

RED WEEKLY

battle of ideas
 Monthly supplement to Red Weekly

December issue. TARIQ ALI and ROBIN BLACKBURN reply to Geoff Roberts in Marxism Today.

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NO MORE SACRIFICES FOR LABOUR

THE ROW in the Labour leadership is about the best way to make the working class bear the cost of the crisis. Both wings of the Labour Government will be demanding further sacrifices in the 'interests of the nation'.

But as Arthur Scargill commented on the miners' ballot, there are no interests in common between British workers and bosses. All the Social Contract has meant for the miners is a 35 per cent drop in their living standards.

Jack Jones continues to talk about the contribution that the pay policy has made to keeping down inflation. But prices are shooting up again at an annual rate of nearly 20 per cent.

The Labour Government, with the IMF's approval, pretends that cuts in services are needed to provide money for investment in industry. But the problem is not shortage of money, but the fact that the capitalists will not invest until workers' wages are driven even lower. 'Confidence' they call it.

Well they can be 'confident' that Labour is doing its very best to meet their requirements. But they are inhibited by the fact that the trade union movement is not on its knees despite the best efforts of the TUC leaders.

So it is the weakest organised sections of society which catch Labour's austerity programme full in the teeth. Women struggling under the double burden of exploitation at work and more and more of the functions of the social services being put on the family; blacks suffering from massive levels of unemployment, police and fascist harassment.

The Cambridge by-election will show that the results of Walsall, Workington and Newcastle were not merely protest votes against Labour, but reflected a deeper bitterness over the anti-working class policies of this Government.

Sacrifices will not keep this Government in power, nor will they solve the problems of the sick British economy. All sacrifices can do is to further delay the possibility of the

GENEVA SELL-OUT

THIS MAN WAS WISE



1 He saw a terrorist



2 He made a report

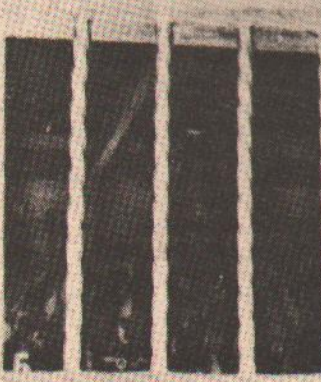


3 ... and he was well rewarded

BUT THESE PEOPLE ARE SUFFERING!



4 They helped the terrorists



5 Some went to prison for 15 years



6 others had their cattle sold

Rhodesian government poster urges blacks to betray freedom fighters. They will be 'well rewarded'. Nkomo will be rewarded with a place in the future government for his betrayal of the

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT at the Geneva constitutional conference on the future of Zimbabwe has backed down before British demands over the date of independence.

Its leaders, Nkomo and Mugabe, have sold out all along the line. It was a sell-out to sit down with the racist Smith regime. It was a sell-out to propose a 12 month independence timetable. It is a sell-out now to agree to a fifteen month 'transitional' period.

There is little doubt that Nkomo, the man who sat in a railway carriage with Ian Smith at the Victoria Falls talks, wanted to surrender sooner. The drawback was that Robert Mugabe relies on a base among the ZIPA guerillas to justify his presence at the conference. He was faced with an insoluble problem. How could he stay at the conference and retain some support among the freedom fighters, who were already unhappy about his presence there?

ARMED REBELLION

The answer is that he couldn't. Already there has been an armed rebellion of ZIPA guerillas in camps in Mozambique against the Mugabe sell-out. Mugabe has some things going for him. He has the backing of the 'front line states', and now he has reached agreement with British imperialism... but he can't count on the support of the Zimbabwean people themselves.

Bishop Muzorewa and Reverend Sithole, the other two nationalist leaders at the conference, have attempted to capitalise on this betrayal. Muzorewa is worried about a leader 'imposed' by Britain (unless it's himself). Sithole has been trying to stir things in Mozambique, asking the government for armed protection to visit the rebel guerilla camps. The government told him that if he was so popular, why did he need protection. Sithole decided to cancel his visit.

MEN OF THE CLOTH

These two men of the cloth can only preach on the text of advancing their political careers. They no more have a message for the people of Zimbabwe than Nkomo and Mugabe.

The British Labour Government has been implicated in the shady dealings at Geneva all along. They have no more right to be in Zimbabwe than the 'illegal' Smith Government. The only solutions are ones which recognise the Zimbabwe people's right to independence NOW.

Immediate elections to a constituent assembly — one person one vote!

Free all political prisoners!

Disband the Rhodesian army — arm the

EGA- HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

THE Elizabeth Garrett Anderson women's hospital in the Euston Road, London, has been occupied by its workers for over two weeks. They are fighting to prevent its closure. The EGA struggle shows the way forward for all those feeling the effects of the present cuts in social expenditure. For that reason it is worth giving a brief history of the EGA campaign.

16 February 1976 — Barbara Castle announces that the EGA is to close. The revised government spending estimate together with the deterioration in the structure of the building (in fact the hospital has not been properly maintained for the previous ten years) means that it is no longer a viable unit.

The site, next to Euston Station, is to be sold for 'redevelopment'. The EGA is to be transferred elsewhere in North London — the Area Health Authority looks into the situation at the Whittington Hospital, though only the consultants are guaranteed jobs there.

18 February — The main lift at the hospital is suddenly found to be faulty. The AHA claims that £50,000 would be necessary to fix it. The hospital is closed above the first floor, with the result that no operations can take place there. 'Lift failures' closed Acton and Poplar hospitals.

1 April — The first mass meeting is held inside the EGA. Organised by the local National Union of Public Employees branch and the Camden Campaign Against the Cuts, the meeting expresses strong feelings about the proposed closure and draws up demands which will be taken up throughout the campaign: No Closure, No Redundancies, Mend the Lift, Upgrade the Hospital on its present site.

25 May — First public meeting is held at a local school. About 300

people, mainly from the locality, come along to express their support.

11 June — EGA Maternity Home is closed by the consultants at the hospital because of 'lack of medical cover'. Patients and staff are moved out without warning.

23 June — Camden and Islington health joint shop stewards committee hold special meeting on EGA and agree to support the campaign of the EGA workers. This to begin by organising a picket and demonstration outside the hospital the following week.

19 July — David Owen, the Minister of Health, confirms in the House of Commons that the hospital will close on its present site.

21 July — EGA day of action organised by the hospital shop stewards together with the Save the EGA Campaign. Over 1,000 hospital workers at four North London hospitals strike for the day to show their support. Many join the 2,000 strong demonstration which marches to Parliament from the hospital.

25 September — The representatives of the four unions involved at the hospital (NUPE, ASTMS, COHSE and NALGO) put out a resolution at a mass meeting calling for a work-in if the proposed transfer to the Whittington goes ahead. This is passed unanimously.

7 October — NUPE sends a delegation to see Roland Moyle, the new Minister of Health. Moyle, a NUPE-sponsored MP, makes it clear



that he will not reverse the decision to close the hospital.

18 October — A letter is received at the hospital from Moyle. This states that all out-patient facilities are to be closed 'before the end of the year'. A mass meeting the following day reaffirms the commitment to begin a work-in.

29 October — In a clear attempt to split off the consultants from the rest of the workers, the AHA increases its offer of beds at the Whittington from 46 to 60. The consultants who (although by no means committed to a fight to save the hospital at its present site) are concerned about the alternative fac-

ilities they will be offered, refuse this offer. They demand at least 74 beds before they will accept the closure.

15 November — A mass meeting of all workers at the hospital unanimously agrees to start the work-in, the first ever at a British hospital. The workers agree to organise a 24-hour picket, and call on all workers, especially those in the health sector, to support it.

17 November — National Day of Action Against the Cuts. The joint shop stewards committee and the Save the EGA Campaign call for a mass rally outside the hospital to march to the start of the demonstra-

tion at Speakers Corner. Over 2,000 attend.

11 December — Projected London conference to discuss the EGA struggle and the health cuts generally. The conference has been called by the stewards at the hospital and is being organised by an elected committee from ASTMS Central London Medical Branch.

In the EGA's region alone the proposed overall cuts are between 30 and 40 per cent. In London 120 out of the existing 150 hospitals face closure. Details of the conference from: EGA Joint Shop Stewards Committee, Euston Rd., London N1.

Why a rally for women's rights

THE WORKING Women's Charter Campaign has issued a call for a rally around the theme, 'One Year On From the Sex Discrimination Act — Rally For Women's Rights'. It aims to assess the impact of the legislation in the light of the many struggles which women have been engaged in over the last year.

STRUGGLE

One such struggle involved women van drivers Nova Young and Gwen Atkins, who after a ten week strike have just won union recognition and a £6 pay increase at Chloride Gaedor, Dagenham. There are no men drivers at the Dagenham depot,

but at the firm's one in Catford there are. Their jobs — higher paid ones — are described as 'sales delivery drivers', while the women at Dagenham are 'delivery workers'.

As in other cases, legislation did not automatically give the women at Dagenham equality. The Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts are almost a year old now. When they were first introduced many women greeted them as a great gain. But it is time to take stock. The women at Trico showed that it was militant action and not 'equality' legislation which proved decisive, and the real limitations of the legislation are becoming blatantly clear.

In the first six months of the Acts, 72 per cent of equal pay cases and 73 per cent

of SDA cases have been rejected by the tribunals. The experience in the courts around the SDA has not been much better. The situation remains that 65 per cent of women earn their living in traditional 'women's work', and 75 per cent work in jobs where men do not. In these cases women are still earning only half the average male earnings.

EVIDENCE

There is evidence from such varied sources as *Woman's Own* and the Labour Research Department that employers are driving unimpeded through massive gaps in the legislation. A recent study by the General and Municipal Workers Union

ONE YEAR ON FROM THE SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT — A RALLY FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS: February 26th, Alexandra Palace, 11am.

Rally organised by: Rally for Women's Rights Planning Committee.

Supported by:

Members of Parliament:

Helene Hayman
Maureen Colquhoun
Tom Litterick
Joan Maynard
Audrey Wise
Stan Thorne
Syd Bidwell
Norman Atkinson
Brian Sedgemore
Ian Mikardo
Prospective MPs
Janey Buchan
June Chapman
Viv Bath
Ann Holmes

Other organisations and individuals:

London Co-op Political Committee
National Union Public Employees
National Exec. Committee
Ernie Roberts AUEW
(Executive member/personal capacity)
Jack Collins NUM
(Executive member/personal capacity)
Stuart Holland
Westminster Teachers Association
West Ham Trades Council
Southwark Trades Council
Lambeth Trades Council
Hackney North Labour Party
Garnett College Students Union



Tyndale farce goes

Six teachers from William Tyndale Junior School are currently facing a disciplinary tribunal in London's County Hall. The charges have been brought by Chief Education Officer Dr. Briault, on the recommendation of the Inner London Education Authority Schools' Sub-committee. The major indictment is that the six took strike action, and the trial is proving as farcical as the charges.

Bill Nash of the Legal Action Group, who is helping the teachers with their defence, has accused the court of going against all laws of natural justice. There is, for instance, the way Dr. Briault presents his 'evidence' to the court. He

has announced that he retires on 15 December and has no intention of allowing himself to be cross-examined after then; and he has also stated that his court appearances up to that date will be very limited.

As the Divisional Inspector during the Tyndale dispute refuses to appear in court at all, it is clear that the ILEA are effectively sabotaging any possibility of the teachers being able to destroy the case against them.

Even Gary Flather, chairperson of the Tribunal, said on 24 November that, 'In all my time at the bar I have never experienced any curtailing of cross-

states:

'Even with union backing, many women have lost their claims because of loopholes in the legislation, often provided by ambiguous wording and arbitrary and erratic decisions by tribunals.'

Women are beginning to realise the inadequacies of the legislation and take the fight into their own hands. Equal pay has become a real issue. Nor are the struggles limited to the legislation. Women are taking up the fight against attacks on women's rights such as abortion, cuts in nursery facilities and unemployment.

This is the background to the Working Women's Charter Campaign's call for a rally on 26 February at Alexandra Palace. It will bring together all those campaigns and people fighting for women's rights. Through speakers, theatre, stalls and exhibitions, it will enable them to pool their experiences of this fight in the light of the government legislation and the present attacks being made on women through cuts and unemployment.

SUPPORT

Support is already growing for the rally. To make it a success, all *Red Weekly* readers are asked to:

* Get resolutions of support through your trade union branch, Labour Party, student union, women's group, etc. and donate some money. Alexandra Palace alone will cost £1,000.

* Organise day schools and conferences on women's rights and the legislation.

there been any equal pay disputes? How have cuts and unemployment cut across the fight for women's rights?

* Come to the national planning meeting on Saturday 4 December at 2pm in the London School of Economics (Basement TV Room), St Clements Building, and discuss how to build for the rally.

There will be regular items in *Red Weekly*, so do send in reports on your activities. The support the rally gets will ensure that it will be an important event in the life of the women's and labour movement.

IMG NOTES

IMG STUDENTS CAUCUS for members and sympathisers delegated to NUS Conference. Sunday 5 December, 2 p.m. at Manchester University Students Union.

IMG STUDENT CONVENORS MEETING, Tuesday 21 December, 2 p.m. at the National Centre.

NATIONAL IMG STUDENT SCHOOL for members and sympathisers interested in joining IMG. Will be held in Birmingham, on weekend 8/9 January. All student members to attend. Details from National Centre.

NATIONAL HEALTH AGGREGATE for all NHS comrades and representatives from branches without NHS members (for discussion on NCC). Saturday 4 December, 11 a.m.-6 p.m. Details of venue from National Centre. Pooled fare will operate.

IMG TRADE UNION COMMISSION, Sunday 12 December, 11 a.m. at National Centre.

IMG SCHOOL on 'The History of the practice and debates of the first three Internationals on Women's Oppression'. For members. Sunday 12 December, 10 a.m.-5.30 p.m. Further details re speakers, agenda, educational kits (£1.50) from: IMG, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. IMG NATIONAL BRANCH ORGANISERS

Sandelson out Bevan in!

'WHATEVER emerges from the International Monetary Fund negotiations, it is clear that the Callaghan-Foot alliance intends to endure...' (our emphasis)

Not a quote from last week's *Red Weekly*, but *Sunday Times* reporter Michael Jones commenting on the present Government assault on democracy in the Labour Party. For it is no coincidence that both Labour Party Young Socialists chairperson Andy Bevan and Hayes & Harlington Constituency Labour Party have hit the headlines in the same week. Both are committed to mandatory reselection of MPs, and both are hostile to the Labour Government's Tory policies.

Hayes & Harlington are in the news because they have decided to put reselection of MPs into practice, whilst Andy Bevan's appointment as Labour youth organiser was to be considered by Tuesday's meeting of the Labour NEC.

Both developments have come at a time in which the Labour Government has been seriously weakened. So they have been a cue not only for the usual press hysteria about 'left wing takeovers', 'hate campaigns' and 'red Trotskyites'; and not only for a repeat performance by Callaghan of Wilson's defence of Prentice last year. They have been above all a cue for the Government to attempt to reassert its lost authority.

The case of Hayes & Harlington MP



SANDELSON

Neville Devonshire Sandelson is particularly revealing. Ever since he was elected at a by-election in 1971, Sandelson has been opposed by the local labour move-

ment. He was one of the 69 MPs who voted with the Tories in favour of Common Market entry. He refused to support the Shrewsbury building workers, was a founder member of the right-wing Manifesto group of MPs, and led the campaign to defend Reg Prentice.

He sums up his own attitudes as a 'centre-right Gaitskellian influenced from childhood days by Christian socialist values in their broadest sense.' In other words, he is a loyal supporter of the present anti-working class policies of the Labour Government!

That Government today faces an increasingly weak position in Parliament, massive abstentions by traditional Labour voters in the recent by-elections, and a rapidly deteriorating economic situation. Two weeks ago it faced the biggest working class demonstration since 1971. And when you're negotiating with the international bankers of the IMF, you have to be able to demonstrate the unity of the Government in seeking to re-establish its authority. Hence the public support for Sandelson from Callaghan and Foot.

RESELECT

Yesterday's 'left' Michael Foot went so far as to offer to speak on Sandelson's behalf in the constituency. What the *Sunday Times* called the 'Callaghan-Foot alliance' is terrified of moves to reselect sitting right-wing MPs because they threaten to challenge the authority that the Government derives from Parliament, arguing instead that the Parliamentary Labour Party and ultimately the Government itself should be responsible to the organisations of the working class.

Callaghan spelt it out clearly at the Labour Party conference. He reminded the NEC that it was responsible only for its resolutions, and that the Government was responsible for its actions to Parliament.

When Callaghan, Foot and Sandelson defend the authority of the Labour Government in terms of responsibility to Parliament, they are defending the interests of the ruling class. When Hayes &



ANDY BEVAN

Harlington Labour Party supported the conference resolution calling for mandatory reselection of MPs, when they take steps to put such policies into practice, they are challenging Labour's Tory policies and marching in the direction of a fight for a Labour Government responsible to the organisations of the working class.

Callaghan's attack on Andy Bevan's appointment as Labour youth organiser is just an extension of that fight into the party apparatus. Bevan has more than adequate credentials for the job. As LPYS chairperson he represents the views of the majority of the Young Socialists. He was appointed through the procedure laid down, though publicly stating that he considers the procedure inadequate.

But as the *Sunday Times* put it, Callaghan is launching a challenge to the idea of giving the post to someone who 'detests the present Government and wants a completely different sort of Labour Party'. The *Daily Express* carried a front-page lead article last Saturday saying that Callaghan had threatened to kill the scheme for State aid to parties, worth some £573,407 to the Labour Party, if Bevan was not ditched. Callaghan has shown nothing but his own consistency.

It is his right-wing policies which are destroying the present Labour Government. It is his right-wing assault on democracy in the Labour Party which is out to destroy the possibility of the Labour Party making any independent challenge to the Government's Tory policies.

JONATHAN SILBERMAN

IN FOCUS

How Jack Jones brings back the Tories

'There is only one way out. That is the path of continuing alliance between the Labour Government and the trade union movement.' There is no-one in the labour movement who returns to this theme so consistently as Jack Jones. 'Never before has there been such a close working relationship between the trade unions and a government.' There he goes again. He might also have added:

★ NEVER HAS THERE BEEN such a high rate of unemployment since the 1930s.

★ NEVER HAS THERE BEEN such a drop in working class living standards since the 1930s.

★ NEVER HAS THERE BEEN such a heavy drop in the Labour vote in by-elections since the 1930s.

The aim of this alliance with the Labour Government is of course... no return to the 1930s!

But emperor Jones's clothes are wearing a little thin. He promised that in its wake the Social Contract would bring control of inflation, full employment, maintenance of social services, a legislative programme for the working class, and a guarantee of the stability and long life of the Labour Government.

PRICES RISING

None of these promises have been fulfilled. In particular, with prices rising at a rate of 19.7 per cent per annum in the last three months, his claim that the present pay policy 'has made an outstanding contribution to the control of inflation' looks a sick joke.

Just how Alice in Wonderland is the world which Mr Jones inhabits becomes clear when he is forced to backpedal on TUC policy for an orderly return to free collective bargaining by the end of 1977, with Callaghan dropping the word in his speech in Parliament last Wednesday.

The truth is that Jack Jones will drop anything in his campaign to keep Callaghan, Healey and Co. in government. He is now reduced to saying that the reason why his members should support this stand is 'to keep the Tories out'.

But of course the reverse is true of Jack Jones's surrender of his membership to the Labour Government. The policies which Jack Jones so uncritically supports are producing increasing bitterness within the working class and driving middle layers of the population, as well as more backward sections of the class, into the arms of the nationalists, the Tories, and the extra-parliamentary boot-boys of the National Front and National Party.

NOT STUPID

Why does Jack Jones do these things? He is not stupid. He can see the writing on the walls of Walsall as well as anybody else. The truth is that he supports this Government through self-interest, because a Labour Government with those of Callaghan's ilk in the leadership will not under today's conditions attack the trade unions and their bureaucracy in the way that Edward Heath did with his Industrial Relations Act.

The second reason is the complete lack of clarity of the reformists as a whole on the way out of the crisis. Any solution depends on the answer one gives to the following question: Who is to bear the cost of the economic crisis — the workers or the bosses? The social democrats pretend that there is a solution which can unite both through import controls, higher investment, etc. This failure to take a clear class position leads them in practice to support solutions which are purely in the interests of capital — in other words, which make the working class bear the cost of the crisis.

For both these reasons an alternative needs to be built in the trade unions — a left wing based on class struggle policies as opposed to the politics of collaboration; a class struggle left wing which is independent of the narrow interests of the bureaucracy, with a leadership which fights for full accountability at all levels in the trade union and labour movement.

That is the only alternative to the way that Jack Jones is currently bringing down this Government and bringing back the Tories.

KILL THE TRESPASS BILL

THE Criminal Trespass Bill introduced under 'Conspiracy Law Reform' in the Queen's Speech is a deadly threat to all direct action, occupations and pickets, and is being smuggled in under a smoke-screen of anti-squatting lies.

This was the main message developed by the 350 people representing 150 organisations and groups [including 40 trade union bodies] who assembled at the Conference on Direct Action and Criminal Trespass at Reading University last weekend.

The conference was a very important step in linking community and industrial struggles and developing the broad campaign needed to kill the Trespass Bill. It called for a national demonstration in London on Saturday 19 February, 1977. Local and national campaigns of explanation and action centred on existing struggles are now getting underway to build for the demonstration.

THREAT

However the lack of delegates from the organised labour movement is a serious weakness in the campaign. There are certain reasons for this:

★ The Bill is not a threat to the trade union structures and leaderships, but a threat to rank-and-file action, so in contrast to what happened over the Industrial Relations Act the trade unions' extensive formal support for the campaign will not easily be turned into action or even delegates at a conference about it.

★ The media campaign against squatters is being used as a cover for the law to conceal its dangers even from militants.

★ The failure of the revolutionary left



Photo: DEREK BOWIE (IFL)

campaign is 'big enough' to intervene in.

To overcome this means building local united front campaigns of labour movement and community organisations and drawing the left groups into activity to raise the menace of the Bill in existing struggles and structures of the labour movement. The key issues that must be raised are that the Bill is directed at all forms of direct action, not just squatters,

Squatters Action Council.

If these things are done, local campaigns can mobilise workers' action to Kill The Trespass Bill!
PIERS CORBYN

★ Contact Campaign Against A Criminal Trespass Law, 6 Bowden St, SE11 (01-289 3877) for information, local contacts, leaflets.
★ Contact Squatters Action Council, 14



HOTEL WORKERS STRIKE FOR RECOGNITION

Workers at the Linton Lodge Hotel, Oxford are out on strike over victimisation and union recognition. The dispute began after the management had sacked two waiters for handing out union membership forms. Fellow workers then walked out in sympathy and the management responded by sacking the lot.

The workers suffer conditions all too typical in the catering industry. They have no contract of employment and the wages are abysmally low, with the deputy head chef working a 60-hour week for £30 and other workers receiving as little as £20 for a 60-hour week. But the strikers are determined to stay out until their demands are met — reinstatement, recognition and negotiations on conditions.

Joe Gormley's Dilemma

Even the right-wing members of the National Union of Mineworkers executive do not feel able to sell the National Coal Board's retirement package to their members. Len Clarke, more out of concern for his image in the Nottingham area than from any serious intention, announced last week that he was prepared to see the Government fall in the fight for a lower retirement age.

The dismay of the 'moderates' — Joe Gormley, NUM president, whined about his disappointment at the offer, but stressed that he was 'not looking to break the Social Contract' — shows their dilemma. The union leaders have tied their members to support for Government policies which come into stark conflict with both the decision of their own national conference and the mood of their members.

The NUM conference voted for retirement on full pay at 60 by 1 January 1977, and against the advice of the NUM leaders called for a ballot to determine what kind of industrial action should be taken if the NCB did not accept their claim.

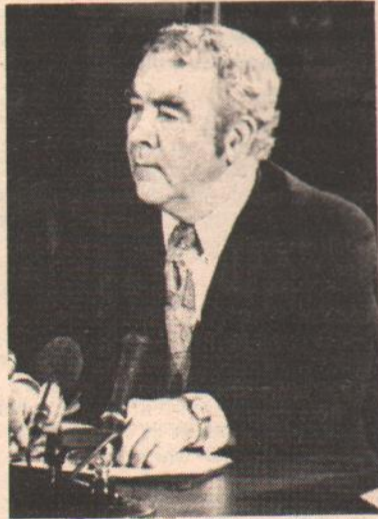
BREACH

If the Government was to accept such a demand it would cause a breach in the Social Contract big enough for other sections of the trade union movement to trample their way through. Callaghan and Healey are only too well aware of this, and are haunted by the nightmare of the wage explosions that followed the miners' victories in 1972 and '74.

The right-wing screws who patrol the unions for the policies of wage restraint and unemployment would find it very difficult to check the groundswell that would erupt if the miners threw down the gauntlet.

Leaders of the Iron and Steel Trades

Confederation, for instance — anxious to avoid a fight on redundancies, and at the same time trying to make token gestures towards a growing demand in their own ranks for earlier retirement — have been forced into producing a conciliatory retirement scheme which they will try to introduce within the terms of the Social Contract. ISTC general secretary Bill Sims would find it hard to sell the present scheme to his members in the event of the miners forcing the Government to give in to their claim.



JOE GORMLEY

The demand for early retirement does not just pose cash problems for the Government. By reducing the working life of the miner, it brings to the fore the issue of worksharing with no loss of pay and gives a practical example to the labour movement on how to fight unemployment.

With such vital issues at stake, the NUM right wing are going to pull out all



Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

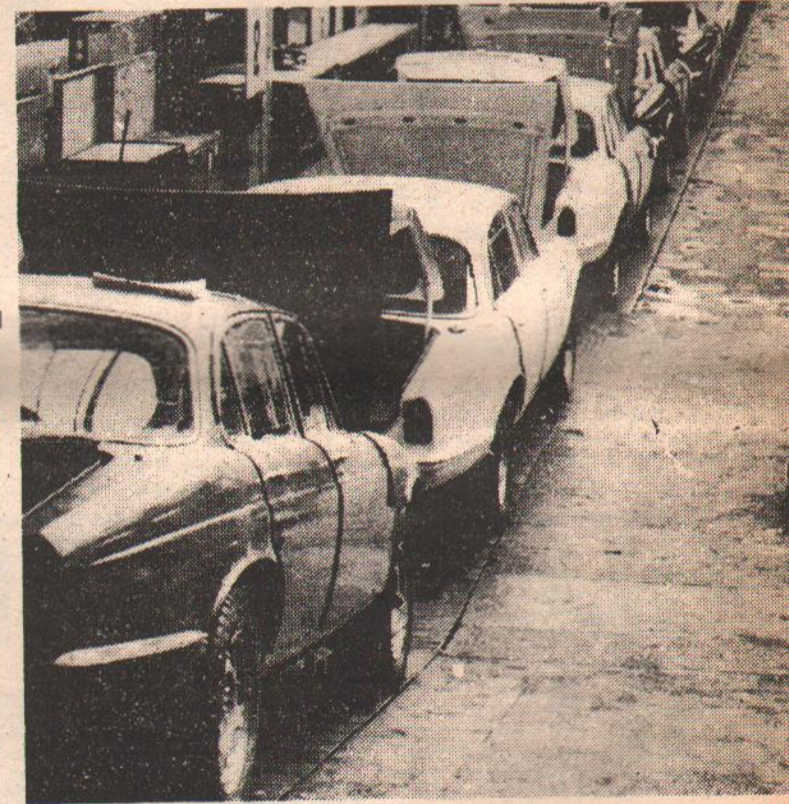
the stops in order to avoid a confrontation. They are only too well aware of the massive sentiment that exists within the pits for earlier retirement.

Thousands of miners, often working with as much as 10 per cent dust in their

lungs, dare not take so-called lighter work on the surface at the age of 60 or over because it would mean a £20 cut in wages as well as a smaller pension when they leave the pits at 65. Younger miners know that what faces their fathers, older brothers and workmates now is coming to

Jaguar Workers throw down a challenge

It's not our crisis - we won't pay for it!



DURING the past twelve months, night-shift workers at Jaguar's Browns Lane Assembly plant in Coventry have worked only 27 full weeks out of a possible 48. Their average earnings before deductions have fallen short of negotiated rates by hundreds of pounds; they have been sent home in the middle of shifts.

It was similar conditions which not so long ago drove night workers at Ford to stage a riot at the Dagenham plant. Understandable as that action certainly was, the workers at Jaguar have responded with an answer which ultimately will worry the car bosses more than the events at Ford.

CRISIS

The Jaguar workers recently thrashed out a series of demands which put the blame for the car industry crisis on management, and which seek to protect the workers at Jaguar from that crisis. Demands formulated by the night-shift workers included:

★ 'Management to be informed that from now on we shall be organising to control production at a realistic level.'

In practice this raises the central question of control — whether the production line is to be run at the whims of management, or whether the production line is to be run so that those actually working and directly affected by the level of production begin to exercise some control over it.

★ 'In the event of any shortages [which under present systems would cause a lay-off] we shall operate a policy of one in — all in, to secure a system of work-sharing with full pay throughout the factory.'

This demand points the ends to which the control of production by the workforce will be used: a system not of repeated lay-offs and drops in

work while at the same time be guaranteed full weekly earnings.

★ 'In order to carry through this policy in a united and organised way we will need to have clear information on Jaguar/Leyland operations and links with component suppliers. We call for the Joint Shop Stewards Committee to set up a standing committee of investigation to collect this information and provide regular reports.'

In short-hand this outlines a system of 'opening the books' — that is, organising to uncover information on stocks, orders, available work, etc. This applies particularly to Jaguar in view of the chaotic and anarchistic manner in which work has been organised at Jaguar.

WORK-SHARING

The workforce are never told the real whys and wherefores of the sudden lay-offs; a full disclosure of information on orders, stocks, etc. would allow the type of work-sharing outlined above to be planned.

★ 'In the event of a pending lay-off the true facts to be found out as to how long it will be and production controlled to cover that lay-off.'

★ 'In the event of a return to work all stores and receiving areas to be contacted to assess the stocks so that production can be controlled to avert further lay-off.'

These demands tighten up the other three, stressing the need for the workers concerned to assert their right to control the level of production, and to achieve the full information available to do so effectively.

them later. It is this explosive sentiment simmering away in the coalfields that makes Gormley and company so uncomfortable and forces them to make brave speeches whilst pleading with the NCB to toss them a big enough crumb to buy off their members.

Meanwhile a heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of the left inside the union. If the NUM simply present the demand in terms of the miners being a special case, then this will enable the Government and its allies in the media to mount a big campaign about 'the selfish miners who are not prepared to carry their share of the national effort'. Such a campaign could help to isolate the miners and lead to their defeat.

BREAK

The left must spell out that their demand does break the Social Contract, and win support from other workers on the basis that a fight against the reactionary policies of Callaghan and Healey is in the interests of the entire labour movement. A campaign amongst other trade unionists is vital if the claim is to be won, and that means pledging that the NUM will support all other workers fighting the Social Contract, be it on wages or on a shorter working week and early retirement.

The NUM leaders will do all their power to avert a showdown with the Government. Militant areas like Yorkshire, South Wales, Scotland and Kent have to start organising now for strike action, not just in their own areas but also in those coalfields which are still under right-wing control.

JEFF KING

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.

SOCIALIST TEACHERS Alliance all-London meeting, 7.30pm, Thurs 2 Dec, at Prince Albert, Wharfedale Rd, Kings X. Agenda: discussion of London perspectives, election of London convener. Info. contact Bernard Regan, 986 0570.

EDINBURGH. 'Women's Oppression under Capitalism', Trades Council Club, Picardy Place, off Leith St, Friday 3 Dec, 7.30pm. RCG launching meeting for Revolutionary Communist No. 5.

MANCHESTER RCG: 'Women's Oppression under Capitalism', Basement Theatre, Town Hall Extension, Albert Square, Friday 10 Dec, 7.30pm. Launching meeting for Revolutionary Communist No. 5.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST No. 5. Articles on Women's Oppression under Capitalism, and the South African liberation struggle. Price 50p + 14p (postage). RCG Publications Ltd, 49 Railton Road, London SE24 0LN.

NATIONAL FUND-RAISER wanted by the IMG. A really challenging job for someone with flair and organising ability. The IMG has no rich backers and relies on raising funds to finance its campaigns, etc. The National Fund-Raiser will also play an important role in projecting the public face of the IMG. Details from and applications to: Jo-Ann Lewis, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

CRITIQUE Conference: 'The Working Class in Eastern Europe', 7pm, Friday 10 Dec, and 9.30am, Saturday 11 Dec. Friends House, Euston Rd, NW1. Speakers include: E. Baluka (Polish strike leader), Jan Kavan and Ivan Hartell (Czech militants from 1968), Bill Lomax (author of *Hungary 1956*) and G. Smolar. Registration at door: £2.30 or £1.60 to Critique subscribers. More details from: Critique, 9 Poland St, London W1 (01-734 3457).

WORLD REVOLUTION Public Forum, 'Class Struggle in the Russian Block', 2.30pm, Sat 11 Dec, Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

RED LADDER Grand Benefit, Fri 10 Dec, St Pancras Town Hall, Euston Rd (nearest tube Kings X). Tickets £1 on sale at door. Doors open 7pm, performance starts 8pm. Bar 7-11pm.

MANCHESTER AREA Student Red Weekly meetings: Thurs 2 Dec, 6.30, Manchester University Union, on southern Africa, and the campaign against racialism; Thurs 16 Dec, on Women and the Family, and Spain—place and time as above.

THE FOLLOWING pamphlets are available from Phoenix Pamphlets, 98 Gifford Street, London N.1: 'International Communist' No. 1, 30p + 11p postage (journal of the International Communist League); 'The I-CL and the Fourth International', 30p + 9p p&p; 'James Connolly and the Struggle for Ireland's Freedom', 10p + 6½p p&p; 'For a Rank and File Movement', 10p + 6½p p&p; 'The EEC—In or Out the Fight

cussion Bulletin' No. 1 — discussions of the ICL (Britain), IKL (Austria), Spartacusbund (Germany) and the Lega Comunista (Italy), 20p + 11p p&p. Single orders, send money; bulk orders, 25% in advance. Cheques/POs payable to 'Phoenix Pamphlets'.

NATIONAL Abortion Campaign fund-raising disco, Sat 4 Dec in The Basement, 29 Shelton St, London WC2. 50p entrance, 8pm—1.30am.

WORKERS BOOKSHELF: socialist mail-order book service offers wide selection of books on Marxism, labour history, women and international struggles. Pamphlets our speciality—over 90 titles. S.a.e. for catalogue to: Workers Bookshelf, 150 Foster Road, Trumpington, Cambridge.

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.

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

ROADGANG, Tyne-side-based political theatre group, requires performers (M/F). Musical ability preferred. Equity rates. Write to: Roadgang, 13 Swinburne St., Gateshead, Tyne and Wear.

'PEACE IN N. IRELAND' — which way? Public debate — platform: Tom Litterick MP and representatives from Troops Out Movement, British Peace Committee and N. Ireland Peace People (invited). Mon. 6 Dec., 7 pm, at NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, off Theobalds Road, WC1 (Holborn tube).

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

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD Socialist Forum: 'Revolutionaries and Elections' — John Ross, IMG Political Committee. Tues 7 Dec, 8pm, at Youth Wing, Dacorum College, Marlowes, Hemel.

WANTED: Actors to form Socialist Theatre Group in Birmingham. Contact R. Honey, 184B Middleton Hall Road, Birmingham 30.

'MARXISM Against Feminism — Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution', London Spartacist Group Forum, Friday 3 December. During the past five years *Women and Revolution*, a Marxist journal published by the Spartacist League (US), has analysed the material basis for women's oppression and has put forward a concrete programme for women's liberation through socialist revolution. Helene

BUILDING THE SOCIALIST TEACHERS ALLIANCE

Last week we reported on the founding of the Socialist Teachers Alliance, an organisation of socialist teachers. This week BERNARD REGAN, a member of the IMG and elected Convenor of the STA, explains how he sees its role.

How and why did this new organisation for socialist teachers come into being?

More than ever before there is a need to organise the left in the National Union of Teachers. On the one hand teachers face the attacks of the Labour Government. On the other hand the leadership of the NUT, who stand firmly behind the Social Contract, have directly aided the Government in these attacks.

This is shown in their scabbing on the defence of the Tyndale teachers, and their attempts to victimise union members at Little Ilford school for taking action against the cuts. That is why we need an organisation to unite the left in a fight against the union leadership's collaboration and fight for the broadest action by the union membership against the Government's attacks.

Could the existing organisations in the NUT, like the CP and the IS-sponsored

'Rank and File Teacher', not have played this role?

The Communist Party has failed completely to show any alternative to the policies of the union leadership, and in practice backs up the right wing's attacks on teachers taking action.

As for Rank and File, it has been going through a major crisis over the past few years which has shown up its inadequacies more sharply. Those inadequacies are three-fold:

Firstly, R & F has paraded itself as the left in the union, whilst the undemocratic nature of R & F itself has prevented many socialist teachers from being involved in it. This led many teachers to despair of any left unity at all.

Secondly, R & F appears to be unable to see the difference between organising the left in the union and organising the mass of teachers in action against the



Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (FL)

Government's attacks. We believe that the mass of teachers can be won to that fight, but in order to do this it is necessary to do more than denounce the refusal of the leadership to fight and then try to organise mass action yourself as R & F.

This is what R & F attempted to do in the 1974 teachers' struggle for a London allowance, when they proposed that R & F rather than elected action committees could centralise the schools taking action; fortunately they were defeated on

this and a London Teachers Action Committee was set up which was very successful in mobilising teachers. But they learned nothing from that struggle.

Thirdly, we also think that the policies which Rank and File stands for are inadequate. However, if R & F was democratic, and if it was oriented to fighting the union leadership and uniting the membership in action instead of just in R & F, then we would still be inside R & F fighting for our policies and for

unity of the left inside R & F. In practice it was the IS leadership of R & F which made this impossible.

The STA is an opportunity to show in practice that genuine unity of the left is possible in the NUT — a democratic unity, which is aimed at organising the left to campaign amongst the mass of union members for united action against the Government's policies.

I think the STA now has to throw its weight into building a broad defence campaign for the Little Ilford teachers, and into campaigning for national action against the cuts — in particular for national no-cover action, and for a day of national strike action against the cuts.

Is there not a danger that the very real differences within the left will be blurred over, instead of being faced up to so that those differences can be fought out? After all, the unity resolution only outlines the most minimum areas of agreement. Don't you think that if these differences are not faced up to, then the STA will in reality represent a very flimsy unity?

Yes, I think that is a danger. Some comrades, including members of the International Communist League and Workers Socialist League, argued at the conference for the 'Unity Resolution' to include the demands for the sliding scale of wages and work-sharing with no loss of pay.

I voted against this — not because I did not want these policies to be adopted, but because we felt that it was premature to force a vote on those policies. We want to win as many people to those policies as we can by means of a continuous debate within the campaigns STA supporters are waging, so that these policies can be thoroughly discussed and voted upon at a future conference.

The debate over policies should not be seen as an academic campaign confined to the bulletin, but as an essential and living debate which the left must confront if it is going to provide a set of alternative policies to those of the Social Contract.

OPEN LETTER TO IS TEACHERS

There are a number of occasions where the sectarianism of some of the International Socialists has seriously jeopardised the building of united cuts campaigns; the most recent incident warrants the writing of this letter.

On 27 November a picket of the National Union of Teachers Executive was held as a protest against the NUT's victimisation of teachers at Little Ilford school. At the picket the comrades of the IS announced, without discussion with the 150 teachers present, that should the NUT Executive refuse to hear a deputation from the picket, we should occupy the Council Chamber, where the Executive was meeting.

When many of the teachers present asked if we could discuss this tactic, they were told to 'fuck off', and informed 'there's too much talking, let's get down to some action'. A snap vote was then taken — many present refusing to vote either way in the absence of discussion.

The Little Ilford representative said that he did not support the action, but still no discussion was taken. This succeeded in splitting the teachers present, with the IS comrades calling those who did not go into the Council Chamber 'scabs'.

All the teachers present were in favour of action which would best secure the dropping of charges and suspensions

against the Little Ilford teachers, but many did not want that action sprung upon them without the opportunity to discuss its effects. Not all of them were members of the IMG, as the IS comrades claimed.

Many teacher militants are prepared to support and build a campaign in support of the Little Ilford teachers and against the attacks on democracy within the NUT. When they do attend pickets, demonstrations, etc, they should be welcomed and encouraged to discuss how best they can further the campaign, so that a broad based defence can be built.

At a time when the NUT Executive are out to smash any militancy we should be united in our efforts to defeat them. No amount of bludgeoning and bullying can erase this need.

— Birendra Singh, Brian Honeyball, Jan Pollock, Ronan Brady, Tony Polan, Dave Lawrence, John Bangs, Ruth Nelson, Jenny Bell, Ian Hollingworth, Betty Hunter, Bob Greenwood, Bernard Regan, Denny Fitzpatrick, Carole Regan.

[Members of Rank & File, the Socialist Teachers Alliance, the International Marxist Group, the Workers League, the International-Communist League and the Anarchist Workers Association have signed this letter.]



LITTLE ILFORD
NUT

Students debate left alternative

'The immediate task is a political one — fighting for a campaigning NUS.' Putting the fight for a campaigning union to the fore is the strength of a very rapidly produced pamphlet, *Inside the Company* by Andy Durgan and Graham Threlfall, the two National Organisation of IS Societies members of the NUS Executive.

In mapping out a strategy to achieve this, however, the pamphlet has few answers. In the 'Open Letter to the Broad Left' appended to the pamphlet, the point is made correctly that 'instead of alliances with the FCS [Federation of Conservative Students] we are calling for a united campaign by the whole left to fight the right-wing threat'. But instead of stating on what basis that unity of the left can be forged and how, the implication is that NOISS will be the alternative.

Examining the history of NUS since the late '60s, the pamphlet declares that it was 'NOISS and its forerunners that pushed for an active union which involved its members not for a side show but as the key to the development of the union.' Thus the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Student Unions, which led the fight over union autonomy, and the Socialist Alternative which challenged the Broad Left for leadership are presented as NOISS in its formative stages.

BROADER

But the most important point about these formations, which accounted for the wide support they could muster, was that they involved much broader forces than the supporters of any one group.

On the services crash, the pamphlet says [page 5]: 'The correct attitude for the NUS to have taken months ago, both in relation to the survival of the union, the service companies and the staffs' jobs, would have been to campaign for the nationalisation of the relevant companies.' No answer is forthcoming on how these jobs and services are to be

The failure of the entire left to confront the services monster that the Broad Left built over the last few years is pointed out in a new Red Weekly pamphlet, *NUS Services Crash — A Socialist Answer*. In an attempt to rectify that situation, a programme of action to defend the services and jobs at stake is put forward.

INSIDE THE COMPANY



NUS, ITS SERVICE COMPANIES AND THEIR COLLAPSE

BY ANDY DURGAN

The aim of this pamphlet, according to the authors, is to explain the extent of the present crisis in the NUS and the type of socialist alternative which can develop the fighting unity of the NUS. It argues that such unity cannot be achieved on the basis of pressure politics and the running of private companies, but rather through the transformation of the NUS into a mass campaigning union allied in action to the working class.

By examining briefly the situation with students unions in other countries, the reasons for fighting to maintain the unity of the student movement are clearly explained. Using the experience of France, it shows that 'the sectarian divisions within the left of the student movement can be overcome on the basis of an alliance with the working class against all the Government's attacks.'

'The main task today is to develop an alternative to the disastrous road being pursued by the Broad Left — a road which leads to the door of the Conserva-

of having the vast majority of students on the workers' side of the picket lines is to build a united left alternative.'

This pamphlet doesn't pretend to contain all the answers. However its main thrust and its conclusions will be a useful contribution to the present debate in the student movement.

* *Inside the Company*, price 5p, available from Bookmarks, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N7.

§ *NUS Services Crash — A Socialist Answer*, price 10p, available from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1. For bulk orders write to: IMG Student Commission, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

• After the collapse of the NUS service companies, many sections of the left saw the need for discussion on a common strategy to meet the situation. A meeting will now be held in Manchester Polytechnic Student Union this Saturday at 11.00 a.m. to do just that. This meeting has two tasks. First, to work out an alternative position to that of the NUS Executive at the forthcoming national conference. Secondly, to discuss the basis for a united left campaign in as many colleges as possible to meet the right-wing offensive.

At the planning meeting held last weekend there was widespread support for involving as many activists as possible. With members of the Broad Left now openly calling for the setting up of a radical alliance to replace the Broad Left, which they describe as a bureaucratic election machine, and with many militants now in a position where they cannot commit their student union to support an alternative strategy, the most open and serious discussion is vital.

Among the proposals which will be debated will be the nomination of united left candidates to stand in the event of calls for resignations being successful, and for the conference to arrange a meeting of left delegates at NUS conference to discuss a

Southern A

NEW BRITISH AID FOR SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS

by JIM ATKINSON

ONLY WEEKS after the Labour Party conference voted against British collaboration with South Africa, the Callaghan Government has again decided to give valuable aid to the white racist regime in Pretoria.

On 19 October the British delegate at the United Nations Security Council joined France and the United States in casting a triple veto against a resolution which would have imposed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Then, six days later, Marconi Communications Systems Ltd of Chelmsford, a subsidiary of GEC, announced that the Department of Trade had granted the company an export licence for the sale of a multi-million pound tropospheric scatter system to the South African Armaments Board (SAAB).

The British vote at the UN flew in the face of the Composite Resolution

44 adopted almost unanimously by the Labour Party conference on 30 September, which demanded 'British government support for a mandatory United Nations arms embargo' (as opposed to the present voluntary embargo).

Composite Resolution 44, which urged 'an end to all forms of military collaboration with South Africa', had been prompted by disclosures earlier this year that millions of pounds of military hardware (especially so-called 'dual purpose' equipment which can serve both civilian and military ends) had been legally exported to South Africa despite the Government's stated commitment to an arms ban.

The disclosures had revealed a wide range of loopholes in Labour's 'embargo', most notably a clause in the 1970 Export (Control) Order which permits the export of several dozen

categories of militarily useful equipment without even the formality of an export licence. Among these had been 'equipment employing tropospheric, ionospheric or meteoric scatter phenomena'. This was the loophole originally used by Marconi when it signed a contract in November 1975 to sell the SAAB a tropospheric scatter system.

The outcry sparked off by leaks of Marconi's contract eventually forced the Government to amend the Export (Control) Order so as to require Marconi to apply for a licence. 'After careful consideration', the foreign secretary, Tony Crosland, said on 29 April, 'the Government have decided to bring tropospheric scatter communications equipment under general export licensing control.'

Accordingly, Marconi applied for a licence on 8 June; and on 25 October, the company announced that its application had been successful. So much for the Government's decision to 'bring tropospheric scatter communications equipment under general export licensing control'!

SECURE

Tropospheric scatter systems are used by all major military powers for medium- and long-term military communications, because they offer secure and reliable links without vulnerable relay stations. A small number of large, easily defensible sites can cover an entire country. The whole of Europe, for example, is covered by the NATO 'Ace High' tropospheric scatter system, which is linked in with the American Ballistic Missile Early Warning System (BMEWS).

Particular anxiety had been aroused by Marconi's November 1975 contract since part of the equipment to be sold to the SAAB was to be installed in Namibia, where (according to UN

A LANCE-CORPORAL in the Rhodesian army, killed in action three weeks ago, thought that he was John Wayne.

Matthew Charles Lamb, a Canadian, had been declared criminally insane in his home town of Windsor, Ontario in 1967 and committed to a mental institution following the deaths of two people. This apparently did not affect the decision of the Rhodesian army when he applied to join two years ago. A Government spokesman said that 'no adverse indication arose from his medical examination'.

ARMY

But Lance-Corporal Lamb was not the only gunslinger in the Smith regime's army. Perhaps it was in

emulation of John Wayne's treatment of the American Indian population that the Rhodesian army launched its massacres in Mozambique a few weeks ago. Certainly a report from the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, published recently, indicates that murder and torture by the armed forces is a regular occurrence.

In sharp contrast to the white supremacist propaganda peddled by the British television news, this report makes it clear that 'the battle for the mind and heart of the man in the middle is effectively lost'. In other words, the bulk of the population is being drawn towards the struggle of the ZIPA guerillas.

Although the report is clearly hostile to the armed struggle of the Zimbabwean people, it scrupulously

Build a Southern Africa solidarity movement in Britain

THE UPSURGE of the black masses in Zimbabwe and South Africa lays before socialists in Britain a fundamental duty and task, that of building a mass movement of solidarity with the oppressed black people of southern Africa. The Fourth International is pledged to build such a mass campaign throughout the world on a scale not seen since the days of the war in Vietnam.

The tasks of such a campaign in Britain are threefold:

- ★ To isolate the racist regimes of Smith and Vorster by stopping all trade and investment with them.

- ★ To block the moves of the Labour Government and British imperialism to establish neo-colonial states in southern Africa.

- ★ To provide material aid to the freedom fighters.

To adopt an internationalist position is not simply to take up international questions, but more importantly to challenge the role that your own ruling class is playing in those countries. The first two of these tasks are crucial in that respect.

END

A campaign has been underway for some time, launched by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, to end all economic and military collaboration with South Africa. A motion on the same lines was also passed at this year's Labour Party conference in Blackpool which the Labour Government

conomic and military goods.

The second task of solidarity raises larger problems, because it entails an understanding of the role that the Labour Government and the African front line states are playing in endeavouring to remove Smith while at the same time preserving the economic interests of imperialism.

ILLUSIONS

The AAM, the major solidarity group in Britain, fell prey to some illusions when the Geneva conference was announced. In its press statement, entitled 'The future of Zimbabwe', its general approach was to fall in behind the front line states. Hence it welcomed the Geneva conference and failed to call for the dissolution of the Rhodesian army and police, but rather demanded that 'the armed forces must be loyal to the Zimbabwean people'.

Clearly the freedom fighters will have to make compromises, as the National Liberation Front did in Vietnam, but that does not mean that our support is uncritical. The solidarity movement in Britain must have as its aim the removal of all British interests from southern Africa immediately, and majority rule now. A firm stand taken in the heartland of the imperialists can considerably aid the freedom fighters.

However, these errors were corrected in a motion on Zimbabwe passed at the Annual General Meeting of the AAM in late October, proposed by Greenwich AA group, M. J. ...



of 1977, and will no doubt support the call made by the Organisation of African Unity for international action on 16 June, the first anniversary of the Soweto events.

Red Weekly would urge all its supporters to back the activities of the AAM, because it offers the possibility to build a mass movement of solidarity in the British working class. That does not mean we support all aspects of the political positions of the AAM. Differences exist over the role of the front line states and the Labour Government; however, that can be taken up within the movement.

But the burning task is to build a movement that can isolate Smith and Vorster and stop British trade and arms arriving there, and on that point a basis for united action exists.

Commissioner for Namibia Sean MacBride) South Africa now has over 50,000 troops involved in counter-insurgency operations against freedom fighters of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO).

COVER

In a bid to cover itself against public questioning, Marconi informed the Department of Trade on 21 July that none of the equipment would be located in Namibia. 'The South African Armaments Board', Marconi claimed, 'has decided to redeploy all

the equipment covered by this export licence application to provide service within the Republic (of South Africa). This apparently gave the Labour Government the political cover it needed to give its go-ahead to the deal.

But no evidence has been provided that the basic purpose of the system has been changed. Last May Marconi stated that if they did not receive a British export licence, 'they could arrange for the equipment to be manufactured in South Africa under licence' (the Government, despite its arms 'embargo', has never controlled the export of licences). This suggests that equipment destined for Namibia may now be built under Marconi licence inside South Africa.

In any case, Marconi's tropospheric scatter equipment could, whether any of it is located in Namibia or not, play an important part in the expansion of South Africa's overall military apparatus and could link in with other equipment installed in Namibia.

PARTY

Once again the Labour Government has violated party conference decisions, and under cover of moralistic condemnations of apartheid has allowed the export of valuable military equipment to the South African rac-



Africa

Documents many cases of arbitrary arrest and torture, killings for curfew breaking and other 'offences', jailing political prisoners, and cover-ups by the authorities and the press.

The report explains how, behind the policy of the preservation of black life, the Government has used devices such as the imposition of collective fines on villages to break up resistance. And in a section entitled 'Eliminating Illegalities', it is explained that the Indemnity and Compensation Act gives a blank cheque to the army boys to terrorise anyone who is suspected of being a 'terrorist' — that is anyone black.

The Secretary for Law and Order has told a passing-out parade of police officers that they must not be lenient in departing from the strictest of established procedures which are appropriate for more normal circumstances.

The hideous accounts of the treatment of the black population are too numerous to be detailed here. One example must suffice, an instance of how the security forces are obviously proud since they made a propaganda film of the incident to show in black villages.

LM

An eyewitness reports that the film shows three guerillas being hunted down by the army. One of the soldiers is a hyena on a leash, which is used to track the guerillas to a clearing in the bush. The guerillas are ambushed and killed.

This is nothing new. The Government is also allowing a new generation of impala jet fighters (manufactured in South Africa under Italian licence) to be equipped with Rolls-Royce diesel engines.

NATO

The right-wing Labour leaders see South Africa as a key strategic link in the NATO powers' worldwide military network. Above all, the Labour Government remains firmly wedded to the defence of British imperialism's vast holdings in South Africa — a country where over 500 British companies have more than £2,000 million of investments. These imperialist monopolies are raking in a fortune off the backs of the black workers — who are not allowed to strike, are controlled by a battery of restrictive apartheid laws, and are paid at or below bare subsistence wages.

A massive movement of protest has been built to force the Labour Government to end its complicity in the oppression of South Africa's 19 million blacks. The Anti-Apartheid Movement has announced plans to hold a national demonstration in the coming year against Britain's collusion with the apartheid system. It deserves the best possible support.



The next sequence of the film, which is in colour, shows the hyena rolling upon three mutilated bodies, licking up the brains of one and ripping open the stomach of another and eating its entrails. It then shows the arrest of a local headman who denies all knowledge of the guerillas' presence. The film ends with a pitch-black screen and the sound of hyenas laughing.

These and other examples in the report are important not just because they demonstrate the wanton brutality of the regime. That has been a daily feature of the lives of Zimbabwean blacks for many years. What it indicates is that the government is on the defensive.

LOSING

Contrary to the bravado of official statements, many Rhodesian military experts have been forced to admit that the Rhodesian army is losing the war. The only chance it sees for retaining control is the escalation of terror against the black population. This report, which is banned in Rhodesia, indicates that this battle to force the black people to withdraw support from the guerillas has been unsuccessful.

Perhaps John Wayne is not the best fantasy figure for the white troops. General Custer would be more appropriate.

Civil War in Rhodesia is published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1 Cambridge Terrace, Regents Park, London NW1.

Activities on or around the 4 December Day of Action include:
LONDON: Central London leafleting; various local activities, including all day teach-in at London School of Economics on Friday 3 December (starts 10.30 a.m.).
BRIGHTON: Public meeting, 3 December.
CARDIFF: Rally and march.
GLASGOW: Regional conference.
MANCHESTER: Picket of South African offices, 4 December; regional conference, 5 December.
OXFORD: Rally and march.
NORWICH: Street theatre.
MIDDLESBROUGH: Rally and march.
BIRMINGHAM: Film show in the Bull Ring.
COVENTRY: Teach-in at Lanchester Poly.
BRISTOL: Teach-in at Bristol University.
NEWCASTLE: Teach-in at Socialist Centre, 8 December.

Activities are also planned in York, Liverpool, Hull, Loughborough and Durham; while some colleges have planned activities for the week of 6-12 December.

Militants in London should make a particular note of the following dates:
10 December: Torchlight picket, 5.30-7.30 p.m., South Africa House, for the release of South African political prisoners.
12 December: Zimbabwe teach-in, 'Neo-colonialism or Liberation?', 10.30 a.m.-6 p.m. at 34/6 Bedford Square, WC1. Speakers include Bob Sutcliffe, Sholto Cross, Colin Stoneman, Lionel Cliffe. Sponsored by Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Institute of Race Relations, Review of African Political Economy.

OVERSEAS STUDENTS

MIDDX POLY-

'By defending us, they are defending themselves.'

FOR THE PAST DECADE it has been the policy of successive governments to discriminate against overseas students. Higher fees have been charged for these students as compared to home students, as well as other charges such as accommodation. The operation of the immigration laws, which have threatened politically active immigrants with deportation, have had a dampening effect on the struggle of overseas students against this discrimination. The NUS has consistently refused to take the leadership of a national campaign against the super-exploitation of overseas students.

The Labour Government's attack on the living standards of the British working class has been accompanied by an even more acute attack on more vulnerable sections of society — of which women, blacks, foreign students and migrant workers have been amongst the most exposed. But now more and more of these students have taken a lead in challenging the policies of the Government, despite the reactionary refusal of the NUS to mobilise the mass of students in their defence. On 11 November the Enfield branch of Middlesex

Poly, led by overseas students, voted to occupy the administration centre of the Poly. Since then two more branches have joined in. Their demands centre on:

- ★ NO MORE EDUCATION CUTS
- ★ AN END TO THE QUOTA SYSTEM
- ★ A HARDSHIP FUND FOR OVERSEAS STUDENTS
- ★ A FREEZE ON FEES

Pal Luthra, the chairperson of the Enfield Overseas Students Group, says that the overseas students took the lead because they had become disillusioned with the approach of the NUS. They realised that they could not wait until the NUS or the labour movement decided to take action. They had to initiate the struggle themselves.

Pal emphasises that the struggle must be carried beyond the immediate problems of students at Middlesex Poly. It must take up, for example, the 1971 Immigration Act, which is racist and largely responsible for the political situation in which overseas students find themselves. The Act is not only being used to keep blacks out of the country, but also to check, restrain and control the activity of those already in the country.

The overseas students' struggle must also be broadened out to include other colleges, the black community and the labour movement. Already the Middlesex Poly occupiers have received more than 20 messages of support as well as eight delegations from other colleges. Speakers from NALGO, the lecturers' union NATFHE and Chris Takundra (Vice Chairperson of the National Union of Zimbabwean Students) are among those who have addressed the occupation. The students have also sent out speakers from the occupation to colleges all over the country.

Overseas students, says Pal, had not initially expected the support of white students in their college, but the fact is that large numbers have actively supported the occupation. He stresses, however, that white students should not come into such action simply on the basis of sympathy for the predicament of foreign students, but should see it in relation to the plight of all students and the working class. 'By defending us, they are defending themselves', is Pal's message.

Setback at Teesside Poly

VICTIMISATION and possible deportation hangs over the heads of many of the leading activists who were involved in the week-long occupation at Teesside Polytechnic.

The occupation of the administration offices was ended last week by a 50 vote margin in a huge mass meeting of 1,300. It was the union president's argument that concessions had been gained from the local authority that swung the vote. But overseas students disputed this, pointing out that the college principal had even refused to sign a statement that there would be no victimisation following the occupation.

FAILED

The NUS Executive failed to provide its promised speaker at the decisive meeting. This considerably hindered those who were arguing that the occupation should be used as a springboard for a national campaign in defence of overseas students.

Documents found by the students in the course of the occupation pointed the finger at an administration who seemed to be employing racist criteria on admissions policy. For example, the college secretary has written that 'there is a point at which the proportion of overseas students begins to alter the character of an institution and at which their numbers become too great for the residential capacity of an area.'

Student militants see the ending of the occupation as a setback, not a defeat. Their time and resources will now be devoted to winning even wider support from both the labour movement and students for their demands of as much time to pay their increased fees as possible; some fees to be waived for students who just cannot pay; no deportations or [what amounts to the same thing] removal of student status.

The students realise that in order to make a breakthrough they will have to commit the NUS nationally to mass

action. The recent announcement of further dramatic increases in overseas student fees demands a national response to these attacks. The experience of the struggle at Teesside shows that support can be won in the colleges for the fight of the overseas students.

The next stage in the fight is an anti-

racist demonstration called by the students in Middlesbrough this Saturday, 4 December, in support of their demands and against the racist policies of the Labour Government. It deserves the widest support. Assemble 1.00 p.m., Teesside Poly Students Union, Borough Road, Middlesbrough.



Sacked- because she's

DARLINGTON Working Women's Charter Group organised a day-long picket of a private nursing home last Saturday in support of a nurse who had been sacked because she was black. The picket was supported by local trade unionists and NHS employees, and members of the trades council.

Miyurulatha Gunatunga is an ex-teacher with a degree from Ceylon University. Since moving to Britain to join her husband a year ago, she has been unable to find employment in her profession. She took a part-time job in Rosebank Private Nursing Home six weeks ago, but last week was dismissed by the owner Marion Pickersgill on the grounds that two of the 36 patients had objected to Ms Gunatunga's

would have to go', explained Ms Gunatunga.

This case highlights the way in which employees in the private health sector can be arbitrarily dismissed and maltreated if they interfere with the business of making money out of people's ill health. Rosebank Nursing Home charges £60 a week for a bed. Clearly the proprietor considers that this comes before Ms Gunatunga's right to a job.

The leaflet produced for the picket by the local Working Women's Charter group summed up the importance of securing Ms Gunatunga's reinstatement:

'She has been sacked because she is black. Which means no black worker's job is safe. In fact it means that no-one's job is safe, because if an employer can sack you

LESSONS OF LAMBETH

Without wishing to overwork the question of Angell Ward by-election, we would like to make a few points.

We don't agree with last week's letter from Chris O'Brien who rejected the idea that Marie Montaut [the Labour candidate] was in any way a class struggle candidate. Her candidacy was adopted as part of a real struggle in the area waged by the left inside and outside of the Labour Party on such crucial issues as racism, cuts and women's oppression, and the candidate was part of that struggle.

In that sense, and basing our opinions on the individual candidate's record of struggle in the local labour movement [under-fives campaign, anti-racist committee, and Labour Party], we agree with the article in Red Weekly [18 November] that this candidacy had the most potential for reaching the broadest layers of workers — a potential which given the specifics of the situation the IS candidate did not have. The fact that IS only received 34 votes in the election is partly an indication of this.

However, we do feel that there are certain problems posed for revolutionaries which were not brought out in the Red Weekly interview.

The impact of the Labour candidate's election campaign was certainly not all it might have been. In fact it was difficult to gauge what the impact was, because the candidate did not organise any meetings, events, etc. The pressure from the right wing in the Labour Party meant that she was prevented from speaking to a 400-strong picket of a National Front election meeting, thus losing an opportunity to place herself in the forefront of an active vanguard campaigning on the issue of racism.

As a member of the local anti-racist committee [from her union] and the cuts committee the candidate should have based her campaign on these and other labour movement organisations which were really prepared to fight the policies of the Labour Government. By organising meetings through these bodies the election campaign would have been much more outgoing and drawn out of the struggle within the Labour Party.

This is what accountability to the class really means. As it was, the 'campaign' largely took the form of canvassing and was not therefore in accordance with the expectations of a supposedly 'class struggle' programme. The influence that this candidate and only this candidate could have had in furthering the struggles in the area was not realised.

Whilst we would have no illusions in the potential of a candidate to do this fully [the inadequacies of her programme were clear] we do think that if revolutionaries [including IS] had intervened in struggles such as those emerging in Lambeth before and during the election — both inside and outside the Labour Party — they would have had an opportunity to present alternatives and to make the candidate accountable.

Unfortunately this did not occur, and all the revolutionaries in the area bear responsibility for this. — M. STILLS, J. BAKER (South West London IMG).

Remove false barriers!

The IMG's role in the Right to Work Campaign seems to be degenerating from a theoretically good one (albeit lacking in practical commitment) to that of observers on the sidelines, repeating the old criticisms in a propagandist way and missing the significant developments in the campaign and, for that matter, in IS. The heading to the article in Red Weekly of 11 November, 'Right to Work conference dodges crucial questions', was quite simply slanderous, and I wonder how many members of IS and Socialist Worker supporters have been repelled from the IMG by that sort of attack.

On the whole I supported the IMG's positions on the RtW march, whilst being disappointed at the small number of branches that had seriously built for the march. This lack of active participation, though, has resulted in the failure of the IMG to provide a theoretical, let alone practical, alternative direction to the campaign. Meanwhile, IS have corrected nearly all of their worst summer excesses, and this should be acknowledged.

The call to the LCDTU and the Assembly, for instance, was not ultimatic because it did not say 'join our organisa-

tion', but rather 'join us in the fight against unemployment', and this clearly admits the possibility of a broader organisational form. Yes, it is a simple fact 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' (Red Weekly, 11 November), but the conference itself stressed that point time and time again!

It is good to see that Red Weekly is making the question of regroupment of the left one of its priorities. But it is ludicrous to bemoan the fact that the International Communist League, for instance, waver over the characterisation of the IMG and FI from 'left-reformist' to the 'Trotskyist mainstream', whilst at the same time the IMG fails to present a clear position on the most important group on the left today, IS. Any project of regroupment that does not prioritise an orientation to IS is academic, a mere shuffling around that will in any case produce probably more splits than fusions.

It does seem to me that the IS and IMG could, by building an opposition to the

Social Contract within the framework of united fronts to sections of the left bureaucracy, organise around themselves a strong vanguard layer that would have the potential of evolving into a revolutionary party. True, it is not possible to launch a mass revolutionary party in the near future, but I think we all need to consider how the conditions for launching one can be prepared.

As far as I know, IS also do not expect to be able to proclaim a mass party in the near future; the main danger seems to be their tendency to equate the political problem of breaking layers from reformism with the merely practical one of providing an alternative organisation.

That brings us on to the programmatic differences, which is a problem. Here again, it is a problem which no-one can claim to have surmounted. The annoying thing is that many comrades in IS and IMG seem to have concluded that a disagreement over the sliding scale is an insurmountable obstacle to any project of fusion.

Personally I side with the IMG on the

sliding scale, and have even criticised them for not raising it strongly enough at certain times. But an action programme abstracted from the way in which it can be fought for is a non-starter. There are many problems involved in demands such as sliding scale and open the books, and neither are automatically assured of generalised validity. The whole action programme can only have meaning when it is developed from and projected into a real fight for a class struggle opposition to the Social Contract.

Simultaneous with the development of an adequate programme is that of appropriate forms of organisation prior to the moment when a party can be definitively formed. Understandably the IMG shies away from the task of building the SWP, but this is not necessarily a sectarian project so long as it is developed in accordance with the concrete needs of the class struggle.

One of the most important of these is the projection to large layers of the vanguard of a thoroughgoing alternative to the Labour Party, though of course this does not entail rejecting united fronts with the Labour lefts. Organising this layer will most probably not take the form of a linear expansion of any of the current left groups; I think the IMG recognises this, and all the signs are that the majority of IS will also be capable of this recognition. But unless the immediate problems facing us in this approach are dealt with more openly, without erecting barriers between groups, and by dissolving all programmatic and organisational fetishes, then we're all in for a rough ride. — PHIL DAVENPORT (Coventry)

Confused or sectarian?

I can see from your letters page that you are in quite a dilemma over your attitude to elections. On the one hand you support the Socialist Worker candidates in the recent parliamentary by-elections, and on the other you lash out for standing against Labour in the Lambeth council election.

The reason we put up candidates is to get over revolutionary ideas to people in the area at a time when their political consciousness is even slightly raised. We would also like to have this reflected in the number of new recruits to our organisation.

If the IMG sees the need for the revolutionary party it should decide whether the basis for that party is inside or outside the Labour Party. If it is inside, then what are you doing supporting the Socialist Worker candidates in the parliamentary by-elections? Surely we were going against your ideas by doing this!

If you see the basis for such a party outside the Labour Party, then why are you supporting Marie Montaut (Labour) in Lambeth?

Are you really confused on this question or is it just sectarianism — that you cannot bear to imagine that IS and not IMG will be the prime force in Britain's revolutionary party?

If you are serious about building such a party in Britain, I suggest you take Jimmy McCallum up on his kind offer (Red Weekly, 21 October) and join with IS in doing exactly that. The situation is far too serious for 'sectarian errors'. — BERNIE WILCOX [Partington Socialist Worker Group].

Unity the key

In Red Weekly of 18 November, Bill Collins [secretary of Durham International Socialists] made a number of basic errors in defending IS election tactics and the Socialist Workers Party campaign. He states that 'the correct election strategy is for the IS to put up SW candidates in an attempt to start the process of building the SWP'. Yes, the working class needs a revolutionary party. But will such a party be built just by declaring the need for it? No. Such a party will only be forged in the class struggle.

IS and comrade Collins have conveniently short memories. In 1973, when the Socialist Labour League declared itself the Workers Revolutionary Party, IS [and Tony Cliff in particular] correctly characterised this as a farce for a small group with no base in the masses. What has changed? Has IS made a dramatic breakthrough? The election results in Walsall and Newcastle show that IS is only capable of the same vote as the IMG and WRP achieved in the 1974 elections.

Today the main question a serious militant asks anyone building a revolutionary party is how can a fightback be organised against the attacks of the employers and Labour Government, not where do I sign an IS membership card. By making its main intervention the building of the SWP, the IS is saying in practice that the line of divide in the elections is reform vs revolution [breaking with Labour to build the revolutionary party]. Comrade Collins is 100 per cent correct that there would no agreement between socialists if the basis of the campaign were to build the SWP or IMG, etc.

As Red Weekly has argued, the line of divide in the elections is for or against action opposing the attacks on the working class. This is why we call for the unity of all those who are prepared to fight. Today there is no general agreement about how we will smash capitalism; that will only come through experience in struggle and debate. But there are thousands of militants who in practice reject the line of the Labour lefts that 'if you elect me, I'll do this for you and that for you'. These militants, whilst they vote Labour, are building Cuts Com-

split if a Cuts Committee or similar body was asked to endorse a particular candidate. Hence we put forward the tactic of getting such bodies to hold public meetings with all the labour movement candidates, and then calling for militants backing ours to form, for example, Cuts Committee Supporters for a Socialist Alternative. In this way, despite political differences, the broadest unity in action can be achieved on how to raise the fight against wage control, unemployment, cuts, etc. in the elections.

Comrade Collins points to the size of the IS nationally and in Newcastle as being an important factor. Yes, IS is the largest group on the far left, but it is no more than that. The IS's claim that they are the only force fighting the Labour Government is just absurd. Comrade Collins himself refers to the Cuts Committee and Right to Work Committee in Newcastle — to which could be added North Tyneside Housing Campaign, Working Women's Charter group, Tyneside Socialist Centre. Such bodies exist locally up and down the country. At a national level we have just seen the 60,000 strong demonstration and lobby against the cuts on 17 November, and the 20,000 strong march against racism on 21 November.

In Birmingham the posturing of IS as 'the alternative' is grotesque. Last week only 25 people attended the first IS meeting for the Stechford by-election, three of these in IMG and two others Militant supporters. This compares with 90 who attended the IMG meeting on the elections three weeks previously. IS is only the fourth largest group in Birmingham, having less members and a smaller 'working class and industrial base' than the IMG, Militant or the Workers League. In addition to the large number of militants in far left groups other than IS, there are a considerable number of independents in no organisation.

The announcement that Robert Relf will be standing in Stechford makes it absolutely vital that there is a united candi-

We are standing in order to build the organisation'
 INTERVIEW WITH JIMMY MCCALLUM, 'SOCIALIST WORKER' CANDIDATE IN THE WALSALL NORTH BY-ELECTION

1977 CALENDAR

This giant three colour poster/calendar celebrates the world-wide struggle of women

Stalin's Alchemist Dies

STALIN'S FAVOURITE scientist, Trofim Denisovitch Lysenko, died last week at the age of 78. Hailed in the '20s and '30s as the originator of theories fundamental to Soviet agriculture, holder of the Order of Lenin, winner of two Stalin prizes, ex-Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and Director of the Institute of Genetics of the USSR Academy of Sciences from 1940-64, he was at the time of his death regarded by almost the entire scientific world as a charlatan and a fraud. His main 'contribution' to science was to retard Soviet genetics for a generation.

To understand how a man who claimed to be able to turn wheat into rye came to dominate Soviet agriculture for thirty years, we have to recall the material conditions of the Soviet Union during the first years of its existence. The devastation of the First World War, followed rapidly by severe droughts in 1920 and 1921, led to a catastrophic famine which killed over one million people.

Severe winters in 1927 and 1928 destroyed over 32 million acres of wheat. To natural hazards was added in 1928 one of human origin — Stalin's forced collectivisation of the peasantry. This campaign met with massive resistance and sabotage. Rather than turn their livestock over to the collective farms, the peasants slaughtered them; crops were ploughed in and re-sowing boycotted. As a result agricultural production fell by 15-20 per cent in 1929/30.

PROBLEM

The crisis of food production was the number one problem facing Soviet scientists. How was it possible to develop new varieties of plants and new breeds of animals to withstand the harsh climactic conditions and simultaneously increase production?

Classical geneticists argued that such changes would take time — time to carry out the breeding experiments necessary to produce the more resistant varieties.

But Lysenko claimed to have discovered a short-cut. He had come to prominence for his studies on vernalisation — a process which enabled winter varieties of cereals (i.e. seed sown in the autumn) to be treated with low temperatures and sown as spring crops, thus avoiding the winter frosts.

DIVIDED

Turning his back on classical genetics, which he accused of being anti-materialist for its concepts of unchanging genetic material, he claimed that it was possible to produce a **directed** change in heredity by manipulating environment. (In the case above, he claimed to have turned winter wheat into spring wheat.)

Naturally Lysenko's claims were received with great enthusiasm, for they promised rapid solutions to the food supply problem. Stalin's philosophers were rapturous in their support for Lysenko's theories, which they claimed confirmed Marxist principles.

As with the 'line' of socialist realism in the arts, Lysenko's opponents were gradually removed from their posts. This reached its high point in 1948 with the banning of all work other than that based on the teachings of Lysenko. To dissent was to admit being influenced by 'alien class interests'. Total mono-



lithism was the order of the day — Stalin's order.

But to maintain itself, Lysenkoism had not only to shut out all news of scientific developments in the west, but also to come up with the goods in the Soviet Union. This it signally failed to do, and after Stalin's death his theories came increasingly under attack. But it was not until Khrushchev's removal that Lysenko himself was removed from his position at the Institute of Genetics. Even so, he retained substantial power in the field of agriculture up to his death.

Any socialist critique of the development of Lysenkoism in the USSR cannot fail to condemn the fake theories of acquired inheritance developed by Lysenko as against the Darwinian view of evolution by natural selection.

PERVERSION

For the bourgeois critics, the 'Lysenko affair' provided the basis for a whole spate of propaganda extolling the virtues of western 'neutral' science as against the perversion of science in the Soviet bloc. But recent revelations concerning the manipulation of experiments on the relation between genetics and intelligence by Black Paperite Cyril Burt, 'the father of educational psychology', show that deception and fraud are not the exclusive property of the Stalinist bureaucracy and their favourites.

The work on the demystification of science is only just beginning to get popular recognition. A book recently published, edited by Hilary and Steven Rose, **The Radicalisation of Science**, which contains a section on Lysenkoism, is a part of that process. We urge all readers to try to read it.

ADRIAN YEELES and JOHN DUVEEN

* **The Radicalisation of Science**, edited by Hilary Rose and Steven Rose (Macmillan, £3.95)

Class struggle waits in the wings

Sue Glanville and Ian Milton are an actress and actor you won't have heard of. They're not TV stars and they've never performed in Drury Lane. They are two of the 23,000 in Equity who barely make a living wage and who are lucky to be in work for six months of the year.

They are also two of the growing number of performers who are turning to 'fringe' theatre to gain some political and artistic satisfaction from the use of their skills. Ian and Sue were taken on by the 7:84 theatre company (7 per cent of the population own 84 per cent of the wealth), which was founded by the successful playwright and screenwriter John McGrath and is now probably the most well-known and most subsidised 'fringe' theatre company.

SOCIALIST

That an overtly socialist theatre company like 7:84 can get a substantial government subsidy (in the region of £40,000 per year) and play to wide-ranging audiences throughout Britain is, of course, to be welcomed. Not to be welcomed, however, is the news that Sue and Ian have been arbitrarily sacked from 7:84 — not by the actual performers and technicians of *Our Land, Our Lives*, the current production, but by the 7:84 'collective', a body of eleven individuals made up of McGrath and others who have

worked for 7:84 in the past.

The spurious grounds for the sackings were spelled out to the present company by McGrath as a conflict of acting 'styles' between Ian and Sue and the 'traditional 7:84 method'. The present company overwhelmingly disagreed but could do little about it. The 'collective' also unilaterally decided to cut short the run of *Our Land, Our Lives*, acknowledged by everyone as a poor play.

7:84's system of a two-tier structure — the governing 'collective' and the 'company' of the workers at any one point in time — is not uncommon among socialist theatre companies. Too often, though, the 'collective' operates in a similar manner to ordinary management in the 'straight' theatre — it makes policy decisions, it maintains the sole right for hiring and firing, and so on.

There are a few notable exceptions. Red Ladder, Monstrous Regiment, Sidewalk, and the Women's Theatre Group are amongst those who operate a single-tier system. The basic principle of the latter is that the *actual members of a company* have the sole right to make policy decisions and carry out the 'expulsion' of individuals should it be necessary.

The systems have their own refinements of probationary periods before 'full membership' is voted on, members can take 'sabbaticals' but still have a say in the company's discussions, and more, but the principle is the same: that if a theatre

company is to provide a useful function on behalf of the class struggle then it is the workers themselves, in daily contact with their audiences, who are best equipped to decide *what* is performed, *who* is going to perform it and *how*.

Such a degree of independence is a precondition for a theatre company even to begin to tackle the much thornier problem — what relationship should it have with the organisations of the working class?

DEMOCRATIC

That is the problem now facing Red Ladder *et al.* A genuine desire to rid itself of 'outside interference' and create a democratic internal structure can lead a theatre company to adopt misconceived notions of 'political independence', of believing that ten or twelve theatre workers alone can evolve a political line on racism or the war in Ireland, and that too close an association with any one political current or organisation will harm its 'integrity' or 'objectivity'.

In truth, until the crisis of leadership of the working class itself goes some part of the way to being resolved, there will be as many different points of view as there are organisations, parties and political traditions in the working class itself.

But too many theatre companies, 7:84 among them, have not even posed the questions, let alone found a solution. While Red Ladder and others make serious attempts to elaborate a *revolutionary* perspective (with suitable internal organisation), actor militants like Sue and Ian can be treated like the workers from Courtauld by supposedly fellow socialists. Clearly the class struggle does not stop at the stage door of the Palladium.

CODE

Unless 'fringe' theatre workers are successful in getting a 'code of conduct' through suitable contracts accepted by all 'fringe' companies, events like those in 7:84 will recur to the detriment of *all* socialist companies, and to the benefit of the Equity bureaucrats and the West End theatre managements who can gloat at the 'lefties' squabbling among themselves.



7:84 perform *Our Land, Our Lives*, the play which led to the sacking of Sue and Ian.

Deutscher Prize 1976

The undersigned members of the Jury of the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize wish to announce that the prize for 1976 to the value of £100 has been awarded to Professor Włodzimierz Brus for his book *Socialist Ownership and Political Systems*, which was published last year by Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Professor Włodzimierz Brus taught at the Warsaw School of Planning and Statistics and at the University of Warsaw until his dismissal for political reasons in March 1968. He had, from 1956-1958, been the Director of the Research Institute of the Polish Planning Commission; and he was from 1957-1961 the Vice Chairman of the Polish Economic Council. He has, since 1973, been attached to St. Antony's College, Oxford.

His other works translated in English include *The Market in a Socialist Economy* and *On the Economics and Politics of Socialism*, also published by Routledge & Kegan Paul. Professor Brus will give the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Lecture on the subject of 'Polish October — Twenty Years After' at the London School of Economics, New Theatre, on 7 December, at 7.45pm.

The Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize for 1977 will be awarded in the autumn of 1977 and a Jury drawn from among the Sponsors will be glad to consider work published or in typescript. Any such works should be submitted by 1 May 1977 to The Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize, c/o Lloyds Bank, 68 Warwick Square, London SW1. — PERRY ANDERSON; E.H. CARR; TAMARA DEUTSCHER; ERIC HOBBSBAWM; MONTY JOHNSTONE; RALPH MILIBAND; JOHN WESTERGAARD.



New from Red Books

Leon Trotsky on China (£4.00) contains all of Trotsky's writings on the subject of China and the Chinese revolutions. This book includes many documents never before published in English, together with Trotsky's assessment of the peasant guerilla armies of Mao Tse-tung. There is also an appendix containing the open letter written by the CCP's founder in 1929, explaining why he is supporting Trotsky against Stalin.

Raids and Reconstructions by HM Enzensberger (£3.30) is a collection of essays on politics, crime and culture by a leading German poet and essayist. The book includes articles explaining the rise of terrorism, dictatorships, the Cuban Communist Party. It also takes up the question of the nature of crime, the nature of official propaganda, and the debate about ecology.

British Syndicalism 1900-1914 by Bob Holt (£2.95) explores the rise of British revolution-

ary syndicalism which culminated in the massive wave of strikes in the period between 1910 and 1914. He traces its social and political origins within late Victorian and Edwardian society and follows its course through the industrial and political chaos of the immediate pre-war period. He succeeds in presenting British syndicalism as a powerful and coherent force in the formation of the English political tradition.

Socialist Register 1976 edited by Miliband & Saville (£2.50) concentrates on the 1956 uprising in Hungary. It contains articles by John Saville, Mervyn Jones, Bill Lomax, Ken Coates and Ralph Miliband on various aspects of the uprising as well as interviews with some of the participants. The issue also contains some excellent original material on the women's liberation movement at the end of the last century, in the form of an article by Hal Draper and Anne Lipow.

Terms: under £2.50 — 25p postage and packing; £2.50-£8.00 — add 10%; over £8 post free.

Workers free Basque Trotskyists

AN IMMEDIATE and massive response by the Basque workers movement has forced the release of 154 members of the Trotskyist LCR-ETA(VI) arrested on 20 November.

This mass arrest, the largest since the arrest of a Workers Commissions assembly in 1968, was seen as a test of strength by the regime. This test has been decisively won by the Basque workers in defence of one of their organisations.

The arrests came as a delegate assembly of the Basque members of the LCR-ETA(VI) (Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International) was meeting at the monastery of Aranzazu in Guipuzcoa. Police surrounded the monastery and forced the 154 to stand for several hours with their hands raised, under the threat of machine pistols.

Some two thirds of those arrested were members of the Workers Commissions, many of them leaders at a local or regional level. Many had already served long prison sentences under the Franco regime, only being released in recent weeks. Among these was Antxon Carrera, convicted at the Burgos trials in 1970.

Also arrested were fraternal delegates from the Communist Movement (MC), Organisation of the Communist Left (OICE) and the Communist League (LC — another sympathising organisation of the Fourth International).

The comrades were eventually separated and sent to the various regional police commissariats. Those who were taken to the Vizcaya Commissariat in Bilbao and the Alava Commissariat in Vitoria were subjected to beatings and torture.

It is clear that this is part of a systematic attempt by the Government to smash the organisations of the far left in order to ensure a smooth passage for its 'reform' plans. It is no coincidence that these arrests came at the same time as the announcement of the referendum on the constitutional measures.



New pamphlet on Iran, published by the Committee against Repression in Iran. Available from CARI, Box 4, 142 Drummond St, London NW1. Single copies 30p (+ 10p postage and packing), 10 or more copies 20p each.

Red Weekly has already reported on a circular from the Interior Minister, Martin Villa, calling for a clampdown on the revolutionary left. An internal police circular spells this out even more clearly. The PTE, the largest of the centrist groups, and the LCR are singled out as the main targets for repression. In recent weeks about 90 PTE militants have been arrested and released. Then came the attack on the LCR.

The police should have known better. Workers in leading engineering and building companies in Navarra went on strike, including the firms of Immenasa, Torfinasa and Nepansa. There were student strikes in many Basque, Catalan and Spanish universities.

On the left bank of the River Nervion in Bilbao a vigilance committee was convened, while the neighbourhood associations of the right bank held a demonstration. In each of the four Basque provinces there were mass assemblies of workers to organise the fight back. In San Sebastian, a mass postering and demonstration was fired on by police.

The most important aspect of this response was its united character. All the organisations of the working class and the nationalist left wing, including the Communist and Socialist parties, put their name to posters and leaflets distributed throughout the four provinces, and co-operated at a national level to organise the solidarity actions.

Confronted with an upsurge of this scale, the authorities were forced to back down. First 119 comrades were released in an attempt to defuse the opposition while the central leadership of the LCR remained in captivity. But the resistance did not let up.

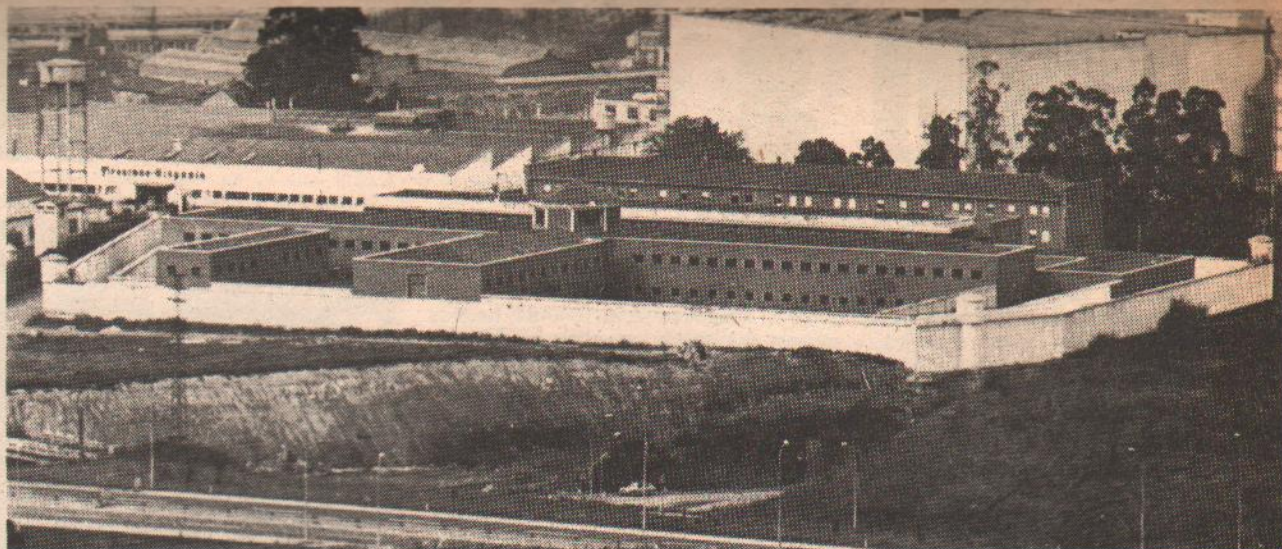
On 24 November the remaining 35 were released with a total fine of 600,000 pesetas (£5,000). Within three hours 700,000 pesetas was collected in the working class areas of San Sebastian alone.

This backdown is a big defeat for the Government. Its immediate plan to wipe out the LCR-ETA(VI) has been frustrated — though we may be certain that it will try again — and the unity of the opposition to the referendum in the Basque country has been created through the committees to defend the Trotskyist comrades. This defeat is an indication both of the strength and maturity of the Basque working class and of the dramatic gains made by the LCR in recent months.

Since the fusion of the LCR and ETA(VI) in 1973 the organisation's membership has multiplied by six. This year, in particular, the organisation has experienced considerable growth and is now a league of several thousand working class militants.

In the Basque country, especially, our comrades play a leading role in the Workers Commissions and the united bodies of the working class. It was this development which led the Spanish Government to single out the Fourth International for attack. It was this also which ensured the failure of the Government's plan.

RICHARD CARVER



Basauri jail near Bilbao — a vicious school for many revolutionary militants



Last week Red Weekly spoke to a comrade from the LCR, a Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International, who had returned from Madrid following his participation in the 'Day of Struggle' on 12 November.

The comrade explained how the reform project approved by the Cortes on 18 November represents the continuation of the overall political plans of the Spanish capitalist class.

'The reform project represents the way in which the Spanish bourgeoisie tries to solve the problem of the continuation of its political, economic and social power without changing the important aspects inherited from the Franco regime. That means without giving an opportunity for the masses, for the workers to give a real answer to the problems facing Spain.'

ENTRY

We discussed how the central economic and political plan was to gain entry into the Common Market, which involved certain 'democratic' measures to head off the struggle of the masses and thus satisfy the governments and capitalists of the Common Market that the workers of Europe would not be 'infected' by the militant virus of the Spanish workers.

On the respective attitudes of the Communist Party (PCE) and Socialist Party (PSOE), the comrade remarked on the increased willingness of the PSOE to negotiate directly with the Government through the 'Platform of Democratic Organisations'. Although the PCE also participates in this body, it has made a demagogic left response to the reform proposals 'in order to win over some of the terrain of the PSOE'.



Catalan poster demands release of Basque comrades.

Fake reforms on trial

The call for the 'Day of Struggle' against the austerity measures has to be seen in the context of this 'left manoeuvre', although the PCE tendency in the Workers Commissions had actually opposed the original call to action. At the same time as wishing to demonstrate that it was able to mobilise workers, the PCE did not want a massive fight against the Government.

Hence the Workers Commissions leaders insisted on the passive character of the strike, and the PCE in many cases failed to mobilise its own members for the strike!

'We believe that if the Day of Struggle had become a real general strike, linking the fight back against the Government's economic measures with solutions to all the problems facing the masses today, then the mobilisation would have been far greater. Since the death of Franco there have been many millions of workers on strike, far more factories on strike, particularly in the north and in the Basque country, than there were in this strike.'

STEP

'Nevertheless, we maintain that this day was an important step forward, demonstrating that the masses are becoming prepared for the general strike to overthrow the dictatorship.'

'The call for the strike by the workers organisations — Workers Commissions, UGT, USO — failed to take up the question of the political rejection of the regime. The other point is that the call for the strike came from above without discussion in Workers Assemblies, without discussion on how to build and organise the strike, how to organise solidarity and so on.'

A central factor in the weakness of the strike on 12 November was the failure of the Madrid bus workers' strike. **'This was the most important strike to be lost in the past few years, a defeat which is extremely demoralising for the mass movement.'**

The comrade was quite clear where the responsibility for this defeat lay: **'It was betrayed by the Workers Commissions, the UGT (PSOE union) and the Democratic Coordination by their failure to build any solidarity action in the factories of Madrid and in the Metro.'**

The point which was stressed again and again was the failure of the reformist parties to understand the central importance of political demands in the 12 November strike. They simply wished to limit the day to a protest action.

SCALE

A recent editorial of the LCR paper Combate explains how it is only demands such as that for a sliding scale of wages based on a workers cost of living index and for work-sharing with no loss of pay which could protect the working class against the attacks on their living standards. These have to be tied to political demands which break with the framework of the dictatorship: a total amnesty for political prisoners, legalisation of all working class organisations, immediate elections to a Constituent Assembly and the formation of a Republic, and the dissolution of all the repressive apparatus of the dictatorship.

FOUGHT

Finally we discussed how such a programme could be fought for in the referendum on the constitutional reforms called for 15 December. **'The position of the PCE and the PSOE towards the referendum is not clear — are they calling for an abstention, which would be acceptable to the Government, or for a boycott?'**

'We call on the PCE and the PSOE to form a working class front in the whole of the Spanish state to organise an active boycott of the referendum. The LCR is organising a mobilisation against the referendum, against the Government's reform plans and for the unity of the working class and for working class solutions.'



A picket of the Ceylon High Commission in London supports the general strike in the

LEBANESE TROTSKYIST ON SPEAKING TOUR

MAJIDA SALMAN, a leading member of the RCG [Revolutionary Communist Group, Lebanese section of the Fourth International], is currently on a speaking tour of Britain. She was forced to leave the Lebanon because of her political activity, after losing an eye in the fighting. Majida Salman is co-author of a book on the Lebanese crisis recently published in France.

The RCG has played an important role in the struggle against the Phalangist and Syrian forces. In the military struggle this has meant active participation in the defence of the popular neighbourhoods, while refusing to support the reactionary bourgeois factions in the anti-Phalangeist camp. It has advanced the slogans

In the neighbourhoods the RCG attempted to organise the provision of food and supplies through the control of workers and peasants assemblies, sometimes with success. In one neighbourhood it operated a hospital. One of the comrades working there was murdered by the reactionary militias during the Quarantina massacre earlier this year.

Majida Salman will be speaking at the following meetings in the coming week:

Friday 3 Dec. — Manchester, lunchtime and evening.
Monday 6 Dec. — Brunel University, evening.
Tuesday 7 Dec. — Sussex University, lunchtime; LSE [Old Theatre] evening.

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

Last January the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions launched the 'Better Life For All Campaign', with the following demands:

- * the right to live free from violence, sectarianism, intimidation and discrimination;
- * the right to security of employment and well paid work;
- * the right to associate freely and to advocate political change by peaceful means;
- * the right to good housing conditions;
- * the right of equality of educational opportunity;
- * the right to adequate social services to protect the well-being and living standards of the aged, the sick, the unemployed and the socially deprived.

Since the partition of Ireland in 1921, Irish labour has had a sorry record in challenging the sectarianism of the Six County statelet. Never daring to be seen as taking sides on the national question, the trade union leadership has generally found it impossible to steer any sort of credible path between the Loyalist bloc on the one hand and the national aspirations of the northern minority on the other.

They gave verbal support to the Civil Rights movement in 1968, they opposed internment on paper, and they still call for an end to repression in the Six Counties. But never have they encouraged the slightest form of industrial militancy around the basic questions of democratic rights. The excuse they give is that it would split the workforce — a massive indictment of their failure to recognise the real sectarianism of the Six County statelet.

So instead they deny that a national question really exists; and in so doing they alienate a large section of the workforce who are engaged in struggle on that very question. In practice it is a capitulation to the prejudices and sectarianism of the Protestant working class.

The 'Better Life' campaign is no exception. Its programme is based on maintaining the British link and sustaining the illusion that it is quite possible to win more jobs and democratic rights within the framework of British rule. That is one reason why the trade union bureaucracy fully support the 'Peace People'.

It thus came as no surprise when only 500 workers turned up to what was planned as a massive 'Better Life For All' rally in Belfast on 20 November. Throughout the preceding week, a delegation from the European Trade Union Confederation had been touring the Six Counties trying to build support for the rally. 'I will do all I can to help the North by telling people that life is going on normally here', was the banal contribution of Mathias Hinterchild, General Secretary of the ETUC; while another leader, Peter Goldrick, promised that 'when we meet

businessmen in the EEC we will tell them about the great potential in the North'.

Such statements provide one explanation for the mass boycott of the rally. For whatever the bureaucrats might believe, the workers of the Six Counties are clear in their own minds about the implications and real meaning of mass unemployment, low wages and atrocious housing conditions.

For anti-Unionists who have suffered structural unemployment and poverty since partition and before, the crisis reinforces their determination to break the British link. For Protestant workers, after seven years of seeing their Unionist politicians and British ministers incapable of stabilising 'their' state, the crisis adds to their fears of British withdrawal and sell-out. For all workers, from whichever angle they look at it, the British link is the key. But the bureaucrats refuse to acknowledge this, which is why the 'Better Life' demands are at the best pie in the sky and at the worst irrelevant.

Instead, socialists must put forward their own demands which link up both the national question and the economic and social crisis. These should include:

- * Troops out now — disband the UDR and RUC, self-defence against state and Loyalist intimidation;
- * Open the books for all factories declaring redundancies; for an industrial plan for the structurally deprived regions of the Six Counties;
- * End all repressive legislation;
- * For a programme of public works, organised on the basis of the needs of each area and implemented and controlled by those who live in the area;
- * For an economic plan, drawn up by the trade union movement, to meet the crisis in the 32 Counties as a whole.

MIKE PINTER



WITH GOD ON THEIR SIDE

not the root cause of the violence, the British Government is not the root cause of the violence.' The British press smile.

Annette Malony and Joan Hughes would not smile. Joan's husband was killed in the north of Ireland six years ago. He was assassinated by a Loyalist gang. He was burned to death, bound by chicken wire to a bed, with his testicles cut off and stuck in his mouth. Then they lit the mattress and he died.

TERRORISTS

Annette Malony was born and bred in London. Six months ago, after a holiday in Ireland, she was arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, held for three days and subjected to inhuman treatment. She was continuously threatened by the Liverpool police — 'the only terrorists I have ever met'.

Their barrister pleads for them in court. He tells the judge, 'they feel they have been very severely wronged, they feel frustrated'. Tobias Springer, who looked shocked when he saw the offending poster, chips in: 'I am not concerned with the rights or wrongs of the poster or how they came to have their views.'

The barrister replies, 'they do feel they want it explained'. Tobias answers, 'Well, they mustn't do it this way'.

All the press want to listen to what Ms Corrigan has to say, because the north of Ireland is by no means the limit of her horizon — 'we're going to lead the world to peace through non-violent activity'.

The women at Highbury Court have lesser aims. All they want, as Joan Hughes says, is 'to get the Brits out of Ireland'.

Last weekend the leaders of the 'Peace People' stayed in the Strand Palace Hotel. Joan Baez flew in from Santa Cruz, California. Annette Malony is an unsupported mother living on social security. Joan Hughes is a mother of six kids, and she also lives on social security.

CONFUSED

Joan Baez does not seem to know a lot about Ireland. In reply to a reporter's question about the role of the troops she says: 'I am not in a position to make comments about the North of Ireland.' In reply to a question about why she supports a movement backing the presence of the British Army, she says, 'all I want is non-violence'. She appears just a little confused, but she smiles.

Tobias Springer does not smile. He tells the court that he thinks he is getting the 'flu. Annette Malony's mother is ushered out of court for a moment by the

police, and is quizzed about the presence of a reporter — 'we don't want this thing blown up you know'.

At the press conference a reporter asks Betty Williams what her policies are for achieving peace. She replies: 'We must get on with peace and stop this politicking.' She clinches the argument by telling the bemused reporter: 'Why don't you go back to the north of Ireland'.

At Highbury the court case draws to a close. The magistrate gives Annette and Joan a conditional discharge. The police ask him: 'What about the posters, sir?' Tobias Springer says: 'They will be destroyed.'

At St. Bride's church the press conference ends, and 'peace posters' are handed out to the press. The public relations managing director says: 'See you all tell people to come to the demonstration, do boys?'

APPEAL FOR WITNESSES

A number of arrests took place at last Saturday's picket on the 'Peace People' at Speakers Corner and Trafalgar Square. Would anyone who saw any of these arrests please contact immediately: M. Tait, 29 Old Bond Street, London W1.

THERE WE WERE in St Bride's church, off Fleet Street, sitting in a room decorated with the portraits of bishops past, sitting beside the world press — Lord Longford, the leaders of the 'Peace People', and star of the show Joan Baez. In charge of the press conference was the managing director of a public relations firm (giving his services free). Peace in Northern Ireland was the message. But before we come to that...

At Highbury Magistrates Court that morning, two women — one 17 years old, one 37 — were appearing before magistrate Tobias Springer. They were charged with bill posting, having been picked up for putting up a poster saying 'Ireland Unfree Will Never Be At Peace — Boycott the Peace People'. Their names were Annette Malony and Joan Hughes. Joan Baez has never met them.

Annette and Joan don't like the 'Peace People'. Indeed they are hardly the sort of women the 'Peace People' would like (although the 'Peace People' supposedly like everyone, love everyone, they said so at the press conference). For they appear to be angry women.

They don't like the 'Peace People', they don't like the British Army, they are not very fond of the Loyalists, they don't like the police. They even appear unfavourably inclined towards Tobias Springer himself.

But perhaps there is hope, because back at the press conference 'peace leader' Mairead Corrigan is smiling and talking of the people of the North of Ireland. She says modestly: 'We are not telling people what to do, we're just showing them the right way.'

Tobias Springer also seems concerned with the right way. Before Malony and Hughes appear, he is considering the case of a self-confessed thief (already under suspended sentence) picked up with 'breaking and entering' implements on him. He pleads guilty.

JAIL

Waiting for sentence there appears to be little chance that he will escape jail. But Tobias Springer listens, because the man concerned has been in the British Army for five years, a member of a paratroop regiment, he has served his country in Aden — he is still a member of the Territorial Army. Tobias Springer listens sympathetically. 'You have served your country well', he says. The sentence on the accused is postponed for six months, for he has served his country well.

Back at the press conference, 'peace leader' Ciaran McKeown also speaks of the British Army: 'The British Army is



The 'Peace at any Price' demonstration held last Saturday in London was a huge flop. Despite the most massive build-up in the press, radio and television — Thames TV even paid the 'peace' leaders' fares, while Woman magazine footed the bill for their accommodation — the boast of the 'Peace People' that they would rally 100,000 proved as fragile as their movement has become in the north of Ireland. There were only 5,000 present when they left Speakers Corner; a contingent made up of religious cranks, middle class Tories, and a

On route the march managed to attract confused tourists, priests and Communist Party members. The rally — 10,000 at the most — was dominated by hymns, prayers and pitiful homilies from high establishment figures. But a lot of what they had to say never reached the audience. A determined and highly successful picket organised by the Peace Through Freedom Committee disrupted the orgy of sanctimonious 'God on our side' sentimentality. One message did get across time and time again — that proclaimed in the banner which

CP rule not OK

Once again the Communist Party, this time in Cardiff Trades Council, has managed to thwart workers democracy.

The Trades Council has never discussed the Irish situation and has no policy on either the Troops Out Movement or the 'Peace People'. Yet two Executive Committee members — one a member of the CP — decided to attend the recent 'Peace People' demonstration held in Cardiff. They also decided to take the Trades Council banner with them.

When they arrived they met other

retary, Charlie Swain, another CP member. On his proposal the EC of the Trades Council decided to 'congratulate the two members on their initiative and to offer support to the Peace Movement in any future march in Cardiff'.

At the next full meeting of the Trades Council, a proposal to reject the EC recommendation from the EC minutes (provided 'for information only') was defeated. Despite the fact that no policy had been agreed, the letter to the Peace

DEMO CALLED FOR AGEE/HOSENBALL

RED WEEKLY

The Philip Agee/Mark Hosenball Defence Committee has called a national picket and march for Saturday 11 December. This will follow a Day of Action on 8 December for which there have already been calls for strike action by a number of branches of the National Union of Journalists.

Philip Agee told Red Weekly earlier this week that he had 'been very moved by the scope of response from the trade unions, the Labour Party and other political parties'. Agee also spoke of what he sees as the reasons for his deportation order:

'It's a continuation of something the CIA has been running for some 2½ years — a campaign to try and attack my credibility by establishing a KGB connection. That's one thing; the other is the deterrence of other CIA people, of former employees, from doing the same thing.

'The more specific factors are the political pressures over the IMF loan, the presence of a brand new CIA chief, the presence of a new Home Secretary in Britain — having come from Northern Ireland he is obviously dependent on the security forces — and retaliation for my trip to Jamaica, where I analysed the CIA and uncovered nine people working there.'

CHARGES

The charges Agee faces are un-specific, that he is a 'threat to British

security'. The deportation order is being made under the Immigration Act, under which a decision on deportation rests entirely at the discretion of the Home Secretary and a three-person panel appointed by him. Agee comments on this supposed 'threat' to British security:

'I have never worked in joint operations with the British security services. I never knew the structure of the services or the bureaucracy involved, never knew the people, never knew the operations. So there is nothing I could have told them anyway, be they Cubans, or Soviets, or British citizens for that matter.'

PROUD

Of course Agee remains proud that he has damaged CIA operations, and argues that the present situation in Europe could be another reason why the CIA want him out of the way:

'What I think they are thinking of in the next two years is Europe, which is going to be very critical with elections coming up in France and the situation in Italy and the Spanish trade union movement heavily influenced by left-wing groups. So I think they've got a scene coming which is going to be reminiscent of the early post-war years — and they really did intervene in a drastic way in Germany, Italy and France in those years.'

That, perhaps, is one reason why Agee particularly wants to stay in

Britain. He intends to fight for that right both through any legal procedures he can and through the type of open campaign already being waged by the Defence Committee.

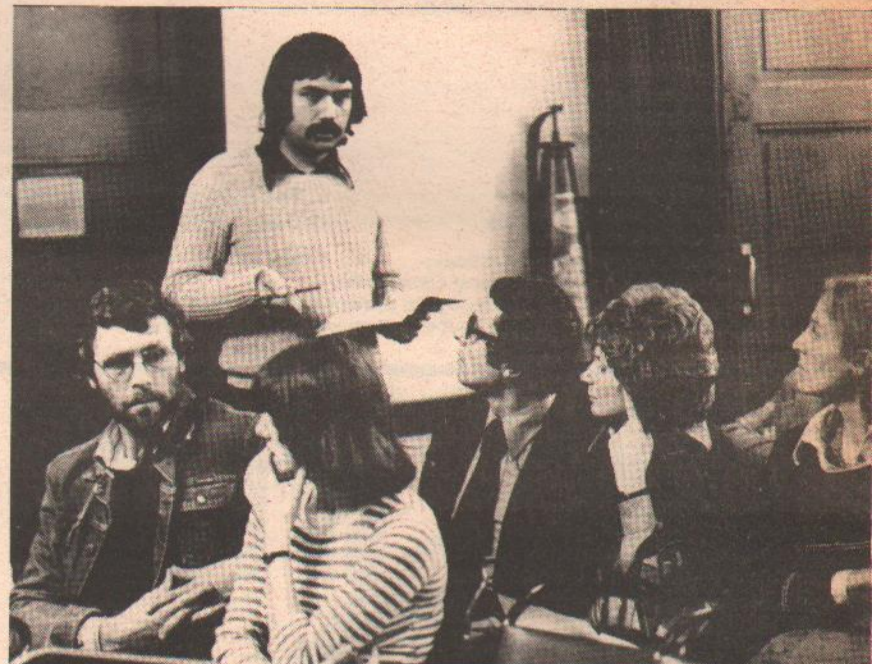
As far as legal procedures go, he and Hosenball are in an almost impossible situation. No specific charges have been made against them, no evidence will be presented to them, there will be no witnesses to cross-examine, and after the tribunal there is no facility for appeal or judicial review.

Agee himself has delivered 'a long series of questions' to Mervyn Rees, 'such as what are the contacts with foreign cultural attachés we are supposed to have had, when they were held, what time, with whom, how will they damage national security.'

But it is the campaign which takes place outside the closed doors of the Home Office which offers the best means of stopping the deportations.

As the Agee/Hosenball Defence Committee put it earlier this week, 'agree resolutions in unions and trade councils to send to the Home Secretary, your MP and your union's executive. It is most important to show that the trade union movement is behind two of its members, irrespective of race, creed or nationality.'

And remember the Day of Action on 8 December, and the picket and march on 11 December, which starts at 12 noon outside the Home Office in Whitehall.



Windar Singh of the Kent Workers against Racism denounces racist media coverage.

New initiative against media racism

'ALIENS pouring into Britain' screamed a headline in the *Daily Mail*. The *Daily Mirror* adopted a slightly subtler approach: 'Smuggling of exiles alarms Britain'. The year? 1938. The 'aliens' in question? Jews fleeing from the Nazis.

This historic perspective on the role played by the press in inciting race hatred was provided by George Jerrom at a public meeting organised by the Campaign Against Racism in the Media (CARM) in London on 17 November.

Jerrom, an executive member elect of the NGA print union and a member of the Communist Party, said that journalists should go to printers to call for industrial action against racism in the media. 'But many printers have an in-built acceptance of the ideological position that Britain has a free press and our unions have taken disciplinary action against printers who pressed the button on anti-working class stories.'

ANSWER

Paul Foot, of *Socialist Worker*, saw the answer in challenging the ownership of the mass media, and building rank-and-file strength within the unions in order to stand up to the bosses.

'Because we have a proprietorial press', Foot argued, 'the media reflects the class interests of those owners. Media workers with independent views are put down, and in general it is the toadies who are promoted.'

Just how viciously the press aids the oppression of black people and feeds the present upsurge in racism was described by Soonu Engineer of *Samaj* newspaper. 'When the black community in Gravesend decided to defend itself against attacks by fascists', she told the meeting, 'there was a massive diatribe from the local press, which had never even reported the fascists' attacks.'

Geoffrey Sheridan, the secretary of CARM, explained the aims of the campaign, which was formed in July in recognition of the fact that anti-racist media workers could not alone combat racism in the media.

'While it is vital that we are backed up

by other workers, we must also recognise that we are fighting an ideological battle among the majority of our union members', Sheridan said. 'This means that the labour movement and the black community should seek discussions with media workers at a local level, and be prepared to take action, such as pickets, when the media is racist and the workers in it unresponsive to discussion.'

This is one of the aims of the Open Letter CARM is launching in the labour movement. The other objective is to ensure that the media unions and Labour MPs prevent the fascists from using the next General Election as a platform for racist incitement.

This position is supported by Frank Allaun MP, a member of the Labour Party's national executive, who told the meeting that journalists have a responsibility 'not to spread race hatred, but to discourage it... It is shocking that commercial and BBC radio and TV have allowed the racists to spread their poison'. Even if the National Front or the National Party put up 630 candidates they should not be given a minute's time on the air.

'Freedom for all political views', Allaun stressed. 'But no freedom for racists.'

All Red Weekly readers are urged to seek endorsement for the Open Letter in their unions and other organisations. The final deadline is 31 January 1977, but earlier returns would be appreciated. Further copies from: CARM, 13 Cleve Road, London NW6 [tel. 01-328 2184].

CARM'S OPEN LETTER

'If we the undersigned resolve to give full support to those media workers prepared to take a stand against racist propaganda. We urge National Union of Journalists branches and chapels and other media unions to hold meetings with labour movement and black representatives to discuss race coverage. We urge black and labour movement organisations, particularly trades councils, to initiate such meetings where an approach has not otherwise been made.'

'These meetings should insist that the media should not be used for the expression of overt racist views and policies, except in the context of exposing the nature of racism and facism. Where the coverage is racist and the media workers unresponsive to discussion, actions such as pickets and demonstrations should be undertaken.'

'We also recognise the extreme danger posed in any future General Election, where the main fascist parties threaten to stand sufficient candidates to 'entitle' them to newspaper reports and party political broadcasts. Such a powerful means of incitement would place black people in extreme jeopardy.'

'We call on the labour movement, including Labour MPs, but particularly the Association of Broadcasters Staffs, the National Union of Journalists and the Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians, to take all necessary action to prevent the National Front and



Not Enough!

The cost of newsprint is to rise by 19 per cent. This is a big blow to the whole left press. The *Morning Star* has already announced that it will be increasing its price to 10p. We intend to keep our price stable for as long as possible. Falling living standards make people hesitate before lashing out more than 10p for a paper. But we can only do this if we receive more in donations and bankers orders.

Our thanks to those who gave this week, especially Hull IMG, £10; P. Seligman, £3; and other donations adding up to £23.05. This is not enough. If little is being done to raise money in your area, get on to the local IMG branch immediately! And send all donations collected to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

SHORT STORY COMPETITION

Entries are beginning to come in for our Xmas short story competition. The deadline is 11 December, and the suggested length 2,000 words. Prizes will include Red Books gift vouchers and free subscriptions to Red Weekly and International. Send to: Red Weekly [Short Story], 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Defence appeal for Cambridge anti-fascists

THE CAMBRIDGE by-election has provided another platform for the National Front to peddle their racist filth. But when they held a public meeting on 20 November they got more than they bargained for. Their arrival at the Guildhall was greeted by a 100-strong picket of local anti-fascists, including members of the Communist Party, International Socialists and International Marxist Group.

Throughout the two hour NF meeting the demonstrators kept up loud and disciplined chanting of anti-racist slogans, taking up demands such as the need for black self-defence and 'No Platform for Fascists'. When the fascists themselves emerged from their meeting they were followed down the road by the demonstrators. At this point the police intervened to arrest three Red Weekly supporters, who were later charged under the Public Order Act.

These arrests bring to five the number of anti-fascists victimised during the by-election campaign. All five are pleading not guilty and have appealed for support

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