

RED WEEKLY

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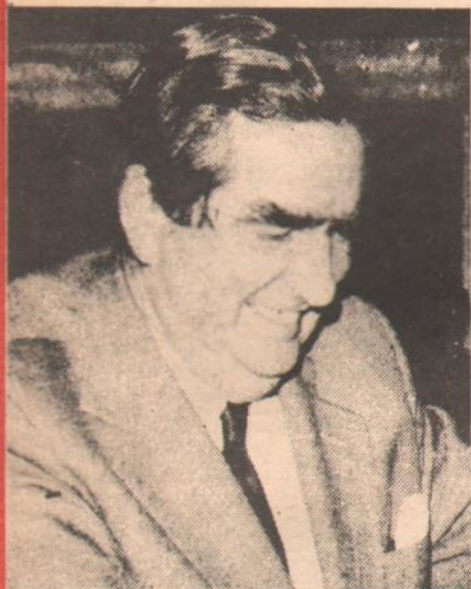
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THIS IS THE LAST ISSUE TILL 19 AUGUST

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THE BETRAYERS



CHANCELLOR HEALEY has said that there will be no more cuts. The latest £1,000 million cuts in public spending will be the last made by the Labour Government.

For once Healey might be telling the truth. Unemployment has crossed the 1½ million barrier. A quarter of a million school leavers will be without jobs. In the by-elections at Rotherham and Thurrock, Labour voters stayed away in droves.

Yes, these may be the last cuts from this Labour Government — because soon there won't be a Labour Government unless the death grip of the betrayers leading the labour movement to disaster is not broken.

Healey has argued that the cuts are necessary to divert capital away from wasteful 'services' — our health, our education and social welfare — into industrial investment. But 40,000 jobs are already under the axe in the steel industry. The British Steel Corporation's £600 million Port Talbot scheme has been sliced in half. In fact between £400 million and £500 million of the total public spending cuts have come out of public sector investment.

The increase in national insurance contributions will also be used by the bosses as an excuse to sack more workers and push the increase onto the workers through price rises.

But the jackals of the city and the international banks are not satisfied. When the central banks' £5.3 billion standby credit falls due in December,

there is no guarantee that the International Monetary Fund will make more credit reserves available. The bankers bay for more blood, while the Economist, the magazine of big business, comments cynically that 'orders from the IMF would give Britain much better government than Labour or Tories have done'.

Can the rot be stopped? If words were worth their weight in action, the verbal blisterings of the Labour Chancellor by the left MPs would long ago have stopped the cuts. And Benn's 'agonising' on whether or not to resign would surely have stayed the hand of the public sector executioners in the Cabinet.

But unfortunately for the lefts and their cohorts in the trade union bureaucracy, their spineless capitulation in practice to the right wing on every decisive issue has meant that the mass of workers have been left leaderless, confused and demoralised. Small groups of militants must build the lobbies of the TUC and Labour Party conferences to demand that they break with Healey and the anti-social contract.

Leaders of the public sector unions equally refuse to organise national action against the cuts. Workers have to organise localised action.

Militants must set themselves this goal: to build the broadest possible united action against the cuts and fight at every level of the labour movement for the removal of the betrayers responsible for them.

And here's
one way to
fight them

One challenge to the betrayers will be coming from the Right to Work March. Unemployed youth, teachers and trade union representatives will be marching to the TUC Conference in Brighton.

An important slogan that will be raised on the march is for the right of women to work. The Working Women's Charter Campaign, engaged in activity around the Trico equal pay strike, has now decided provisionally to build a contingent on the Right to Work March.

Unemployed college and school leavers should be heartened by the fact that the National Union of Students Executive have been compelled to take some action on the mandate they received from the last NUS Conference to support the Right to Work Campaign. IMG member Valerie Coultas moved the successful motion delegating herself as the Executive's representative on the march.

Red Weekly urges its readers to support the march and fight for the recall of the 3,000 delegate strong National Assembly on Unemployment in order to:

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

*Lead a fight in support of occupations to meet redundancy, calling for the opening of the books to draw up a system of work-sharing to safeguard workers' jobs and lay the basis for nationalisation under workers control.

*Campaign against the decisions of the TUC conference for the 4½ per cent deal, and in favour of automatic increases to compensate for inflation in wages, pensions and other state benefits, and the social expenditure budget.

REMOVE THEM!

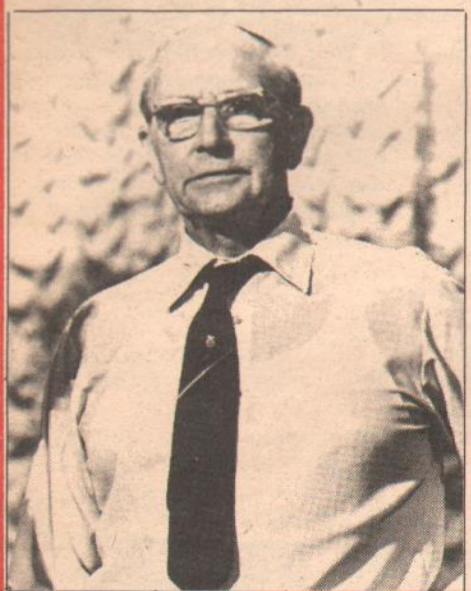
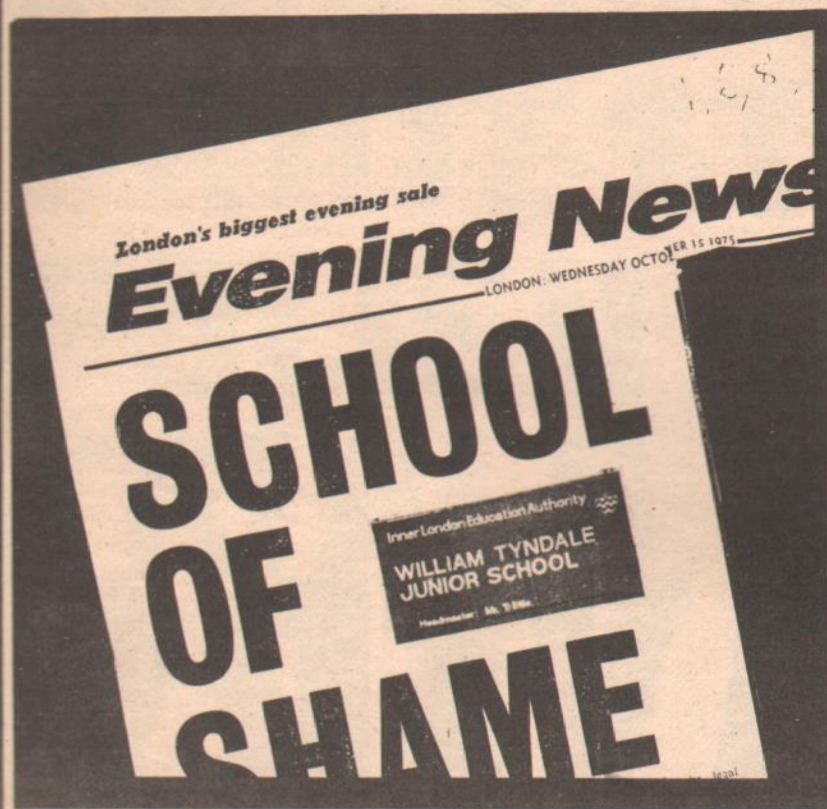


Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

WHO WRECKED TYNDALE?

BY ALF JENNINGS



CUTTING A FINE FIGURE

DARLINGTON: The newly elected Tory Council has issued a mandatory 60-day warning to the building workers' union UCATT of up to 100 redundancies in the direct labour department. A result of the cuts? Yes, but it also seems that a few nests are going to be feathered in the process.

Last month the direct labour department had an unusual visitor — the Secretary of the Master Builders Federation, who spent a whole day inspecting the accounts (including costing, tenders, etc.). Two proposed council estates were then in the pipeline, and during the next few weeks the Council received several tenders from private builders which easily undercut the quotation given by the direct labour department — one being termed 'a ridiculous price' by the borough surveyor. Not surprisingly, the Council awarded the jobs to private firms, hence the redundancies. The tenders from private firms

would undoubtedly cause them to lose money on the job. But the likelihood is that these projects will never begin, falling foul of the spending cuts. There is thus a strong suspicion that a co-ordinated campaign has begun to close down the direct labour department in order to ensure that all future council building goes to private concerns (where, incidentally, only 10 per cent of the workforce is unionised).

But direct labour workers have already responded by calling a 'down tools' mass meeting where strike action will be on the agenda. Darlington Trades Council Action Committee has also decided to picket the Council meeting on 14 August which will be discussing the redundancies. The Committee will be stressing that the direct labour department will not mean the same work done by a different concern, but less building and improvements as a whole for the town.

Cuts = Sackings

Many workers identify civil servants only as the 'faceless bureaucrats' whose red tape holds back their hopes of decent wages and living standards. But tens of thousands of clerical and ancillary workers, with an average take-home pay of £30 a week, are now lining up at the top of the queue for cuts and redundancies.

Healey's cuts involve a reduction of £140 million in spending on the departments of the civil service which administer public services — which will slash the scope and standard of the latter. Forty thousand jobs — 9 per cent of present total staffing — are to be lost in redundancies and 'natural wastage' — recruitment cut-backs — over the next two years.

David Hall, research officer for the Society of Civil and Public Servants, estimates that the end result of the White Paper cuts in civil service employment will be a 6 per cent increase in overall national unemployment levels. Among under-25s, this figure almost doubles; among women workers, it trebles.

For some months now, top level departmental surveys have been carried out in the civil service, without any consultation with the unions involved. The surveys will provide the Cabinet with a guide to the best means of implementing cuts of 5, 10, or 15 per cent. Yet faced with such blatant provocation, the response of the union leaders has only given more power to Healey's arm.

The SCPS conference earlier this year gave support to Healey's pay policy by 5,509 to 4,196. The General Secretary of the Civil Service Union has assured National Staff Side that he will draw the line only at 'compulsory redundancy'. At the conference of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation, Callaghan (himself a former IRSF bureaucrat) was given pride of place to assure delegates that cuts and redundancies would proceed as planned.

As for the 220,000-strong Civil and Public Services Association, despite a firm mandate from this year's conference to take action against 'any form of policies which mean unemployment, public expenditure cuts and a reduction of living standards', the union's leaders held a hasty national ballot in order to get off the hook. Angry members lobbied a meeting of the union's DHSS Section Executive last week to demand strike action, and there is now talk by the Executive of a one-day strike.

But such action will appear to members only as a spectre of the betrayal of the 1973 strike without a clear campaign to build support and a clear date for action. All that is clear at the moment is that this commitment will have to be fought for from the ranks in the branches of all civil service unions.

Supporters of Red Weekly in the civil service unions met recently to co-ordinate their activities, and will be producing a regular bulletin. For information write to: R. Dennis, 97 Caledonian Rd, London N1.

WHO DESTROYED THE WILLIAM TYNDALE SCHOOL? That's the question everybody concerned about education must ask. Was it the 'progressive teaching methods' of 'extremist' and 'doctrinaire' teachers, as Robin Auld Q.C. claims in his report? Or was it sabotage, as headmaster Terry Ellis alleges, by people who want to turn the clock back in education?

First of all, what are the teaching methods at the heart of the row? According to the teachers, the curriculum was based on the Plowden Report on primary education. The pupils' day at Tyndale was divided into four sessions: in two, pupils learnt maths and language; in the other two they could choose from twenty optional projects, or none at all. This meant that kids could play games or do academic work.

According to the Tyndale staff, the more 'disturbed and disadvantaged' kids thrived in this atmosphere, while the 'academically more advanced' continued their work in the open sessions. The percentage of pupils classed as 'below average' fell from 39.5 to 21.3 per cent.

But Auld agrees with Dolly Walker (the teacher who first made public attacks on the Ellis team) that this curriculum had other effects: 'Children defied their teachers, swore openly at them and at the ancillary staff some children absented themselves and wandered about the building' So he concludes — on the basis of such 'rare' happenings in a London school — that Ellis and company are to blame: 'Too much freedom was given to children too young and too ill-equipped to take the proper advantage of it.'

ILL-EQUIPPED

'Ill-equipped to take advantage of freedom.' An interesting phrase. Doesn't that just about sum up the condition of every state school in the country, Mr Auld?

If the Tyndale teachers can be criticised for broadening educational freedom 'without', as Auld puts it, 'sufficient planning and preparation' or 'without recording individual progress', is this really so surprising when the schools are starved of teachers? If 'children who wanted to work or had settled to a particular project often found it difficult to concentrate because of the noise and constant movement of other children', then this is hardly an argument in favour of strapping kids to their desks, but for building bigger, better designed schools, and more of them!

Yes indeed, 'children must be equipped with basic tools — the abilities to read, to write, to express themselves, and to understand basic mathematics'. But it isn't 'progressive' teaching methods which stop that.

FREEDOM

'Too much freedom'? These words are the cue for just about every reactionary who has an axe to grind in education today.

— Reactionaries like Rhodes Boyson, leading opponent of Tyndale among Tory MPs and Fleet Street hacks. What they want to show is that 'standards are threatened' in schools by progressives like Ellis and Brian Haddow. But what they mean are the standards of the minority of pupils who attend grammar and direct grant schools and other preserves of class privilege. 'Back to the 11-Plus', they cry.

— Reactionaries in the Govern-

ment and DES keen to find a popular scapegoat for the growing crisis in the schools which their own cuts in expenditure have helped to cause.

— Reactionaries among the managers, the Inner London Education Authority and the National Union of Teachers, who want to use the fact that 20,000 teachers are on the dole to get rid of those who will fight against the cuts and replace them with those who won't.

These are the people who lie behind the orchestrated press campaign to show how 'progressive' teachers are to blame for the problems of education. These are the people who really broke up Tyndale.

PROGRESSIVISM

'Progressive' teaching techniques can be a big step forward for school pupils and for the working class. Learning by rote, teacher domination of the class, a high level of individual competition: these things either stop kids from learning or force them to learn at the expense of their classmates. They help to break up class solidarity and impoverish the working class.

This is not to endorse every new teaching technique uncritically. They must be seen in context. Some teachers use them only to help the more privileged kids get on, others to 'entertain and contain' the most oppressed in the school. But new techniques are also the result of a struggle by pupils and teachers — a struggle for an end to repression, competition, and wasted opportunities for working class pupils.

For the same reasons, these changes are potentially a threat to the ruling class. As Terry Ellis said on a *Panorama* programme about

Tyndale: 'My teaching doesn't fit a system where people take orders. It teaches them to ask questions.' Too much 'freedom' is a bad thing for the bosses.

WHO CONTROLS?

Every Fleet Street newspaper agrees that the real issue raised by Tyndale is who controls the schools. Ruling class strategists in education want to reduce teacher influence over what is taught and how. The Confederation of British Industry, in its memorandum on the new 16-plus proposals of the Schools Council, asked that exams should be 'mainly by external modes'.

What they dislike in particular is CSE Mode Three. Under Mode Three, teachers devise, teach and mark the course from beginning to end with no effective outside control. It is here that most progressive experiment is taking place.

Hence 'teacher control', a pupil's right to choose, experiment in education — all these are under threat. The labour movement will have to reply to this. The schools should be put under the management and control, not of capitalist institutions, national or local, nor of totally unaccountable managers, but of the community of pupils, parents, teachers and trade unionists.

VICTIMISATION

The NUT bureaucracy looks set to scab on the Tyndale teachers. It may refuse, for example, to pay their legal expenses on the pretext that they took unofficial action during the dispute. Every NUT branch should demand that the union support the Tyndale teachers in their fight for full reinstatement. The support committee will also need to be revitalised.

Every trade unionist should discuss the issues raised by Tyndale, every trade unionist should give the teachers active support.



LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE ACTION NOT WORDS!

'When the Labour leaders clambered into their first-class compartments on the trains home from Blackpool last week they wore the smug expressions of contented bureaucrats. The Annual Conference had supported their policies on nearly every decisive issue..... Even those successful resolutions which did oppose the right wing will only gather dust in the filing cabinet at Smith Square unless a movement is built to force their implementation and to sweep away the pro-capitalist leaders who will never put them into practice.'

With these words, *Red Weekly* aptly summed up last year's Labour Party Conference, a conference which had endorsed the major planks of the Government's anti-working class policies. And in the year since, in response to the most vicious right-wing Labour Government since the war, the 'lefts' have summoned only words in opposition to these policies.

challenge. Not one of the eighteen spells out how the cuts are to be fought or what policies are to replace them. The nearest that any of them come is the NUPE resolution which calls for 'unity in the trade union and Labour movement in resistance to the cuts', but does not spell out that the only effective unity will be *united industrial action*.

will be prepared to do something about them outside. And the lobby will also point the way towards organising the struggle against the cuts within the Labour Party itself.

Already, on 8 May, a conference was held of CLPs up and down the country to organise the fight against the cuts. Called by Labour Against Housing Cuts, the conference decided to form a Labour Against Cuts Committee to provide a national system of organisation for all those who wish to fight against the cuts and for a socialist alternative. But since the conference, Labour Against Cuts has taken no steps to organise - though one of its leaders, GLC councillor Ken Livingstone, has repeated the decision taken by the 8 May conference that it would be backing the NCC lobby.

Cowardly

A real programme of action must be worked out as the basis of a systematic challenge to the right-wing leadership on every major question. But it looks likely that only the most partial steps, if any at all, will be taken along this road - and if any are taken it will be despite the traditional Tribuneite left.

The resolutions from these quarters are cowardly substitutes for a class struggle programme of action. Not one resolution calls for opposition to incomes policy under capitalism. On unemployment, the only policies put forward by the Tribuneites are import controls, reflation of the economy, and other measures which base themselves on an alliance with the capitalists rather than a struggle against them.

On Ireland and racism there is not one resolution which supports the positions of *Tribune* - which probably accounts for the fact that these issues are not even referred to in *Tribune's* resolution round-up. On women's rights, there are a few scattered statements but no single resolution which deals with the struggle against women's oppression. The question of abortion, which has mobilised tens of thousands of women and sections of the labour movement, is not even dealt with.

Mass action

Contrary to what the national press has been saying, it is unlikely that this year's conference will represent a massive defeat for the right-wing Labour Government. Undoubtedly there will be a great deal of feeling against its policies, but in general the policies and orientation of the left are totally inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. But some vitally important steps can be taken, steps which will yield results for the future.

It is the fight after the conference that really matters. Success or failure can only be measured in terms of how such a fight is proposed. Above all, this means extending within the party all those cases of rank and file organisation like the Labour Against Cuts Committee, with an orientation of building mass action against the Government's policies and contributing to the organisation of a class struggle opposition within the labour movement.

Lobby

One organisation, however, is trying to mount a campaign for the implementation of Composite 30. The National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS has organised a lobby of the conference which will show whether those who have put down fine sounding resolutions inside the conference

IN FOCUS

Democracy and Labour

'This Conference demands that all the policy decisions of this and all future annual conferences of the Labour Party shall be mandatory policy of the Parliamentary Labour Party, whether the Party is in government or opposition.'

This resolution from Ince CLP to the Labour Party Conference at the end of September will sum up the feelings of the majority of constituency delegates. More than 30 resolutions demand mandatory selection conferences for all prospective Labour candidates. At present, this only applies where there is no Labour MP. But the irony of it all is that there will most probably be no discussion at all on the democracy question. The conference arrangements committee have used a rule which prevents discussion on any issue that has been raised within the last three years!

Other resolutions on the democracy issue will almost certainly suffer the same fate when the final agenda is drawn up. It was the same story at last year's conference. The reason why the right-wing bureaucrats react so undemocratically is not simply to protect their positions. It is because the extension of democracy inside the Labour Party strikes at the parliamentary system, and parliamentary so-called democracy. A number of resolutions have been submitted calling for the election of the leader of the Labour Party by Annual Conference, for instance. These suggest that the Parliamentary Labour Party and ultimately the Government should be responsible to the organisations of the working class.

SHRIEKS OF HORROR

Shrieks of horror from the press also greeted a statement by the new Labour candidate in the marginal Kensington seat, Ann Holmes, that if elected she would vote in Parliament as her constituency party decided. The press see this as the first step on a dangerous road, and they may be right. Accountability to the Labour Party can be the first step towards accountability to the workers movement as a whole. This sort of fight for democratic control of working people over their representatives knocks on the head all the arguments of the media that accountability to Parliament is the highest form of democracy.

But the 'lefts' are almost as frightened as the press barons at such a prospect. In the latest issue of *Tribune*, reporter Stephen Kelly argues that of the resolutions on the question of party leader, 'perhaps the more reasonable suggestion emanates from Rushcliffe CLP, which calls on the NEC to "establish a sub-committee to report within one year" on a new procedure'. This follows in the wake of last year's rather pathetic appeal by Roger Barton, delegate from Brightside CLP and a *Tribune* supporter, who was protesting at the fact that the Brightside resolution on the election of the party leader by conference was not to be debated. The resolution called on the NEC to investigate whether such a decision by conference would breach parliamentary procedure!

But no amount of appeals to being 'reasonable' or to sticking to 'parliamentary procedure' will do. This will just play into the hands of the right-wing bureaucrats.

RIGHT-WING HENCHMEN

As the trade union leaderships collaborate in the Government's wage-cutting policies; as the Government flouts conference decisions such as last year's Composite 30 on the NHS; and as yesterday's 'left leaders' increasingly become today's right-wing henchmen - this means the need to organise an opposition in the trade unions and the Labour Party committed to class struggle politics. The fight to extend democracy in the Labour Party could be a real weapon in this struggle. If the Campaign for Labour Democracy, the national caucus of which was behind the resolution on selection procedure, took the bull by the horns and began systematically to organise all those delegates at the conference for a fight against the right-wing and its policies, then ten steps forward could be taken. A conference of all Labour Party members and delegates from branches and constituency parties to plan the fight would receive massive support.

But the danger and the most likely outcome is that the democracy issue will become a cover for not waging the fight now. The yearly groan is raised that if only the party was democratic If this happens, the only people to gain will be the right wing. As the lack of democracy is confirmed, they will receive a tremendous fillip for their right-wing policies. The struggle to extend democracy at Blackpool at the end of September should be seen as the reason to begin to organise the fight against the Callaghan leadership for a class struggle opposition, and not the reason for postponing it.



This picket was organised by the London Regional Committee Against Cuts last week to demand that the Greater London Council refuse to implement Labour's cuts

What happens at this year's Labour Party Conference will be decided not by the number of left-wing resolutions that are carried over the right, but by what contribution to a fighting class struggle opposition is made: what policies emerge and what action is projected and *organised* for the battle to come.

Many axes

Without doubt the most important issue from this point of view is the question of the cuts in social services. In the wake of the latest of Healey's many axes, it is this question above all others that will dominate conference. Eighteen resolutions have been submitted on the question of cuts in general, whilst there are dozens on particular social services.

But the general resolutions are woefully inadequate to meet the

It is in the sections on specific social services that alternatives are spelt out. Many admirable policies are detailed - the abolition of the private sector in health, housing and education; demands for a massive programme of social works to provide schools, hospitals and housing desperately needed; a national minimum wage for 35 hours tied to the cost of living index for all National Health Service workers; reduction of class sizes in schools to a maximum of 30.

Manchester Ardwick have put forward a resolution which is an excellent plan of socialist measures that the Government should take with regard to the health service. But it falls short of last year's Composite 30 - notably in failing to demand the provision of abortion and pregnancy testing facilities free and on request under the NHS. And most important, it gives no key as to how to *implement* such policies in the face of a right-wing Labour Government which is cutting back the health service at this very minute.

Red Weekly has learnt with deep regret of the death of Micaela Blackmore, killed at the age of only 21 in a road accident in London on Sunday 18 July. Micaela was vice-president elect of the Tyne-Wear Area NUS and an executive member of the Students Union at Northern Counties College in Newcastle.

Although never formally a member of the International Marxist Group, her activities in the recent student teacher occupations and her work in building support for them had brought her close to the perspectives of the IMG and the Fourth International. *Red Weekly* would like to extend its deepest sympathy to her friends and comrades.



A meeting of Camden's Labour Council on 21 July was brought to a standstill by squatters who moved in from this picket to demonstrate from the gallery against the mass eviction plans drawn up by the Council to comply with the Government's cuts. Camden has announced that it intends to terminate all licences to squatting groups - including Short Life Community Housing, the biggest in London.

BLOOD ON LABOUR'S HANDS

For the second time in four months, the Labour Government has stuck the knife into the NHS and other social services. But even before Healey's £3,000 million axe fell in April, the NHS was already suffering from years of inadequate funding.

* Only 18 per cent of beds are in hospitals built during the war. 75 per cent of beds are in hospitals dating from before 1918, and nearly seven per cent in buildings built in 1850!

* The total number of beds has fallen by 18 per cent since 1948. In one year, 1973-74, the NHS lost 26,200 beds. At the same time it is forced to rent 4,200 beds in private nursing homes.

* The NHS needs 74,000 more nurses, 23 per cent more technicians, 20 per cent more physiotherapists, and 3,000 more consultant posts. In London alone, 35 per cent more radiographers are needed.

* The waiting list for treatment is well over half a million. 40 per cent have been waiting for over a year and 20 per cent for more than two years. Waiting times of up to six years are not uncommon.

Even to maintain this deplorable level, the NHS budget needed to increase at a rate of 4.3 per cent a year. But the cutbacks in January in the NHS (including lopping £75 million from its building programme) mean that this year's spending will only increase by 0.6 per cent.

The effect of these was spelled out by Dr Loehry, chairman of their medical staffs committee at two hospitals in Boscombe, Dorset.

COLIN SMITH looks at the latest cuts in the NHS

* Some patients had died in the casualty department after waiting hours for a bed.

* Emergency cases had to wait several days to enter hospital for treatment.

* Some non-urgent cases on the waiting list would never be operated on.

* Cancer victims had to wait up to six weeks for an operation, allowing time for tumours to spread.

* Patients were forced to leave hospital early to make way for casualties.

'PRIORITIES' FOR EXPENDITURE

	Average % current growth rates 1971-74	Projected average % growth rates 1977-79
Primary Care	1.7	3.8
General and Acute Hospital and Maternity	3.7	0.9
Old and Physically Handicapped	9.0	3.2
Mentally Handicapped	8.0	2.8
Mentally Ill	3.6	1.8
Children	0.5	2.2
Others	11.0	1.2
Total	4.2	2.1

to shift the burden of care on to the community health services. But it doesn't stop here. Because these services too have been chronically starved of funds in the past, they often can't provide the necessary care.

REDUCED

The core of the strategy of the DHSS in the next five years was set out in a Consultative Paper on Priorities for Health published by Barbara Castle shortly before she was sacked by Callaghan. Under the guise of providing extra help to the cinderellas of the NHS — the services for the old, the mentally ill, the mentally and the physically handicapped and children — large cuts are justified in other sectors of the service.

As can be seen, the 'growth' in spending on most of these so-called 'priorities' is reduced. However, this is used, for example, to justify a £10 million cut in the maternity services, although the birth rate is expected to increase in 1977.

The real aim is to reduce the demand for hospital treatment and

Wandsworth, Sutton and East Merton AHA report, for instance, that 'few if any areas reach the desirable levels of staffing'. They admit that they themselves are short of 27 health visitors, 23 trained nurses, 63 home nurses and 105 nursing auxiliaries.

Castle proposed that the care of the old, mentally ill, mentally and physically handicapped and children should be carried out through increased community care provision. But at the same time the Government won't provide the necessary finance. The solution for the DHSS is to use voluntary help and 'the often forgotten aunts and grandmothers' to provide the care the State refuses to fund.

Another sleight of hand by the DHSS is to re-allocate funds be-

tween different health regions. The budgets of the four 'south-east regions and Merseyside (although they have waiting lists of over 100,000 and 25,000 respectively) have thus been frozen in order to provide 'extra' funds for the less well-off areas — to the tune of between 0.16 per cent and 4 per cent this year.

But the Trent Region, one of the worse-off areas in the country, is still having to accept cuts of £10 million in capital investment; and the extra money will probably only just maintain standards. Lancaster AHA, part of this region, still cannot afford to pay for 20 extra nurses, let alone the 60 urgently needed; while Lincoln still cannot afford to build the hospital the town has been promised for over five years.

Labour obviously intends to bring about 'equality' between the regions by bringing the levels of care down to those of the most deprived areas, involving untold misery for millions of working class people and their families.

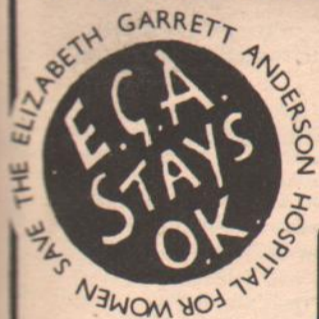
All this is in stark contrast to the Labour Government's treatment of private medicine. In their manifesto Labour pledged to rid the NHS of the parasite of pay beds. At every stage, however, they have given in to the interests of the consultants and their backers — private insurance firms, city financiers, and the drugs industry.

HALT

No wonder that the private medical industry, for all its protests, is increasing its investment in private hospitals. Over 60 new private hospitals are being planned while the NHS building programme grinds slowly to a halt.

Labour is thus encouraging the growth of a two-tier health system with an adequate level of care for those who can afford its fees (which vary from £72 to £1,400 per week) and a collapsing service for the majority. It is literally a Government with working class blood on its hands.

Strikes and demo against EGA closure



OVER 400 PEOPLE took to the streets and nearly 2,000 struck on 21 July to protest at the attempted closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital in London. Apart from a strike at the EGA itself, three hospitals were left with only emergency services as members of six different unions walked out on a 24-hour strike at University College Hospital (UCH), St. Pancras Hospital and the National Temperance Hospital. There was also a half-day strike of 200 workers at the Royal Free and token action at the Whittington.

The successful demonstration ended at the House of Commons, where 200 strikers crowded into a committee room expecting to hear how the local 'left' Labour MPs were going to mobilise the labour movement in support of the struggle. Jock Stallard announced how pleased he was to see everyone. 'Lena Jeger and I', said Stallard, 'have been opposing the closure of the EGA for more than ten years. We never had any support from the hospital workers. I'm glad to see you here helping us to put pressure on the Secretary of State.'

Strikers and 'Save the EGA' campaign supporters were amazed to hear this slander on the very workers who are in the midst of the struggle. An EGA worker pointed out that Stallard had been asked several times for help since the action committee was formed and none was forthcoming.

Stallard and Jeger were asked whether they would use their influence in the labour movement to fight for more strike action, and several people demanded a commitment from them to vote against the cuts. They were saved, however, by the Communist Party chair-

woman who, realising that the 'lefts' were being put on the spot, closed the meeting. Jeger scurried out to an 'important meeting', accompanied by shouts of 'answer the question'.

Stallard and Jeger's 'ten year fight' has consisted of cosy chats with Ennals, Castle and their predecessors. Never once have they attempted to fight in the labour movement for strike action against the cuts — and then they criticise the EGA workers for not supporting them! Their conception of defending the EGA doesn't extend outside of Parliament and they refuse to give a lead to the actual struggle. Strikes

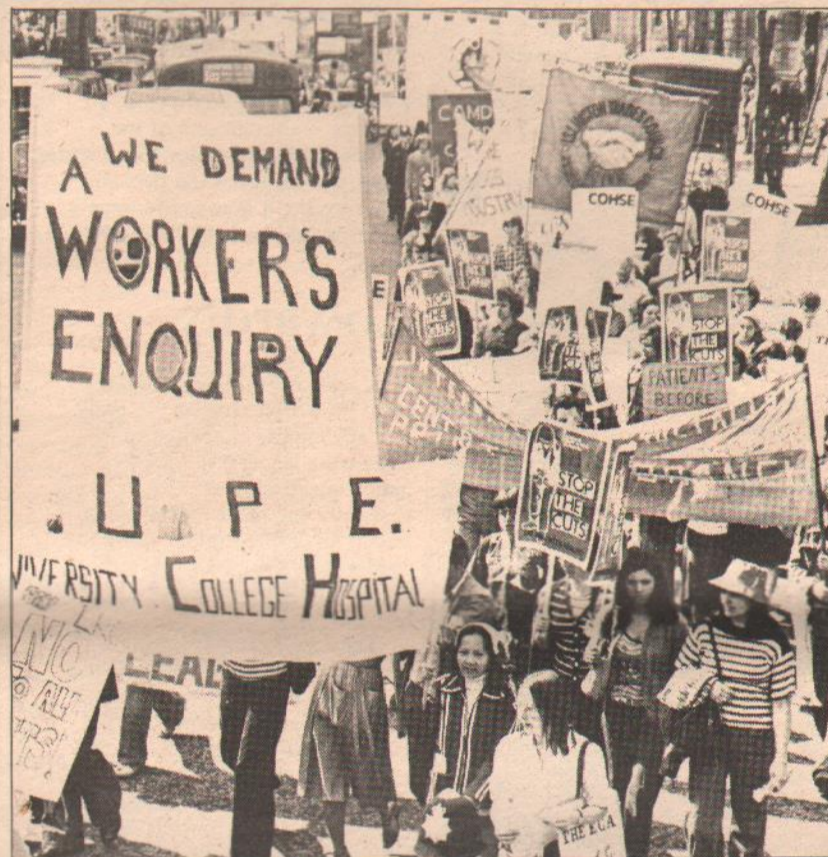
occupations are the way to save the EGA.

Militants should also demand that MPs like Stallard and Jeger support the lobby of the Labour Party Conference organised by the National Coordinating Committee Against NHS Cuts to demand the implementation of party policy as contained in last year's Composite 30 — which rejected all cuts and outlined some of the measures needed to maintain and develop services in the interests of the working class.

STEVE JOB (member of Camden and Islington Area Health Joint Shop Stewards Committee).



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



ABOVE and BELOW: marching to save the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital, 21 July

'We need our own plans for the NHS'

Red Weekly asked RICHARD SHIELDS, active in the EGA campaign as Secretary of UCH Joint Shop Stewards Committee and of the Joint Union Strike Committee, about the significance of the fight.

'Well, there's two major points. First, the Government is still wasting taxes investing in private industry when we elected it to invest in public projects like the health service. Public works would improve both living standards, by improving services, and provide jobs.

'Instead we're being hit by cuts and most obviously in the NHS this takes the form of closures. We've had the Poplar Hospital closed, Liverpool Road, and many more in London and throughout the country. The current target is the EGA, and this is the focus for a fight against all hospital closures.

'Secondly, the EGA is a special women's hospital. If women are going to have the right to choose what to do with their own bodies, whether for religious reasons or simple preference, they have the right to their own hospital.

'To defend the NHS we need a number of demands as we're explaining in the leaflet distributed by the Joint Union Strike Committee today: no loss of beds, jobs or earnings; monitoring committees to resist every cut and re-fill vacancies as they arise; and a workers enquiry into the financing and planning of our health service. This

must insist on seeing all the plans of the DHSS, the Regional Health Authorities and the Area Health Authorities. We need our own plans for the NHS.

'We are campaigning throughout the labour movement against cuts in the NHS and for putting money into the NHS — with £1,000 million now and automatic protection against inflation and the elimination of all private practice.

'It's by campaigning for these demands that we can win both the specific demands around the EGA — and defend and extend the NHS!'

CRISIS IN THE HEALTH SERVICE

THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION



IMG pamphlet price 15p plus 8p p&p from Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

ALL OUT FOR BLACKBURN DEMO!

The national demonstration in Blackburn on 11 September is the most important mobilisation against fascism and racism to be held this year.

Blackburn represents a stronghold for the fascists. The National Party polled 8,315 votes in the May local elections, gaining two councillors. Thirteen thousand Asians, nearly 12 per cent of the population, live in Blackburn. In just ten days during May, at least thirty attacks against Asians and their houses were reported.

There has recently been a well orchestrated series of stories in the local press recording supposed in-

stances of Asian attacks on National Party supporters. These seemed to reach their climax with the damage done to a home of a National Party member who displayed a 'Whites only' sign outside in a mock sale.

But on 2 July, one of the newly elected councillors, John Frankman, was apprehended along with local NP chairman Robert T Horman, Mr Graham Jones, and Mrs Ann James by police outside the James's house in the early hours of the morning. They were charged with committing a breach of the peace in an incident involving the use of a firearm. All the previous

'attacks' on the racists' houses had also shown evidence of a firearm being used.

Frankman has since resigned from the Council, and the resulting by-election will be held in early September. The demonstration called for the same time will help to put the black communities and the labour movement in the town on the offensive. But it will not be an easy task. The fascists have a mass base. They are not isolated. The Trades Council, which has a right-wing reputation, has been hesitant to give its support.

The Labour Party, confronted with the erosion of its electoral

base, has however stirred itself into life. No less than five MPs, including Barbara Castle, addressed a meeting of 400 people recently. They are taking part with Liberals, Quakers, the traditional leadership of the Asian community, and the Communist Party in a committee to mobilise for the demonstration on 11 September.

The challenge to the Asian leadership which has been delivered by the Asian Youth Organisation in the town has met with a hostile response. Likewise the International Socialists, although they have played a very considerable role in the fight against racism in the town,

have been excluded from the organising committee.

Part of the fight against this sectarianism is a meeting at which Tariq Ali and Tony Cliff will speak at St George's Hall, Blackburn on 9 September to build for the demonstration. This is a welcome step forward, at least on the far left, towards the fight for united action against the racists.

Blackburn is gaining a reputation as 'Britain's Alabama'. The demonstration can start to break the grip of race hate.

ALL BRANCHES OF THE IMG SHOULD MOBILISE FOR THIS DEMONSTRATION.

Fighting the racists

SOUTH LONDON anti-racists, mobilised by the huge 44 per cent vote for fascist candidates in the Deptford local by-election, have taken up incidences of stone throwing aimed at Asian workers at the United Glass Factory in the area. Mass leafleting of local railway stations has been followed up by a lobby of the General Management Committee of the local Labour Party.

Success came with the passing of a motion pledging the party to campaign against racism. It is the responsibility of militants involved in the campaign both inside and outside the Labour Party to fight for its implementation.

SOUTHAMPTON could be the venue for the National Front's conference in September, according to information obtained by a local branch of the National Union of Public Employees. This would appear to confirm a report given to the June meeting of Southampton Trades Council, which was told that the NF had asked the Tory Council for permission to hold a rally in the City Guildhall. The meeting decided to notify its opposition to any NF meeting in the city to the Council.

At the next meeting of the two local trades councils, Southampton and Totton, NUPE delegates will demand that the labour movement puts its action where its words are and mount a picket of the hall if the Tories allow the NF to hold its conference in Southampton.

SOUTHALL saw a 1,000-strong demonstration last Saturday organised by the International Socialists and supported by the Southall Youth Movement which marched to the place where Gurdip Chaggar was murdered for the ceremonial burning of Robert Relf's famous racist sign. This was an opportunity, as John Rose of the IS correctly pointed out, for gaining wide publicity. The question was, though, publicity for what?

IS see the alternative to Labour as IS, so any objective needs of the class struggle are subordinated to gaining publicity for themselves. Nor was there any attempt to aid the process of political clarification which has begun in the SYM. IS's slogans of 'Enoch Powell, bastard' and 'Disembowel Enoch Powell, Smash the National Front' may be popular, but they avoid the political tasks confronting revolutionaries.

In contrast to the demonstration was the 100-strong meeting organised by the IMG the night before, with Tariq Ali speaking.

Besides re-iterating the reasons and need for black self-defence, Tariq also pointed out that one important focus for anti-racist campaigns are elections. The National Front are now threatening to stand 318 candidates in the next general election and so gain equal T.V. time with the main parties. One of the suggestions made at the meeting

CAMDEN Trades Council has declared its total and absolute opposition to racism - and at its meeting on 20 July it adopted a fighting policy capable of meeting the racist offensive head-on.

It applauded 'those sections of black workers who have set up defence squads', considering this 'an essential weapon to drive fascism off the streets'. The meeting decided:

- * to campaign against racialism and support anti-racist and anti-fascist demonstrations;
- * to set up in cooperation with local community groups defence committees to guard against racial assaults;
- * to alert the local labour movement to the particular problems of discrimination and unemployment facing black workers;
- * to campaign for the abolition of all immigration controls.

Communist Party supporters wanted to amend the resolution or take it in parts, but this was not allowed. Sid Gregory from the Post Office Engineering Union argued that 'every country has the right to decide [about immigration controls]. Under socialism we might want to keep fascists out Are we going to establish vigilante groups? This is treading on dangerous grounds.'

But as an Asian delegate pointed out in reference to immigration controls: 'A lot of words are said about internationalism, let's see some.'



Demonstrating against the racists in Southall last weekend (see report below)

WAR-WAR OR JAW-JAW?

'Labour war on National Front', screamed the headline in Friday's London *Evening Standard*. And the news that the Labour Party is to get its research officials busy on the tracks of the National Front and other right-wing organisations is an important advance.

But just what sort of campaign does the Labour Party National Executive Committee intend to mount? Since the home policy committee of the party discussed the issue over a month ago,

about the only positive advice coming out of Transport House has been to avoid counter-demonstrations to the fascists. Before the 4,000 strong anti-Front march in Rotherham this line was echoed by *Tribune*, which called on the organisers - the local AUEW district committee - to cancel the demonstration.

On 9 July, *Labour Weekly* was reporting of the Thurrock by-election campaign: 'There is the odd defection to the National Front, but the Party are pursuing a policy of no confrontation and no arguments with NF people, so it's left at that.'

Oddly enough, the same issue of *Labour Weekly* reported - apparently approvingly - 'at the by-election campaign in Thurrock, there were more anti-National Front demonstrators outside the hall where the recently released Robert Relf was speaking on Tuesday evening than there were people attending his meeting.'

After the result - where there were 3,255 'odd defections' to the NF - it appeared that a few lessons had been learnt. 'The whole labour movement must unite in a joint campaign to challenge the Front wherever and whenever they show themselves. It's no use ignoring them and hoping they will go away. They won't.' So spake *Labour Weekly's* editorial column on 23 July.

MESSAGE

This seemed to be a very welcome change from people who have been arguing against the left for years that to counter the National Front is simply to draw attention to a handful of hare-brained Nazis. 'Ignore them and they'll go away' used to be Labour's message.

However, that was on page seven. Page ten consisted mainly of a violent and slanderous attack on the activities of the far left in fighting the fascists.

The so-called ultra-left was bracketed together with the extreme right as 'seizing upon the present social and racial crisis 'with glee' in order actually to 'encourage race violence'.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that Labour's 'war' on the National Front is going to be more jaw-jaw than war-war, many local parties and militants can be won to an active stand against fascism. Already several local Labour councils have banned the fascists, and South East Bristol Constituency Labour Party (Tony Benn's party) has unanimously called on the local council to ban the fascists. Every effort should be made to involve local Labour Party bodies in united anti-racist work and build support both inside and outside the Labour Party for the resolution going forward to the Labour Party Conference from Ealing-Southall Constituency Party, which calls for the ending of all immigration laws.

PURGE

A hot debate has also opened up inside the Labour Party on whether or not racism should be grounds for expulsion. Again local anti-racist and anti-fascist committees should be demanding that Labour purge its own ranks of racists and remove MPs like ex-chief whip Bob Mellish, who has overtly proclaimed his racist 'enough is enough' policies in the rabidly right-wing *Daily Express*.

There is no doubt that the Labour leaders' new concern about the growth of racism has more to do with their own electoral chances than any matter of principle. It is their own policies of mass unemployment and social service cutbacks which have been feeding the racist fire.

But even their paper war on the Front should give committed anti-racists and anti-fascists the chance to win over many local members and party bodies to direct action against the racists and fascists.



Burning Relf's sign in Southall last Saturday

was the standing of class struggle candidates in the local elections, opposing racism and putting forward

policies to fight the unemployment, cuts and inflation which increasingly drive people towards racist solutions.

EQUAL PAY - THE VITA

The strike for equal pay at the Trico Folberth windscreen wipers factory in Brentford, West London, is now in its tenth week. It is the biggest strike the firm has known, and Britain's longest-running equal pay dispute.

The claim by 400 women production workers is that they should receive the additional £5 to £6.50 a week paid to five men who — management and union agree — do precisely the same job. The conflict arises from the circumstances in which the five came to receive a higher rate. They joined the women on the day-time assembly line last September when night shifts were ended, and the company says that the higher night-shift rate was retained to compensate the five men partially for the loss of other premiums they earned on nights.

This is only 'temporary', said management at first, as the rate will die with the five. Then management decided the thing to do was to eventually bring the women's rate up to the men's rate by giving the men no pay increase. 'Equal pay in reverse' was the union's response to this proposal, and the suggestion of an effective wage cut led the five male operators to join the strike immediately it began on 24 May.

The women needed no encouragement. 'We had to hold them down while negotiations were going on', says a shop steward Eileen Ward.

Betty Humphreys recalled at a public meeting organised by Hammersmith Working Women's

Charter Campaign how the strike started: 'After negotiating and reporting to the women in the park, we [shop stewards] went back to work. But the women would not move — they stayed in the park, and good for them! We didn't tell them to go out — they told us!'

Since the women have been outside the gates they have had to confront the harsh consequences of such action, both from the firm and the State. Trico may discriminate against the women inside the factory, but it doesn't on strike-breaking tactics, i.e. the use of scab labour.

Convoy

The strike bulletin put it only too well: 'Trico's mercenaries break picket', it said, reporting a military style convoy of lorries which forced its way through the picket with the assistance of the police — who also turned a blind eye to the fact that the number plates were illegally covered up, and the lorries drove through red lights.

The firm also has plans to take the dispute to a Tribunal. In the meantime they have made an offer of an average increase of £2.40, which was unanimously rejected by a mass meeting.



Although blacking is being carried out by the car industry, there are also problems here — about its effectiveness. It has been reported to the strikers that over 300 unmarked

crates were recently unloaded at Heathrow from America en-route to Leyland's, and apparently there are more on the way. In order to counter this, the AUEW district committee

should militantly organise for blacking of all wipers throughout the car industry, so that immediate pressure will be brought to bear on Trico's management.

A FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS - all of them

by CELIA PUGH

The strike at Trico has added greater force to the need to fight for the Working Women's Charter. Although the issue of equal pay is the focus of the struggle, the other demands of the Charter have become immediately relevant in the course of the strike.

The traditional isolation of women from the trade union movement, fed by

the idea that trade union business is 'men's work' means that many women lack the confidence or the experience to take the leadership in the strike — leaving this firmly in the hands of the male-dominated district committee of the AUEW. Ninety-six of the women were not even in the union before the strike, and were therefore denied official strike pay

for a while. These problems highlight the importance of the tenth demand of the Working Women's Charter.

The idea that women should not be financially independent of men but are privileged to work for second-rate 'pin money' has also found expression during the strike. The male workers scabbing find shelter in this misconception, and the women have

been denied social security money because it is assumed that they have a 'man behind them'.

BARRIER

Regular picketing and meetings have upset the regular routine of cooking and cleaning for their husbands and children. One shop steward remarked to a local newspaper that she leaves the cooking to her husband — who's now better at it. Other women aren't as fortunate. Their husbands' insistence that they belong behind the kitchen sink has been a barrier to full involvement in the strike.

Likewise, a stint in the picket line is extremely difficult when nursery facilities are almost non-existent, when baby minders cost £9 and when school holidays have just begun and there are no council-run play schemes.

One problem has been that the women's sister workers at the Northampton Trico works have continued to work during the strike. They earn as little as £23 for a 40-hour week, because they have no men with whom to compare their work — no men would touch the pay and the Dickensian conditions in the factory.

PLIGHT

This highlights the plight of the two-thirds of women workers who are not covered by the Equal Pay Act and have to survive on poverty wages. The demand of the Working Women's Charter for a minimum wage is immediately relevant to these low-paid women workers.

In other cases where direct comparison between men and women workers is not possible, the Equal Pay Act argues that job evaluation schemes should be used. But management generally try to wriggle out of this by citing criteria like 'flexibility', 'responsibility', 'level of education and training', and 'length of experience on the job'.

At Trico the women deny the claim that they are not as flexible as the men. However, in many cases it is true that child-care responsibilities, inequality in education and training, inadequate maternity leave, and the two jobs under which women labour prevent them from competing for the jobs which are highly graded.

Without a fight for the demands of the Working Women's Charter, the workers movement is fighting for equality with a blindfold on and one hand tied behind its back. For the sake of the women at Trico, and the millions like them, there should be a fight at the forthcoming TUC and Labour Party conferences for the adoption of the Working Women's Charter as the basis for an effective fight for women's rights.

Working Women's Charter

We pledge ourselves to agitate and organise to achieve the following aims:

1. The rate for the job, regardless of sex, at rates negotiated by the trade unions, with a national minimum wage below which no wages should fall.
2. Equal opportunity of entry into occupations and in promotion, regardless of sex and marital status.
3. Equal education and training for all occupations and compulsory day-release for all 16-19 year olds in employment.
4. Working conditions to be, without deterioration of previous conditions, the same for women as for men.
5. The removal of all legal and bureaucratic impediments to equality, e.g. with regard to tenancies, mortgages, pension schemes, taxation, passports, control over children, social security payments, hire purchase agreements.
6. Improved provisions of local authority day nurseries, free of charge, with extended hours to suit working mothers. Provision of nursery classes in day nurseries. More nursery schools.
7. 18 weeks maternity leave with full net pay spread before and after the birth of a live child: 7 weeks after birth if the child is stillborn. No dismissal during pregnancy or maternity leave. No loss of security, pension or promotion prospects.
8. Family planning clinics supplying free contraception to be extended to cover every locality. Free abortion to be readily available.
9. Family allowances to be increased to £2.50 per child including the first child.
10. To campaign amongst women to take an active part in the trade unions and in political life so that they may exercise influence commensurate with their numbers and to campaign amongst male trade unionists that they may work to achieve this aim.

STRIKE!

EQUAL PAY



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

With the struggle now into its third month, it is vital to prevent the isolation of the strikers. One way of doing this would be for the AUEW to organise a one day strike in the area, and use this as the basis for a national support campaign.

Hassled

The women have also had a hard time with the Social Security, which has refused them payment. Sally Groves, a member of the strike committee, explained to Hammersmith WWCC: 'We're learning all the time. The Social Security turned small groups away. At Ealing we hassled them into paying us. We forced the manager to meet us all in one of the offices. He got into such a state that he gave us £7.50 hardship money.'

'Hounslow was more difficult to crack. We had a meeting in the office — they got very upset because they couldn't control it. We were dragged out forcibly. Now Ealing are not paying because Hounslow have managed to fend us off.'

Of course, if women did work for pin money there would be little problem, but myths do not pay the rent.

This has been made worse by problems of procedure in the women's union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. Unless you are a member for three months you can't draw strike pay, so that 96 women who had only just joined when the strike broke out were not eligible for money.

Other women workers realised that this was totally inadequate. 'We said, we're all one — we can't pick up money and them none', says Betty Humphreys. To avoid this, when three weeks strike pay came through 'we only took one week to allow the others to have money. This has put us back some...'

This problem has now been overcome and all the strikers get strike pay. However, this mistake — which has now been recognised by the union — should be completely set right by giving back pay to compensate for the extra unnecessary hardship that was caused.

Difficulties

The need for this type of action was clearly demonstrated when women at SEI in Manchester — AUEW members — were out on strike in autumn 1974 for 14 weeks. During that time no solidarity or action was organised, they were totally isolated, and subsequently lost the struggle. The establishment of a support committee could help in this respect.

Labour MPs such as Syd Bidwell and Jo Richardson should not only be asked to raise the problems of Trico workers in the House. They should call on the NEC to give a bulk sum of money, as the struggle is an important test for the Labour Party's equal pay promises — which the women have been forced to take into their own hands, thereby losing 10 weeks pay and suffering appalling family tensions.

One thing that has to be done immediately is to organise creche facilities to enable all the women to participate in the struggle. This is particularly important now that the school holidays are starting — the union should organise and pay for this, as well as play facilities and trips for the kids, etc. With growing family problems arising out of the strike, a meeting should be organised where people can discuss these difficulties openly with everybody concerned in the family as well.

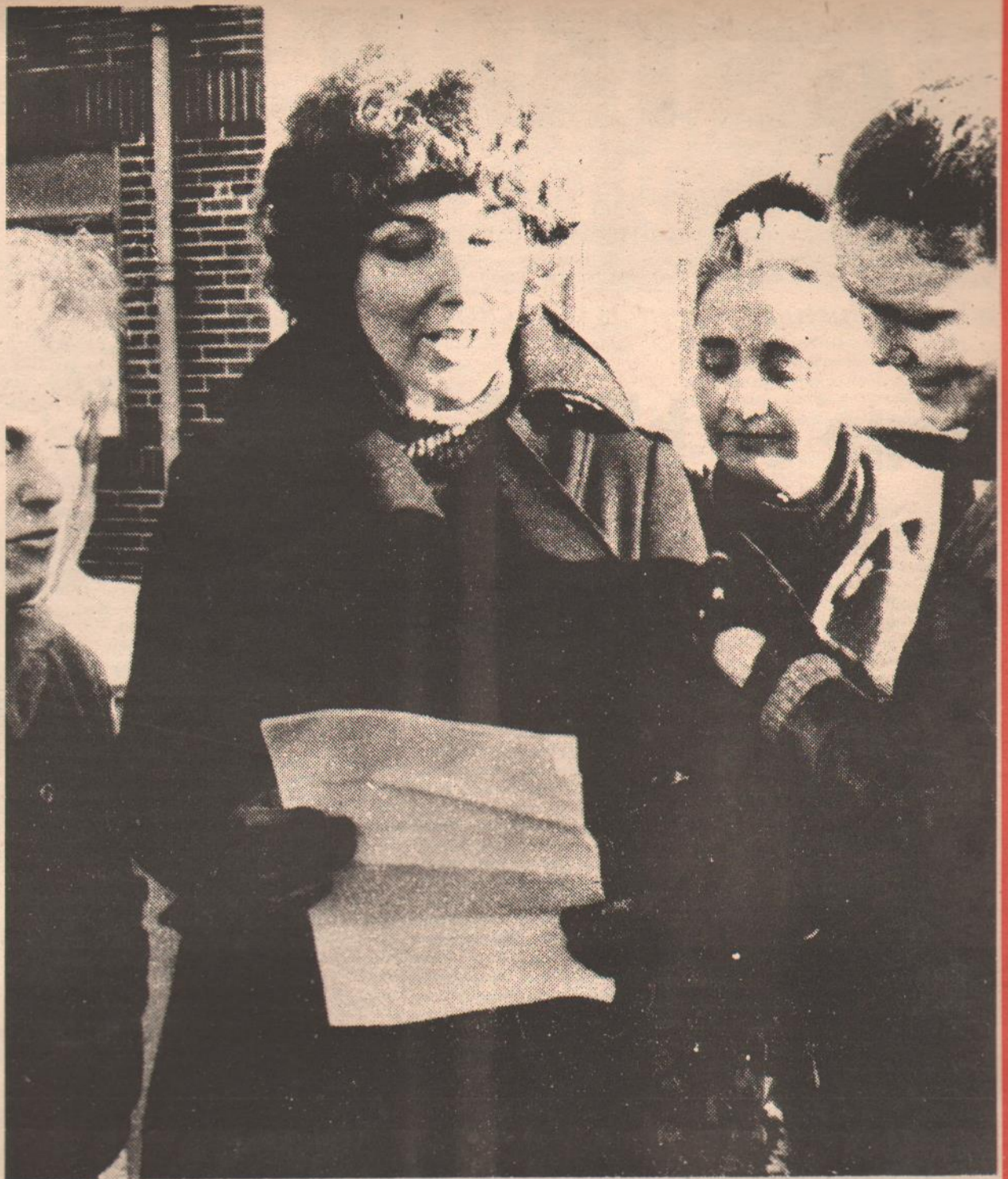
Support

All this, of course, would take an enormous amount of organisation, but the AUEW has the necessary machinery — all it needs is the push. That is why it is necessary to take up the Trico strike at all levels of the workers movement — in trades councils, AUEW branches, shop stewards committees, Labour Party wards — to ensure that these women win their fight for equal pay.

The Trico strike is extremely important because it brings into issue the commitment of the workers movement to equal pay and the fight for women's rights in general. The present deals between Healey and the trade union bureaucracy — including the Executive of the AUEW — can only be a barrier to equal pay and any improvements in the living conditions of the working class as a whole.

Through their fight the Trico women are showing how to confront the attacks on the working class by the Labour and TUC leaderships. They deserve the maximum support from the labour movement — a victory for them would be a step forward for the entire working class.

PAT MASTERS



"Only our own action can enforce the Act"

The women of Trico refuse to appear before an industrial tribunal to resolve their fight for equal pay. Their strike bulletin argues that 'pressure from the labour movement and women's movement brought about the Equal Pay Act. Only our own action through the union will ensure that the Act is enforced.'

The women have seen through one of the massive loopholes of the Labour Government's equal pay legislation. They recognise that, far from assisting the fight for equal pay, the courts and tribunals can defuse and weaken the fight by shifting attention from the strength of collective action to the so-called 'neutral' courts.

Any detailed consideration of the tribunal system adds weight to the position taken by the Trico women. The system financially excludes most working class women from following their own claim because legal aid is not provided. The whole procedure is also lengthy and bound by red tape.

NO TEETH

Cases must first be taken to the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS), where conciliation will be attempted between the two parties. If this conciliation is unsuccessful the case is taken to a tribunal. If the tribunal finds in the women's favour and the employer is asked to take action to cease a discriminatory practice, there then has to be a 'reasonable period' for the employer to carry out this request.

If the employer continues to discriminate, the Equal Opportunities

Commission can be approached to take the case back to the tribunal to prove non-implementation. If the tribunal agrees, an injunction can then be sought from the county courts. Meanwhile up to two years have passed.

Even when tribunals find in women's favour, they have no teeth. For example, if the EOC wins a court injunction for the implementation of the original tribunal decision, the employer can only be summoned for contempt of court. The employer cannot legally be bound to cease the discriminatory practice. A similar hole in the Race Relations Act has already had a tank driven through it by Robert Relf and the National Front.

The composition of the tribunal is also set against the interests of working class women. Three people sit on the tribunal — a lawyer, a management nominee, and a trade unionist. A recent report from the Department of Employment showed that two-thirds of senior management — from whom a third of tribunal members are drawn — are opposed to equal pay. A positive attitude from the trade union representative is in no way guaranteed, and anyway she/he is in a minority.

In most cases the tribunals use that part of the Act which says that women should get equal pay when they do 'the same or broadly similar work' to let the employer off the hook. Recently an employee of Leicester Council for Voluntary Service applied for a £400 a year rise to obtain equality with a younger man, whose job she created

and supervised. The tribunals found that there were no grounds for equal pay because her job involved greater responsibility and was therefore not the 'same or broadly similar'!

NO SURPRISE

It should therefore come as no surprise that of the 110 equal pay cases taken to tribunals in the first six months since the Act became law, only 31 were successful. Of the 20 cases reviewed by tribunals under the Sex Discrimination Act, only five were successful. Even where tribunals have found in women's favour, employers have searched for ways to avoid implementing its decisions. Three Kent fruit pickers quickly learnt this.

Under the Sex Discrimination Act, Canterbury fruit farmers Scott & Knowles were found to have discriminated against these women by lowering their hours and rate of pay against those of the men. When the women went back to the employer with this ruling they were greeted with the threat that free transport would be withdrawn unless they accepted a rate of 80p an hour — 11½p less than the car-owning men, who do not need transport.

Healey may have exempted equal pay from the pay controls, but it is clear that women will not get something for nothing. The women of Trico and their sisters in struggle in Birmingham, Glasgow and now Anglesey are showing that the only way to win equal pay is to rely on their own strength and organisation.

EASTERN EUROPE - IS

Our feature article on the struggle of the Polish workers brought many letters from members of the International Socialists. This week, *Oliver MacDonald* replies to two of the letters we received. (Our Portugal Forum is now closed).

None so blind?

A WRP-type hippopotamus was careering through the pages of *Red Weekly* last week, leaping from one distortion to another whilst the dollops of mud were flying in every direction. Its name was *Oliver MacDonald*. It was in the resulting confusion attempting to justify its theory that in Poland there is some form of workers state.

Listen to this: 'The picture in Poland is very different. Whatever Socialist Worker may say, there is no class which privately owns the country's economic resources. The ruling social group in Poland has absolutely no independent power base outside the political system. Its power comes not from the nature of the economic system, but from its control of the political system....'

So does IMG stand Marxism on its head. Here is Marxism in the language and manner of Harold Wilson, as solid as a custard tart. Let us attempt to translate it into precise terms, maybe then it will mean something to us.

There is no class which owns the means of production and distribution. Is there a class which controls and directs the means and distribution of production in its own interests? We all know how the abstract theorists love hair-splitting over such words as 'own'. Under feudalism here in Britain, did the Roman Catholic Church bishops and archbishops privately 'own' the means of production (the land and the peasants) under their control, that

they controlled and directed in the interests, the collective interest, of the Church as a whole? Maybe this was a degenerated state also, and like the curate's egg, good in parts?

'The ruling social group has absolutely no independent power base outside the State.' Ah! Now it is beginning to mean something.

Now that the State has been mentioned, maybe we had better teach the IMG a lesson in basic Marxism, they seem to have forgotten so much lately. Marxists say that the State is the tool with which the ruling class in society imposes its rule over all other classes. Its army, navy, air force, prisons, law courts, police, etc, are used by the capitalists to enforce their rule.

Marxism says that different classes require states that are suitable to the requirements special to their class. That the workers would be required to smash the bosses' State, and replace it by themselves organised as a State. They would substitute the standing army of capitalism with the armed working class. They would elect judges, magistrates, police, etc, from their own ranks, paying them workers' wages, and subjecting them to recall and replacement. They would administer society by way of their committees or soviets.

Should for some reason (say that there was the lack of a material base for their type of society) they lose control to the capitalists, then capitalism would need to smash the workers' State

and replace it with their own model before they could regain power over society.

Can you imagine pickets, or Des Warren, being brought up before a militant trade union magistrate, one who was subject to election and recall by his building worker buddies? Or the bosses reimposing their rule faced with an armed working class? One of the first things they and their henchmen do after a revolutionary outburst is to get the workers to surrender their arms. Look at Portugal.

To look at Poland is to see none of the criteria that add up to a workers state. The Polish worker has never run Poland by way of his armed committees, paid his elected officials the wages of ordinary workers, and had them subject to recall and replacement. Capitalism, private capitalism, could run Poland with the existing State, just by changing the personnel, maybe not even that.

When MacDonald says that our state capitalist theory is an accommodation to the pressure of capitalism it is the biggest laugh of all. Today, anyone who professes to be a Marxist, and having in mind the Marxist theory of the State, can say that there is any similarity between the regimes of China, Soviet Union, Cuba, Eastern Europe, etc and workers states, are themselves making an accommodation to Stalinism, and to the intelligentsia, who cannot see the potentialities and capabilities of our class, nay, who despair of them. Who see themselves as ruling in our place—in our interests of course—and who chant 'workerism' at all who differ from them.—DAVE HALLSWORTH (Tameside IS).

MACDONALD REPLIES

1. THE CLASS NATURE OF THE STATE.

Marx, as a materialist, insisted that the class nature of a state was determined by the nature of the mode of production which the state machine defends. A capitalist state can have many different forms: democratic, fascist, military dictatorship, etc. But these different political superstructures have the same class content because of the dominant type of production in the society: capitalism.

Yet comrade Hallsworth tells us that the key question deciding whether a society where private capital has been overthrown is a workers state or not is what? Not the mode of production, but the political form of the state: if the state is democratic in form it is a workers state, but if it is not democratic then it is a capitalist state!

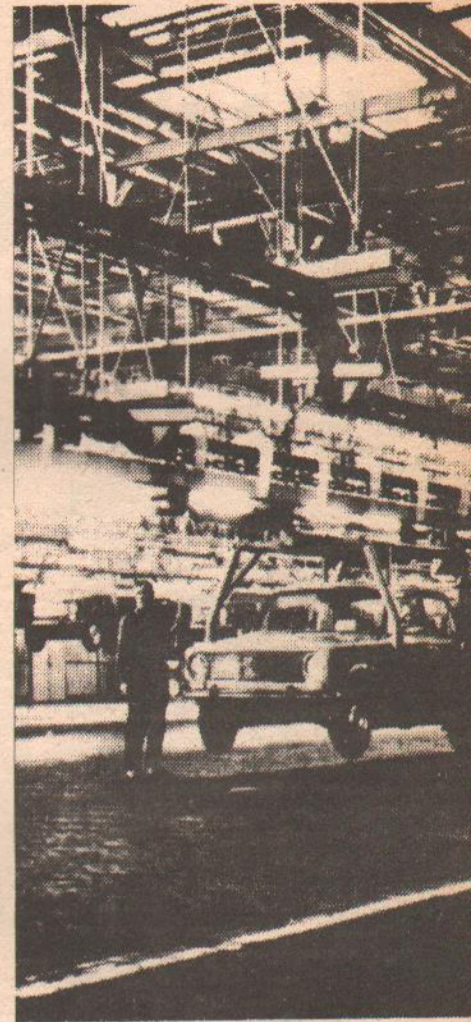
2. OWNERSHIP AND THE NATURE OF THE ECONOMY.

Comrade Hallsworth then tries to attack me for abstract hair-splitting over legalistic definitions of ownership. What are the legal property titles in the USSR? You have co-operative property in the Kolhoz; co-operative property in sectors of industry and trade; you have substantial chunks of property legally owned by the Communist Party; you have very large chunks legally owned by local governments and various Republican governments; and only in addition to all these legal titles do you have property legally owned by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. That is the legal picture.

But the Fourth International has always approached the question of ownership and property not from these legal fictions, which are at best ideological reflections of basic economic categories, but precisely from the point of view of basic economic categories. And in the USSR it is evident that the basic means of production are owned by the state.

This makes the entire internal workings of the Soviet economy radically different from the internal workings of an economy dominated by private capitalist ownership of the means of production. In a capitalist economy the government cannot dictate the allocation of investment resources or labour power or any of the fundamental economic resources unless it is prepared to challenge the power of the owners of the means of production. This is because economic power is owned privately, not publicly by the state.

On the other hand, in the Soviet economy all these economic questions can be sorted out only by those who manage the state, those who form the government. Because of the fact that the means of production are owned by the state, economic management can be done in no other way than by the conscious decisions of the government, planning the allocation of eco-



nomical resources throughout the economy. And this again must happen whatever the type of government, whatever political form the state may take.

But this view is rejected by the theorists of state capitalism. They insist that the nature of the mode of production changes depending on the type of government and regardless of the fact that the type of property remains the same: state property. Thus from a Marxist point of view the IS confuse ownership and management.

3. OWNERSHIP AND THE MODE OF PRODUCTION

To understand just what is at stake here, we really have to go back to what comrade Hallsworth calls the ABC of Marxism. Marx took the view that once you had discovered the nature of the mode of production in a society, you could begin to work out the entire dynamics of development of the society as a whole. The mode of production refers to the basic system of class relations between people in the sphere of economic activity.

Let us look at how this works under both private capitalism and the economies of the Soviet type. What is it in the capitalist mode of production that makes the capitalist economy grow and develop? It is the economic competition via the market between private capital-

Hoary myth?

Oliver MacDonald comes out with the same old, hoary myth. In his article in *Red Weekly* (8 July), he says that the theory of state capitalism and the International Socialism group came into existence when the Korean War broke out. In response to intense pressure from the media and public opinion, these comrades capitulated. Anyone who examines the evidence will see that this is incorrect.

In the early 1940s, the theory of state capitalism developed among American Trotskyists, in particular Raya Dunayevskaya and CLR James. By 1947, some British Trotskyists—these included Duncan Hallas and myself—accepted the theory. In the discussion journal *Left* (June 1948), I propounded the position publicly for the first time. A more detailed statement of the case appeared a few months later: Tony

Cliff wrote a 140-page internal document that circulated inside the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Let me emphasise that all this occurred two or more years before the outbreak of the Korean War. In no way can it be regarded as a response to it.

By 1950, the RCP had disbanded and 'The Group', led by Gerry Healy, was the official section of the Fourth International. Within 'The Group', not the slightest hint of disagreement with Healy was permitted. Most of those comrades who accepted the theory of state capitalism did not leave the organisation—they were expelled. In my case, the Manchester branch of 'The Group' threw me out without bothering to invite me to the meeting.

Those expelled, nominally 34 in number, formed the Socialist Review Group, the precursor of IS. Our paper took a principled line on the Korean

War.

Let *Oliver MacDonald* (or anyone else) examine the evidence. Socialist Review consistently attacked the Labour Government for supporting—indeed, even sending troops—to support the United States in Korea. At the same time, we linked the fight against war with the struggle against the British ruling class. As Karl Liebknecht said: 'The enemy is at home.'

By contrast with the Socialist Review, 'The Group' had a very weak-kneed policy. It published the *Socialist Outlook*, a paper that was basically left Labour. Along with banner headlines like 'Bevan gives the lead the workers want', appeared articles by an odd assortment of Members of Parliament. These included Bessie Braddock and Harold (now Lord) Davies, who later became Harold Wilson's personal private secretary. In many respects, 'The Group' and *Socialist Outlook* had a more soggy line than many supporters of Wedgwood Benn today.

If *Oliver MacDonald* wants to find evidence of comrades capitulating under pressure, he would be better advised to look in the direction of 'The Group' rather than the *Socialist Review*. RAYMOND CHALLINOR (Whitley Bay).

SR's 'neutrality' on Korea had certain political consequences. In 1950 *SR* members inside the Labour Party, grouped around what was called the Socialist Fellowship, refused even to support a resolution to the Labour Party conference which demanded Western withdrawal from Korea:

'If one sees no alternative to Bevin's policy, and "Hands Off Korea" is no alternative whether sponsored by the *Daily Worker* or *Socialist Outlook*, then perform one vote for Bevin The Stalinist alternative proposed by certain sections of Socialist Fellowship means a sell-out to Stalin, whatever its opponents may argue to the contrary' (*SR*, Vol. 1, No. 1).

Thus the effect of *SR's* 'neutrality' was a refusal to support a resolution calling on the Western imperialists to withdraw. This made all talk about fighting the enemy 'at home' largely meaningless, because it failed to confront the chauvinist trump card of the bourgeoisie.

EDITORS REPLY

It is important to clarify what exactly was the position of the *Socialist Review* group (predecessor of IS) on Korea—and what it represented. The theory of state capitalism led to the political position of 'neither Western capitalism nor Stalinist totalitarianism'. Applying this view to Korea, *SR* held the opinion that neither victory for the American-backed Southern government nor victory for the North Koreans would be of any benefit to the Korean people.

Yet even *SR* admitted that a North Korean victory 'will mean the abolition of capitalists and landlords' (*Origins of IS*, p.75). What appears to have fixated *SR* was the presence of Russian troops—although IS didn't protest over the presence, perhaps the crucial presence, of 'state capitalist' Cuban troops backing the MPLA in Angola. Could it have anything to do with the fact that support for liberation forces is now much more acceptable than it was during the cold war?

WHAT'S ON

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

FIGHT for Labour Party Democracy—North Hackney LPYS Forum. Hear Keith Veness, sometime left critic in N. Islington Labour Party, speak on cliquism and the fight back. Speaker also from Campaign for Labour Party Democracy. Tues 3 Aug, 8pm, Stamford Hill Library Hall, N16.

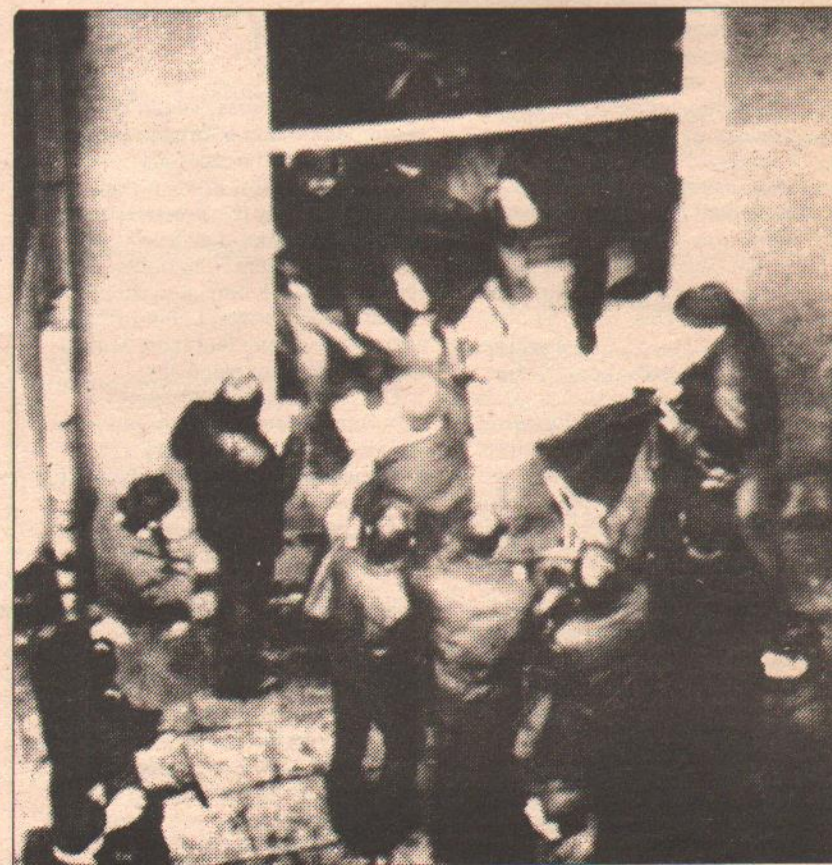
COORDINATING Committee Against Racism meets at University of London Union, Malet St, WC1 at 7.30pm Fri 30 July to discuss perspectives, particularly anti-racist demonstration in Blackburn, 11 September.

IRISH SOCIAL to raise money for delegates to Ireland. Sat 31 July, City Poly, Whitechapel High St, Aldgate East. 8pm till late, food and drink. Derelicts and Tom Presho plus disco. Adm 75p, (30p claimants). East London TOM.

ABORTION: public meeting to discuss response to anti-abortion report of Select Committee. Thurs 29 July, 7.30pm, Grand Committee Room, House of Commons. Supported by NAC, ALRA, etc.

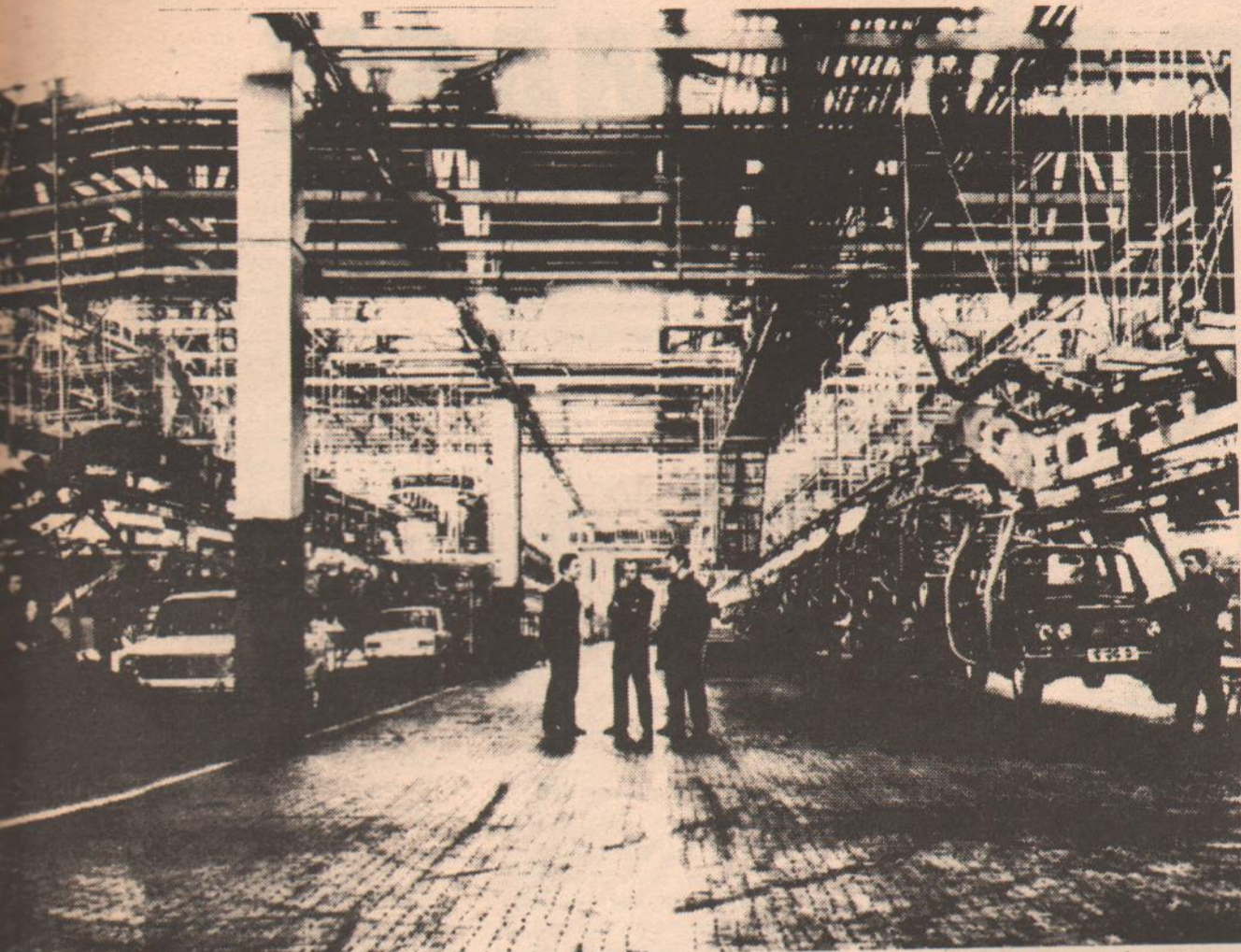
REVOLUTIONARY Communist Group public day school on 'The Crisis of Capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat', Saturday 21 August, 10am-6pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Sessions on Women, Ireland, the Public Sector Cuts. Speakers: Judith Harrison, Chris Davies, and David Yaffe. Further information from 'Day-School' (RW), 49 Railton Road, London SE24 0LN.

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 as places limited! Will be held in Midlands countryside. Further details from: IMG National Centre, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.



Breaking into a shop during the Gdansk food riots in 1970 which brought down Gomulka

T CAPITALIST?



Russian-built versions of Flats roll off the assembly line—IS attack bureaucracy for buying on world market even if it means cheaper cars

ist owners: these owners are forced by the competition of other owners to extract the maximum possible surplus product from their workers to expand their profits and production and thereby keep themselves in business against their rivals.

4. IS THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY A RULING CLASS?

For Marxists the concept of the ruling class is part and parcel of the analysis of the mode of production. Under capitalism all kinds of different social layers can occupy the role of managing the affairs of the state: petty bourgeois governments, military officer corps, the labour bureaucracy and so on. But the basic pattern of class relationship is not changed by these changes of government: the bourgeoisie remains the ruling class through its competitive ownership of the means of production.

What is the situation in the USSR, where the bureaucracy has a complete monopoly of political power? Trotskyists have always argued that the material basis for the existence of a military-bureaucratic apparatus over and against the masses in the USSR or any other workers state is the existence of the appalling deprivation of the workers in an isolated workers state and the consequent struggle for scarce consumption goods in conditions where there are not enough of such goods to satisfy the basic needs of working people.

This leads to social conflicts and to the resulting need for a policeman inside a workers state to regulate this conflict. Thus the material basis of a bureaucratic state machine as a repressive force lies in the sphere of consumption — its power derives from this, not from the 'ownership' of the means of production. It is not a ruling class in Marxist terms.

Against the Trotskyist analysis of the role of the bureaucracy, the Stalinists have always argued that the bureaucracy was necessary because it played a vital role in production: it developed the Soviet economy in the 1930s, and enabled it to resist German imperialism in the Second World War.

Now what about the Soviet economy? Within it there is no pattern of competing private capitals to create a drive to accumulation and economic growth. In fact there is no compulsion towards economic growth within the mode of production at all. The public ownership of the means of production means that the only driving force towards accumulation is the consciously planned management of the production of different groups of workers in different factories. It is this basic feature of the mode of production in the USSR which leads revolutionary Marxists to characterise it as a socialised mode of production.

Does this mean that the type of

economic management within this socialised economy is unimportant for the functioning of the economy? Far from it! The smooth functioning of a socialised economy depends crucially on the quality of economic management. Without democratic workers management the bureaucratic managers of the Soviet economy have produced gigantic waste and a permanent crisis at an appalling human cost.

These features together: the socialised character of the mode of production and the bureaucratic character of the management of the economy give revolutionary Marxists their basic characterisation of the Soviet Union and the East European states as *bureaucratised workers states*.

What is the position of Tony Cliff of the IS? He agrees with the Stalinists that the fundamental historical 'justification' for bureaucracy is its role not as a cop in the sphere of consumption but as the driving force of increased production. Specifically polemicising against Trotsky, he writes: 'The bureaucracy became necessary in the process of capital accumulation' (*Russia*, p. 153).

He adds: 'The Stalinist bureaucracy was transformed into a ruling class on the crest of the dynamism of the economy.' (*ibid*, p. 168). For Cliff, rapid economic growth does not weaken the role of a bureaucracy: it makes a bureaucracy more necessary in a workers state!

Why does Cliff call the turn to

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

'61,000 ON THE DOLE' — that was the stark headline on the front page of the Belfast Telegraph on Tuesday 20 July. The official unemployment statistics for July, released earlier that day, had revealed the highest level of unemployment since 1940.

Coming in the middle of summer, when unemployment opportunities are generally at their peak, these figures confirm the gloomy prospect for Northern Irish workers of 80,000 unemployed by the end of 1976. As the official statistics never portray the full picture, a more accurate estimate might in fact be around the 100,000 mark.

At least 1 in 10 workers are now jobless in the Six Counties. In Strabane, 29 per cent of adult workers are unemployed; in Derry, Newry and Dungannon, 1 in 4 are out of work.

Of the North's 18,000 school leavers, 50 per cent have been unable to find work. That's 9,000 16-year-olds forced to exist on social security and with nil prospects of ever finding a job.

For those leaving higher education, the picture is no brighter: on one science course at Belfast University, only one-sixth of this year's graduates have been able to find employment. And the normally job-confident students who have completed professional training are this year faced with a situation which is just as bleak as that confronting school leavers. As in Britain, few students qualifying as teachers have been able to obtain positions in schools.

The trade unions and political parties have of course been quick to express their concern. 'Alarming', said the Alliance Party. 'Intolerable', declared Terry Carlin, Regional Officer of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Even

Ray Carter, a junior Minister at the Northern Ireland Office who ironically enough was paying a visit to Strabane when the figures were announced, got his halfpenny worth in: 'There is an economic recession. The British Government has nothing immediate to offer, but I will come back to Strabane in the autumn.'

The British administration here is at one with 'Sunny Jim' Callaghan, who declared on his recent visit that the British Government 'has no policy'. The truth, however, is that the British Government has a very definite policy — slashing the democratic rights of the working class through repression and terror; slashing the living standards of the working class through unemployment, redundancies and social service cuts.

Correctly, the trade unions in the Six Counties have made much verbal ado about the galloping unemployment, calling for a halt to all cuts in public spending. Yet the only action that the union leadership has sanctioned is the withdrawal of its representatives from the sham Economic Council, established 'to advise' Merlyn Rees. This single step has been given the grandiose title of 'non-cooperation', yet these same trade union leaders continue to sit on dozens of other committees established by the British administration — such as the Police Authority — and refuse to make any call for workers' action against the twin scourges of unemployment and the cuts.

But then, with the stipends received for service on the Police Authority taken into consideration, who is going to bite the hand that feeds them?

forced collectivisation 'economic dynamism'? The answer is that Cliff is trying to prove that the Soviet bureaucracy is a new ruling class. And he is trying to prove this with Marxist categories. And to do this he has to try to show that the bureaucracy has played a necessary role in the socialised and planned mode of production which exists in the USSR.

He has to show this because, for a Marxist, a ruling group in any society is a ruling class only if it can be shown to play a fundamental role in the given mode of production. Having done this he wanted to prove it was a capitalist ruling class so as to ensure that there was no capitulation to the bureaucracy. But to show that the bureaucracy was capitalist he had to show that it was driven by objective economic forces to accumulate capital.

Now since no such economic forces push in that direction within the USSR, Cliff declares that it was external competition from the capitalist world that forced the bureaucracy to accumulate. The pressure of the capitalist world, says Cliff, forces the bureaucracy to maximise profits and expand production or die.

This is a complete theoretical muddle. It is, of course, quite true that the USSR from 1917 — and any other workers state for that matter — has been engaged in a vicious economic, political and military struggle with world imperialism.

IS theorists, however, have to try to prove that the whip-lash of competition with the capitalist world drives the Soviet bureaucrats into a life or death struggle to accumulate. But this does not square with the facts: if a capitalist fails to accumulate he is destroyed economically, he goes bust.

But is this true of the Soviet bureaucracy? Not in the least. The Soviet bureaucracy are not bondholders whose dividend depends on the profits of Soviet 'capital'. The rate of accumulation can go up or down: the bureaucrats' privileges are the very last thing to change.

One other stark and simple fact blows the theory to pieces: the compulsion to maximise profits and accumulate forces every capitalist to continually shake-out surplus labour and continually use a pool of unemployed. Yet half a century of bureaucratic rule has not produced a pool of unemployed in the USSR, and has not produced a business cycle. The whole attempt to prove the

Soviet bureaucracy to be a collective capitalist is nonsense.

5. UTOPIAN POLITICS

This theoretical muddle produces disastrous political conclusions. To prove that the bureaucracy is a ruling class, Cliff gives it the historical credit for Soviet economic growth. Then he declares that such economic growth was capitalist! So the political conclusion is: down with expanding production in a workers state, down with economic growth.

To prove that bureaucratic rule was necessary for economic growth, they have to argue that economic growth requires a cut in workers' living standards. To prove that the drive to economic growth is capitalist in source, they have to argue that a workers state must not compete with the capitalist world. And if a workers state becomes capitalist through a military and economic struggle with the capitalist world, then there is only one conclusion possible: no workers state can survive as a workers state in the capitalist world.

Here is the despairing and utopian political core of the IS theory of state capitalism. They take for themselves the caricature of Trotskyism presented by the Stalinists. The Stalinists said: Trotsky despaired of a struggle to build up the Soviet workers state. This is false for Trotsky but true for Cliff.

And having produced this theory of despair, Cliff then puts it into practice. He accepts the bourgeois myth of Soviet military expansionism, and Soviet imperialism. If the USSR is a capitalist power it is also imperialist and imperialist powers are expansionist powers.

Where is Soviet expansionism shown? Why in Vietnam, Angola, the Middle East, presumably. And let's face it, the USSR is the strongest power in Europe. Presumably the Russian capitalists are itching to get their hands on Italy, France, Spain, etc. This is the political logic of state capitalism.

Why is this political logic not spelt out clearly in the pages of *Socialist Worker*? It was spelt out in the 1940s and early 1950s when the comrades were disorientated by the cold war. But today the membership of IS is not plunged in a mood of despair. It rejoices at the victories of the Vietnamese and the Angolans. So the theory of state capitalism becomes for most IS members simply an instrument of political abuse.

RED WEEKLY

Ford INSIDE
FORD WORKERS IN THE FRONT LINE
More on Vietnam — pages 2,3 & 4

VIETNAM: A GIANT STEP FOR HUMANITY!

Red Weekly's enthusiastic welcome for the victory of the NLF in Vietnam was shared by Socialist Worker—quite against the logic of state capitalism

ARGENTINE JUNTA DROPS 'DEMOCRATIC' MASK

The coup d'état on 24 March placed the military in command yet again in Argentina, but it didn't solve the question of 'which way forward for capitalism in Argentina?' The economic situation seems to have improved superficially—there has been a certain decline in the rate of inflation, although it is estimated that this will still reach 700 per cent this year. But in fact the 'austerity' policy imposed by the Economy Minister, Martinez de Hoz, is now threatening to lead to a rather drastic slump.

The recession has thrown Argentina's car industry into chaos, with those plants which have not closed down operating a reduced working week. Car sales have dropped by 41 per cent since the coup, the sale of household appliances has dropped by 65 per cent, and agricultural chemicals by 89 per cent. Hand in hand with this goes a rapidly accelerating unemployment rate, some of which is quite deliberate—as in the case of the 120,000 public employees sacked so far.

STABILITY

The dictatorship is naturally looking to imperialism for a solution to this economic crisis, but according to the *Financial Times*, 'foreign investment seems to be holding off, waiting for some sign of stability from the Videla regime'. The junta has managed, however, to re-finance much of

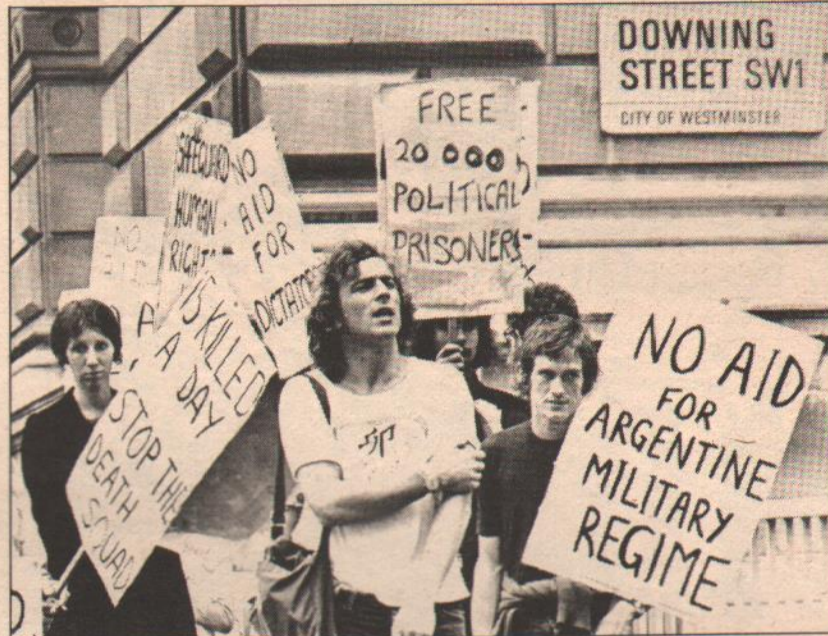
the foreign debt and obtain a substantial loan from the International Monetary Fund, in spite of the threatening collapse of the internal market and the steady decline in exports.

BUTCHER

After successfully finding credit with US imperialism, Martinez de Hoz is now busy looking for similar support in Europe. Last week he was in Britain, where he raised about £34m in medium-term loans from the London capital market. During his stay, Labour Chancellor Healey gave a special lunch at the Treasury for this emissary of the junta, who follows in the footsteps of the Brazilian President Geisel. No doubt the Chilean butcher Pinochet is next on the Government's guest list!

The economic plan which is a precondition for the support by the IMF and European bankers entails an increasing burden on the working class in terms of unemployment, lower wages, and a perilously low standard of living for the Argentine masses. The workers movement will not submit to this 'plan' quietly, and last month's important strikes in the car industry have been followed by a series of actions such as go slows, industrial sabotage, etc.

The inter-factory coordinating committees which were formed during last year's general strike are re-emerging and acting as a



Argentina Solidarity Movement picket lunch given by Healey for Martinez de Hoz

replacement for the CGT (TUC) in many industries and districts. In the centre of this struggle to re-compose the workers movement and build resistance to the dictatorship are our comrades of the PST (Socialist Workers Party), sympathising organisation of the Fourth International, which was one of the first groups banned after the coup.

DISGUISE

Today it is clear that the Videla Government has dropped the 'democratic' disguise which it originally adopted in the hope of

avoiding the international isolation suffered by Pinochet in Chile. There are more political prisoners than in Chile, several concentration camps, and widespread torture, kidnapping and murder, which are all part of a systematic attempt to hunt down political and trade union militants.

The PST in particular is suffering heavy blows under the repression, especially on its shop steward and other trade union militants. We therefore ask *Red Weekly* readers to do three things:

(1) The PST is in urgent need of finance to help maintain the organisation and its press in clandestinity, and you can send money

to the *Red Weekly* offices marked PST for this purpose.

(2) You can work for the defence of its prisoners, some of whom are mentioned below (more details available from *Red Weekly*). Send petitions from your trade union branch, student union or

Labour Party ward to the Argentine Embassy (49 Belgrave Square, London S.W.1) and send a copy to these militants:

*Jose Francisco Paez—Unidad Penitenciaria No. 1., Colombres 1300, Cordoba.

*Analia Di Giovanni and Jorge Sprovieri—Carcel de Azul, Casilla de Correo 67, Azul, Buenos Aires.

*Luisa Segura—Pabellon 41, Planta 6, Bermudez 2651, C.F., Buenos Aires.

(3) Urge your organisation to affiliate to the Argentina Solidarity Movement, 1 Cambridge Terraces, London NW1.

A COMRADE FALLS

Mario Roberto Santucho, leader of the PRT/ERP (Workers Revolutionary Party—Peoples Revolutionary Army) was murdered together with four comrades on Monday 19 July by the Argentine army. Regardless of our differences with the PRT over its militaristic strategy, there is no doubt that the Argentine revolution has truly lost one of its most heroic and dedicated leaders in Santucho, who symbolised the rise of a combative workers vanguard in the struggles which followed the Cordobazo of 1969.

SANTUCHO VIVE! HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE!

Jimmy Carter seems tailor-made for the celebration of the US bicentennial, a living proof of the richness of the American dream. He is portrayed as the 1970s version of the log cabin president, the peanut farmer; as the respectable Southern Baptist who proves American racism is no more; as the candidate who beat the party bosses of the Democratic machine; the people's choice.

He is the candidate both of the old God values of America and of the ageing rebellious youth of the 1960s—the man who quoted Bob Dylan during his acceptance speech. He is George Washington revisited, the president who will never tell a lie. Jimmy Carter stands as a celebration of free enterprise America; as the man who made it against all the odds, he has proved the system works.

At least such was the vision which won Carter his nomination as Democratic candidate for the US presidency, a vision which appealed because Carter appeared to hark back to the good old days and the good old values before Vietnam and Washington. Who wouldn't buy a second-hand car from the clean, blond, quiet-spoken Southern gentleman?

Stink-tank

But inevitably the broad smile and the eyes overflowing with sincerity don't tell it all. Jimmy Carter may now pose as the Southern integrationist who shares none of the white hysteria of George Wallace, but in a letter written in 1972 in reply to a constituent who was upset that he had not endorsed Wallace then, Carter wrote: 'I have never had anything but the highest praise for Governor Wallace.... I think you will find that Senator Jackson, Governor Wallace and I are in close agreement on most issues.'

Then there is the Jimmy Carter who waxes indignant against the dirty tricks of the Nixon era. But in 1971, when Carter was standing for the governorship of Georgia, there was an anonymous leaflet distributed which showed Carter's opponent being given a champagne shampoo by two blacks he played basketball with. The leaflet was mailed throughout the state to white Baptist ministers—a group for whom Carter has a particular fondness.

Swimming with the tide



or walking on water?

Carter denies any knowledge of the leaflet, as did Nixon over similar ventures on his behalf. But an American public relations man who worked for Carter's campaign has said: 'We distributed the leaflet. It was prepared for Carter's press secretary. It was part of an operation we called the "stink tank".'

Or take Carter's tears about the Vietnam War—tears which, going by his record, must have been produced not so much by the involvement as by the defeat. Because Jimmy Carter in 1972 sponsored a resolution at the Demo-

cratic Governors' Conference urging all Democratic presidential candidates not to make the Vietnam war an issue. As he said at the time: 'We should have appreciated and supported Nixon's efforts.' Carter was indeed a leading 'hawk' until the war was all but lost.

There is the same pattern of sudden conversion about his supposed 'liberalism'. In 1970, he proclaimed: 'I would run as a local Georgia conservative democrat... I'm basically a redneck.' And as for being a peanut farmer, he is no more than than Henry

Ford II is a motor mechanic; he is a businessman who deals in peanuts.

There is some truth in the view that Carter ran against the Democratic party machine. But this was because that machine had doubts about the electoral credibility of a Southern Baptist. As far as Carter himself goes, he is as much a professional politician as any of them.

In 1974 he became chairman of the National Democratic Campaign

Committee for the congressional elections, and as *The Times* put it, 'got priceless recognition travelling round the country from professional politicians'. Now the Democratic machine is united behind Carter. They can tell a good candidate when they see one; they can see the value of a president who appears clean and respectable; appears outside the unsavoury era of Nixon and the bungling era of Ford; appears capable of repolishing the American image.

Symbol

So it does not really matter a great deal if there remains a confusion about Jimmy Carter's real policies—a confusion which has made observers wonder 'which is the real Jimmy Carter'. In fact the riddle has a simple answer, and a clue can be found in the story Carter's mother tells of how her son was faced with the prospect of the end of his term as Georgia's governor. After being asked what he was going to do next he said: 'I'm going to be president.'

And from that everything else flowed. Because if nothing else, Carter is no fool. To be successful he has had to swim with the tide.

If this meant being a redneck in the 1970 election for governor, Carter was a redneck. If in 1976 this means appearing as the lost soul of America's goodness, Jimmy Carter will make that appearance. If it means aligning himself with George Wallace, he will do that, if it means quoting Bob Dylan, he will do that as well. In short he is the ultimate opportunist.

As such he is not, after all, such a bad symbol of 200 years of American free enterprise. Of course, when the interests of that system are threatened, Carter will cease his equivocation. Thus he has been unequivocal about his opposition to abortion and about his opposition to the closed shop.

But on other less crucial issues, Carter will hum and ha. He will say anything, do anything to climb to the top. His politics are his own successes, his concerns, his own triumphs. Jimmy Carter is American capitalism.

Geoff Bell

'The King has many ears and many eyes'

-ancient Persian proverb

By STEVE POTTER

DAMNING EVIDENCE of the terror system of the Shah of Iran has been exposed by an occupation of the Iranian consulate in Geneva.

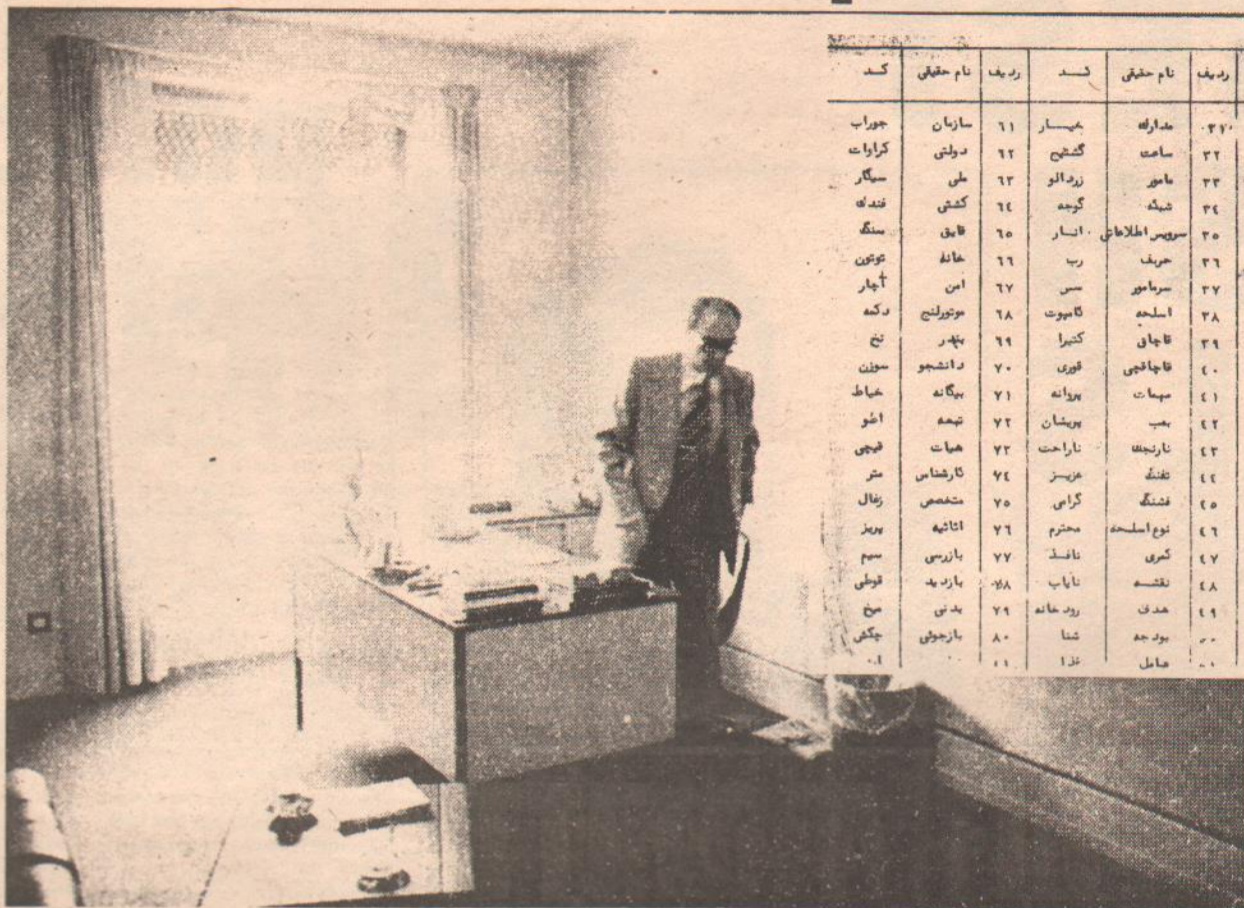
Some 2,800 pages of documentation were discovered, revealing Geneva as the international headquarters of the 'Bean' - the code name for SAVAK, the Shah's secret police. The 'Bean' operates from Iranian embassies in several European countries, including Britain, in cooperation with 'friendly services' - intelligence units of other countries.

SAVAK was created by the CIA and the Israeli security organisation MOSSAD after the Washington inspired coup in 1953, which toppled the nationalist regime of Mossadegh and brought the present dictatorship to power.

Staggering

The American magazine *Newsweek* (14 October 1974) wrote: 'By almost any conceivable measure, the size and scope of SAVAK operations are absolutely staggering. Between 30,000 and 60,000 people work for SAVAK full-time, but they are only the skeleton of a much larger creature. According to some diplomats in Iran no fewer than 3 million Iranians - one out of every eight adult citizens - are occasionally SAVAK informers.'

The present head of SAVAK is General Ne'matollah Nassiri, a veteran supporter of the present Shah and known to favour the most brutal methods of torture by SAVAK. The documents discovered in Geneva reveal that this



SAVAK's chief in Geneva, Colonel Ahmed Malek-Mahdavi, seen in his office. INSET: a captured document

man sent a 'Very Confidential' cable from Bristol (code word for SAVAK HQ in Tehran) to Simin (code word for Geneva SAVAK headquarters) asking for an investigation of the relationship between Iranian dissidents and two British MPs, Stan Newens and William Wilson.

After cautioning 'Clean Claws' (SAVAK field operatives) not to

'loiter for long outside their places of residence', Nassiri asked that 'the results of these enquiries should be immediately transmitted to the Centre so that appropriate decisions can be taken on further measures to be adopted'.

The content of the documents was revealed in a press conference called last week by Stan Newens, who agreed that it raised the question of collaboration between SAVAK and other intelligence services. An Iranian student drew journalists' attention to the fact that one of the documents refers to phone-tapping of dissidents - an operation not possible without the help of government agencies.

Although the documents were uncovered several weeks ago, earlier attempts to bring them into Britain

ردیف	نام حقوقی	کد	ردیف	نام حقوقی	کد
۲۷	مدارک	۶۱	۶۱	سازمان	جواب
۲۸	ساعت	۶۲	۶۲	دولت	کراوات
۲۹	مامور	۶۳	۶۳	ملی	سیگار
۳۰	شبه	۶۴	۶۴	کشش	خنده
۳۱	سورس اطلاعات	۶۵	۶۵	تایق	سنگ
۳۲	حرف	۶۶	۶۶	خان	توتون
۳۳	سرمامور	۶۷	۶۷	امن	آچار
۳۴	اسلحه	۶۸	۶۸	موتور	دکمه
۳۵	تاجاق	۶۹	۶۹	بهدار	نخ
۳۶	تاجاقچی	۷۰	۷۰	دانشجو	سخت
۳۷	مهمات	۷۱	۷۱	بهبان	خراط
۳۸	بمب	۷۲	۷۲	تجه	اشو
۳۹	نارنج	۷۳	۷۳	هيات	فیبی
۴۰	تفنگ	۷۴	۷۴	کارشاس	ستر
۴۱	تفنگ	۷۵	۷۵	متخصص	زغال
۴۲	نوع اسلحه	۷۶	۷۶	انتازه	برنز
۴۳	کبری	۷۷	۷۷	بارزید	سیم
۴۴	نقشه	۷۸	۷۸	مازید	قویلی
۴۵	خدی	۷۹	۷۹	بدنی	میخ
۴۶	بورد	۸۰	۸۰	بازجوی	چکش
۴۷	حامل	۸۱	۸۱	نژاد	...

ly processed. But it would come as no surprise. After all, British intelligence was centrally involved in bringing SAVAK's paymasters into power in 1953 after the Mossadegh Government had nationalised the oil industry - in which Britain had a complete monopoly.

Blood

Certainly the 'Iranian Connection' has been kept alive and well through the visits of Healey, Callaghan, Barbara Castle and Tony Benn - all this year! If the substantial trade links between Iran and Britain start to decline, it will not be for want of effort by these 'leaders' of the labour movement. Meanwhile SAVAK will ensure that the ground is kept free of subversive weeds and well watered with the blood of those fighting the dictatorship.

That's Capitalism

By ESTHER RANCID

Tensions were running high down at the London coffee market last week. Why were they upset? After all, in Brazil the weather's fine at the moment. The sun is shining, the temperatures are mild

But that, it appears, is the problem. There's usually a cold spell just now, with frost which destroys the coffee crop. The prospect of a good crop makes the people who deal in coffee most unhappy. Prices on the London market have already fallen by more than £450 to £1,110 per tonne since the beginning of July, and could drop back to £800-£900 - as low as last March!

Wonder why it's not raining over here?

Mr Bill Law of the National Institute for Careers, Guidance and Counselling has finally laid it on the line about unemployment. The *Times Education Supplement* of 16 July reported that at the annual conference of the National Association of Careers and Guidance Teachers: 'He blamed schools for encouraging leavers to think it was good to be in paid employment. Instead they should emphasise you could be a worthwhile human being without paid employment.'

'Schools should teach that it was possible to be without a paid job and retain dignity. For centuries the aristocracy had survived without jobs. "Now some of the rest of us are going to get the chance." And free stately homes thrown in?

The Glasgow Young Conservatives, meanwhile, have discovered the working class. A recent meeting decided to seek representation on Glasgow Trades Council. There is no truth in the rumour that they have laid out branch funds on a supply of cloth caps.

Another victory for democracy. Bonny Prince Charlie took over the Chancellorship of the University of Wales from his dad in a secret ballot last week. Of the 360 members of the Court of Governors, 200 attended the poll in Cardiff - but few cast their votes for former Welsh miners' leader Dai Francis. Students have about 12 votes.

Charlie showed his appreciation by departing beforehand to Montreal to watch his sister fall off a horse.

Still at the Olympics, Dr Hannes Botha, president of the South Africa Amateur Athletics Union, was asked on Canadian television what concessions his country had made on integrated sport: 'Man, we've made terrible concessions I mean tremendous concessions'

'He was slowly burned by means of an electric fire while his hands and legs were tied to a bed. He was so badly burned in the lower lumbar areas that it reached some of the vertebral bones and he fell into a coma. He was then untied and left with his wounds in a putrid state. So much so that the stink of his infested flesh filled our cells and nobody else would come near it. He was then transferred to prison hospital, where he underwent several operations. But he can no longer walk, only crawl on all fours.'

That was the ghastly fate of Iranian prisoner Asghar Badizadegan at the hands of SAVAK. It only became known because one of his fellow prisoners, Reza Rezai, escaped and told the *Sunday Times* (19 January 1975). Soon afterwards, Badizadegan was shot.

SAVAK'S STUDENT FRONT

There are two Iranian Student Societies in Britain. One is part of the international Confederation of Iranian Students, which campaigns to expose the true nature of the Iranian regime. The other is less well known. Its address used to be 130 Brompton Road, near Harrods. But it has been ordered to move - by SAVAK.

This organisation is directly funded by SAVAK. Here is the proof, contained in a letter from Simin (SAVAK European HQ in Geneva) to 332 (SAVAK's third bureau in Tehran):

'The difficulty with the Society's work is its financial situation. £4,000 annually was agreed, of which £2000 was to be paid by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and £2000 by the State Information and Security Organisation (SAVAK), which has not been paid and the Society's work has remained stagnant.' SAVAK is now aiming to make their 'agreeable Society' the one officially recognised by the National Union of Students.

The documents containing this information

were raised at a meeting of the NUS Executive last Sunday by IMG member Valerie Coultas. The Executive meeting decided to

* Send a letter to the Home Secretary demanding an enquiry into SAVAK activities in Britain, particularly their spying on Iranian students.

* Send a letter to the Iranian Embassy and the Shah condemning the activities of SAVAK.

* The NUS International Policy Group will investigate the activities of the SAVAK-sponsored Society.

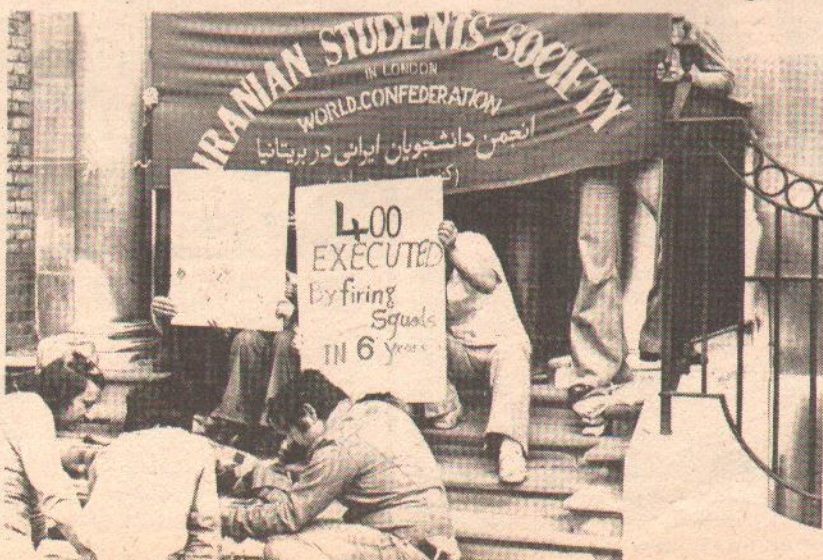
* All student unions in Britain will be mailed with a document exposing the activities of SAVAK, urging them to carry out their own enquiries into possible SAVAK activity in their colleges.

NEW WAVE OF REPRESSION

Repression is increasing in Iran. In the month of June alone, 45 people were killed in what the Government describes as 'raids'. Among those killed were three children aged between nine and thirteen.

In the last six months a total of 90 people have been murdered. Eleven of these were executed by firing squad. Workers' action is met by harsh repression. Workers occupying the Tehran Textile Factory were attacked by security forces, killing five.

This follows the infamous events at the Iran and Khavar brick factory in Tehran in 1974, where SAVAK agents entered the plant and beat fourteen workers to death with clubs.



Iranian Student Society hunger strike in London last week against the repression

ITALIAN COMMUNISTS PROTEST POLISH TRIALS

The leadership of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) has expressed concern over the sentencing of several Polish workers to jail terms of up to ten years following last month's strike movement against 60 per cent price increases. This comes after an appeal to the PCI by leading Polish dissident Jacek Kuron.



JACEK KURON

The first trial was in Radom, one of the centres of the working class opposition. Six workers received sentences ranging from four to ten years' imprisonment. The following day, 20 July, seven more workers were sentenced to between three and five years in prison for derailing a locomotive near the Ursus tractor plant in protest at the price increase.

Both these trials were closed to the public and even to the workers' families. Evidently at least another 19 Poles in the Warsaw area are still to face trial. The number of workers arrested and still awaiting trial in other areas is as yet unknown.

Uncertain

It is still very uncertain whether the Government will be able to carry through this repressive manoeuvre. In spite of a massive press drive to brand these workers as hooligans, the Gierek regime must be well aware that the majority of people in Poland regard the striking workers, and not the Government, as defending their interests. The trials have simply brought to light in the sharpest way the anti-democratic regime that exists not only in Poland but throughout Eastern Europe.

And this is only one side of Gierek's problems. A number of Polish intellectuals came forward immediately after the upsurge in solidarity with the working class, calling for an end to bureaucratic repression (see *Red Weekly*, 8 July): And last week saw the publication of an open letter to Italian CP leader Berlinguer from Jacek Kuron, a Polish socialist who has participated in struggles for socialist democracy for many years and is well known on the left in the West for the Marxist analysis of the bureaucracy which he wrote with another dissident in the mid-1960s.

Risk

At considerable personal risk, Kuron brings out the full picture of the repressive drive against the Polish working class. He writes to Berlinguer: 'I turn to you to ask your help for the Polish workers covered with abuse by the press, radio and television, beaten by the police, thrown in prison, accused of sabotage before the courts, and condemned to long jail sentences.'

Kuron continues: 'In the press, radio and television, the demonstrations which brought the state authorities round to modifying their erroneous policies are defined as the actions of "hooligans", as actions of criminal vandalism. In the cities and the provinces a massive repression has been

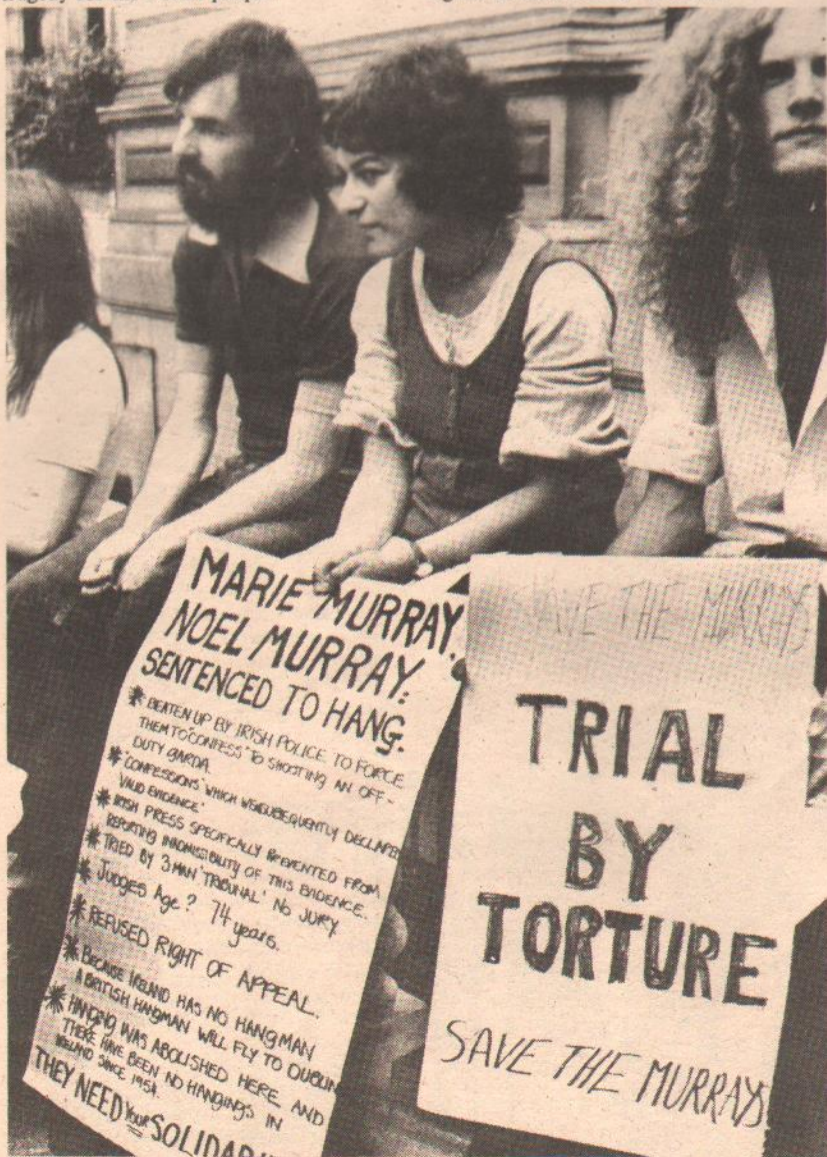
launched against those who participated in the demonstrations and strikes. Since the demonstrations were spontaneous, the authorities and the police lost control of the situation and the repression is directed mainly against people who found themselves quite by chance in the areas where the incidents took place.'

He explains that the workers arrested were kept incommunicado, unable even to see their families and unable to choose their own lawyers. Many were badly beaten up in jail during their interrogations.

And he goes on: 'The workers, disorganised and deprived of information, are completely disarmed in the face of the repression. The reaction of the authorities is producing an atmosphere of hate and despair. The next explosion could become a tragedy for the Polish people.'

The open letter ends by calling for a general amnesty: 'Only a general amnesty for all the participants in the June demonstrations can bring the terror against the workers to an end. It is public opinion in countries where it is truly independent which can take up the struggle for this amnesty. I know that its voice has as much influence in Western Europe as it does with the Polish authorities.'

Following this letter, the Italian Communist Party leadership has publicly expressed its disquiet about the trials in Poland; an international campaign for the release of the workers can undoubtedly influence the Polish Government. It is especially necessary that Communist Party members demand that their leadership protest about the trials, as this could have a real effect in helping to force the Gierek regime to backtrack on the issue.



NOEL and MARIE MURRAY face execution in the South of Ireland after a frame-up trial in which they were found guilty of murdering a policeman during a bank raid. This picket to save the Murrays was organised outside the Irish Embassy in London on 24 July.

RED WEEKLY

The poisoners of Milan

Last week Robert Lanzini was sitting at home near the Icmesa chemical plant in North Milan when he saw a white cloud floating into his garden. Going outside later he saw his cat lying on the ground. He picked up the animal and its tail fell off. This was just one small effect of the leakage of poisonous gas produced after an explosion at the chemical plant owned by the infamous multinational drug company, Hoffman La Roche. Other consequences range from scores of people suffering rashes and burns on the face, neck and arms to cabbages turning purple and decomposing.

These are the effects which are visible. What will happen in the future is anybody's guess, for according to the Swedish based Peace Research Unit the eventual results of the contamination are impossible to gauge. The only evidence to go on is in Vietnam, where the Americans used the gas in quantity in their war against the liberation forces. In the southern area of Vietnam today, where the 'insecticide' was sprayed from planes, one third of the old mangrove areas have been reduced to muddy wasteland.

'REGRET'

La Roche have expressed regret about the leakage, but one reason for the scale of the disaster could be that the people of the area were completely unprepared — because the company had informed nobody what was actually being manufactured in the plant.

Such behaviour is only to be expected from La Roche. They have said that they will pay £66,000 compensation to the 400 people who have now been forced from their homes. But for the multinational such a sum is as trifling as a purple cabbage.

It is in fact less than the profit La Roche make on selling one kilo of their drug Valium to the National Health Service. It was such outrageous profits which made even the British Government insist that La Roche pay back £12 million they had ripped off from the NHS by overpricing their products — although that sum was of no

great concern to a company which supplies 70 per cent of all NHS tranquilisers.

Such fortunes are not exceptional in the free enterprise drug market, where the law is the accumulation of profit, regardless of its effect. Many other companies — such as Distillers, who produced thalidomide — are in the same league. Of course they will all moan on about 'accidents' when their money-making schemes produced deformed babies or poisonous gas, but such accidents are inevitable when technology is determined by the profits which can be made from it rather than the uses to which it can be put

MARS

Take another example from last week, concerning the American space craft which landed on Mars. The craft developed a fault which prevented it from scooping up soil. But the scientists on the ground managed to instruct the craft to shake itself and correct the fault.

Without doubt there will be little benefit from that achievement. But it shows the capacity which exists to solve the problems of the — capacity which Western capitalism dictates will be used on trips to Mars and on poisonous gases.

In Italy last week a woman pointed to her dying sheep dog and commented to a reporter: 'He's sick, we're all sick.' Maybe so, but there none so sick as the system which produces the horrific lunacies displayed in Northern Italy and on Mars last week.

IBERICA— SOLIDARITY!

MOTOR IBERICA: Readers who have followed the heroic struggle of the workers at this Spanish subsidiary of the multinational Massey-Ferguson should note that they can now send solidarity telegrams to: Rafael del Rosa, Avenida J. Antonion 651, Barcelona.

An extra effort!

This is the last Red Weekly until 19 August. And who knows, if we do not raise a substantial amount of money before then, the break could be even longer. During the break all the regular expenses have to be met; the rents, the wages and so on. But in terms of sales the same revenue will not be coming in.

It is a severe time for all newspapers, but for Red Weekly — which relies solely on its readers for its existence — it is even more testing. So this is not just another routine appeal for money. Already we are behind on the fighting fund, and we need an extra effort just to even make up for this deficit. But because of the summer break we need an even bigger effort than that.

We believe in being honest with our readers, so we say honestly that if this appeal is ignored the quality and the future plans we have for the paper will be in jeopardy. So send as much money as you can, now, to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. Our thanks this week to: H.P. Mainz, £20; Bristol IMG £20; Sarah Bell, £2; Watford IMG, £1.70, and Crewe IMG, £1.



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