

RED WEEKLY

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Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)



Prime Minister Callaghan presides over National Economic Development Council meeting with CBI President Watkinson last week. The meeting was to finish off the plan decided at Chequers last year to boost profits at the expense of social services.

CUTTING OUR LIVES TO PIECES

BEANS ON TOAST PLUS THE ODD APPLE. That's what Somerset County Council want to feed school kids in order to reduce their spending in line with Government instructions. One lesson in our schools today is that cuts = malnutrition.

Local trade unionists in the public sector are also doing arithmetic. If the £2m cuts demanded of every council are implemented, this will mean sackings. No council dares pretend — as they did six months ago — that there are no cuts. In nearly every locality there are now joint committees of trade unionists pledged to fight on this issue.

The trade union leaders are beginning to see the writing on the wall, but they refuse to call any national action against the cuts. Geoffrey Drain, General Secretary of the National and Local Government Officers Association, has reassured the Government that while local actions will take place, they should be seen 'not as part of a general strategy'. But Drain is being challenged by his membership, who are sick of this continual yielding to the demands of the Labour Government. Bedford local government workers have demanded a special national meeting of the NALGO local government group to discuss action against the cuts.

Rammed down

Alan Fisher of the National Union of Public Employees, also refuses to get involved in nationally coordinated action. That, after all, would bring into question the Labour Government's incomes policy — which Fisher and his fellow bureaucrats have just rammed down the throats of the membership. The Labour Government whips in Parliament are also busy

on the calculating machines. Callaghan feels confident that he can drag the lefts into the lobby to vote for the £1,000m cuts and thus approve the pound of flesh demanded by the international bankers on their 'no strings' loan to boost the pound after forcing it down.

Lions den?

The press called Healey's talk to the Tribune Group 'stepping into the lion's den.' It was more like throwing a bucket of water over many tabby cats. He put them on the spot vote for the cuts or the Government goes down the drain. Their only response was to wail as Brian Sedgemore did at the Institute of Workers Control conference — 'What shall we do?'

The answer should come back loud and clear. Vote against. Fight to mobilise the labour movement outside Parliament to block the present cuts. This Government is bringing about its own downfall by pursuing policies which are slashing living standards and dismantling the gains made over decades in the social services.

The continuation of these policies will let in the most right-wing Tory Government since the war. It will continue to feed the racist poison inside the working class. But there is an alternative — the fight to remove the right-wing leadership. The fight for socialist policies. The fight to develop a leadership in the working class independent of the bureaucracy. A class struggle left wing in the labour movement.

The first step in such a path must be: **NO COMPROMISE AGAINST THE CUTS!**



By their friends ye shall know them

Occasionally something happens which sums up the barbarity, the hypocrisy and the sickness of capitalism. Such an event was the response to the execution of the Angolan mercenaries. It seemed that all society's parasites were crawling over each other to plead for the lives of the scum who rushed to Angola, selling death to American, British and South African imperialism.

From the leader writers of the 'respectable' press to the Queen of England herself (cabling from her royal yacht) the plea for 'leniency' was the same. But even these pillars of refined behaviour were out-paced by James Callaghan and Reginald Maudling.

Ireland

James Callaghan, if you remember, was the Home Secretary who sent troops into the North of Ireland in 1969, since when over 1,500 people have died; he was the man who was one of the strongest supporters of America's war against the people of Vietnam; the man who even according to a parliamentary committee was responsible for much of the recent suffering in Cyprus.

Reginald Maudling's chief claim to fame is that he was the Home Secretary who supervised the massacre of fourteen demonstrators on Derry's Bloody Sunday in 1972; and who attempted to whitewash the paratroopers who fired the guns — the same regiment where the notorious Callan learnt his trade. Maudling stuck by Callan and his fellow murderers then, and he stuck by them in Angola last week.

So beware of judging the response of Maudling, Callaghan and the rest as one of 'double standards'. There is no double standard. The guardians of British imperialism will always protect and plea for clemency for the agents of imperialism; just as they will suppress and if need be kill the enemies of imperialism.

Same side

They plead for the Callans because they know that they and the Callans are on the same side; and they know that what happens to their minions on the battlefield can one day happen to the generals and politicians who send and support them.

For our part — *Red Weekly* strongly congratulates the Angolan Government for carrying out the executions. It is just punishment for those who kill for money and kill in the name of white supremacy. The executions serve as a warning against those who feel inclined to go on any similar 'campaigns' in the future.

As with Ireland, as with Vietnam, as with Palestine, the distinction to be made about violence in Angola is the distinction between the violence of the oppressed and the violence of the oppressor. The executions in Angola were the rightful violence of the oppressed black people of Africa, directed against the servants of a world imperialism which has shed more blood in its time than its opponents will ever shed.

BLACK SELF DEFENCE PAGES 4 & 5



Unacceptable?

You must be joking

That businessmen lie, fix, fiddle and grow fat on deceit and duplicity is nothing new — it's what got capitalism where it is today. The only surprising feature of the *Inspectors' Report on Lonrho Ltd* is that it was ever published.

But the ruling class in decline cannot even keep its own internal affairs secret. As the rats come up on the deck of the sinking ship, even Tory prime ministers have to talk of the unacceptable face of capitalism in a vain attempt to preserve the self-same system.

Not, of course, that the inspectors actually allege 'fraud' or 'bribery' — just 'concealment' and 'special payments'. Lonrho made £836,499 worth of such payments between 1961 and 1973.

And so what if directors like the incompetent Angus Ogilvy used business deals to enrich themselves; if Lonrho paid Duncan Sandys — a Lord now, if you please — £130,000 in the Cayman Islands to take a job; if shareholders were deceived, accounts altered, and 'Tiny' Rowland slapped in an expense account for £306,000 for a house. That's capitalism — it's just that the ruling class was better at covering it up in the past.

No wonder the press agonised about the plight of poor Angus resigning 'for the sake of the Queen' (*Daily Mirror*), or tried to dismiss the whole thing — 'So what!', said the *Guardian*. It was left to the *Telegraph* with its 'Ammunition for the Labour left' to spell out the real fears of the ruling class.



Some are more acceptable than others: Sandys (left) and Du Cann (right) remain as directors, but Ogilvy (centre) felt compelled to resign.

They shouldn't worry too much. If the 660 pages of officialese weren't enough, the price of £13.20 should see that this report doesn't go round too many shop stewards committees.

But then Lonrho chief 'Tiny' Rowland blew the gaff on the lot. So what if Lonrho had sailed a bit close to the wind in Rhodesia — everyone else was sanction busting

Rhodesian economy by forcing closure of all British-controlled banks and other companies, as they felt it would damage the image of British banking. As a result, British banking continues to be the commercial backbone of Rhodesia and British companies are the dependent ribs.

Amongst the spare ribs named are the state-run BP and Leyland, Rio Tinto Zinc, Tate and Lyle, Portland Cement and Cadbury Schweppes.

B.O.S.S.

And that's not all. In conducting their investigations into Lonrho one of the two Government inspectors, Alan Heyman, travelled to South Africa to see Brigadier Buys and General Kruger of the hated South African political police, BOSS. 'I know that he said that Scotland Yard and BOSS had a close working relationship and M16 had allowed him to see files so confidential that two M16 men waited in the room while he read them.'

So while Labour ministers like Michael Foot make appeals for us to stand by our comrades in South Africa in the wake of the Soweto massacre, the Labour Government condones and encourages the joint work of the political police of both countries.

If final comment was needed on how seriously the Labour Government takes the row around Lonrho, it came a couple of days after the publication of the report. The Department of Industry announced that it was advancing a loan of £4.9 million free of interest till the end of 1977 to help Lonrho buy Brentford Nylons. Said Tory MP and Lonrho director Edward du Cann: 'We did not go to the Government, they came to us through the Receiver.'

Unacceptable? You must be joking.

James Drake

TEACHERS FACE OWN RULE 14

Teachers' leaders, not content with introducing the new Star Chamber disciplinary procedures into the National Union of Teachers in April, are now attempting to gag any opposition within the union by introducing their own version of the TUC's Rule 14.

A letter from General Secretary Fred Jarvis dated 23 June 1976 declares: 'The Executive has ... decided to recommend that where Local Association Officers consider it necessary, after consulting Hamilton House, that a motion submitted for the consideration of an Association meeting is out of order they shall not include it in the agenda of that meeting.'

This recommendation has already led the officers of one Birmingham association to rule out of order any discussion on the union's class size policy of 1969.

If the NUT leadership instructed its members to refuse to teach classes over 30, then jobs could be found for 58,000 teachers—nearly twice the anticipated number of unemployed.

But the right-wing Labourites of the NUT leadership are only authorising action against 'backward' councils, mainly dominated by the Tories. However, the so-called 'progressive' Labour-controlled authorities are also responsible for teacher unemployment. The Labour-controlled Inner London Education Authority, for example, is reducing its primary school teaching force by 538 this summer. At the same time there are over 600 primary classes with more than 35 children in them, and another 200 over 30 — all in the ILEA.

But Jarvis is more concerned with attacking teacher militants than those responsible for the cuts. He will not go unchallenged, however. Many teacher militants, including supporters of the Socialist Teachers Conference, are calling for an open conference in the autumn to thrash out a plan of action which can lay the basis for a real campaign to defend and extend the education system in the interests of the working class.

Jim Donoghue

NAC FUND APPEAL

As the time draws nearer for the undoubtedly restrictive report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on abortion, the National Abortion Campaign has begun to campaign seriously for evidence to be presented in December at a 'Tribunal on Women's Abortion Rights'. In light of this crucial fight ahead, it is particularly worrying that the campaign has also had to put out a desperate appeal for funds.

Unlike the anti-abortion groups, NAC is not backed by the resources of such institutions as the Roman Catholic Church.

Despite a vigorous fund-raising campaign, the money coming into the NAC offices is insufficient to maintain even the much-needed full-time workers, let alone to get out the publicity and educational material that has been prepared. On its present income, NAC can only afford to keep its offices open for another four weeks!

Red Weekly calls on all its readers to take this appeal for funds seriously, and to get militants they know to commit themselves to regular donations to NAC. We also suggest that trade unions and Labour Parties and other organisations who have been past supporters of the campaign pledge themselves to foot the bill for specific mobilising material of the Tribunal, such as the posters, the badges, or the brochures. All pledges and donations should be sent to: NAC, 30 Camden Road, London N.1. (01-485 4303).

series, contraception, and abortion facilities, as a step towards demanding that society takes responsibility for 'women's work'.

To campaign for these demands, students in the South West London area are holding a public meeting on 'A Woman's Right to Work' on Wednesday 21 July, 7.00 p.m. at Sellingcourt School, Sellingcourt Rd., SW 17. We are asking trade union branches, right to work committees, cuts committees, as well as women workers and housewives to come to this meeting and support us in setting up an ad hoc committee to win sponsorship for the pamphlet and its demands.

An important beginning will be approaching the Working Women's Charter to mobilise a Woman's Right to Work contingent on the Right to Work march in September. We will be contacting women in struggle for equal pay and against unemployment — such as the women at Trico — to join us in raising this demand everywhere there are fights against cuts and unemployment. NO TO ALL CUTS! FOR A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO WORK!

Celia Holt



This poster to advertise the Rolling Stones' album 'Black and Blue' was intended as a major part of the promotion campaign in the US. It features a scantily clad woman, bound and bruised, with the caption: 'I'm black and blue from the Rolling Stones—and I love it.'

But this sexist publicity met with an immediate response from women's groups, who defaced the first billboard as soon as it went up on Los Angeles's Sunset Strip. Now Atlantic Records is reportedly having second thoughts about the whole advertising campaign.

of the public sector, the importance of this employment for maintaining living standards, and how the cuts also hit women's right to work by attacking those few facilities which enable women to get out of the home and go to work — nurseries, contraception and abortion facilities, social services. These relative gains for women are the first to go in the capitalist crisis, and this exposes the hollowness of the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts.

The reasons why it is easier to get away with attacks on women than attacks on male workers is that women have never been accepted by the Government or by the labour movement as a legitimate part of the workforce. State services since the war have not fundamentally changed the position of women as unpaid, private domestic workers in the family. Because of this, women's work outside it reflects their position in it — women are nurses, cleaners, secretaries, and so on.

Divisive

If the working class is to make a successful fight against the cuts and for the right to work, the divisive 'women back to the home' policy of the Government must be challenged, and the right of women to work defended as a central part of everyone's right to work. But to defend this right means to challenge women's position in the family, to begin fighting for more nur-

For women's right to work!

The occupations of colleges against teacher unemployment have brought hundreds of students into struggle for the first time. Many of these students are women, who in most cases have led the campaign and are the most determined in continuing the struggle.

Education, like other parts of the public sector, employs a large majority of women, and they are the main section of workers affected by the current attacks on social services and the right to work. Yet so far the campaigns against the cuts and for the right to work have not consistently raised demands for women's right to work.

The extent of the present rate of unemployment is hidden by the fact that many women do not register — many were part-time anyway, many are not entitled to benefits, and others simply go back to being housewives. To some extent social service cuts,

and the drop in the standard of living in general, are also masked by their absorption into the intensification of women's work in the home.

The unemployment of women, and cuts in services which affect mainly women, are not as strongly challenged by the labour movement as other attacks. The assumption is that women do not really need to work, that men are the breadwinners, and that single women do not exist.

Garnett College of Education students have produced the pamphlet *For a Women's Right to Work — Fight the Cuts* to challenge these assumptions and to argue that the whole labour movement, in its own interests, must make women's demands a priority.

We show the extent of women's employment in the hardest-hit areas

SECRETS... SECRETS... SECRETS!

OPEN
THE
BOOKS!

IN HULL...

HIDDEN PLANS to cut back on health services have been blown by the Humberside Health Service Action Committee.

Glen Spray, a member of the Committee, explained in a series of interviews with BBC Radio Humberside and the peak-time Yorkshire TV programme 'Calendar' that behind the backs of the people the Area Health Authority were preparing secret plans to carve up the Humberside health service facilities.

She went on: 'Over the next 15 years the Area Health Authority plans to shut down 20 units and concentrate all major patient services in Hull. This would mean that Driffield, which has three hospitals with 290 beds, would finish up with only 37 beds.

The plans also include the closing of maternity hospitals, the run-down of large mental hospitals, and a move towards community care — a euphemism for putting the burden on the family. Most maternity units in Humberside will be closed and simply concentrated at the Hull Royal. This means that the unit at Hull's Hedon Road Hospital will go, as will the units at Withinsea, Woodgates Maternity Hospital and Hull Hospital for Women.

The savagery of these cuts is shown by the way that maternity services are being chopped and family-planning clinics are also being reduced.

The so-called community service suggestion is a sheer exercise in cynicism. It will deprive elderly people of admittance to hospital. Day-hospitals will be set up so that people will have to visit the hospital and then can be shunted back home to save the expense of looking after them properly.'

The action of Humberside's Health Service Action Committee in 'opening the books' has unleashed a storm of protest. In Goole, which stands to lose four hospitals, Councillor Charles Colmer remarked: 'These are terrible plans. Far from losing services, we need a new hospi-

tal including a maternity unit

Councillor Colmer explained that diverting patients from Goole to Scunthorpe — because that is what the plan means — would prevent people without cars from even visiting patients because public transport between Goole and Scunthorpe is 'very poor'.

Other councillors spoke of the need to fight these plans in the 'parish and district councils'. But the Humberside Health Service Action Committee recognises that such a fight is not sufficient to stop the cuts. The Committee, which supports the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS (NCC), says that organised working class action is the way forward, and the fight cannot be left to discussions with the bureaucrats of the Area Health Author-

ity who are implementing the policies of the Labour Government.

As a first step towards building a real opposition in the Humberside area a public meeting is being called by the Committee. The National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) locally have agreed to provide a speaker, and there will also be a speaker from the NCC as well as other representatives of the labour movement.

Glen Spray points out the importance of the workers movement fighting for the opening of the books. 'If this is not done, such plans as these are prepared behind the backs of the working class. Only when workers have access to all the information and have enforced their right to veto any such plans is it possible to defend the NHS.'

...AND IN LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS have fallen into the hands of the Furzedown College Action Committee in South London. The papers give the story behind the Lambeth Labour group's capitulation to the demand for cuts from the Labour Government. The Action Committee will be using them in the fight against the cuts which has developed in the area following the link-up made between Lambeth Trades Council and students who occupied against teacher redundancy.

The document 'freezes' any new staff appointments, and makes sure these cuts in services will stick by banning overtime for salaried staff. Old people's meals are to increase in price by 40 per cent. Other stingy measures include a rise in crematoria fees and a reduction in external painting of council houses. Total cuts in public and amenity services bring 'savings' of over £1.5 million for the Council and the Labour Government.

The savings asked for in the 'Shore circular', the Government's demand for

cuts from local authorities, amounted to £2.2 million. But the strength of union resistance has stopped cuts of this magnitude taking place.

By a small majority the Labour group meeting decided to pass the cuts. The proposals now go to the full council meeting on 23 July. If the cuts are passed the local NUPE branch will call a one-day strike, which they hope will be supported by other unions representing council employees as the beginning of concerted action against the cuts.

Labour movement action is also being built on a wider basis with the calling of a South West London Conference against the Cuts on 24 July, from 2-6 p.m. at Furzedown College, Welham Road, London S.W.17 (phone 672 0509 for more information). The first question that must be asked at the conference is why it was left to the Furzedown students to expose the Council's plans? Why didn't the 'left' councillors begin their fight against the cuts with a full public exposure of the planned cuts?

AUSTRALIAN WORKERS SHOW THE WAY — General strike against cuts



Last weekend junior Labour Minister Leslie Huckfield declared that money being spent on hospitals should go instead to factories. For 'factories' read private industry.

But while Huckfield was putting private wealth before national health, the trade union movement in Australia was making clear its commitment to the opposite choice by launching a 24-hour general strike (its first ever) in defence of the national health system there, 'Medibank'.

What sparked off the Australian general strike was an attempt by the conservative Liberal-National Country coalition headed by Malcolm Fraser to change the basis of the Medibank system, introduced by the last Labour Government. Fraser's proposal

— a huge increase in the voluntary tax levy which finances Medibank — would mean that the greatest burden of financing the system would be put on the working class.

At the same time the change would encourage the wealthy to opt out of Medibank altogether and into private practice. In essence it is the same story as the attack on the NHS and the defence of private practice which is taking place in this country.

The reaction of the Australian labour movement was clearly demonstrated last Monday when literally millions of workers gave a massive display of opposition to the Fraser scheme. And already there are promises of further action and a series of 'rolling strikes'.

Not that the general strike showed any great superiority in the Australian trade union bureaucrats over their counterparts here and their complicity in the Labour Government's attacks on public spending. Indeed, up to a few days before the general strike took place the president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Bob Hawke, was stringently opposed to strike action. He preferred to cook up a deal with Fraser, but Fraser's stubbornness prevented any 'compromise' emerging.

More importantly, Hawke had even less success in stopping the rising anger within the labour movement at Fraser's policies. Throughout June a whole series of strikes

IN FOCUS

Cut and finish

KILLING OLD AGE PENSIONERS is profitable. This is one of the discoveries our socialist Labour Government has made in the past year of public expenditure cuts. From a deficit of £257 million in the financial year April 1974 to April 1975, the Central Electricity Generating Board has produced a profit of £58 million in 1975-76. And what's a few cut-off lives and giant bills compared with that?

Can't afford to gas yourself to ease the misery? Never mind, the Gas Corporation turned a £45 million deficit into a £25 million profit. Don't tell your friends about it, though — not that you'll be able to since the postal and telephone charges rocketed to help the Post Office turn a £306 million deficit into a £150 million profit.

And so the story goes on. The British Steel Corporation is busy chopping 40,000 jobs to wipe out losses of £250-300 million. This is what has been going on in the so-called 'public' sector of industry. And when turn-coats like Leslie Huckfield MP talk of putting factories before hospitals, they are begging for the same thing to be done in the private sector.

As the barons of big business demand more and more concessions, the rag-bag traitors of the Labour Government comply in full. Even after all the relaxations that have turned the Price Code into an ever extending piece of elastic, the Confederation of British Industry is still demanding £200 million more in 'relief'. In what was supposed to be a dire threat to the Labour lefts in the House of Commons, Prices Secretary Shirley Williams warned that 'the very survival of the private sector will be at risk if rates of return on capital continue to fall'.

For stockbrokers Philips and Drew, however, even Stormy Jim's promise of a further £1 billion cuts in public spending is not enough — they want £2bn. They'll get them eventually as well. The Treasury has already been drawing on the £5.3bn. standby credit extended by the Central Banks, and if the Government is not quite fast enough in cutting, the International Monetary Fund will quickly persuade it to speed up when the loan repayment falls due.

No resistance spells defeat

Failure to mount any resistance to the Government's anti-working class policies in the past means that the right wing is now rampant within the Labour Government. Slamming the lefts around the Commons has become the favourite pastime of Ministers. Healey called in the leaders of the Tribune Group last week and put them on the mat — no messing around abstaining when the cuts are announced.

In this situation what does Benn offer? 'We should not seek to split, destroy or bring down the labour Government.' The choice words which set the tone of his speech to the Institute of Workers Control Conference earlier this month mean one thing — that the 'lefts' should pave the way for the downfall of the Government through their own inactivity both inside and outside Parliament. And Luton MP Brian Sedgemore, who had challenged Benn to give advice to the 30 Labour MPs who had abstained on the White Paper on social services cuts, failed to offer any answer to his own question.

The next round of cuts and the failure to mount any significant challenge to them inside the leadership of the labour movement can mean only one thing — that the end of this Labour Government is approaching. Soon its job for big business will be done. The social services will have been cut to the bone without wholesale dismantling occurring. Working people will have been demoralised by the experience of two years savage wage cuts and the creation of a permanent pool of a million unemployed. Then it will be the turn of the Tories to really put the boot in.

That is the prospect the workers movement now faces so long as no organised opposition is built that can challenge the existing leadership of the labour movement and the anti-working class policies it is pursuing.

IWC: Lost chances

'Opportunities missed' was the verdict of one delegate emerging from the Institute of Workers Control conference held at Keele University on 3-4 July. The same could be said of the year which had elapsed since the last conference.

The last IWC conference had passed a resolution including a call for a recall conference in the winter to organise the fight against unemployment. The IWC National Council failed to carry this decision out. This year the policy of inaction was carried still further: no resolution was even debated!

The IWC is in an excellent position to begin to consistently organise against the right-wing leadership of the labour movement. It embraces people with many differing political views — from reformist to revolutionary — and could democratically debate the way forward and organise on the basis of that debate broad forces in action against the policies of the Labour Government.

It has already taken partial steps along this road through the IWC Cars conference, and through supporting the

took place, involving on four separate occasions over 100,000 workers. It was this fighting experience which two weeks ago led the ACTU to vote by 25-5 for the general strike.

No doubt Hawke will attempt once more to diffuse the situation after last Monday's magnificent success by returning to his policy of cabinet room diplomacy. But the fighting solidarity displayed so far by the

campaign for combine committees. But of course it is not so easy to organise against the policies of the Labour Government when a member of that Government, Tony Benn, speaks from IWC platforms opposing such a position! Or when Labour MPs who support the IWC, such as Brian Sedgemore, are not sure whether or not they should vote against social service cuts to the tune of £1,000 million!

The National Council must discuss what to do next. It should give active support to the lobbies of the Labour Party Conference and the lobby of the TUC against cuts and unemployment. It should immediately seek discussions with the London Co-op Political Committee and the No. 8 Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions with a view to campaigning for the recall of the National Assembly to organise strike action against the cuts and open up the way forward for the systematic organisation of a class struggle opposition within the labour movement.

Australian working class will make any secret deal difficult to sell.

For us in Britain the lesson is clear. Next time Murray or Jones shake their heads and say that nothing can be done to stop government cuts in public spending, remember that the Australian labour movement has shown just exactly what can be done.

Tom Marlowe

ON PATROL

A report from Race Today on black self-defence in East London

East London. Any night in June 1976. Time: twilight to midnight.

Two cars are to set out from our base. Eleven of the volunteers who have turned up are chosen, mainly for their determination and trustworthiness. Everybody knows everybody else. Ten of the eleven have been out on previous nights.

There's an orderly discussion: how to deal with the different situations we may encounter. The routes are decided. Each car is to meet the other at hourly intervals. Both drivers know the area like the back of their hands. One car is to check on the other bases from which other patrols will be setting out.

Nothing in the first two hours. We drive almost in silence. It's worrying that so many Asians, standing in groups on street corners or leaning out of the cafes and doorways, recognise and acknowledge our mission. They wave, and one or two give clenched fist salutes.

SMASHED

Down the Commercial Road to the East India Dock Road and then into Corbin House off Bromley High Street. We've been told that a white gang gathers there around pub closing time. The Asian tenant who brings the information has had his windows smashed, his house robbed, his children assaulted the previous day. The buildings around have a long history of shameful racist intimidation, abuse and assault.

We are to go and talk to the Asian families on our rounds. Two of the families tell us, standing in their doorways (which we do deliberately to inform the neighbours of our presence), that the police have been called each time there is an assault, and each time they have carried away the Asian who complained and charged him. We suggest practical ways of collective self-defence. We leave them two phone numbers.

Several police cars pass us on the Mile End Road. As we turn down Toynbee Street, our driver spots trouble. Two young Asians are being followed by four young white men.

CHASE

The doors of our car fly open before anyone has a chance to say a word. The car screeches to a halt alongside one of the Asians who is about six yards ahead of the now running gang. We jump out through all four doors. The gang is obviously unprepared for an attack on more than two unarmed Asians. They shout to each other 'Pakis', turn tail and run.

Our driver tries to get back in the car and chase them. They run down the pavement and disappear into Brune House. We pick the Asians up, and piling into the car, drop them a few hundred yards down the Commercial Road.

Back to Brick Lane to keep an appointment. At the corner of Brick Lane and Hanbury Street, a small crowd of young men has gathered. On the opposite pavement two young policemen in shirt-sleeves, their walkie-talkies to their faces,

NATIONAL FRONT STICKERS

Several readers have reported that the NF has taken to concealing razor blades behind its stickers in order to injure anyone who tries to remove them. So be warned—never try to tear them down with your bare hands.

are bullying a young Asian. He has his arms above his head and one of the police officers is thrusting a lit torch right up his nose, Nazi style.

We get out of the car and approach. 'Fuck off or we'll have you for obstruction', the policeman says. He is asking the man they've stopped if he's an illegal immigrant. They are radioing for a car.

SOLICITOR

We cross the street and shout to the detainee in Bengali to tell us his name and address. He begins to reply and one of the policemen clamps a hand over his mouth to stop him. The police car arrives and they bundle him into it. We're back in the car. One of us phones to a solicitor who is on call, the others

follow the police car to Bethnal Green Police Station.

Before the car gets to the station, the solicitor has got the particulars of the arrested man. The patrol goes back to one of the bases and we call a member of the Anti-Racist Committee for Asians in East London (ARC-AEL) to deal with the police. The committee man sets out to find the relatives and the passport of the arrested man. From the experience of a previous night, we know that the police won't give bail without having the passport on hand.

The other car reports back. They've been stopped by police in Commercial Road. The Inspector tells one of the group: 'We're picking you lot up, because the whites are smarter, they can't be caught with offensive weapons on them.'

From our experiences of other nights on patrol, we know different.

...to prevent attacks like these

7 May

Mr Sariman Halder stabbed by a gang of thugs in Toynbee Street. They made no attempt to rob him. He suffered a punctured lung. Attackers drove off in a van.

9 May

Rihan Kabir, residing in Bernard House, chased in Brick Lane by gang with knives.

10 May

White boys attack Bengalis outside Daneford School. Four Bengalis arrested.

12 May

Idris Ullah, residing in Casson Street, chased from Vallance Road by three young men. Hit on the head and stabbed in the side. No attempt at robbery.

13 May

Shamsul Uddin, residing in Corbin

House, Bow Road. At 10.30 p.m. he was assaulted by three boys in front of witnesses.

Jim Miah residing in Weaver House—his mouth cut by a bottle which was thrown at him.

14 May

Mr Uddin arrested. Broom and hammer taken from his home. He was charged with possessing an offensive weapon.

16 May

Mozlu Miah, residing in Queensbridge Road, E.2. Attacked in Commercial Road by 10 youths in a van.

17 May

Dudu Miah, residing in Aston Street, attacked in Aston Street. When police arrived he was immediately asked if he was a squatter.

21 May

Rampart Street, after 11 p.m., 12 boys attacked three men. Police arrived after 20 minutes. Rana Miah in hospital.

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)



Six thousand people marched through the streets of London last Sunday for the second weekend running to protest the growing racist tide in Britain.

But despite its size and the large number of blacks present, the demo did not have the representative character and national spread of that on 4 July—which makes it doubly sad that the International Socialism group chose to put its eggs into this particular basket. With the Communist Party sending no forces on either demo and barely reporting the second at all, the complete unity of the far left on the march against racism would have provided a powerful focus for anti-racist militants both inside and outside the black community.

As it was, the pro-Peking Indian Workers Associations called the demo for 11 July in opposition to the pro-Moscow Southall IWA's demo on 4 July—despite the fact that the

slogans raised on each demonstration were virtually identical! The only difference was that the Sikh religious organisation Akhali Dal and the proto-fascist Jan Sangh were allowed platform speakers on 11 July because they share similar positions to the Maoists on the state of emergency in India.

Police harassment was also stepped up on the second march—militants of the Southall Youth Movement coming in for special attention. But when an arrest was made at Trafalgar Square the comrades refused to move and forced the release of the arrested militant. As the demo was reaching its dispersal point, however, the police moved in again with horses and foot police to break up the demo and make further arrests. If the Southall Youth Movement's militant self-defence is to be extended then at least all future anti-racist demos must be rigorously stewarded.



The two arms of the law in Grays last weekend: a helping hand for the fascists, and a straight right for the leftists

BUT CP BLOCKS SUPPORT

The black self-defence in Brick Lane can expect little help from the Hackney Committee against Racism, thanks to successful efforts by the local Communist Party to defeat a motion calling for this principle on 7 July.

None of the arguments put forward by the CP had anything to do with the motion. Monty Goldman, a leading local Stalinist, told the committee that in 1949 attacks on two Jewish youths were not met by 'self-defence groups' but by massive labour movement demonstrations; he asserted that self-defence organisations would split the labour movement (ignoring the part of the motion which called for labour movement support); and concluded that the way forward was not 'separatist groups' but for blacks to join the labour movement—implying that

the divisions along race lines in the working class could be laid at the door of sectarian blacks.

Of course, like the other sectarians who oppose this position, the Communist Party will not actively campaign against black self-defence outside the confines of committees; nevertheless, they have put a block on concrete action which could have led to discussions with local self-defence groups on how support can be turned into practical assistance.

ANTI-BRITISH?

'The unspoken attitude behind much of yesterday's Commons debate on immigration seemed to be, once again, that immigrants are some kind of natural pollution, like the coypu rat which infests British rivers.' Simon Hoggart's bitter comment in the *Guardian* (6 July) underlined how deeply racialism runs through every stream of British political life.

Amidst inter-party backslapping about how fair we all are to immigrants, William Whitelaw talked of 'not stretching the tolerance of the British people too far'. The impeccable 'liberal', Roy 'I murder Irish political prisoners' Jenkins, proceeded to propose a register of immigrant dependants.

These people 'liberals', these people 'moderates'! Their ideas and their attitudes are as racist as those of the National Front, but it just wouldn't do to let our parliamentary vanguard drop now.

For these people the problem isn't racism but immigration, more precisely black immigration. But anyone who starts from that position is a racist. Once upon a time, when the Tories were trying to push through the 1962 Immigration Act, Harold Wilson and the Labour Party said the same thing. Now they simply play the numbers game with people's lives.

'Left' Labour MP Sydney Bidwell at least rose to speak. But to say what? He agreed with Mr Jenkins that the rules had to be drawn tightly—but please, exercise a little human discretion. Then came the joke of the debate: 'To be racist and stir up racial hatred in Britain is to be anti-British, and the sooner we snap out of it the better.'

Anti-British? The British Empire was born of slavery and maintained by racialism—a racialism that denied that black people were even human beings, just chattels to be bought and sold.

But perhaps that was all an anti-British aberration as well?

BLACK AND BLUE



Photo: ANGELA PHILLIPS (IFL)

March against police brutality in Harlesden, 3 July. Rosie Toussint (centre) was one of those beaten up by police

CROCODILE TEARS

A new police commander has just been appointed to 'Q' Division, which covers Brent in London. He obviously fancies himself in his boss's role, for like Sir Robert Mark, he has proclaimed his desire 'to see more black officers joining the force.' He was disappointed that 'the black community didn't respond to the recent recruitment campaign'.

He may have been disappointed, but he shouldn't have been surprised. Three hundred people took to the streets of Brent on Saturday 3 July to tell him the reason why. The blatant racism of the local police force had brought things to a head with the vicious beating up and arrest of six young black girls a fortnight before.

The girls were returning home from the Burning Spear Club in Harlesden when they were stopped, questioned about events at the club, and subsequently brutally roughed up. The girls were then charged with various offences ranging from obstruction to assault! This is just one example of what all black youths know happens every week at clubs, parties and 'blues' (discos).

ATTACKS

Brent has a large Irish community, and the campaign against police harassment now has the active support of the Provisional Sinn Fein against Racism, the Trade Union Committee against Racism, and the Troops Out Movement.

The police have been revealed by their attacks on blacks, Irish, students and workers to be an institution dedicated to maintaining the capitalist status quo. Right now that means vicious racist attacks such as those

on the black youth of Harlesden.

The sham attempts of the police force to recruit black officers should also be exposed. Far from the recent recruitment drive being a well-publicised failure, in many ways it was a public relations coup for the police.

BIGOTED

It is difficult to think that the police chiefs were not delighted to have received weeks of publicity in the national media, showing the police force as an earnest anti-racist body, desperate to integrate blacks. Their opponents were played up to be 'militant, racist black agitators and misleaders.' And all for the bargain price of £40,000.

The real side of police relations with the black community are not the gushings of Sir Robert Mark or 'Q' Division's Chief Superintendent

ent Sadler, but the attacks in Brent, Chapeltown in Leeds, and Cricklewood in London — to mention only the most notorious.

Government and Opposition spokesmen vie with each other to make the most bigoted speeches as yet another Race Relations Bill is ushered in to attempt to sweeten the pill of the tightening of the racist immigration laws. The police provide evidence every week that no trust can be placed in them to desist from attacks on the black community, let alone to protect it.

That's why the fight must continue for support for black self-defence organisations to fight the racist police attacks and the offensive of the fascists, side by side with trade union and Labour Party action against the racists in their ranks and in British society as a whole.

BEN EQUIANO

Disco's colour bar challenged by pickets

If you were a young, unemployed school-leaver, where would you go to find entertainment in Tottenham? Four local discos have been closed down — and now Charlie Brown's, the only flourishing disco, has begun to operate a colour bar.

Both the police force and the management of Charlie Brown's have fears about black kids which are willingly nourished by the local paper, the *Tottenham Herald*. This paper has consistently promoted the 'respectability' of racism, by treating racist views as simply one point of view that has a right to be heard, or by claiming to 'reflect reality'. The local racist Councillor Coney has free publicity every time he opens his mouth (because the *Herald's* editor sees him as a 'livewire'), and the coverage given to muggings and incidents between black people and the police creates an atmosphere of Chicago in the 1960s.

But when the police see what they call 'gangs' of black youths on the streets, and react to them with force and intimidation, what they are seeing is simply groups of young people hanging about in the parks and at any form of public entertainment because the Government's policies deny them a job and the proper

provision of services such as entertainment.

On Sunday and on Wednesday last week, pickets were mounted outside Charlie Brown's with great success. The management tried to disguise its racist policy by various ploys, such as a sudden demand for membership cards, or by pretending to vet people for their 'smartness'. But it was plain to the 50-strong picket on Wednesday that the only clear principle involved was one of race. On Sunday, the management was less sophisticated — they turned people away with the phrase 'No blacks tonight'.

It is to the credit of Haringey Trades Council that it responded with organised action so swiftly; however, Haringey needs a consistent campaign against every aspect of racism, and this can only be achieved by an organised body representing everyone in the community who is willing to take action. The local law centre is trying to initiate an anti-racist committee. When it is set up, this committee should be fighting not only *against* all the manifestations of racism in the borough, but it should also be fighting *for* a minimum wage for the unemployed.

JANE GREENWOOD

BLACK YOUTH JAILED IN BONFIRE NIGHT TRIAL

A packed public gallery watched the month-old Chapeltown Bonfire Night trial in Leeds reach its conclusion last week. On Friday cheers greeted the not guilty verdicts on Glenville Sheriffe (18), David Cohen (21), Eurie Maurice (17), and Maxim Farrar, a 26-year-old lecturer. Even Keith Gumbs, a 16-year-old school-boy found guilty of criminal damage, had his sentence deferred.

Expectancy of a great victory was in the air on Saturday when verdicts on the remaining defendants were announced. But all but one of the black youth were found guilty, and now two young teenagers — Clyde Sheriffe and Claude Henderson — face two years in borstal, while Henry Grey got three months in a detention centre. Anthony Pyke and Ernest Fleming, who had been pressured into pleading guilty by their mothers, found no mercy: Pyke got three months detention and three months borstal, and Fleming 9 months to two years borstal. Friday's euphoria had been quickly crushed.

But why was there any trial in the first place? Street bonfires on 5 November are a long tradition in the Chapeltown area — and so is police harassment of

the mainly black youth who attend them. In 1974 some police cars were damaged and three firemen were injured when they tried to stop the fire by turning hoses on the youth.

Last year things went further. Trouble was expected, but after a police-liaison meeting with local community and race relations workers, the police seemed to have agreed to keep out of the area. Yet early in the evening police cars were spotted in nearby streets and one or two even drove through the 200-strong crowd that had gathered in Spencer Place.

Then came a motorway-style patrol car — which got hit by a missile. Then another police car, then a CID car which was forced to stop under a hail of bricks — then a convoy of two dog patrol cars, a motorway car, and two or three pandas all led by a personnel carrier. Finally (!) the police arrived in force with dogs, truncheons and patrol cars to chase the youth off the streets. The youth fought back with what they could.

The police succeeded in arresting only one person on Bonfire Night — the photographer of the local community newspaper *Chapeltown News*. Eleven others were picked up in the next few days, and eight black and one white youth eventually went for trial — six of them under 16.

And what a trial it was. The jury consisted of twelve white people, mainly under 35, and of the 60 potential jurors not a single one was black.

The main case of the prosecution, who insisted in their opening remarks that 'this trial has nothing to do with colour' was based on extremely full 'confessions' from the black youths — often phrased in semi-official language to boot. The prosecution, however, insisted that these statements were not obtained by violence or intimidation.

VIOLATIONS

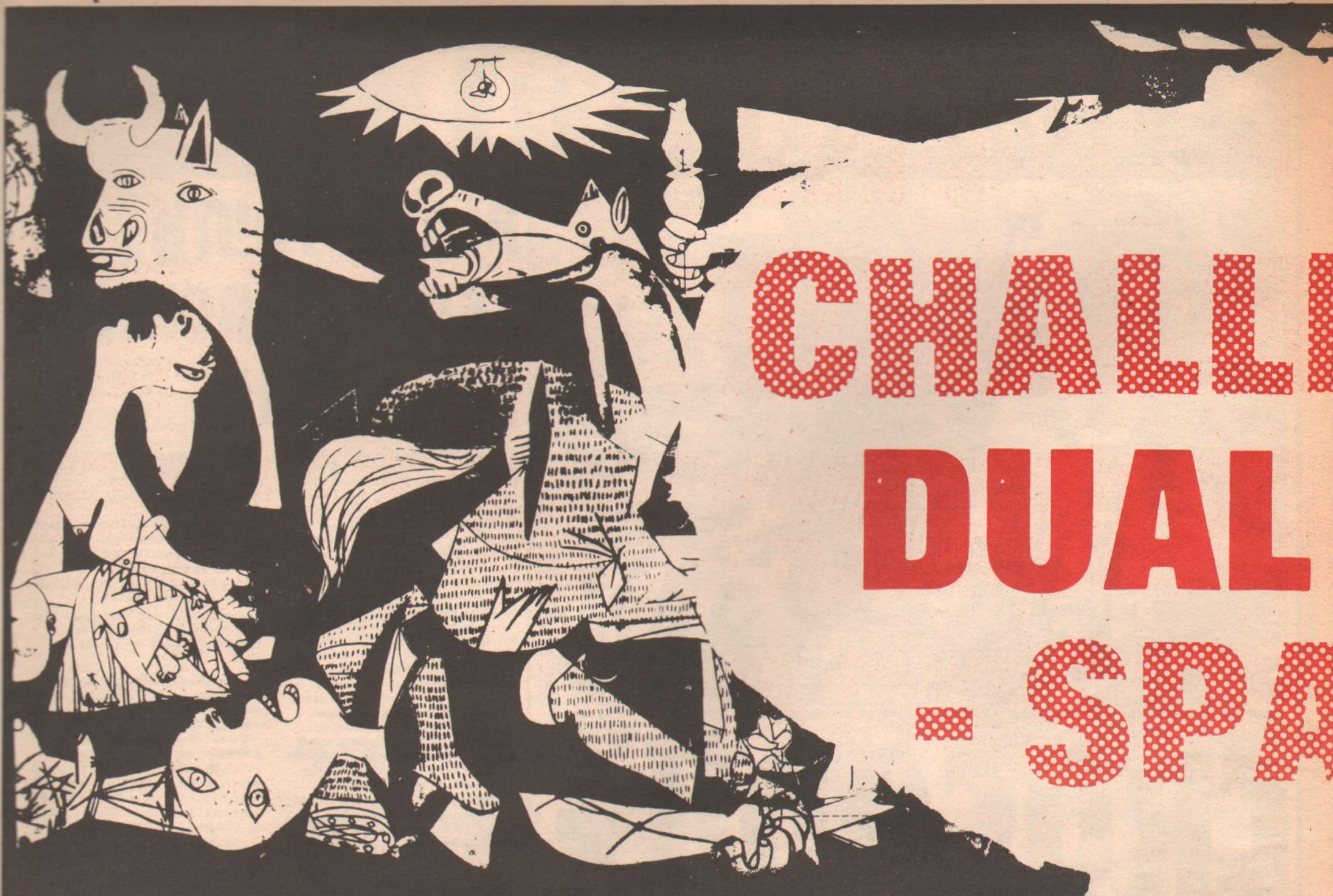
The fact that there were violations of Judges' Rules — minors cannot be interviewed by the police unless a parent is also present — and medical evidence to show the injuries sustained by one of the kids, were treated by Judge Christopher Beaumont MBE as minor 'irritations' to the legal process. Consistently ignoring the blatant racism displayed by the cops, he began his summing up by insisting that 'prejudice for or against coloured people' must not be allowed to interfere with the law!

No attention was paid to the contradictions in police evidence and the wider issues raised by the black defence barristers — that what happened on Bonfire Night was an attempt by all the black youth present to defend themselves against the planned provocation of the police.

Black youth in Leeds are stopped on the streets all the time, harassed as to where they're going and find their parties and clubs regularly raided. Despite this no one expected the police to be quite so provocative on Bonfire Night. The very spontaneity of the youth's reaction to the police attack shows they weren't looking for trouble — even though organised black self-defence groups could perhaps have helped prevent some of the consequences.

MURDER

And finally if anyone has any lingering doubts about the racism of the Leeds police after the Bonfire Night trial, they should remember the case of David Oluwale, a Nigerian student. His body was dragged from the river in Leeds a few years back after he had been beaten to death. Two senior police officers were imprisoned for the crime.



CHALLENGE DUAL SPAIN

The events of July 1936 were far more than a struggle between the fascist uprising and bourgeois democracy. They signalled the beginning of a period in which organs of workers power grew up alongside the old machinery of the capitalist state, and for a few months there was a real possibility that the entire capitalist state could be overthrown. The rising of Franco's army in Morocco therefore ushered in not just a civil war, but the highest stage of the Spanish Revolution.

POPULAR FRONT OR WORKERS POWER?

The upsurge of the workers movement had begun in February 1936 with the election of the Popular Front Government. This was an alliance of the Socialist and Communist parties with a number of small bourgeois republican parties.

The Spanish CP in 1936 still represented very little. A party of a few hundred in 1931, it had not grown substantially. In Catalonia, the heartland of the revolution, its main base was the federation of small traders and shopkeepers (GEPCI). The Catalan CP (PSUC) obtained membership of the UGT (Socialist union federation) for GEPCI, strengthening its own position in relation to the left Socialists and the anarcho-syndicalists who had the allegiance of the working class.

The backbone of the Popular Front was the Socialist Party. This was sharply divided into a small parliamentary clique led by Prieto, which was to find almost total accord with the Stalinists, and a militant mass left wing. This left wing was in many ways the most advanced stratum of the workers movement, sympathetic to revolutionary politics.

Its leader, Largo Caballero, had even called for the formation of a Fourth International. But it did not constitute a revolutionary party, and Largo Caballero, for all his rhetoric, could not escape the perspectives of reformism.

Most importantly, Largo Caballero did not understand the question of

the capitalist State. This led to two important errors.

Firstly, the left Socialists imagined that the dictatorship of the proletariat would be exercised through the Socialist Party. Therefore they did not see the importance of building the kind of united action between workers organisations which would be capable of developing organs of workers power. Workers councils were seen not as the essential apparatus of the future workers state, but as a peculiarity of the Russian Revolution.

This had had disastrous consequences in the insurrection of 1934. The Workers Alliances were not built as genuinely representative bodies, with the result that they were unable to co-ordinate national opposition to the right-wing government. Therefore the most militant section of the workers movement, in Asturias, was isolated and repressed by the State.

Mistake

The left Socialists' second mistake flowed from the first. If workers power was to be exercised by the Socialist Party and not by workers councils, then it was quite acceptable to enter the Popular Front in order to win a slice of governmental power.

Yet in reality the Popular Front could never be an adequate instrument of the workers movement, since it was wedded to the perspectives of the 'liberal bourgeoisie'. Its programme went no further than that of the republicans in 1931. Free distribution of land to the peasants and the nationalisation of industry under workers control were rejected. The vast financial interests of the Church also remained untouched.

The national question in the peninsula was to be resolved by autonomy statutes but not the right of self-determination, while Morocco remained in Spanish hands so as not to offend British and French interests in North Africa. The overblown officer corps in the Army was left intact — one officer to every six men, and each one of them sympathetic to the extreme right.

The irony was that these allies among the 'liberal' bourgeoisie represented no-one but themselves — 'the shadow of the bourgeoisie', Trotsky called them. Only one of the bourgeois parties, the Basque nationalists, was a representative organisation. The others were small cliques of career politicians.

To the extent that they were genuine parties of the capitalist class, they could be relied upon not to resist Franco. But in general they counted for nothing — except as an instrument to hold back the revolution.

Despite this thoroughly reactionary character of the Popular Front, its victory was the signal for events which went far beyond its own political perspectives. Just as in France in the same year, the electoral victory sparked off a series of factory occupations, strikes and land seizures.

In truth the Civil War had already begun. Armed workers and fascists fought openly on the streets of Madrid, but the Government insisted that the fascist threat was illusory. Those left papers which dared to warn of the impending rise of the army and fascists appeared with whole pages blanked out by the government censor. The prisons, so recently emptied of the 1934 revolutionaries, were filled

again with militant workers.

Insofar as the leadership of these actions devolved upon any organisation it was on the anarcho-syndicalist union federation, the CNT. The CNT had within its ranks many of the most militant workers, particularly in Catalonia. To its credit it had held back from participation in the Popular Front, though the mass of CNT workers were encouraged to vote for it.

The crucial weakness of the CNT, as of the Caballero Socialists, came on the question of the State. Unable, like all anarchists, to distinguish between a bourgeois and a workers State, it was soon to degenerate into the most crass reformism and accommodation to the Popular Front.

BIRTH OF WORKERS POWER

When the army uprising finally came on 17 July, the Popular Front Government of 'left' republicans attempted to come to terms with Franco. News of the rising was kept secret until the following day, and even then the Government issued a note confirming 'the absolute tranquility of the whole peninsula'.

This was manifestly untrue. Already



THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN, 1936-76

Public meeting on anniversary of workers militia victory in Barcelona

Wednesday 21 July, 7.30 p.m.

Speakers include Robin Blackburn, also rare film on defence of Madrid.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON UNION (Room 2D), Malet Street, WC1

THE CHALLENGE OF POWER IN 1936

by RICHARD CARVER



most of rural southern and western Spain was in fascist hands. Here was another warning of the disastrous consequences of failing to give land to the peasants — if any of the workers' leaders bothered to take notice.

The story was different in the big cities of north, west and central Spain. There it was the workers who took the initiative: in Madrid workers' patrols rounded up fascist sympathisers and threw them into the Model Prison; tens of thousands of workers marched upon Bilbao demanding arms; in Barcelona the predominantly anarchist workers surrounded the rebel troops, capturing the leader of the revolt in Catalonia, General Goded.

The Government, more afraid of the revolution than of the fascists, was thrown into panic. The attempt to come to terms with Franco had been re-empted by mass action. The Government was changed three times in one day until a new cabinet, headed by the useless Giral, was forced to arm the workers.

There now opened a period in which the real power in most of Republican Spain was held by the new organs of workers' democracy. Two antagonistic state powers existed alongside each other. This process of workers' power was most developed in Catalonia. The local government of Catalonia from July to September was the Central Committee of Anti-fascist Militias. The Generalidad, the autonomous Catalan government, was powerless. Companys, the president of the

Generalidad, was forced to make a demagogic appeal to the anarchists: 'If you do not need me, tell me now and I shall become one soldier more in the struggle against fascism.' But the CNT was incapable of understanding the need to go forward and smash the Generalidad. Companys' offer was declined.

For the moment, however, the Generalidad seemed impotent. The military struggle was directed by militias under the control of the party and union organisations. These militias marched into Aragon to meet the fascists. As they went, they sponsored village anti-fascist committees to defend the gains of the revolution.

By 19 July the peasants had seized the land and driven out the landlords. The land was now collectivised under the control of democratic village committees. In the towns, too, all industry and enterprises came under workers' control.

George Orwell describes the atmosphere in Barcelona as late as December 1936: 'There was no unemployment, and the price of living was still extremely low; you saw very few conspicuously destitute people, and no beggars except the gypsies.'

'Above all there was a belief in the revolution and the future, a feeling of having suddenly emerged into an era of equality and freedom. Human beings were trying to behave as human beings and not as cogs in the capitalist machine. In the barbers' shops were Anarchist notices solemnly explaining that barbers were no longer slaves.'

The example of the barbers' shops of Barcelona is one of the most graphic cases of collectivisation. Before 19 July there were 1,100 barbers' shops in Barcelona, mostly small concerns running at a loss, filthy and badly maintained. The 5,000 workers earned only 40 pesetas weekly, compared with 60 to 80 pesetas for building workers.

Immediately a 40-hour week and a 15 per cent wage increase were instituted, driving most shops out of business. Thence the CNT sponsored the collectivisation of the industry. The number of shops was cut to 235, massively reducing overheads. All the former workers and owners were employed in these new, modernised establishments with wages equalised and increased by a further 40 per cent.

This process was duplicated in all the major industries and services: transport, food, communications, war and manufacturing industry. In most cases the number of plants was cut and efficiency enhanced. As Orwell observed, 'even the bootblacks had been collectivised and their boxes painted red and black'.

Nor were these developments confined to Catalonia. Numerous accounts testify to the extent of collectivisation in the whole of Republican Spain.

CLOUDS OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

There is no doubt that this was genuine 'dual power'. Organs of the working class had taken over many of the functions of the State. Equally, at this period, the collectivisations constituted real workers' control of industry and agriculture.

But this is not a situation which can last as long as the capitalist State remains intact. Either one or the other state power must be broken.

The basic weakness was that the dual power remained on a fragmented, local basis. No revolutionary leadership existed to weld it into a state power on a national basis. Hence the POUM and the CNT were free to mislead the workers into believing that power was already theirs.

Trotsky was right to mistrust profoundly his former comrades of the POUM. A Central Committee resolution of 18 September announced: 'The Central Committee believes now, as always, that this Government must be composed exclusively of representatives of the workers' parties and trade union organisations. But if this point of view is not shared by the other workers' organisations, we are willing to leave the question open.'

So the POUM was finally prepared to disregard the principle that the State is not a neutral body, but the instrument of one class or another. It (and the CNT) entered the new Generalidad Government, whose first

step was the dissolution of the dual power: the Central Committee of Anti-fascist Militias, the local anti-fascist committees, the supply committees, and the local militias were all dissolved and replaced by official bodies.

Nationally, as well as in Catalonia, these 'revolutionary' organisations were prepared to acquiesce in the rolling back of the gains of 19 July.

Also in September, Largo Caballero, the darling of the left, formed a Government dedicated to reasserting the control of the bourgeois State, a Government in which the Stalinists, the right-wing Prieto Socialists and the bourgeois ministers had an overwhelming majority. The CNT was brought into this Government in November.

If the role of the anarchists and the POUM can be described as one of bizarre and disastrous misleadership, that of the Socialist Party and Stalinist bureaucracies was one of conscious and deliberate betrayal of the revolution.

Alliance

Stalinist thinking was dominated by the need of the Moscow leadership to make an alliance with France and Britain against Germany. Obviously a Franco victory would not be in Moscow's interests, but neither would a proletarian revolution which would doubtless frighten off its democratic imperialist allies. It was this consideration which dictated Moscow's policy on the supply of arms to Republican Spain — never enough to make possible a final push for victory, but sufficient to keep the Republic alive.

This hamstrung the military struggle throughout the Civil War, and in general those units, such as the militias in Aragon, which were run on proletarian lines were especially starved of arms.

The interests of the Moscow bureaucracy also determined the CP's attitude to the revolution which was taking place. From the very start it was the Stalinists and the Prieto Socialists who were most concerned to stop the revolution and reassert state control. The Stalinist press

abroad attempted to conceal the fact that there was a revolution taking place. According to the *Daily Worker*, those who denied that the Spanish workers were fighting merely for bourgeois democracy were 'down-right lying scoundrels'.

Even the left Socialists, or at least their leadership, arrived at similar conclusions. The crucial question for Caballero was foreign aid. Caballero, who had opposed the formation of a conscript army, presided over this scheme in office so as to win Russian arms.

This 'Spanish Lenin', as Caballero was dubbed by the Stalinists, refused land to the peasants (which would have undermined Franco's peasant army) in order to curry favour with imperialist Britain and might break with 'non-intervention'.

'Non-intervention', of course, was a dead letter from the start. The other signatories to the agreement, fascist Italy and Germany, poured troops and arms into Spain to aid their ideological brothers. Yet not one of the leaders of the Spanish working class understood that the bourgeoisie was no ally against fascism, and that only the proletarian revolution could be a sufficient mobilising force to rouse the population in Franco's rear.

Thus it was that Largo Caballero formed a new government of counter-revolution.

NEXT WEEK: The victory of the counter-revolution.



1936 Spanish Civil War 1976 The struggle continues

SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS OF SPAIN

Stop the murder and torture of Spanish workers: Break all links: No aid, No trade, Boycott Fascist Spain

PICKET THE SPANISH EMBASSY BELGRAVE SQUARE SAT 17 JULY 2.00pm

WHAT'S ON

BENEFIT for Trico women workers: support the equal pay dispute! In seventh week of strike—funds vital. Thurs 15 July, 8pm with Sandra Kerr, Broadside Mobile Workers Theatre and others. Admission £1: Greenford Hall, junction of Oldfield Lane and Ruislip Rd, Greenford, Middx. Organised by Hammersmith WWC, 16 Crookham Rd, SW6 (01-731 1231).

WOMEN AGAINST IMPERIALISM: at the Women's Liberation Workshop on 28 June, several women discussed the relationship between patriarchy, imperialism, racism and fascism. A further meeting to discuss concrete ideas to set up a campaign will be held Fri 23 July, 7pm, at the workshop in Earham St, EC2. Any women interested welcome to attend.

EAST LONDON IMG public meeting: 'Fight racism'—speaker Tariq Ali. Tues 20 July, 7.30pm, Toyne Hall, Commercial Street, E.1.

THE CRISIS IN ITALY: What next after the elections? Meeting organised by supporters of the revolutionary left alliance Democrazia Proletaria. Speakers from IS and Italian revolutionary groups. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1. Fri 16 July, 7.30pm.

BROADSIDE Mobile Workers Theatre needs (1) a versatile actor, (2) a musician who can play one or more accompanying instruments (e.g. accordion, guitar, concertina, mandolin), write songs, arrange and transpose, sing, and do some acting. Both must be socialists prepared to make a long-term commitment. TU and labour movement experience useful. Write with details of experience to: 58 Holbein House, Holbein Place, S.W.1.

SOCIALIST WOMAN—new issue out now containing articles on women in Ireland, domestic labour, abortion in Eastern Europe, women and unemployment, the WWC campaign, etc. 23p (inc p&p) from: Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

COME TO the Summer School for IMG members: 28 Aug - 1 Sept. About £20 in all, including room and board in comfortable surroundings. Reading lists available soon. Book now at places limited! Will be held in Midlands countryside. Further details from: IMG National Centre, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

LIFTS OFFERED in minibus to Morocco leaving 24 July. Possibility of return lift. share petrol costs etc. Write Box RW6/5, 97 Caledonian Rd, London N.1.

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

RED BOOKS comprehensive list of titles now available—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Mandel, Lukacs, Novack, Cannon, Deutscher, etc. Send s&e for copy to Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT—pamphlet containing first thorough critique from a socialist perspective. 23p (inc p&p) from: Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Rd, N1

'RACISM in the mass media—how to fight it'. Public meeting, Thurs 15 July, 7pm, St Brides Institute, Bride Lane (off Fleet St). Speakers include Darcus Howe of 'Race Today', Upali Cooray and NUJ members.

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A number of advertisements for **WHAT'S ON** arrived late and could not be included. We remind our readers that the deadline is 10.00 am Monday morning.

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New from Red Books

Red Books is now in temporary premises at 183 Pentonville Road, London N.1, and its hours of opening are still 10am to 6pm, Mondays to Saturdays inclusive. Among recent publications of interest:

*** 'LENIN ON TRADE UNIONS'**

The Moscow produced collection of Lenin's writings and speeches on trade unions is now back in print. This 540-page book contains nearly all of what Lenin wrote and said on the questions of the function of trade unions (under capitalism and after the revolution); revolutionary intervention in the unions; the characteristics of unions in various countries; etc. Especially interesting is the material for the famous 'trade union' discussion in the Bolshevik Party in 1920/1921. Price £1.50, post 47p.

*** SOUTH ASIA MARXIST REVIEW** No. 3 of this journal is now available and contains articles on India (an examination of recent political developments); on the struggle in the Arab East; on the theory of 'Soviet Imperialism' (a reply to Banaji); on technocratic trends in the cultural revolution; and an important document from the Progressive Organisation of Women (Hyderabad). Price 35p, post 9p.

*** 'SEXUALITY AND CLASS STRUGGLE'**

We have bargain copies of *Sexuality and Class Struggle* by Reimut Reiche. Originally published in English as an NLB book in 1970 at £3, we are able to sell this pioneering work for only £1 (post 32p).

*** NEW LEFT REVIEW**

The latest issue (no. 97) of NLR contains a major article surveying Marx and Engels' theory of proletarian revolution by Robin Blackburn. In this, Blackburn seeks to demonstrate that the central scientific contributions of Marx and Engels lie in the field of proletarian revolutionary politics. This is underpinned by a close study of the writings of Marx and Engels. This article promises to spark off a lively debate, and the implications of its thesis for the day-to-day activity of revolutionaries are huge. The issue also contains articles on the attempt of US imperialism to re-assert its international hegemony, two items on the General Strike and the 1931 betrayal, and discussion on workers control, psychoanalysis and feminism, etc. Price 75p, post 17p.

The group which produces the *Marxist Bulletin* in London is a very small organisation. Indeed it is one of the smallest groups claiming adherence to Trotskyism in Britain. However it has an importance exceeding its numbers for two reasons.

Firstly, the *Bulletin* group is part of an international current, the 'Organising Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International' (OCRFI), whose best known leader is Pierre Lambert and whose largest affiliated organisation is the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste in France.

Secondly, this international organisation has approached the Fourth International for a political discussion in which it has stated that 'it goes without saying that, out of respect for the principles of the Transitional Programme and workers democracy, and on the basis of a broad and complete international discussion which alone can create the grounds for defining clear political positions and accomplishing practical tasks in the reconstructed Fourth International, we are prepared to abide by democratic centralism.'

As all attempts to unify Trotskyist forces on a principled basis are to be welcomed, it is therefore to be regretted that the comrades of the OCRFI in Britain have taken the opportunity in the latest issue of *Marxist Bulletin* to launch a series of wild attacks on the Fourth International in general and the IMG in particular.

Destroyed

The comrades state that 'Pabloism destroyed the Fourth International through adaption to Stalinism in 1953' (p26); that since then 'Pabloism has passed through several distinct stages of further degeneration' (p6); that, in relation to our own organisation, 'the distance between the IMG and the Transitional Programme is a gulf which is unbridgeable' (p28); and that, quoting the September 1975 issue of the OCI's *La Verite*, it is necessary to speak of 'the "United Secretariat", the destroyer of the Fourth International' (p 20).

Such characterisations are unfortunately in line with previous ones which have come from the OCRFI — for example, that the Ligue Communiste in France put forward in elections 'crypto-Stalinist candidates propelled by the bourgeoisie'; that the Latin-American Trotskyist Moscow was 'suspected' of 'working on behalf of the Bolivian Government'; and that the Socialist Workers Party of the United States were 'valets of the class enemy whose actions placed them outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class'.

As the comrades of the OCRFI in Britain evidently do not see the contradiction between such characterisations and the type of discussion which they have requested internationally, it is necessary to point out to them what is involved. In so doing we can also illustrate some of the more general questions about revolutionary regroupment.

Elementary

The basic contradiction in the position of the *Marxist Bulletin* group comrades, as with so many other organisations in Britain, is that they do not appear to understand either the necessity for a clear characterisation of any political force or even what a clear characterisation is. Most important of all, however, they do not draw the practical conclusions from the characterisations they give.

Take, for example, even such an elementary question as talking about the 'revolutionary left' and 'revolutionary

First Principles

In the first of a new series on the organisations of the left ALAN JONES looks at the politics of the *Marxist Bulletin* group.

Marxist Bulletin

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groups'. If you think that another organisation is a *revolutionary* organisation and part of the *revolutionary* left, then it follows inevitably from this that the aim must be to unify these revolutionary forces. To maintain organisational separation on the basis not of a class line but of tactics or estimates of this or that particular situation is complete dead-end sectarianism, and any organisation which does it is scientifically speaking a sect. Instead of this confusion a *consistent* position must be maintained.

Thus the International Marxist Group, while it has many disagreements on particular issues with organisations such as the Workers Socialist League, International Communist League, and the supporters of the *Chartist* newspaper, nevertheless recognises these as *revolutionary* organisations. It therefore seeks clearly to unify its forces with these organisations.

Take as another example a current such as the *Militant*. The supporters of this paper believe it may be possible to have a peaceful transition to socialism in Britain through a Labour government passing an 'Enabling Act'. This current of course stands for the full nationalisation of the economy and support of militant struggles against the capitalist

class, but its basic position on the capitalist state and the lack of necessity of revolution mean that it must be clearly characterised as a *centrist* current. Revolutionaries do not seek to unify with centrists in the same way as with revolutionaries but to polarise such organisations between reformists, hardened centrists, and revolutionaries. The issue of whether to do this by unity or by remaining outside is a purely tactical one; there is absolutely no *principled* need to seek unity as with revolutionary organisations.

Finally, of course, there are reformist organisations. The aim of revolutionaries towards these is simply to win workers from reformist positions and, by definition, it is quite out of the question to transform a reformist organisation.

Unfortunately some groups do not think out clearly the meaning of what they are saying when they give characterisations of other organisations. Thus, for example, the International Communist League attempts *simultaneously* to say that the International Marxist Group is a revolutionary organisation and to reject the perspective of fusion of its revolutionary forces with those of another organisation it characterises as revolutionary.

In so doing the ICL reveals either that it is a sect, justifying organisational separation on less than principled bases; or that in fact it is merely breathing hot air when it calls an organisation part of the *revolutionary* left, and that it has not thought through the consequences of such a characterisation at all.

In other cases false characterisations are advanced to justify acting like a sect. A classic case here is the Revolutionary Communist Group, which claims that every far left organisation other than itself is centrist. This absurd position leads it to maintain that the political differences which separate it from other revolutionary organisations in Britain are much greater than, for example, the political differences between Burnham and Trotsky in the famous faction struggles in the Socialist Workers Party in the United States — where Trotsky did *not* consider that the political differences involved justified organisational separation.

Glaring

If we now turn again to the British comrades of the OCRFI, we can see quite clearly the glaring contradictions in their position. On the one hand they approach the Fourth International for discussions, even talking of accepting democratic centralism on the basis of a full democratic discussion; yet simultaneously they continue to talk of the Fourth International as 'destroyed by Pabloism', 'separated by an unbridgeable gap from the Transitional Programme', etc.

But it is out of the question to approach for serious discussion people who are the 'destroyers of the Fourth International', and it is absolutely impermissible for revolutionaries to talk of accepting, even on the basis of a full discussion, democratic centralism with people who are 'capitulators to Stalinism'. The aim towards any forces really guilty of such crimes is to destroy them and not engage in a principled discussion with them. By approaching the Fourth International for discussions, the comrades of the OCRFI in fact acknowledge that the FI are *not* capitulators to Stalinism, destroyers of the Fourth International and so on. Yet in words the comrades unfortunately continue to advance the same old and contradictory characterisations.

Wild

It is to be hoped that the comrades of the *Marxist Bulletin* group will rapidly see the hopeless contradiction they have got themselves into, and that they will prepare themselves not for a discussion with counter-revolutionaries but for a serious debate amongst revolutionaries. They in fact already begin to acknowledge the falseness of their own formulas by their very approach for discussions with the Fourth International.

The IMG, which stands resolutely for the unification of all Trotskyist forces, wants through the United Secretariat of the Fourth International to engage in serious debate with the comrades of the OCRFI and therefore of the *Marxist Bulletin* group. We are not put off from this by wild and exaggerated charges when in fact these charges are refuted by the actions of the very same comrades who make them.

But we cannot help pointing out the contradictions in the comrades' positions, calling on them to resolve them by bringing their characterisations into line with their approaches, and thereby persuading them to drop the stupid positions advanced in the last issue of *Marxist Bulletin*.

NEXT WEEK: the International Communist League (ICL)

Strange bedfellows in Guyana

This year Guyana celebrates its tenth anniversary of independence. The present prime minister, Forbes Burnham, has been busy over the past weeks heralding the achievements of this decade. At home they include the nationalisation of the major bauxite and sugar companies (including Bookers McConnell, who previously completely dominated Guyana's economy); and in foreign policy a break from complete reliance on imperialism to developing relations with Cuba and verbal support for the African liberation struggles.

Not so much has been made of the unemployment, homelessness, racism and repression that still exist; or the \$102.5m to be paid in compensation to Bookers — whose century and a half of rank exploitation of the country caused these problems in the first place. Nevertheless, the figure of 68 per cent of the economy now in government hands plus visits by Castro to Guyana have been enough for Burnham to proclaim the country a 'Co-operative Republic', headed towards 'socialist reconstruction' of the economy at home and committed to support for anti-imperialist struggles abroad.

To anyone familiar with the rise of this self-styled 'Marxist' to power, this present left turn and accompanying demagoguery more than sticks in the throat. Though he is talking now about his 'socialist' policies upsetting imperialism, Burnham was himself manoeuvred into power in 1964 in one of the most notorious 'destabilisation' operations of US imperialism and its strong-armed men in the CIA. He has maintained himself in power since then by blatant ballot-rigging, as in the 1973 elections.

Violence

The CIA interfered in 1964 to quell the growing radicalisation of the masses which had already brought Cheddi Jagan's Stalinist-influenced nationalist party (the PPP) to power in 1953. Racial violence was whipped up to divide the Africans and Indians, money paid over to prolong anti-government strikes, and a system of proportional representation brought in which ensured Jagan's ousting — whereupon none other than Mr. Forbes Burnham was installed in office, as a

more amenable servant of imperialism. The country was then granted formal 'independence' in 1966.

Burnham dutifully fulfilled his stooge role until the early 1970s, when the domestic problems created by the stranglehold of foreign monopolies deepened with the growing world economic crisis. Like other neo-colonial regimes, he saw his former paymasters unable to solve the country's economic problems on a capitalist basis, and was forced to carry out nationalisations or else himself be swept aside by the discontent and radicalisation of the masses.

Whilst all this was going on, Cheddi Jagan was doing an about-turn — not an unusual thing in the biographies of Stalinists, but particularly ironic in the situation in Guyana. Not only has Jagan ended his boycott of Parliament, begun after the rigged elections, but he has pledged critical support to Burnham and is now calling for a 'government of national unity' to head off a rumoured second destabilisation operation — this time to topple Burnham himself, who has supposedly moved too far to the left for imperialism's complete comfort.



Burnham (second from right) sits next to Jagan (on his right) at May Day rally this year

So now Jagan and Burnham have become bedfellows in a cross-class alliance. The policies of Stalinism become indistinguishable in the last analysis from the measures which the nationalist bourgeoisie takes to save its own skin.

The propping up of regimes like that of Burnham, which despite state ownership fail to solve deep-rooted problems of the economy, and despite their 'socialist' rhetoric are far too scared actually to involve the masses in the control of economy or state (resorting instead to repression) have already resulted in splits and crises inside the PPP. Some party members have left to join the PNC (Burnham's party), but others have denounced Jagan's class collaboration.

Burnham's only answer to opposition is to try to stifle it — he has attempted, for instance, to ban *Dayclean*, the paper of the revolutionary Working Peoples Alliance.

Jagan's solution of 'all join together to save Guyana' is similar to the support given by the Stalinist Workers Liberation League in Jamaica to the State of Emergency there, under which about 400 people have already been detained. Such policies reflect only the bankruptcy of Stalinism in the face of the colonial revolution, and in particular its timidity or outright betrayal in the face of the possible real movement of the masses.

Paul Sharpe



PORTUGAL FORUM



WRONG TO
CALL FOR
CP - SP
GOVERNMENT

The electoral support given to Otelo de Carvalho by the leftist groups MES and PRP was correct.

Otelo is not a 1970s version of V.I. Lenin or even Louis Blanqui. Trotsky would no doubt have referred to him as a centrist, vacillating between reformism and revolutionary class struggle. However, Otelo was the only candidate prepared to defend and help extend the gains won by Portuguese workers since 1974, namely the powers of factory and neighbourhood committees, the land occupations in the south and the nationalisations of industry.

The Communist Party has no such perspective, and most workers distrust it — either because of its opportunism, or for its lavish approval of East European dictatorships (or both).

Secondly, I would like to comment on the Trotskyists' call for a CP-SP government. Both the 'Socialists' and the fascists supported General Eanes, who has been elected as President because of this alliance. Eanes is the man responsible for the provoking and crushing of the 25 November rebellion by revolutionary soldiers.

The SP is not a workers party in any real sense at all. Formed in West Germany in 1972, it has no history of involvement in Portuguese workers' struggles. In recent union elections in the Setenave shipyards, SP candidates couldn't even obtain the 50 signatures needed to get their names onto the ballot papers. There are 4,000 workers at Setenave.

To call for a CP-SP government is therefore quite wrong. As far as the majority of politically advanced workers are concerned, these counter-revolutionary parties do not need 'exposing'.

Just because workers vote for a party, e.g. the SP, it does not mean that it is their party. In Argentina, millions voted for the Peronists. In the USA they tend to vote Democrat, partly because the union bosses regard the Democrats as best representing workers' interests. But are these workers organisations?

At one time the bourgeoisie used 'republicanism' to achieve supremacy over the working classes; in today's republics they advocate 'socialism'. The sooner we recognise this fact the better.

Increasingly in today's world the new forces of revolt — women, youth, blacks, rank-and-file workers, etc. — are learning to fight and speak through self-organisation (although this is not to deny the importance of intervention by Marxist revolutionaries). When the workers destroy capitalism they will do so by destroying the bankrupt organisations of Stalinism and social democracy in the process — DAVE BLACK (Tottingham).



Otelo appealed for support not to the bourgeoisie but only to the workers'

BOTH PATO AND OTELO A CLASS VOTE

I defend the position of our comrades in the LCI (Portuguese sympathising section of the Fourth International) to call for a vote for the Communist Party candidate, Octavio Pato. However, some fundamental problems have been thrown up in the debate opened in *Red Weekly* which need commenting on.

Any approach which tries to draw immediate tactical guidelines from 'general truths' will be incapable of facing up to the test of events. But we see this method of approach from comrades Grey, Camiller and Jordan in last week's issue, who think that everything follows from the injunction to 'develop the political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie'. Of course this is necessary. But there is no one-to-one relation between such a correct striving and a vote for the CP and their candidate Pato.

The question of class independence has to be posed concretely. Today this resolves itself to the question — 'how to defend the gains of the Portuguese workers against the counter-revolutionary Soares, supported by Cunhal'. That is, how to fight the austerity programme

of the bourgeoisie represented by Eanes. It is the relationship of the candidates to that task which is the decisive question.

In this sense it is undoubtedly the case that Otelo's campaign reflected the strivings of the most combative sections of the working class. A vote for Otelo was a sign that these workers were not going to accept the austerity plan of the bourgeoisie, and it even marked a refusal to countenance the fawning attitude to the bourgeoisie represented by Cunhal's CP.

Otelo himself made no appeals for support to sections of the bourgeoisie, but only to the workers. Because of this and what Otelo expressed — the strivings of the workers against the austerity plan, in however distorted a form — no section of the bourgeoisie or its army supported Otelo. Only workers organisations did this — ultra-left centrists, of course, but still workers organisations.

It is on this point that I find myself much more in agreement with the line of Alan Firth in the same issue. Unfortunately the comrade draws unilateral and unwarranted conclusions from this point. As we have indicated, we agree that a

vote for Otelo is a vote against the bourgeoisie and a class vote. But it is quite illegitimate to deduce from this that there is some kind of qualitative difference between Otelo and Pato.

We are told by comrade Firth about Otelo that 'the implementation of such a programme — even if the methods it outlines are incapable of realising such a goal — poses without a doubt the destruction of capitalism in Portugal' (*Red Weekly*, 8 July). But it is totally illegitimate to separate out means and ends in such a total fashion.

Otelo is not simply confused about how to smash the State in the course of bringing about his economic programme (as for instance was the MIR in Chile — or for that matter the UDP or the MES in Portugal), but he poses the implementation of his programme precisely through the bourgeois State. This is not the hallmark of a centrist but of a left reformist.

It is not necessary to deny that Otelo's programme is a bourgeois programme to assert that he is a candidate of the workers movement. Pato's programme is a bourgeois programme. But because of his organic ties with the workers movement a vote for Pato is a class vote. So too is the vote for Otelo.

But in calling for a vote for Otelo as well as Pato, it is even more important that we take care not to breed illusions.

Precisely because Otelo appears more left than Pato now, he will create a store of confidence in the working class and be able to come forward at a later date to present himself as different in a more critical choice. Unless we warn now and prepare for that we store up illusions in his reformist project.

This is connected to another point. Characterising Otelo as a centrist can lead to a big overestimation of the possibilities of the present situation. It can lead to the wrong conclusion that 17 per cent of the electorate and a greater percentage of the working class — in some key bastions like Setubal etc. — an absolute majority of the working class — have broken from the reformism and class collaboration of the CP-SP.

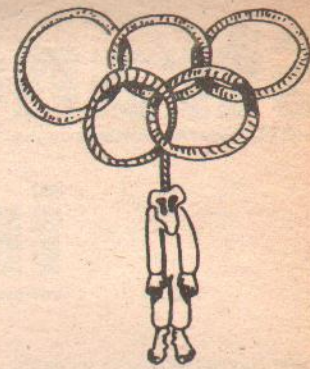
But this would be a wild overestimate of the situation. On the contrary, by defining the politics of Carvalho as at most left reformist, then we can understand why the key task is not to be found in the triumphalist schemes of the centrists but in preparing the fight to prevent the reabsorption of this layer into the schemes of the SP-CP.

It is for these reasons that we should have characterised both a vote for Otelo and a vote for Pato as a class vote. But clearly our Portuguese comrades had eventually to make a choice, not on principle, but one which would aid their task of future clarification. This had to be for the LCI to call for a vote for Pato. — BRIAN GROGAN.



Communist Party candidate Pato

CAPITAL'S GAMES



A member of the Political Bureau of the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire, a sympathising organisation of the Fourth International in Quebec, explains how the Olympics are being used as a cover to step up repression against the workers movement.

Q What importance do the Olympic Games have for the ruling class in Quebec and Canada?

A The Olympics have an economic, political and ideological effect. Moreover, they are taking place at a fortunate time for the ruling class, which has been carrying out an unprecedented attack against the working classes of Canada and Quebec for nearly a year.

Economically, the Olympics are perhaps less important than one would think: their effect is limited essentially to Montreal and Quebec, where the construction and tourist industries and their associated sectors are profiting directly. Of course there is an undergrowth of profiteers and speculators cropping up around the big construction companies and hotels.

Q How is the ruling class using the Olympic Games?

A The Olympics are being used as the pretext for a vast ideological offensive, whose principal aspects are the strengthening of national chauvinism, the inculcation of the values espoused by commercial sport like the spirit of competition, of individual success and aggressiveness, and finally, as an attempt to discredit the workers movement.

But the present attack is far from being only ideological. At this time the 185,000 workers in the Common Front of public sector unions are entering a decisive phase in their negotiations. The State has unleashed a vicious attack on the right to strike in the public sector, and in spite of the Common Front's bureaucratic leadership, confrontations are likely.

For the ruling class, the usefulness of the Olympics is clear: any 'illegal' strike can be denounced as disturbing the social climate and delaying the preparation of this international event that is designed to bring praise to its organisers. It reminds you a bit of the bourgeoisie's ideological initiatives during imperialist wars: anyone who goes on strike or upsets the normal functioning of capitalist exploitation is accused of destroying the nation and the civilisation.

And above all, while the most decisive confrontations are occurring, Montreal will be occupied by the Canadian Armed Forces who will be there in large numbers to 'protect the Games'. It's easy to imagine the possible dynamic if the working class resorts to the same methods of struggle as in 1972: occupations of radio stations, the effective establishment of workers control over entire cities for short periods of time. Already tens of thousands of workers are defying the special law Bill 253 ('essential services' legislation).

In addition to this the construction workers too are now negotiating, and as the bourgeois press has explained, the Olympic installations are quite behind schedule. Blaming the workers for the lateness (caused by bad planning and the Montreal administration's delusions of grandeur), the bourgeoisie is quite prepared to use the most extreme methods to prevent strikes in this sector. Already the Government has fired workers who were working to rule on the Olympic site.

This attack has been accompanied by a big anti-worker ideological offensive in Canada as well as Quebec, of which the Olympics are a cornerstone. Strikes and demonstrations are no longer just called sabotage against the 'war on inflation' but also a threat to

Canada's 'national honour' — i.e. the Olympics.

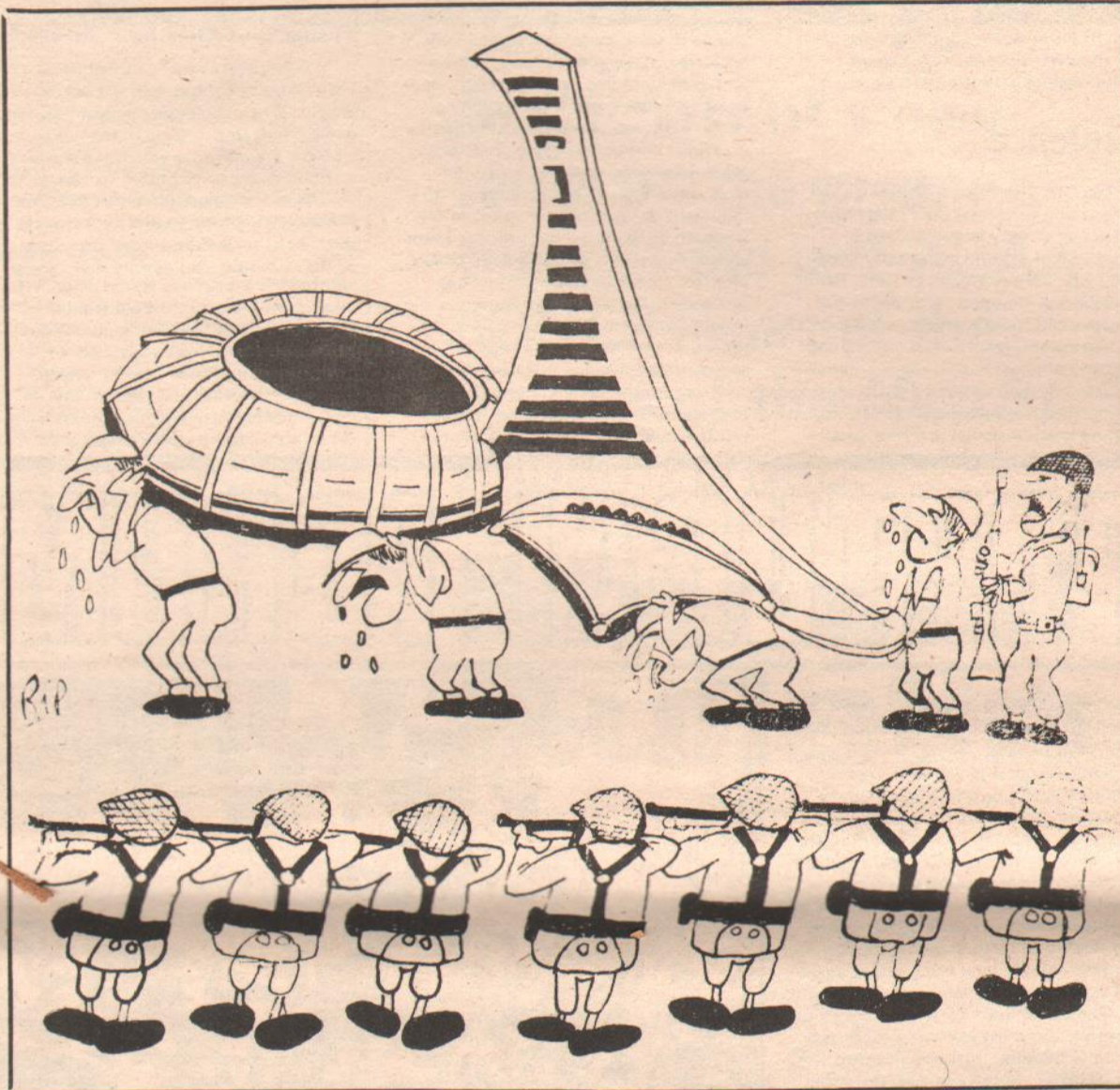
On top of this there is all of the hysterical propaganda around the 'terrorist danger'. This lays the basis for repression against foreign-born militants and revolutionary organisations.

Q And the repression around the Olympics?

A It has already begun, but the most important aspects are being prepared. The first victims are naturally the politically active progressive militants. The bourgeoisie uses an ultra-racist chain of

associations: foreign-coloured-Arabs-terrorists.

The federal parliament has just passed a 'temporary immigration security law'. It allows the deportation, expulsion or denial of entry to anyone who does not have landed immigrant status in Canada.



'These Games aren't intended for the athlete'

Daniel Taillon, a Quebec athlete taking part in the Olympic games, is the Canadian record-holder for the 100 metre hurdles, the 120 yard hurdles, and the 50 metre indoor hurdles. This interview was carried out last month for the Montreal revolutionary socialist monthly *Liberation*.



● We hear a lot of talk about the 'Olympic dream' — that is, that the Games serve the athletes by providing them with an ideal occasion to demonstrate human capabilities in sports. As a Quebec athlete, what do you think of the Montreal Games?

I don't think these Games are intended for the athlete. He/she is not the main object. The main object is the Olympic dream, the Olympic dream people are sold, that the athletes themselves are sold to get them to participate in the Games. The athlete is the means of selling the Games, not the end. The athletes aren't the main beneficiaries of these Games.

● Who are the main beneficiaries, in your opinion, if it's not the athletes?

The main beneficiaries are the corporations. For the corporations the Olympics are a big economic shot in the arm, but it's the small taxpayer who pays. It has nothing to do with sport. And it's not the Olympic ideal in the real meaning of the term. I think we'll never rediscover the Olympic ideal in today's society.

● Could you describe the situation with respect to the assistance athletes get to help with their training?

Generally, athletes don't get much assistance from the government. The small amount the federal government grants athletes doesn't help their daily training programme but just goes to help defray costs of some special projects, such as competitions abroad. And even then, if your project is agreed to, you have to run to get your money.

It's especially beginners, athletes who haven't yet made a repu-

tation for themselves, who suffer the effects of inadequate assistance. A great many athletes have given up because of that — including athletes who could have had a place in this year's Olympic team.

But athletes who have reached a certain level, who have a certain reputation, usually get their equipment free from Adidas or Puma, or other sporting goods companies. These athletes can get scholarships more easily. They are invited more often to participate in competitions with all expenses paid.

● Can you explain the relationship between companies like Adidas and Puma and the athletes?

The athletes are caught on the horns of a dilemma. If they really want to continue in sport, they need a lot of money for their equipment and training. If they have no money they have to work to build a reputation, which will make them a better selling point for the big sports equipment companies. The companies give them their equipment free, and in return they use the athletes to advertise their products by getting them to wear their trade mark on their equipment.

● When you compete, do you feel motivated by a kind of Canadian 'national spirit', or do you do it for yourself?

Politics are certainly a factor in international competitions like the Olympics. But it's not the athletes who bring out the national aspects. I never stop to think that I want to beat someone because he is a Frenchman or a German, and I'm a Canadian. I compete only for myself, against other individuals who have achieved a certain standard in my speciality.

Incidentally, many progressive or revolutionary militants have been 'visited' by the cops. A leader of our organisation was told he should take a good vacation out of the country, otherwise his vacation would be 'organised at the Queen's expense'. The offices of a particularly isolated mao-stalinist group have been raided.

This is just the start: we expect to see 'preventive arrests' as well as a variety of forms of intimidation before the Games. The State may well use all sorts of pretexts to avoid linking the repression directly to the Olympics for the sake of 'international opinion'. Thus there is a real possibility for provocations under a wide range of pretexts.

Q Could you say a bit about the repressive means already in force for the Olympics?

A It is the biggest deployment of repressive forces seen in Quebec since World War II. One-sixth of the Canadian army will be mobilised in the occupation of Montreal in collaboration with the three police forces — all equipped with anti-riot gear, and intelligence services, etc.

The Canadian army has a very professional and specialised character: there are more officers and non-commissioned officers than soldiers — it exists only for domestic purposes. It has been used for these purposes internationally: Cyprus, Gaza, etc. In addition, the police forces here are collaborating closely with the intelligence networks in other capitalist countries, particularly with the CIA.

And it is not just for the Olympics — the Games have become the occasion to install an entire system for future use. But for immediate needs, there are 20,000 armed men who will be taking over the schools of Montreal to stay for the summer.

Q What will be your intervention in terms of the Olympics?

A It will be entirely propagandistic. We have set ourselves the task of explaining in what sense the Games are 'Capital's Games', linking this to the question of the role of the State, the role of sport in the dominant ideology, and repression.

The only work we see other than this propagandistic campaign is in the struggle against repression. We are initiating the broadest possible unity in action in defence of democratic rights in defence of the victims of repression, and against the racist policy carried out against progressive immigrants.

In this work international solidarity plays a crucial role. The repression must be publicised as widely as possible outside Quebec: the fear of scandals on an international level is probably the only thing which can affect the bourgeoisie at this time. As well, we need all information on militants who are deported or stopped at the border, etc. We will be counting on the other sections of the Fourth International to help in this work, in this struggle against repression.

NEXT WEEK: 'The Athlete's Dilemma' — an interview with Bruce Kidd, a Canadian Olympic athlete in 1964 who was involved in discussion of the potential black American boycott of the 1968 Olympics and has since co-authored a book on the commercialisation of hockey.

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

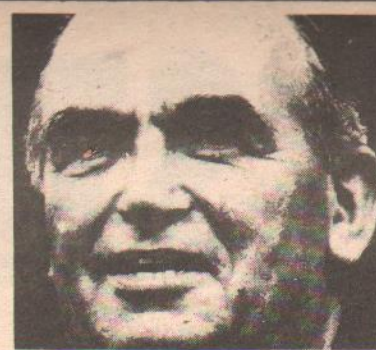
and sash, take bible and sword in hand, and really feel one of the chosen people. In such garb they proceed to 'the field' to hear speeches and vote for resolutions which pledge loyalty to God, the Queen and Ulster.

They are seized by an emotional frenzy as the Imperial Grand Master or some other Orange wizard reveals for the umpteenth time the details of a dastardly plot by Republicans and Communists — in league with 'old red socks' the Pope — to deprive Ulster's Protestants of the civil and religious liberty gained by the defeat of popery at the hands of William, Prince of Orange, at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.

Historical fact has little importance for the Loyalists of Northern Ireland, and anyway the myths are well-established. Presbyterian Ulster is not fond of being reminded that following King Billy's victory, Presbyterians were subjected to persecution just like Catholics, and the High Anglican Church was established as the only legal Church throughout Ireland.

On the platforms of the Orange demonstrations, Loyalist unity was preserved. No mention was made in the resolutions of the talks between the Official Unionist Party (OUP) and the Social Democratic & Labour Party. Yet these talks are at the centre of a dispute within the Loyalist parties, which in the view of many within the Loyalist coalition has led to permanent cracks in the UUUC, if not to its imminent demise.

The OUP entered into the talks without any mandate or agreement from the other parties in the UUUC. Despite the



OUP leader Harry West (above) is now being hailed as a moderate—just as Craig (below) was when he was thrown out of the Loyalist coalition by the same H. West.



strong criticism and insistence by these parties that the talks must end, the OUP has refused to call them off.

The stand taken by the OUP has been welcomed by those who back a coalition government in one shape or another. OUP members like Harry West

and Martin Smyth, who booted Craig's Vanguard Party out of the UUUC, are now being hailed as moderates. One might expect, therefore, that the OUP and the SDLP are actually discussing power-sharing in the talks, that the OUP has shifted from its previous intransigent opposition.

But this is not the case. Over the cups of tea shared with the SDLP, the Official Unionists have simply been reiterating their adherence to the UUUC Convention report, and their total opposition to having the SDLP in the Cabinet.

Indeed, it would appear that the Official Unionists' decision to talk with the SDLP was motivated by their desire to assert their authority within the Loyalist coalition, against that of Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party and Baird's United Ulster Unionist Movement. Under the leadership of Harry West, the OUP, the party of traditional Unionism, had increasingly become overshadowed by the militant demagoguery of Paisley and Baird. Now Smyth would appear to have the drop on his clerical opponent.

But with the inevitable failure of the present talks to produce agreement, the Loyalist population will be thrown back to the old game of choosing between the vacillating 'moderates' like Smyth and the clear militant determination of Paisley and his Loyalist Action Council. When that time comes, the temporary advantage gained by the Official Unionists over the last few weeks may well prove to be a case of just enough rope to hang themselves.



Some 50,000 Orangemen sweated their way through Belfast last Monday as they marched in the notorious Twelfth procession. Often depicted as a colourful and amusing folk festival by the press, the 12 July parade is the annual demonstration of Loyalist domination over the nationalist minority of the Six Counties. As one Catholic put it: 'On the Twelfth you are a prisoner in your own city.'

It is a vast coat-trailing exercise designed to intimidate and cow the Tais and at the same time reaffirm the unity of Ulster Protestants — a unity not obstructed by trivial issues such as profits, wages and the North's 11 per cent unemployment level.

Many Ulster Protestants regard themselves as the long-lost twelfth tribe of Israel, and the Twelfth provides them with an opportunity to don bowler hat

Bringing 'democracy' to Ireland

This week Tomas Mac Giolla, president of Official Sinn Fein, is due to speak in London at meetings with MPs, invited trade unionists, and 'the public' on the situation in Ireland — gatherings organised by the Communist Party.

Normally any visit by an Irish activist to this country is welcome, and certainly Mac Giolla was correct to write in the *Morning Star* last week that 'people in Britain must be either apathetic, unaware or confused about events in Ireland'. Unfortunately, if the rest of Mac Giolla's article is anything to go by, his visit is only likely to spread the confusion and increase the apathy.

Mac Giolla begins the article by saying that 'the first essential in Northern Ireland today' is 'democracy and workers unity'. He also speaks of the desirability of 'a united working class population in the 32 counties'. All good stuff — unless you ask how.

Riddle

In answer to this riddle, Mac Giolla says little. All that he offers is a plea for the British Parliament to pass a Bill of Rights which 'sums up the basic legislation needed to bring democracy to Northern Ireland'.

This in itself poses a number of questions. Such as why Ian Paisley, Brian Faulkner, and even Enoch Powell have all said they would welcome a Bill of Rights? Or how is it that the British Parliament has any right to legislate for Ireland, whether such legislation is good, bad or indifferent?

Certainly, as far as any Bill of Rights is concerned, it is indifference which would be the most likely effect. Because contrary to what Mac Giolla says, Britain has made various attempts to reform the Six Counties.

* There was the disarming of the Royal Ulster Constabulary — they are now armed again.

* There was the disbandment of the B Specials — there is now the Ulster Defence Regiment, many of whose members have been charged with sectarian murders.

* There was the 'Prevention of Incitement to Hatred Act' — designed to outlaw sectarianism, but only one charge was ever brought under it.

Impossible

It is true that none of these reforms were pursued with much enthusiasm; but that could not be said of other reformist schemes such as the Sunningdale agreement, which sought to introduce power-sharing. Sunningdale, however, went the way of all other attempts to reform the Six Counties. And the reason — a reason Mac Giolla avoids — is that there is no 'piece of legislation'



ABOVE: *Morning Star* calls for 'workers unity'. BELOW: the Loyalists' reply.



which is capable of reforming the Six Counties or bringing democracy to the state. It's impossible because the very establishment of that state was a denial of a fundamental democratic right — the right of the Irish people, as a whole, to self-determination. Like the South African system of apartheid, the Loyalist state cannot be reformed — it can only survive or be destroyed. The people of the Catholic ghettos have realised this for some time. They no longer plea for civil rights or sing 'We Shall Overcome'; the most persistent message now is a much simpler 'Brits Out'. But not the Official Republican Movement or the British Communist

Party. With the Six County state falling around their ears, they appear capable only of asking Britain to be nicer to Ireland.

But that's not quite all. For having fed the notion that Britain has a right in Ireland by saying it has 'responsibilities', Mac Giolla continues this feast of British chauvinism by labelling the Provisional Republican movement as 'terrorist' and 'counter-revolutionary'. No doubt many readers of the *Morning Star* would agree with such a judgement, but they just might wonder how it is that the British state, its army, its judges and its police have murdered, tortured and interned 'counter-revolutionaries' for the last six years. Perhaps this makes the British state 'progressive'.....

But of course the reason why British policy has been directed so firmly against the Provisionals is that for all their errors, they are the only organisation in Ireland which has offered a sustained resistance to British imperialism and its army.

Yet even the role of that army is confused by Mac Giolla. He writes: 'The British Government represents the actions of the British army as peace-keeping. The British army might even believe this itself.'

Now that would certainly be news to Brigadier Kitson, the chief theoretician of the British army, who labelled his Irish campaign as 'counter-insurgency'; certainly news to those who witnessed 'Bloody Sunday'; certainly news to those thousands of Irish people who have been beaten up by the British troops — the troops who, would you believe, have done all this in the sincere belief that they were keeping the peace!

Fantasy

Such is the fantasy world inhabited by Tomas Mac Giolla, the Official Republican movement, and the British Communist Party. A fantasy world in which Mac Giolla says that the Provisionals and the Irish pro-imperialist Fianna Fail party are 'allies' — though it's a strange sort of ally which passes all sorts of repressive legislation in the 26 Counties and which interns, bans and raids thousands of Provisionals. Fianna Fail has indeed attacked the Provisionals with the same amount of enthusiasm with which they have been attacked by the British Government and the Official Republican movement.

Maybe this is the alliance Mac Giolla means when he calls for 'an alliance of progress between Britain and Ireland'. On the other hand, opponents of British imperialism say there can be no such alliance until Britain is driven out of Ireland; and there can be no possibility of workers democracy and unity in Ireland until the Loyalist state is destroyed.

GEOFF BELL

That's Capitalism

By ESTHER RANCID



'PRETORIA to be white by night.' It might sound incredible, but that's apartheid's latest little scheme. According to a report in the *Daily Telegraph* last Thursday:

'Building will start next April of hostels to house 26,000 to 30,000 Black Africans miles outside Pretoria the South African capital, so that the city can be "white by night". The scheme will cost millions of pounds and is due to be completed by 1983. Each hostel will accommodate about 1,000 men.'

'All Blacks who are not considered officially to be key workers in the White area — such as those in hotels, hospitals, old people's homes, blocks of flats — will be affected. Under the plan White householders will also lose their domestic servants at night.'

What do the Blacks think about this? Well, the director of the Central Bantu Affairs Administration Board was reported as saying that 'it was difficult to consult with the Blacks about the conditions of their settlements because they were not an organised group. Why is that, I wonder?'

The interests of a group vital to Britain's future were preserved a few weeks ago by the prompt action of the Secretary of State for the Environment, Peter Shore. Asked to approve a compulsory purchase order made by Durham County Council to provide a site for gypsies, he refused on the grounds of 'the proximity of the order land to land used for training valuable racehorses' (*Planning*, 2 July). Pity those gypsies have nowhere to stay, though.

But they aren't the only ones. A land worker, his eight months pregnant wife and their two-year-old son are about to be evicted from a tent in Suffolk — because it has been erected on council-owned land.

They have already been evicted from squats four times since moving to the area in search of work. In desperation, David Keating finally tried to make a home for his family in a shelter of blankets and sheets in a wood. The Red Cross then came up with a tent. But now Forest Heath District Council says it must evict them because 'a dwelling has been erected on council land without permission'.

Strange, isn't it, how the public are always the last to benefit from what is supposedly public property?

THIS STRIKE MUST WIN

The management of Trico Folberth car components in West London, facing a determined equal pay strike since 24 May, have responded to a desperate situation by organising scab labour and taking their case to an industrial tribunal.

Thursday 1 July: Nine haulage trucks and a number of private cars with black-leg labour roll up after 2 a.m. Six are turned away by the pickets.

Friday night, 2 July: A white Peugeot car parks opposite the front gate. The driver has binoculars and a radio microphone. Following this the police and six unmarked lorries arrive, and are unloaded by non-Trico workers. One picket who follows the lorries is detained by the police for 50 minutes on the outskirts of Luton - for driving slowly!

Saturday night, 10 July: Another convoy of lorries manned by scabs succeeds in getting past the picket line.

The other manoeuvre by management to beat the determination of the 400 women - who have been on strike for eight weeks to gain the £4.75 increase which would give them equal pay - has been to refer the claim to an industrial tribunal. The hearing is scheduled for 14 July.

Tribunals are pursued with confidence by employers. Since they have been in

operation there have been numerous occasions when the tribunal - which is composed of three members: a lawyer, a management nominee, and a trade unionist (two against one) - has upheld loopholes in the Act exploited by management.

However the women's union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, is pledged to continue industrial action for equal pay whatever the outcome of the tribunal. Roger Butler, secretary of the union's Southall district, puts it bluntly: 'We don't have any faith in the tribunals. The Engineering Union has an agreed standard of equal pay, and there is no point in having a union if we refer this to a supposedly impartial body. We would be letting everyone down.'

IGNORE

'We insist on the company negotiating with us, and you can get some idea of the impartiality of these tribunals from the fact that Trico is anxious to take its case there and we won't. We insist on dealing with this issue collectively.'

Trico management responded with an individual letter to every striker: 'If the union decides to ignore the tribunal, and the tribunal has ruled in favour of the company, it would no longer be a

disagreement over equal pay.' They got the letters back in bulk, simply marked **EQUAL PAY** in big red letters.

The strike is one of the longest so far for equal pay, and is also likely to prove one of the most significant. The production of a regular strike bulletin has greatly assisted in informing those involved of all developments and the need to maintain solidarity. Meetings of the strike committee are open to all strikers.

The struggle has certainly proved to be an eye-opener for many of those taking part. Comments Sally, a member of the strike committee: 'In the course of the strike the women have become aware of the kind of discrimination that exists against us. They have seen the solidarity shown by women's groups, the Working Women's Charter Campaign, and women in factories. I'm sure that the women stewards will take a much more leading part when we go back.'

Help make sure this strike is won:

- * Ensure that any Trico products are blacked in your factory.
- * Send resolutions of support and donations (to Trico Strike Fund, AUEW House, 1 Woodlands Road, Southall, Middlesex).
- * Join the Working Women's Charter picket rota on Friday nights.
- * Invite a speaker to your workplace or union meeting.

RED WEEKLY

REVOLT SIMMERS AT MINERS' CONFERENCE

Last week's annual conference of the National Union of Mineworkers revealed a smouldering revolt against the policies of the Gormley leadership.

Only by a majority of 17 on a card vote did the executive win endorsement of their decision to ban all discussion on wages at the conference. And this was after Yorkshire miners' leader Arthur Scargill had been peremptorily ordered from the rostrum by union president Joe Gormley when he tried to speak on the issue.

Former left general secretary Lawrence Daly was also dragged out to give a 'left' gloss the executive's sordid complicity with the Healey cuts by warning the Government not to ignore the demands put by the NUM and other unions. As conference went on record that day against the cuts in public spending and for the right to work, his words were obviously intended to convey to the delegates that if they played along with Healey's wage cuts everybody could have a job and the social services would be maintained.

Perhaps Daly's political myopia prevents him from seeing that there are now 1 1/4 million unemployed workers and that decline and deterioration is the order of the day in the entire public sector. Maybe Gormley forgot to whisper in his ear that Healey is planning new cuts estimated at between £1,200 and £1,400 million.

The voting on whom to support for the job of Labour Party treasurer resulted in a narrow victory for the right wing. Industry Minister Eric Varley, an ex-miner, got 140 votes against the 133 won by Norman Atkinson, an AUEW-sponsored left MP. But even the Derbyshire delegation voted for Atkinson against their so-called 'favourite son' candidate.

A real potential blow was struck at the social contract when conference voted for staggered retirement on full wages. The resolution says that this must be agreed by January 1977 otherwise the executive shall ballot the membership to decide 'which course of industrial action should be taken to bring this matter to a successful conclusion'.

An attempt by right-wing executive members to remit the matter of what action to take was defeated. Another

swipe was taken at the social contract when delegates voted for a fourth week's paid holiday.

On the final day the conference voted unanimously to call on the Labour Government to ban the National Front. This resolution is being forwarded to the TUC Congress in early September.

These votes show that the membership are beginning to rebel at the policies of the right wing and the Labour Government. In the union that twice smashed Tory pay laws, and whose actions were responsible for getting rid of the last Tory Government, this is of tremendous significance.

Of course the right-wing leaders will do everything possible to sabotage these decisions - their commitment to the Labour Government's reactionary policies ensures that. Nor will Mr Jenkins - who still keeps Des Warren in jail - dash off his chair at the Home Office to ban the National Front because of the conference resolution, even if it does get carried at the TUC.

What the votes demonstrate is a tremendous potential for fighting the anti-working class policies of Callaghan and Healey. That potential has to be mobilised, which means a fight by the militant areas like Yorkshire, Scotland, South Wales, Derbyshire and Kent to put their full resources behind struggles against cuts and unemployment.

Certainly these areas should be demanding the recall of the Unemployment Assembly and building for the lobby of the TUC. And to make the Labour Government act on the National Front means contingents of miners on anti-NF pickets and demonstrations and pledges to support black self-defence in a practical way.

Inside the union the militant areas have to wage a joint campaign to reach directly the rank-and-file who still give support to their right-wing leaders. If fought for, the demands of the NUM would act as a mighty stimulus to the rest of the workers movement and disrupt completely the plans of the ruling class. But if they remain at the level of words alone they will only demoralise the militants in the pits and reinforce the arguments of the right wing throughout the trade unions.

Bob Pennington

HOW'S THAT!

As white supremacy suffered the indignity of 71 all out, the Red Weekly Fighting Fund showed once again the superiority of revolutionary spirit by raising £103 after the first week of the summer innings. But there is still a long way to go before we reach the West Indies total of 411 - never mind the £1,500 we need by the end of September. So bowl many more bumpers at white supremacy by rushing money to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

Our thanks this week to: IMG supporter in the Labour Party, £50; East London Gay Centre, £5; Guildford anti-racist, £10; a TUC delegate who sent us her £10 expenses; Des Stepto, £2; Cambridge IMG, £10; Huddersfield IMG, £5; Teesside IMG, £4.50; and Darlington IMG, £5.



Photo: ANGELA PHILLIPS (IFL)

Protest sit-in at Hounslow Hospital

A large notice, 'Join our sit-in', met 600 marchers at Hounslow hospital last Saturday. Elderly patients, shoppers, nurses and ancillary workers had joined the protest occupation in opposition to the closure of the hospital together with four other proposed closures in the Ealing, Hammersmith and Hounslow area.

The large march and occupation was the result of energetic rank-and-file organisation in the local hospitals. The joint shop stewards committee aims to cover

the whole area in the fight against the cuts. Its chairman, Carl Brecker, told Red Weekly that the response to mass meetings called against the closure had been 'just fantastic - in some hospitals the turn-out was over 75 per cent. Even the Royal College of Nursing has joined the committee after special endorsement from their district committee.'

National Union of Public Employees shop steward Jim Clarke, speaking on behalf of Hounslow hospital workers, said to loud applause: 'If the manage-

ment can't run the hospital without cuts, then we can!'

This message was banged home by Jean Lugg, NUPE student nurse at West Middlesex hospital, now threatened by ward closures. She explained that if hospital workers did take industrial action to fight the cuts, the whole of the press and management would come down on their necks for causing 'suffering'. But the same people would never shout about the suffering caused by the cuts in health.



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