OECD consumer price index  
British consumer price index

# The choice facing the Scottish Labour Party

# NATIONALISM or CLASS STRUGGLE

The foundation of the Scottish Labour Party last January was seen by many militants as being the beginning of a fighting alternative to the bourgeois nationalism of the Scottish National Party and the betrayals of the Labour Government.

Party candidates in local council elections gained votes of up to 15 per cent in the West of Scotland. Furthermore, the SLP MPs who split with the Labour Party to form the new organisation declared that they would vote against the Government's policies of cut backs in the social services and mass unemployment.

A TORY MP tabled a message of congratulations in the House of Commons last week. The motion offered full support to the action taken by Jim Sillars and other leaders of the Scottish Labour Party in expelling 'communists, Marxists and fellow travellers' at their recent conference in Stirling. The Tory went on to call on Callaghan to take similar action in the Labour Party in the light of 'events in Lincoln, Sheffield Brightside and Newham North East.'

Here at least was a man who was not confused by what the press called the 'wildest psycho drama of recent Scottish politics'. He had drawn the correct conclusion that in Jim Sillars the ruling class had another anti-communist friend in the labour movement to join the ranks of the Prentices, Boyds and Frank Chapples of this world.

But Sillars had other allies in the run-up to the conference. Only one day before, the political correspondent of

foundling meeting last January.

This red baiting was not confined to the IPC press moguls. The journal *Question* is produced by an Edinburgh nationalist clique. But there was no mistaking the way in which they conscientiously ran through their checklist of who was and who was not in the IMG and other 'subversive' organisations. Our academics ended their article with the advice that the SLP 'will have to be ruthless' in expelling the organised left.

## Theme

But they were teaching grandmother Sillars how to suck eggs. The same theme was taken up by the SLP leader in the official journal *Forward*, in an article entitled 'Conference — Make or Break'. The political basis of his witch-hunt was clear: 'We have argued for a strong Scottish Parliament,

The viciousness of the attack by the SLP leadership on the party's left wing at its Stirling Conference two weeks ago left even the bourgeois press gasping, and fuelled the right wing's demand for a purge of the Labour Party itself.

Red Weekly has been the only paper to cover the full facts of the SLP conference and pin the responsibility for the expulsions on the shoulders of the Sillars leadership. Here we continue to explain the likely dynamic of Sillars towards being the left voice of the SNP, and the problems facing the left wing of the party.

is presenting to the delegates.' The notion that the conference could actually choose to *reject* any of the portfolios did not figure in Sillars' calculations.

But the group implicated in Sillars' suppression of democracy in the SLP was broader than his immediate colleagues. Sillars advanced the line of 'a strong socialist Parliament in Scotland...with full representation in the EEC.' It was this policy which tied the so-called 'left' nationalists, like Tom Nairn of *New Left Review*, into Sillars' anti-left campaign.

Thus it was that Tom Nairn woke up in the same bed as John Robertson MP — long time ally of the right-wing group led by John Boyd in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. The support of both the 'left' nationalists and the SLP apparatus for the EEC brought them into direct conflict with the left-wing forces at the conference, who had campaigned against the Common Market project of Heath, Wilson and Jenkins only a year ago.

## Spirited

The spirited opposition to the pro-EEC resolutions at the conference demonstrated beyond doubt that Sillars had failed to build a secure and stable majority for his policies inside the party which he himself had set up. It was the challenge to the leadership represented by the left that drove the SLP leadership into the apparent madness of expelling around half the party's active membership.

But at the root of the expulsion lay one stark fact. The membership of the SLP has not expanded significantly since its foundation last January. The party had less than a thousand paid up acitvists. The line of the Sillars' leadership had failed a decisive test.

## Split

The SLP is now split. The Sillars wing of the party does not present a pretty picture. It is now mainly concentrated in Sillars' own stamping ground of South Ayrshire.

But the dramatic shrinkage in its forces is only one consequence of the split. There has also been a dramatic shift towards openly nationalist positions. The main proponents of this position range from Tom Nairn to the right-wing bourgeois nationalists represented by George Easton.

This shift has the logic of entering the Scottish National Party. It can only be a matter of time before the matter of dual membership is raised formally

Not all the Sillars wing share this enthusiasm for dissolution into the SNP. Sillars himself will be anxious to maintain the prestige and power which is associated with his position as 'broker' between the SNP and the Labour Party. But this role depends on their ability to carve out an independent political position.

This independence is wearing paper

thin. At present the only major policy disagreement between the S and SNP is on the EEC; and the SNP opposition to the EEC has been 'hearted' for a long time. A shift in policy on their part would immediately throw Sillars and his followers into a deep political crisis, since most of their followers, coming mainly from a Labour Party background, will go i



SILLARS - orchestrated a massive press campaign against the left wing in the SLP.

the *Daily Record* — the Scottish equivalent of the *Daily Mirror* — demanded that the 'tearaway lefts', the 'camp followers of the lunatic left' be kicked out. The focus of their attentions was the International Marxist Group.

This was despite the fact that the IMG had consistently explained why Scottish workers should vote for and

which clearly implies that we believe in the parliamentary road to socialism.'

But the SLP had never taken such a position. 'We' in this instance was Sillars, fellow MP John Robertson, and SLP general secretary Alex Neil.

Sillars' concern to keep bureaucratic control of 'his' party was further revealed in the same issue of *Forward*, which explained: 'It will be for the





JOHN ROBERTSON - the SLP MP, long time ally of the right wing in the AUEW, addresses the Stirling conference.

different direction to the nationalist camp.

Further evidence that the SLP is marching towards the nationalist camp came with the by-election results. The SLP MPs were in a position to dictate to the Labour Government the terms of their support. This they did. But not on the cuts, not on falling living standards, not on unemployment

but... on devolution!

Thus the SLP MPs chose to reject a parliamentary campaign to make the Labour lefts fight in alliance with them, and instead took one more step towards becoming the left voice of an SNP/SLP bloc.

The expelled left wing of the party which met in Stirling last weekend is in an infinitely healthier condition. Although they represent a politically mixed grouping, brought together in defence of democracy against the leadership's witch-hunt, the move to the left has been rapid.

### Public

Through holding public meetings and putting the responsibility for the split on the old leadership, the left wing have won recruits from outside the SLP who were previously distrustful of Sillars and Co. Their stated policy is for the reunification of the SLP with full guarantees of internal democracy.

This would inevitably mean the publication of the result of the elections for the SLP NOC held at the Stirling conference but declared void after the expulsions. There is every reason to believe that the left will find that they won a majority, and that this was the factor which triggered the purge.

The likelihood of such a reunification, however, has been made difficult by statements from Alex Neil that 'we have got rid of a cancer which could have killed the party'. But really the question revolves around a simple question: on whose terms will reunification take place? All the left appear to agree that such a project will depend on everybody expelled being taken back, whereas Sillars will want individuals to return, fragmented and isolated, without an effective voice in the party.

### Clear

It is also becoming increasingly clear that although the left formed and was expelled on the question of democracy, the bulk of the expelled members are also against the chief plank of Sillars' political programme, the 'Jobs and Industry' document. The clarification of the policy differences will also illuminate the extent to which Sillars is SNP-bound.

If this is done the first step will have been taken towards a strong, openly socialist organisation with a campaigning membership which is capable of building the SLP in the working class. It was in this task that the old leadership clearly failed.

NEIL WILLIAMSON (Red Weekly)

# The SLP and Democracy

## Some questions for Mr Sillars' 'left' supporters

The split in the Scottish Labour Party engineered by Jim Sillars and the grouping around him on the SLP leadership has raised a whole number of important questions. Central among these is the question of democracy in the workers movement. Accordingly the bureaucratic and arbitrary expulsions have shown us who are the real defenders of democracy.

Let us start with the nationalist journal Question. This is a well-produced weekly whose contributors include well-known SLP supporters such as Tom Nairn. Question was in an unquestioning mood. It congratulated the SLP for getting rid of the far left and went on to write:

'The same compliment cannot be paid to the British Labour Party... It must, like the SLP, set its house in order. Its National Executive Committee is manifestly failing to do this in the matter of the appointment of a Trotskyite as National Youth Organizer... [this] indicates the Labour Party's failure to maintain its commitment to democratic ideals.'

### Curious

What are we to make of this curious way of showing a love for democracy? The only conclusion we can draw from Question is that democracy is only for those who believe in capitalism. Another supporter of the SLP, Stewart MacLachlan, writing in the Daily Record on the eve of the conference, urged the party to expel the 'lunatic left'. I am sure Mr MacLachlan is also a firm believer in democracy, but, like Question, only for those who agree with him.

Neil Ascherson is a more intelligent apologist for the expulsions than either Question or MacLachlan, but he is also more confused. Writing recently in The Scotsman in an article entitled 'Exit the "entrists"', he first implied that the IMG controlled a whole layer of militants in the SLP and was unable to prevent them from moving leftwards at a rapid rate. The IMG supposedly 'entirely lost control of the forces which they were encourag-

ing' came from the Cumbernauld branch where there is no IMG supporter [as Ascherson acknowledges himself], how a handful of IMG supporters can be held responsible escapes us.

In reality the real question, as Ascherson and his friends realise perfectly well, is one of democracy. He asks: 'How far can a party tolerate organised dissenting groups...?'; and replies: 'No real answer exists'. But then he attempts an answer which would be amusing were it not so pathetic.

The SLP contests elections. The IMG does not. So the IMG can afford the luxury of inner-party democracy, but the SLP must bow to 'the pressure for conformity' to retain its credibility with its voters. So Ascherson's long record of reporting on Eastern Europe for The Observer has finally boiled

and the erstwhile socialists of the former Scottish Workers Republican Party.

In reality Neil Ascherson and his radical nationalist friends are extremely short-sighted. By acquiescing in the expulsion of the far left regardless of the arguments they utilise to do so, they are opening the road to more expulsions. They themselves will receive the same treatment if they clash with the Sillars gang at a future stage.

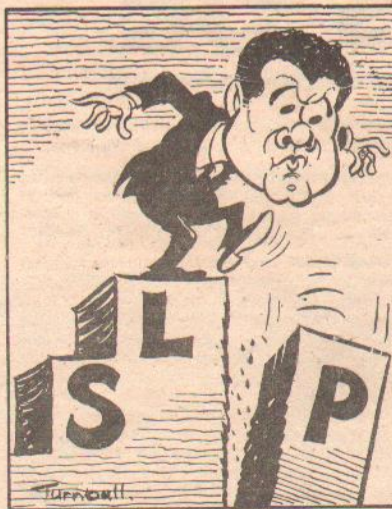
Sillars has made it clear that he will not tolerate any serious dissent. All criticism must be within the framework of what he stands for. Ascherson and co. will have to behave themselves or else their blood, too, will soil the bureaucrats' guillotine.

### Struggle

Workers democracy, for which we struggle throughout the labour movement, is certainly not a luxury, an optional extra. It is a vital part of the struggle for a socialist democracy. That is why the way organisations act and behave today is seen by the most advanced workers as an image of the future.

Ascherson is correct when he states that the IMG's supporters 'fatally underestimated the party leadership's resolve to smash them at almost any cost.' They, poor naive souls, imagined that in 1976 the methods of both Stalinism and right-wing social democracy had been sufficiently discredited within the workers vanguard for them to be able to struggle for socialist policies. They made an error of judgement.

But Ascherson and friends are guilty of a much graver sin: that of covering up and providing the rationalisations for the bloodletting inaugurated by Messrs Sillars, Neil and Robertson. By so doing they have connived at ending the possibility of a real democratic regime within their own party. Whether they realise it or not they have also consigned themselves to acting as radical covers for the right-wing politics of the SLP leaders.



From the Glasgow Herald

down to this neo-Stalinist justification of monolithism.

It should be said that Benn, Foot, Heffer and co. showed themselves to be far more courageous and far more correct when they opposed the planned witch-hunt against Militant and other currents in the British Labour Party. The old Labour Party left has many weaknesses [and chauvinism is one of them], but on the question of fighting witch-hunts they have a





# LETTERS

## WHO FIGHTS CORRUPTION?

We were surprised to read Geoff Ryan's article 'Against corruption — vote Socialist Worker' in *Red Weekly* (28 October). In our opinion it is not true that the Socialist Worker campaign in Newcastle has genuinely 'taken up the question of corruption and related it to the fight for workers democracy'.

Comrade Ryan points out that the fight against corruption must mean 'fighting for real democracy in the mass organisations of the working class ... a fight against the hold of the right-wing bureaucracy in the labour movement ... to make all MPs bound by conference decisions ... Above all, it means a fight for a higher form of democracy — workers democracy'. But this is the sort of fight that the International Socialists do not take up.

There is a lack of democracy in IS itself, and in the organisation of the Right to Work Campaign. IS don't see the need to make Labour MPs answerable to conference decisions or local parties. After all, who wants to bother with those reformist hacks when the socialist alternative to Labour and the Communist Party — the Socialist Workers Party — is being built?

From what we understand, the Newcastle Socialist Worker candidate, David Hayes, was selected in a bureaucratic and undemocratic manner, and is in no way bound by the wishes and decisions



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

DAVE HAYES

of his supporters or the Right to Work Campaign. Nor have the IS taken up the question of corruption in a real way as far as we can see, despite their gimmicky publicity stunt of picketing the Northern Economic Development Council.

Finally, instead of challenging the

bureaucracy in the labour movement, the ultra-left sectarianism of the Newcastle Socialist Worker campaign gives ammunition to that bureaucracy and drives genuine militants in and around the Labour Party and CP (and around Eddie Milne) into the hands of that bureaucracy. In fact the whole campaign to build the Socialist Workers Party, and IS's 'campaigns' against unemployment and racism, actually cuts across the development of genuine campaigns against corruption, the cuts and unemployment, women's oppression, etc.

We feel that *Red Weekly* should not have given the impression that IS do fight correctly. It may be correct to support David Hayes against the Labour candidate, but not because of IS's 'campaigns'. — **TEESSIDE SUPPORTERS.**

### SOUTHAMPTON TELEPHONISTS

I understand that your newspaper has recently published an article on the telephonists' strike at Southampton General Hospital in which it was claimed that I had refused to support the strike. As you no doubt now realise, this statement is false, completely fabricated, and could be construed by those of us with legal qualifications as malicious. Since I cannot personally accept that your newspaper could knowingly act in this sectarian and uncomradely manner, I trust that you will print a statement withdrawing these remarks as soon as possible. — **ALAN WHITEHEAD** (Prospective Parliamentary Candidate, New Forest CLP).

*Red Weekly* has written to Brother Whitehead as follows: 'We would be pleased to rectify any error contained in our interview with the NUPE chairman at Southampton General Hospital by carrying a statement of your support for the telephonists' action. We are sure you will agree that this would both clarify the situation and aid the workers — which, after all, is the main consideration.'

Alfio Barnabei makes large claims for his new play, *GAST*, performed by the BITE theatre group and due shortly to go on tour; he is attempting a new kind of political theatre, he says. Towards the beginning of the play, one of the actors spells it out for the audience: 'In this play you will not see Mr So-and-So meeting Lady So-and-So, witness their encounter, their Love-Story and Happy Ending or Adieu. Nor will you see the Abominable Boss employing the Worker. Nor a mixture of the two: the Committed Play.'

The play itself is about the causes and conditions of migrant labour. It charts a course from the labour theory of value through imperialism to the everyday problems of the immigrant worker. There are no characters, no story, no music and no jokes: i.e. no concessions to bourgeois individualism? I must admit that the bleak set, with only balls of wool and T-shirts as props, and the gloomy lighting made me feel like the victim of a new experiment in sensory deprivation.

In the discussion afterwards, other members of the audience criticised the play's lack of characterisation. The theatre group replied: 'But we're not portraying individuals, we're showing the social forces which shape society. Individuals live and die, but the social forces continue.'

### Scornful

They are scornful of the tradition of agitprop in this country, with its simplistic caricatures of bosses and workers making the problem into a personal, moral issue rather than one of social forces. Their play is packed with facts and theory, and they are adamant about not underestimating the capacity of working class audiences.

But there is a danger of elevating this into a principle without taking account of the process of communication. Even members of a predominantly intellectual audience complained that it was 'too abstract. I just couldn't absorb it all.'

The critic of London's *Time Out* magazine believes that it was all done 'in the spirit of Brecht'. In fact, Brecht only warned against identifying with characters — he was not against the representation

# POETS AND SONG-WRITERS NEEDED

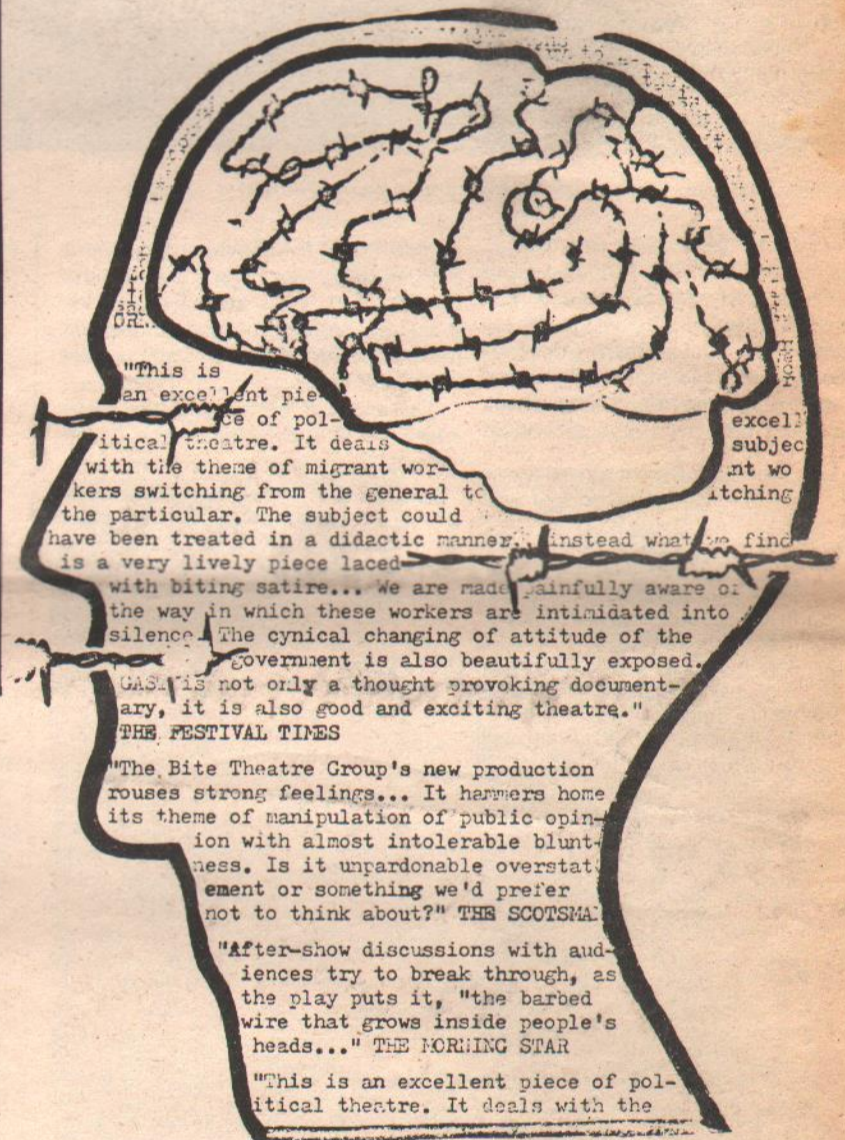
Action Against Racism is a broad-based group dedicated to opposing racism, and especially the political organisation of racism. One of the prime concerns among certain members is the provision of anti- and non-racist information and education.

To this end the Press and Publications group of AAR recognises the need to promote poets and songwriters whose work falls into the anti-racist category. The group plans to publish a series of pamphlets or magazines, provisionally entitled 'FREEDOM-WRITERS', which it

is envisaged will be distributed nationally.

AAR invites all poets and song-writers to submit manuscripts (only short prose pieces can be considered) for the first of these publications, which it is hoped will receive wide attention within the labour movement and among progressive people. Please address manuscripts (enclosing a stamped addressed envelope to: 'Freedom-Writers', AAR, PO Box 32 Blackburn, Lancashire. — **K. H. QURAIISHI** [Blackburn]).

## New play breaks with agitprop format



"This is an excellent piece of political theatre. It deals with the theme of migrant workers switching from the general to the particular. The subject could have been treated in a didactic manner, instead what we find is a very lively piece laced with biting satire... We are made painfully aware of the way in which these workers are intimidated into silence. The cynical changing of attitude of the government is also beautifully exposed. *GAST* is not only a thought provoking documentary, it is also good and exciting theatre." **THE FESTIVAL TIMES**

"The Bite Theatre Group's new production rouses strong feelings... It hammers home its theme of manipulation of public opinion with almost intolerable blunt-ness. Is it unpardonable overstatement or something we'd prefer not to think about?" **THE SCOTSMAN**

"After-show discussions with audiences try to break through, as the play puts it, 'the barbed wire that grows inside people's heads...' **THE MORNING STAR**

"This is an excellent piece of political theatre. It deals with the

## GAST by Alfio Barnabei, a play about the causes and effects of migration.

beings objectively, as 'shifting raw material, unformed and undefined, that can surprise them'.

*GAST* does have certain strengths. Complex theory is presented very clearly without oversimplifications. Ideological manipulation is a theme that runs throughout the play, and although this is presented as a conscious conspiracy of the ruling class, who apply 'cultural anaesthetics' or 'surgery' to disguise reality, the ways in which public opinion is turned on and off through both misinformation and a lack of information are demonstrated very convincingly.

For example, a newspaper wants to report new statistics about 2,000 immigrants entering Britain. They have a choice of headlines, both of which are factually correct. 'Thousands of immigrants flooding in' reads one; the other, 'Immigrant rate down', is nearer the truth. Which will they choose, and why? The answer is self-evident. As the play puts it, referring to immigration controls: 'The best barbed wire is that which grows inside people's heads.'

### Weakness

and lack of information by launching an onslaught of facts and analysis at the audience; there's a naive assumption that, once armed with the facts, we will all be able to go off and make the revolution. Experience is left out of the picture.

Even a subject like the frustration of the single, male immigrant who resorts to prostitutes for human contact is given the same treatment. It's all part of the 'mercenary relationships' of capitalism, the actors inform us. They attempt to convey the flavour of this social relationship by having a prostitute say 'do you want my vagina here or downstairs?'

### Virtue

There's a certain virtue in this brutal, no-nonsense style, but the possibilities for humour and drama are lost under the suffocating blanket of facts which surround each little gem of this kind. The audience is reduced to a passive receptacle for the theory which the theatre group is dishing out like medicine. Swallow it and you'll feel better. There is little opportunity for the audience to react, and as Brecht said, to 'think feelings and feel thoughtfully'.

## 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.

**COMMUNIST Student Festival:** hear Eric Hobsbawm, Beatrix Campbell, Lee Comer, Digby Jacks, Stephen Rose, Arnold Kettle, Sam Aaronovitch, Terry Eagleton and others. Films and disco. Saturday 13 November, midday onwards, University of London Union, Malet St, WC1. Tickets £1, obtainable from Festival Organiser, c/o 16 King St, London WC2. Org. by ULU Com. Soc.

**LABOUR Movement Delegation to Ireland** report-back meeting: Thurs 18 Nov, 7.30pm, Edmonton Labour Rooms, Broad House, Edmonton, N.18.

**'WOMEN IN IRELAND—A Report Back':** South London meeting, Thurs 18 Nov, 7.30pm at South Bank Poly Students Union, Rotary St, S.E.1. LMDI and NUS delegation speakers.

**FIGHT RACISM in the Media!** Public meeting Weds 17 Nov, 7pm, Friends House, Euston Rd, London NW1. Organised by Campaign Against Racism in the Media. Speakers include: Frank Allain MP, Paul Foot, George Jerome (NGA), Geoffrey Sheridan (CARM Secretary), a black journalist. Chair: Denis McShane (NUJ).

**FARE FIGHT** Benefit, Sat 13 Nov, School of Oriental & African Studies, Malet St, WC1. 80p in advance, £1 at door (claimants 50p). Also regular Fare Fight meetings every Thurs at 8pm in Rising Free, 138 Drummond St, NW1.

**HUMBERSIDE Health Service Action Committee** public meeting: 'All out for 17 November'. Speakers M. Mathieson (NUPE), J. Notan (Hull Trades Council) and NCC representative. Fri 12 Nov, YPI building, George St, Hull—7.30pm.

**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.

**BIRMINGHAM Red Weekly Supporters Group** meets every other Wednesday at 7.30pm in Australian Bar, Hurst St.

**RED WEEKLY public meeting:** 'Women Fight Back'. Speakers include Dr Berry Beaumont (NAC), Bob Singh (Trico) and Celia Pugh (IMG). Thurs 11 Nov, 7.30 in Queen's Hall, Ealing Town Hall.

**OPEN CONFERENCE of Left-Wing Teachers,** Sat 20 Nov, 11am-5.30pm at Sir William Collins School, Charrington St, London NW1. Creche and pool free. Information from Dave Picton, 221 Westcombe Hill, London SE3 (01-858 4942).

**'DIRECT ACTION and Criminal Trespass'** — conference at Reading University, 27-28 Nov. Details from CACTL, 6 Bowden Street, London SE11 (01-289 3877).

**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.

**NOEL JENKINSON Commemoration Meeting** at Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., WC1 — Fri 12 Nov, 8pm.

**CAMBRIDGE Challenge Group** — discussion group for regular 'Red Weekly' readers. Meets Wednesdays at 8pm in the 'Man on the Moon', Norfolk St.

**'ACTION AND PARTY':** debate between Mar-



# THE CLASS STRUGGLE IS INTERNATIONAL

Wolfgang Abendroth's *A Short History of the European Working Class* (New Left Books, £2 paperback) is the best short introduction to the history of the European labour movement available in English.

By its very compression, Abendroth's book brings home with striking clarity the completely international nature of the class struggle. He shows how the fate of a revolution in any individual European country is inextricably tied up with the development of the class struggle in every other country, and how every major step forward of the labour movement in any country is interconnected with the entire international process.

In 1848, for instance, it was the February revolution in Paris which led in March to the uprisings in Vienna and Berlin and then the spread of the revolution into Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the whole of Germany. It was in turn the defeat of June 1848 in France and the failure of the revolution to spread to Russia which doomed the German revolution.

## Upsurge

In 1905 the revolutionary struggles in Russia led to an upsurge of the labour movement in every European country. In 1917 the Russian revolution led to directly revolutionary struggles in Finland, Hungary and Germany; and the Russian revolution was then itself saved by the refusal of British and French workers to tolerate a war of intervention against the Soviet Republic.

Today there is not one single major development in a European country — let alone developments of world historic importance, such as the Spanish and Portuguese revolutions or the attempt to enact the 'historic compromise' in Italy — which would not shake every other country on this continent.

To choose now of all times, as do the European Communist Parties, to unfurl the great banner of 'national roads' and 'national autonomy' must be one of the most futile attempts to turn back the wheel of history ever seen.

revolutionary parties will be built is first to construct a national organisation and then somehow expect that an International will develop from these national parties.

Marxism itself has of course always been an international current



Together with the international integration of the class struggle has come the constant struggle for the international organisation of revolutionaries. Once again Abendroth's book shows how out of touch with reality and the history of the real revolutionary workers movement are those who believe that the way

ideologically, politically and organisationally. Nothing would have seemed more ridiculous to Marx, who developed his theory on the basis of French materialism and socialism, German philosophy, and British political economy, than the view that the chief virtue of revolutionaries should be to stick to 'bread and butter' issues in their own countries.

Furthermore, Marx's organisa-

tional conclusions were fully in line with his political outlook. Every single political organisation which Marx and Engels built was simultaneously created as an international and a national organisation.

The original Communist League (formed in June 1847) was essentially the old Blanquist League of the Just transformed on the basis of its contact with the Chartists, who showed the original secret society the necessity and possibility of creating a mass working class organisation, and with the ideas of Marx and Engels, which gave the League — above all in the production of the Communist Manifesto — a political coherence and thrust which the Blanquists could never supply. It was on the basis of this organisation, formed through direct participation in the French and English class struggles, that Marx intervened and operated in the German revolution of 1848.

## Same

The second political organisation which Marx constructed, the First International, was of course of exactly the same character. The great experiences out of which this organisation was formed were the unification of Italy, the Polish rising of 1863, the American civil war of 1861-65, together with a whole series of strikes involving British workers and foreign blacklegs. And right from the beginning it had organisations in Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Russia, the United States and the other major capitalist countries.

This tradition of building simultaneously international and national organisations was fully continued by the revolutionary forces even within the rapidly degenerating Second International of 1889-1914. And it was not in the slightest confined to that platonic 'exchange' of ideas which passes for internationalism in many quarters now.

## Trotsky

Trotsky, for example, participated at various times actively in the German, Austrian and even Rumanian organisations as well as the Russian Social Democratic and Labour Party. Rosa Luxemburg was even more remarkable. This Polish revolutionary directed her first notable works against the German Bernstein and the Frenchman Millerand. In addition to her work in the Second International itself, notably in drafting the Stuttgart Resolution on Imperialism and War, Luxemburg

was simultaneously a leader of both the German and the Polish parties as well as frequently intervening in the Russian RSDLP.

## Higher

This absolute intertwining of national and international experience and organisation, and the fact that the higher the level of the class struggle the more it was vital and possible to absorb the lessons of the international class struggle, received its highest expression, as Abendroth reminds us, in the most revolutionary of all parties which emerged from the Second International — the Bolshevik Party.

The building of the Bolshevik Party was completely tied up with the struggles in international Marxism. The very first fight of Lenin within the Russian Party was directed simultaneously against the Russian 'Economists' and the German Bernstein. The building of the Bolshevik Party was combined by Lenin with a simultaneous international struggle against reformism in the French and German parties.

## Drove

Even after the beginning of the First World War, the Bolsheviks drove continuously to build their national party and simultaneously to construct a new international organisation — it is no accident that on the outbreak of war both Lenin and Trotsky proclaimed the necessity for a new International. Furthermore, even under the extremely difficult conditions of the First World War, the Bolsheviks were the chief driving force in the practical steps towards a new International in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences of 1915 and 1916.

It was these conditions, the simultaneous development of mighty revolutionary struggles in Russia and the fact that the Bolsheviks were the most internationally connected and most internationalist party in the world, which created the conditions for the development of a mass revolutionary workers party.

As Abendroth's book vividly reminds us, practical revolutionary leaders have always acted and organised right from the beginning in the international class struggle and international organisation. That's where the ideas are. Not a few of the experiences which created those ideas are in Abendroth's book, and its sweep shows the actual reality of the European revolution. At £2 a copy it is a snip.

ALAN JONES.

## book reviews

THE VISIT OF BORIS PONOMAREV to Britain certainly gave no grounds for the local capitalists to shudder in their boots. For his visit coincided with the 20th anniversary of one of the most heroic events of the 20th Century: the uprising of Hungarian workers, peasants and students against the tyrannical Stalinist dictatorship. Ponomarev has cause to wince because he played a role in these events — that of one of the gravediggers of the Hungarian Revolution. This was the first revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy — and for that reason as well as the recent Polish workers' uprising [1970-76] it demands study by all socialists. Bill Lomax's book fills a yawning gap in Marxist studies of the subject and deserves wide circulation despite its syndicalist twist in the last chapter.

When the Red Army overran Hungary in 1945, Stalin at first tolerated a 'national democratic coalition' of bourgeois and workers parties in which capitalism was left fundamentally untouched. But the Cold War came, and Stalin decided to transform Eastern Europe into 'Socialism at a stroke'. By ukase all industry was nationalised, all parties except the bureaucratised CPs were banned, and oppositionists executed and imprisoned. In the early 1950s Hungarians experienced a 17 per cent drop in living standards and Stalin's puppet Rakosi imposed a reign of terror over the people.

For Stalin, unlike Lenin and Trotsky, the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was to be executed not through the democratic organs of workers power (the soviets), but exclusively through the Communist Party. Unfortunately Lomax does not bring out this point clearly enough.

On 23 October the revolution began. Students at Budapest University demonstrated for the withdrawal of Russian troops, democratisation of Hungarian political life, and a new government under Imre Nagy (a moderate Stalinist with credibility from the 1945-48 period).

## Fighting

In a demonstration of 350,000 workers, Stalin's statue was pulled down and fighting broke out. The tanks were called

What was to happen now was one of the most unprecedented events seen since October 1917. Throughout the country workers and peasants were to organise themselves into a network of workers councils in opposition to the official system.

This was a similar process to that which occurred in Russia in 1917 and in all revolutionary situations — the emergence of organs of dual power. But there was one important difference. The Hungarians, unlike the Russians in 1917, were not overthrowing capitalism — the pressure

of world events had forced Stalin to do this — but they were overthrowing the parasitic rule of a bureaucratic caste that siphoned off the spoils from them.

## Practice

The Hungarian workers were understanding in practice what Trotsky had stated in theory twenty years before in his book *The Revolution Betrayed*: that in a

degenerated workers state where capitalism had been abolished, the workers, in moving towards socialism would have to organise a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

These councils were soviets, not the deformed abortions of Stalin but the highest and most advanced form of democracy. They incorporated similar principles to those for which revolutionaries argue in the labour movement here: the election and instant recall of delegates at mass meetings of workers; direct democracy under which no careerists can

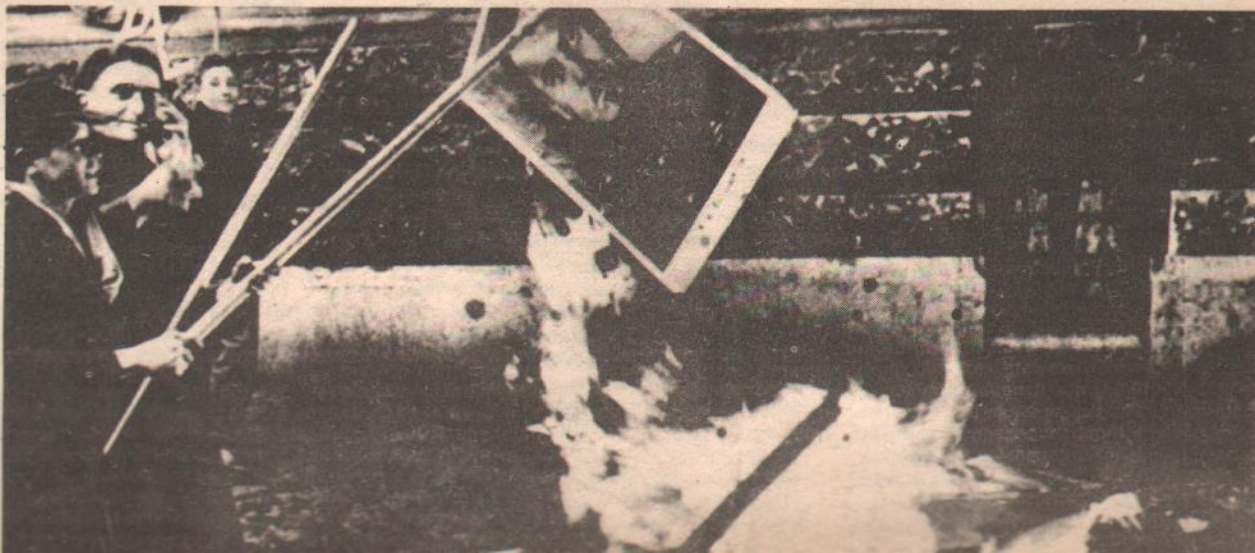
impose their will over the masses. The free play of political ideas and tendencies was encouraged so that a strong democratic unity of action could be attained. This is central to socialist democracy — the only insurance policy against being sold out.

On 4 November, one thousand Russian tanks attacked Budapest from all sides. Heavy fighting raged for a week. But the Budapest workers were fired with a spirit similar to that of Lenin and the Bolsheviks when combatting the Kornilov reaction: 'We may not be able to hold out for long — so let us do such things during our brief tenure of power that the working classes of the world will remember them forever' (Lenin, October 1917).

But the counter-revolution of Khrushchev was much stronger than Kornilov, and eventually overcame all opposition.

How could one socialist country attack another with such ferocity? This was a question Communist Party members asked themselves during 1956 and honest ones do today.

The official CPs, including the Communist Party of Great Britain, supported Rakosi, Khrushchev and Kadar against the vast majority of socialist workers. During the revolution the *Daily Worker* (forerunner of the *Morning Star*) peddled all the old nonsense — that the uprising had been initiated by the 'Trotskyist-Fascists' and CIA agents etc. When this rubbish was contradicted by the reports of their correspondent in Hungary, Peter Fryer, they simply suppressed them.



# SMITH GOES ONTO OFFENSIVE

On 2 November white Rhodesian armoured forces with air support launched an invasion of Mozambique territory. Seven guerilla camps were destroyed and several hundred Zimbabweans massacred.

The attacks centred on the camps at Nura, Chicoo, Chicombizi and Gentu in the north-east, and Chiqualaquala, Chitanga and Mapai in the south-east. The town of Changara on the road between the Cabora Bassa dam and Beira was also attacked. These targets all lay within Mozambican territory (see map).

Other incursions took place in Tete and Gaza provinces, where the Mozambique News Agency reported that at least 18 civilians were killed and 13 wounded during an attack on a railway station by Rhodesian troops.

This invasion of Mozambique, under the guise of 'hot pursuit', is an attempt to lay the preconditions for imposing Smith's solution on the present constitutional conference. Whether this will be successful remains to be seen. Maputo radio reported at the weekend that a number of Rhodesian troops were still holed up in Mozambique surrounded by Freilimo forces.

## Press

The bourgeois press in Britain is almost unanimously gloomy about whether this will really constitute a lasting defeat for the 'terrorists'.

Nevertheless, the plan of the Smith Government was to deal a body blow to the real resistance — the ZIPA guerilla army — while

using Smith's withdrawal from the Geneva conference as a smoke-screen. This plan was at least partly successful. The comments of the nationalist leaders in Geneva were framed entirely in terms of Smith disrupting the constitutional talks.

This is complete nonsense. The invasion and massacres are within the same framework as the Geneva talks: both are trying to lay the basis for a 'peaceful' transition to a neo-colonial solution. There is no contradiction in attempting to buy off the nationalist leaders while smashing the armed resistance of the Zimbabwean people.



ROBERT MUGABE

Smith, like Kissinger and the British, can see that although ZIPA is out of the control of any of the leaders at the conference, including the militant Robert Mugabe, it still constitutes a powerful bargaining counter. The first stage of imperialism's plan has been achieved — the

nationalist leaders have been brought to the conference table. The next step is to break the armed resistance.

Of course, a defeat for ZIPA would ease many of the problems of certain of the nationalist leaders — particularly Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU, imperialism's favourite son, who would then be able to discard the 'patriotic front' with Mugabe.

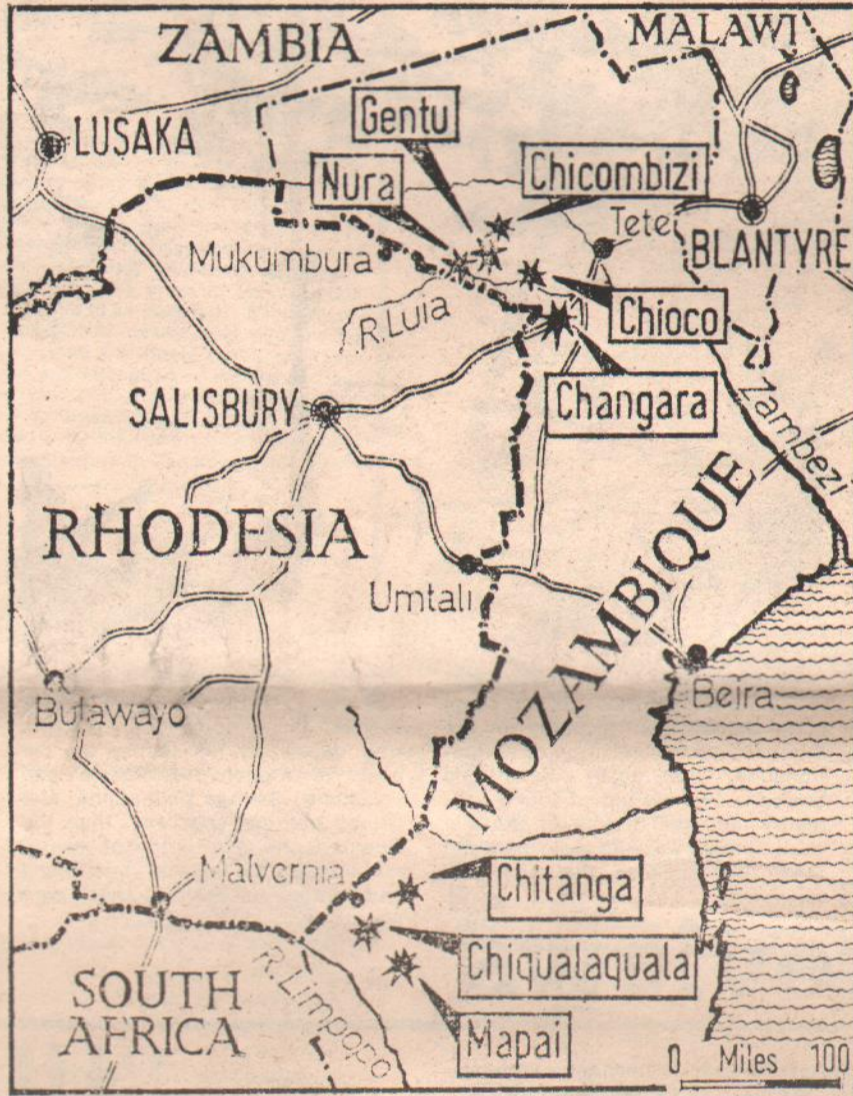
Even Mugabe, who has blustered his way through the conference much to Smith's irritation, has backed down on every important condition which he laid down for participation — release of political prisoners, non-recognition of the Smith delegation. He still sits at the conference table with the Rhodesian Government.

The consistent call of all the nationalist delegations for British participation in the conference reveals

their implicit support for the Kissinger-Callaghan plan for a neo-colonial solution in Zimbabwe. The main dispute remains over the timing for 'majority rule'. Despite the pre-conference rhetoric, none of the nationalist leaders have come out with the clear demand for majority rule now.

## Negotiate

All these leaders, in their readiness to negotiate imperialism's plan and their reticence to condemn the brutal actions of the Smith regime in the last few days, have shown that they share the priorities of the *Guardian* headline writer: 'Geneva is the real battlefield'. Unfortunately for nationalist leaders, imperialist diplomats and the white settler racists alike, this is not true. In Zimbabwe itself the struggle continues.



# workers confront sanctions buster

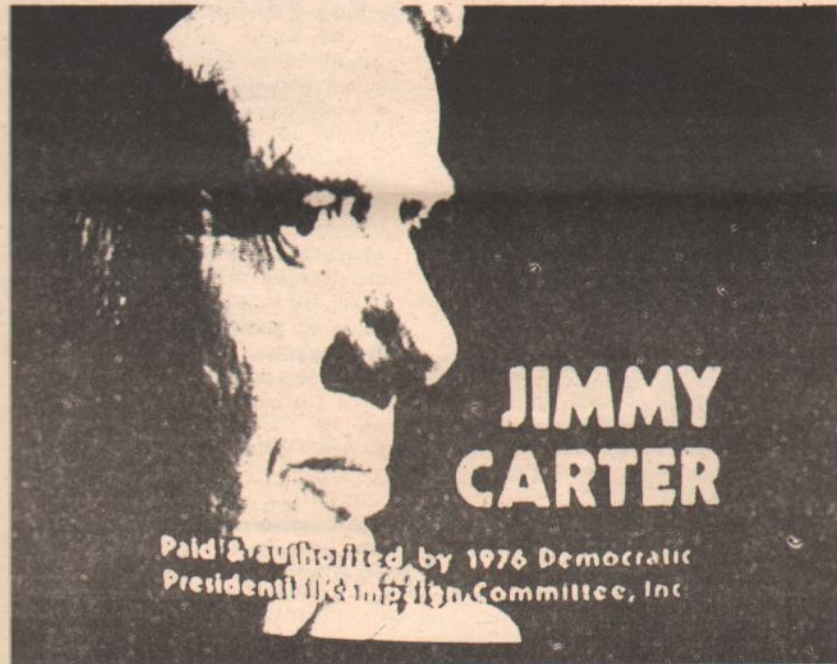
CLERICAL WORKERS at the Huddersfield firm of Hopkins Ltd have decided to occupy the factory until a sacked union official is reinstated and a wage dispute resolved.

The wage demand is for a £6 a week increase, which does not break the Government's pay policy. But this is no ordinary wage dispute. During the dispute an AUEW [TASS] office representative, Granville Clay, obtained documents which indicated that the firm was involved in supplying parts to a Rhodesian power station.

The response of the management was to sack Bro Clay, a former TASS president.

The documents show that Hopkins were supplying valves to the Umniati power station through their dealings with the South African company, Stewart and Lloyds. They indicate that Hopkins directors were fully aware of the final destination of their products. A letter from a Stewart and Lloyds director to Hopkins advises them not to mention the Umniati link in correspondence in case the information should fall into the 'wrong hands'.

The initial response of TASS officials was simply to forward the documents to the Department of Trade, which does not begin to face the problem of building working class action to break imperialist links with the Smith regime. The action of the 350 Hopkins workers shows that they are prepared to take a lead.



# THE PLAINS TRUTH

JIMMY CARTER may lust after some people, but he loves everybody. So he says.

Militant reporter Greg Cornell visited his home town and discovered that Carter loves the black women of Plains, Georgia, so much that, in his time, he has employed most of them. Almost every other black woman in Plains has worked for the Carter family at one time or another, either as a domestic servant or in the peanut plant.

\* Like Lillian Picket, who earns \$5 for every four hours work she does for Mister Jimmy's mother.

\* Like Ruth Harvey, who earned \$12 for twenty hours work as a domestic servant to Carter in 1966. She is now unemployed.

\* Like Ruth's sister Emma, who earned \$17 for a full week in the peanut plant in the 1950s. She, too, is unemployed.

\* Like Jewell Wiley, Ethell Marshall, Ruth Jackson, Emma Montes, Rachel Clark and many others — all former Carter servants, all now unemployed.

Emma Harvey wants factories built in Plains to provide work. There is not much chance of that. Carter wants to keep the town as a residential zone and maintain his country-boy image.

He is also quite happy with the peachoid system which operates in

farmer status and his humble origins. In his autobiography, *Why Not The Best?*, he tells of his tough childhood during the Depression. The farm had no electricity and young Jimmy used to run around with no shoes and often no shirt either. Despite the segregation of the school and church, Jimmy used to play and go fishing with all the black kids. That is how he got to know and understand them so well!

But Carter's sister suggests that life for the Carter family was not as hard as Jimmy suggests. In an interview in *The New Republic*, she says: 'I don't think that Jimmy worked quite as hard as he says in his book. And we were not as poor as he suggests .... we had a tennis court, ponies and undoubtedly lots of things which the richest people today don't have.'

## Inherited

James Earl Carter Sr. had inherited thousands of acres of peanut farm. When James Earl Jr. took over in 1953 there were thousands more which the enterprising youngster turned into a massive 'agri-business' which is now valued at millions of dollars.

lose another election. It was around this time that he was 'born again' and developed his well-known personal relationship with the Almighty.

These friends in high places stood him in good stead for the governorship contest of 1970. But even more useful was Carter's dirty tricks department. A number of scurrilous anonymous leaflets were put out in the name of his opponent, a liberal called Sanders, while Carter himself made none too subtle appeals to the racism of his white constituents.

## Route

His route to the White House is well known. What is less clear is what Carter actually stands for. Another story about Jimmy's Georgia childhood is circulating. Jimmy Sr. went into the garden and found his young son by a fallen cherry tree, axe in hand. 'Did you cut down that tree?' asked the angry father. 'Father', replied young Jimmy, 'I cannot tell a lie. Maybe I did, maybe I didn't.'

Usually American elections represent some sort of choice between different sections of the ruling class. In 1976 there has not even been that option. *The Economist* was forced to admit that 'it all comes down to character'. On every issue Ford and Carter were in complete agreement and had to struggle to differentiate themselves.

On foreign policy, Carter, aided by Ford's famous gaffe, has been trying to present himself as more anti-Russian. But since Kissinger is hardly a 'friend of the Soviet Union', that does not carry much weight. The style of US diplomacy will

On domestic policy, too, the Carter administration will be a continuation of Ford's. Carter, like Ford, opposes 'forced busing' — which means he rejects desegregation. Not a word was forthcoming throughout the whole campaign on black rights, except for his 'unfortunate' remark on ethnic purity.

## Death

Like Ford, he supports capital punishment. It was Carter who signed the Georgia death penalty law. Like Ford, he opposes abortion. He 'does not rule out the possibility' of an anti-abortion amendment.

Carter will continue Ford's policy of public spending cuts. 'I would cut back on the rate of implementation of new programmes in order to accommodate a balanced budget by fiscal year 1981'. In other words, further cuts are on the way.



**SPAIN IN STRUGGLE**  
BULLETIN OF THE SPANISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

**SEASON OF STRUGGLE**

inside: MANIFESTO OF THE MOVEMENT OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE TRADE UNION STRIKE - OPEN LETTER FROM PALESTINE TO ISRAELI WORKERS

No. 3 NOVEMBER 1976 PRICE 10p.

Available from, 38 Hilldown Road London, SW 16.

The extent of Carter's support is impressive. In the midst of a major dispute at Ford Motors, both Henry Ford II, one of the richest men in the world, and Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers declared for him. With the endorsement of George Meany of the AFL-CIO, the weight of the trade union bureaucracy is thrown into support for the anti-working class measures which we can expect from the Carter Presidency.

The workers themselves are not quite so keen on Carter. Half the electorate saw no choice between Ford and Carter and did not vote. The black women of Plains, Georgia could tell those who did vote what Carter is, behind the toothy mask. Soon the whole country will be working for peanuts.

RICHARD CARVER

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# 7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES



The Movement for a Socialist Republic (Irish section of the Fourth International) condemned the murder of Maire Drumm in a statement last week which noted that Maire Drumm had contributed enormously to the success of the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland through her life-long active devotion to the Republican cause. Imprisoned north and south, she symbolised the resistance against the repressive character of imperialist domination throughout the whole of the 32 counties of Ireland.

As yet it is not entirely certain who murdered Maire Drumm. The Royal Ulster Constabulary, with unaccustomed rapidity, immediately accused two Loyalist organisations which had allegedly issued state-

ments claiming responsibility for the murder. But one of these, the Red Hand Commandos, then denied responsibility and blamed British intelligence agents instead. In previous such actions it has often been virtually impossible to distinguish between British agents and Loyalist terror squads; it would come as no surprise to the anti-Unionist people if the assassination had been instigated by the Special Air Service (SAS).

But whoever were the assassins, their reasons and intentions are not hard to find. This was not merely a desire to get rid of someone who represented all that is hateful to imperialism and Loyalism. Early on the morning of 30 October, a 20-year-old Catholic student, Stephen McCann, was abducted on his way home from a disco with a bullet in the back of his head. That evening two employees of the *Belfast Telegraph* were forcibly taken from the Crumlin Road in North Belfast and riddled with bullets in front of the 10-year-old son of one of them. Again, both were Catholics.

## Definite

Such assassinations are not mindless acts of sectarian violence as the British Government likes to pretend. They follow a definite historical pattern and serve a very specific function. Their aim is to strike fear into the hearts of anti-Unionists and to provoke retaliation. Then the Loyalist politicians can demand that the RUC and Army move into the ghettos and pick up 'IRA terrorists'. In other words, when things are going badly, Loyalism uses sectarian assassinations to pressurise Britain into stepping up repression.

Such is the context of the recent murders. As we reported last week,

the peace movement is largely discredited and reduced to an imperialist manoeuvre in the eyes of the mass of anti-Unionists — a sudden decline which has stripped away the veneer and laid bare the cynical military intentions behind it. The exemplary action and resolve of the women of Turf Lodge has blossomed to produce a 'No-Go' area. Last week what local residents described as a 'mini-Motorman' was staged by British troops in an effort to get back into Turf Lodge. But it was repulsed by local women.

Thus in the space of a few days the British Army has suffered humiliating defeats and has seen its cover of respectability — the peace movement — being progressively smashed into smithereens. Short of a massive increase in repression, the British Army is incapable of dealing with the type of mass action displayed in Turf Lodge. And in the absence of any political initiatives from the British, the Army and Roy Mason are on their own and are losing.

The assassinations of Maire Drumm and the other three Catholics murdered in Belfast over the weekend are a sign of the weakness of imperialism and its Loyalist backers — a weakness which was underlined by the thousands who turned out to line the streets for Maire Drumm's funeral. The *Daily Mirror* — not known for its pro-Republican sentiments — estimated the size of the crowd at 30,000. Certainly it was one of the biggest demonstrations of Republican solidarity seen in Belfast since 1969.

Oh yes. Four weeks ago, Enoch Powell said that the Republican movement in the Six Counties was finished. Nice one Enoch.

MIKE PINTER



Protesters demand the repeal of the death sentences on the Murrays outside the Post Office in Dublin.

# THE MURRAYS MUST NOT DIE!

Last week the Supreme Court of the 26 Counties ended its hearing into the appeal of Noel and Marie Murray. The court will give its 'judgement' shortly, but it appears unlikely that the Murrays will win a reprieve against the sentence of hanging passed against them in June after they had been 'found guilty' of killing a policeman during a bank raid.

The latest legal proceedings in the Murray's case have proved as farcical as the others. The original 'trial' in June took place at the Special Criminal Court in Dublin, whose main feature is that it deprives those brought before it of the elementary civil right of trial by jury. Instead, three judges appointed by the Irish Government pass judgement.

Although the only substantial evidence offered in the Murray's case

— claiming that they had been extracted through torture — the judges found no difficulty in delivering a verdict of guilty and in sentencing the Murrays to death by hanging.

## Cynical

The cynical disregard for normal bourgeois standards of justice evident in the original trial was continued in the appeal hearing. The Murrays were not allowed even to attend the hearing; and when they instructed their lawyers to withdraw their appeals in protest, the court said that the hearing had to go on. Clearly justice was not being done, but it had to be 'seen to be done'.

But throughout the entire case

opinion has come out against the executions — a demonstration against the hangings attracted over 1,000 people in Dublin last weekend. Throughout Europe there has been a similar response, with such well known writers as Jean Paul Sartre, Ernest Bloch and Heinrich Boll signing a telegram sent to the Supreme Court to demand the Murrays' release.

The threatened execution of the Murrays can be compared with the brutal executions carried out by the Spanish Government in the final days of Franco's rule. Like the Spanish dictatorship, the Irish Government has denied its chosen targets any semblance of a fair trial, and is threatening to ignore the impressive world wide protests which have arisen in defence of the Murrays.

# Which Way to Peace?

THE DEBATE at the Student Movement Conference on Ireland in Canterbury this weekend seems likely to be a variant of one that has raged in the nationalist areas of the North of Ireland in the last few weeks. Summed up, it is simply this: 'Which Way to Peace?'

One option is the one offered jointly by 'peace woman' Mairead Corrigan, the *Daily Mail*, the British Government and the *Morning Star*. As *Red Weekly* reported in September, the Broad Left leadership of the National Union of Students came out in support of the peace people at the Teacher Training Sector conference of the NUS. However the 'movement' is not in a happy state.

So desperate is its plight, in fact, that the *Irish Post* reports that it has publicly threatened to bring court action against critics like Ivan Cooper of the Social Democratic & Labour Party, who recently attacked it for being 'part of a conspiracy by the British Government to isolate the SDLP and restore "majority rule"'.

Whether or not the lifting of the ban on Trafalgar Square for the peace people or their association with the wife of the assassinated colonial butcher Ewart-Biggs represents a conspiracy, they have never taken up a single demand in defence of the democratic rights of the Catholic people. Nor is that an accident, or an unconscious mistake on their part.

## Rival

When Betty Williams was told that her 'Peace At Any Price' march in Belfast recently was to be challenged by a rival one organised through the nationalist ghettos calling for 'Peace With Justice', her response was to tell journalists: 'We will swamp them like we did in Derry' (where 'peace' women physically attacked the Catholic 'justice' women). In fact the opposite occurred in Belfast. Recent demonstrations in Cardiff, Birmingham and Manchester have also shown the 'movement' to be in crisis.

The one area where they can still claim to have support is in the NUS. It cannot be ruled out that the Communist Party will attempt to turn the Trafalgar Square demonstration on 27 November into a success for the peace people by mobilising student support through the Broad Left. The Canterbury conference can and must strike the first blow against such a project.

The most lasting way that this can be done is if the conference clearly understands that the normally 'reasonable' demand for an end to repression — as students have placed it on, for example,

the Chilean Junta or the Greek Colonels — will have little response amongst 'liberal-minded people' in Britain. This is because the source of violence and repression in Ireland lies in the existence of the Six County state itself. That state requires British money and guns to maintain it against the will of the Irish people and their democratic right to self-determination.

In short, the Orange State is simply the bloody expression of the occupation of six Irish counties by British imperialism. The only way in which ongoing and mass support can be won for a campaign which places demands on the British Government to end repression in Ireland is on the basis of the ending of the occupation. The themes 'Britain Out of Ireland', 'Troops Out Now' must be the ones that guide its work.

As a first step the conference can unite with the forces involved in the Peace Through Freedom Committee, which is mobilising against the peace people on 27 November on the slogans 'Ireland Unfree Shall Never Be At Peace' and 'First Step to Peace, Troops Out Now'.

By coming out with a clear position on British withdrawal, and by taking it forward in action on this initiative, the students at Canterbury this weekend can lay the basis for ongoing activity in solidarity with the struggle of the Irish people against our 'own' Government in every college and campus in Britain. The opportunity is one they cannot afford to miss if they sincerely wish to help the ending of violence and repression in Ireland once and for all.

AILEAN O'CALLAGHAN



# CAMPAIGN AGAINST TERRORISM ACT SET UP IN CARDIFF

LAST WEEK some 70 Cardiff people had a chance to see and to discuss just what the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act means and represents. The occasion was a performance by the Cast theatre group of the play *The Other Way Around*, followed by a discussion. The major theme of the play—the link between the PTA and British intervention in Ireland—came across clearly.

The discussion which followed focused on what should be the basis for a local campaign against the Act. A motion

and around Cardiff and Newport. The success of the meeting was achieved despite conscious sabotage by local Transport & General Workers Union bureaucrats. Originally the play was to have taken place in Transport House, but the hall was cancelled by the TGWU on the excuse that the Troops Out Movement were involved. This cancellation was especially deplorable since nationally the TGWU is opposed to the PTA.

Apparently Cardiff TGWU have adopted a different attitude by collaborating with the backers of the PTA in banning free speech on the issue. Local militants

# ALL OUT 21 NOVEMBER!

21 November details: Assemble Marble Arch 11am for 12.30pm departure, Trafalgar Square rally starts 2.30pm.

DOUBLE TALK has been brought to a fine art by the trade union and Labour Party leaders.

The TUC are supporting the demonstration against racism in London 21 November. At the same time, the TUC leaders are demanding that the Government issue no work permits to foreign workers seeking positions in Britain's hotel and catering industry. And Merlyn Rees, Home Secretary, was allowed by the Labour Party Conference to get away with promising to 'tighten up' on immigrants' dependants while speaking in support of a motion which called for the repeal of the racist

immigration laws.

The surrender to racism which these leaders' statements represent can only be fought by mass action — in particular by the greatest possible mobilisation for the 21 November demonstration. We call on all our readers to be there demanding that the Labour Party Conference resolution passed in September be implemented. In particular:

- ★ Repeal all immigration laws!
- ★ No platform for racists and fascists!
- ★ Labour movement support for black self-defence!

# RACIST CLAMP DOWN ON OVERSEAS STUDENTS

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT is stepping up its attacks on overseas students as part of its racist policy of focussing attention on the non-white population, making them scapegoats for the failings of its policies. This involves a

systematic plan to make overseas students pay for the crisis in education as well as an attempt — in line with their general immigration policy — to restrict the entry of overseas students into the country to a minimum and to deport many of those

already in the country.

Overseas students pay as a rule a great deal more than indigenous students. Last year they paid an average annual fee of £320, this year the average fee recommended by the Department of Education and Science is £416, and next year it will be £750.

Part of the rationale for these clearly exploitative fees is the myth that all overseas students are sons and daughters of sheikhs or rich ministers. What these absurd increases will eventually guarantee is that only these very people will be able to afford schooling. In relation to the many overseas government sponsored students, these fees are merely a way of returning what foreign aid is supposedly given to the economically developing nations. It is called 'giving with one hand and taking twice as much with the other hand'!

Students at Teesside Polytechnic picketed a meeting of the Academic Board on Wednesday against attempts to set new limits on the overseas students quota. A further demonstration, linking the fight against discriminatory fees and the quota system to the struggle against racism generally, is planned for December.

Through immigration controls the belief has been encouraged that the present failings of society are tied up with the non-white population in the country.

In relation to overseas students, the Government's plans were stated clearly in a circular from the Home Office and the DES. Immigration officers will be empowered to test prospective students to determine whether they are academically capable of undertaking the course for which they have already attained admission.

The circular from the Home Office urges college authorities to open files on overseas students 'in order to help maintain an effective immigration control'. The intention here is clear — the Government wants to draw the college authorities into the massive apparatus of immigration control. Colleges are to be entrusted with the job of providing part of the dossier which can be used when the need arises to deport 'undesirable' students.

As part of the plan to reduce the number of foreign students, senior civil servants are working on a new amendment to the 1971 Immigration Act which would take away the right of appeal or

Twenty-four anti-fascists were arrested last Sunday after a march of 300 Bengalis and trade unionists had challenged an attempt by the National Front to establish a consistent mass paper-sale in Brick Lane, East London.

The demonstration, organised by the local Asian anti-racist committee and Stepney & Bethnal Green Trades Council, was greeted with a shower of bricks, cans and eggs by the NF. The police then intervened — to arrest the anti-fascists!

Red Weekly supporters will be arguing for a mass demonstration based on a full mobilisation in the local trade unions and Labour Parties in order to confront this

# RED WEEKLY

'MAKE 21 NOVEMBER  
A REAL MASS DAY  
OF ACTION'  
— Birmingham LP  
Secretary

During the summer Birmingham was one of the centres for the racist offensive which swept Britain. There was the Robert Relf affair in nearby Leamington, and a speech by Bill Jarvis, Labour leader of the West Midlands County Council, which attacked immigration. We asked ALBERT BORE, Secretary of Birmingham District Labour Party, what had been the local Labour reaction to Jarvis' speech:

'The immediate response of Birmingham Labour Party General Management Committee was to oppose Jarvis' speech by an overwhelming majority. This was later endorsed by a full meeting of the District Labour Party.

'As Jarvis was a delegate to the County Council, there was little we could constitutionally do to remove him. All we could do was to ask the Labour group on the County Council to remove him from its panel of councillors for the elections in May 1977.

'Jarvis did succeed in getting nominated, but when the sub-committee responsible for drawing up names brought his forward it was thrown out by the GMC.'

We asked Bore what the Birmingham Labour Party has done to mobilise the local labour movement against racism,

'We are calling a conference on racism, in conjunction with Birmingham Trades Council, for 27 November in Digbeth Civic Hall. It will be a delegate conference for members of the Labour Party, trade unions and the Co-op.

'We aim to get a common statement

from the local labour movement which we will expect all local labour leaders to adhere to. Out of this I hope we will be able to call a rally involving much broader sections of the labour movement, including immigrant organisations.'

Recently in Birmingham there has been a new controversy around the behaviour of Labour city councillor Fred Carter. What was involved?

'In July the Tories put a resolution before the Birmingham City Council which called on the Prime Minister to visit Birmingham to have a look at the "problem". The content of the resolution was to blame the immigrants for the present crisis.

'The Labour group had decided to move an amendment deleting such sections and in the event of this being lost oppose the resolution. Carter voted for the Tory resolution and spoke in favour of it in a racist manner.

'Following this, a special meeting of the Labour group endorsed a recommendation that Carter be expelled by a majority of 3 to 1.'

Finally Albert Bore stressed the importance of the 21 November demonstration.

'We are organising coaches to go down on the Sunday and my CLP, Selly Oak has printed its own special leaflets to help build the contingent. We rarely distribute Transport House literature due to its pathetic content.

'It's very important that 21 November is used by all anti-racists. It must be a real mass labour movement day of action.'



Pickets protest the racist coverage of the Tottenham Weekly Herald last week.

representation from those who became students subsequent to entering the country and who then apply to the Home Office for a change in their status.

## Students

The attraction of Britain to a large number of overseas students should be viewed in relation to Britain's history of imperialism. British imperialism plundered the land of the colonised, it disrupted and dislocated the native economies, it created conditions in which the inhabitants of these countries were and are entrapped in the web of social and economic deprivation.

Imperialism raped the resources of these countries and did not attempt to build the social facilities needed by these countries. What schools and hospitals were built were meant to cater for the colonists and the small layer of the native

population which was to play an intermediary role between the coloniser (imperialist) and the exploited native.

A large percentage of African students in this country are from Nigeria. In Nigeria in 1963, three years after political independence, only 25 per cent of children of school age could attend primary school, and only 7.3 per cent of these went on to secondary school. The fact is that at independence British colonialism left an education system with very few schools and colleges, all with poor or almost non-existent facilities.

In the struggle against racism and the savage cuts in social expenditure the plight of overseas students must be taken up consistently and seriously. We call for an end to all immigration restrictions and for non-discriminatory treatment of overseas students in fees and in all other areas.

TUNDE ANTHONY.

**GIVE US A FIRM FOUNDATION!**

RED WEEKLY is published in the interests of working people, not just in Britain but internationally. Only RED WEEKLY brings home the full story of events in Southern Africa, Spain and Portugal. RED WEEKLY consistently reports on the fight against Britain's interference in the affairs of the Irish people. RED WEEKLY takes care to analyse fully developments in the Labour Party and the trade unions. Most of all, RED WEEKLY regularly opens its pages to discussion and debate on all these issues.

To continue this role we need regular finance. We do not have the advertising revenue or backing from millionaire capitalists. We appeal to you to fill in this bankers order and make a regular commitment — even a pound a month would help us along the road to expanding and further improving the paper. When you have filled in the details below, please send to: RED WEEKLY, 97 CALEDONIAN ROAD, LONDON N1.

Meanwhile our thanks to those who sent occasional donations this week — which we stress must continue to come in if we are to consolidate our press: Cardiff IMG, £6.20p; Oxford Red Weekly supporters, £20; L. Hodges, £3; G.R. Holmes, £3; N. London IMG, £22.70p; Misc. readers, £3.40; Bristol IMG, £2.50p; Redland student, £2; Wills worker's redundancy money, £25; W. London supporters, £3.65; M. Black, £15. That makes a grand total of £106.45. A very grand total, in fact.

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